Durham E-Theses

Syntax of Targum Aramaic: A Text–Linguistic Reading of 1Samuel

CONDREA, VASILE,ANDREI

How to cite:

Use policy

Syntax of Targum Aramaic:

A Text–Linguistic Reading of 1Samuel

Vasile Andrei Condrea

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy
Department of Theology and Religion

Durham University

2016

Abstract

Syntax of Targum Aramaic:

A Text–Linguistic Reading of 1Samuel

Biblical languages and time mix well. The former allow access to ancient times when our ancestors, we are told, spoke to God face–to–face. This interaction took place supposedly in the languages in which we receive the literary account of the interaction. This thesis aims to reconnect our modern languages to Targum Aramaic. With the use of two complementary linguistic methods, that of text–linguistics (Harald Weinrich) and the functional sentence perspective of the Prague school (FSP), it seeks to answer key questions about Aramaic syntax and word order.

In Targum 1Samuel, the text examined here, connection with the reader is established through a flow of *narrative,* which represents the sequence of events as they happened, which is sometimes substituted with *comment.* This comment represents the narrator's notes, clarifications, or it simply tells or re–tells the events in the form of a report rather than narrative. These authorial interventions accompany the narration. Weinrich described these two realities, and connected them with morphological tenses in modern languages, which use tenses like past simple our past perfect for narrative, but comment by employing present, present perfect, and future. Comment and narrative tenses are exhibited by the indirect speech of narrative genre in most modern languages.

The Aramaic and the Biblical Hebrew underlying 1Samuel, being Semitic Languages, do not display that morphological diversity in terms of tense; consequently, modern readers have tended to read them simply as narrative, ignoring comment. This is evident in most translations and interpretations of these texts into modern languages. Where indirect speech occurs in either Aramaic or Hebrew, such translations and interpretations assume that the text merely *narrates*, and accordingly they restrict themselves to using past simple and continuous, and past perfect and continuous tenses, and their equivalents in modern languages.

This thesis ascertains that *comment* in Targum 1Samuel is closely bound up with word order and the limited number of tenses in Aramaic. Interpreting these together gives us back our narrator and his notes, clarifications, or reports.

Contents

Abbreviations

adv	Adverb
apod	Apodosis
c	Conjunction
CP	Casus pendens
impv	Imperative
int	interrogative pronoun
la	Aramaic Negation
MS	Macro-syntactic Sign
NC	Nominal Clause
obj	grammatical object
part	participle
prot	Protasis
qet	qetal
r	Rheme
t	Theme
temp	Temporal Adverbial Complement
trans	translator
subj	grammatical subject
wa	wayyiqtol
wimpv	w-Imperative
wpart	w–Participle
wq	wqatal
wqet	wqetal
wy	wyiqtol
y	yiqtol
xy	xyiqtol
xq	xqatal
xqet	xqetal
x	Any element of a clause, except conjunction

Glossary of Terms

communicative dynamism (CD): communication is dynamic phenomenon which supposes a variation in the way each element of the sentence contributes to 'the development of communication', or to the transmission of information. The degree to which element contributes is determined by observing the relation between three factors: linear modification, contextual and semantic factors

linear modification: the position of the element in the sentence influences the degree of CD. In English, the first position in the sentence has usually the least CD, which increases as we are closer to the end.

contextual factor: it marks the dependence or independence of an element: if the element was repeated is considered context dependent (hence a low CD); if by contrast, the element is context independent (or appears the first time in the text), it has highest CD or it is said to be the most dynamic.

semantic factor: it refers to instances where the verb is no longer the element with the highest CD because of the 'competitors' – these may be any complement, adverbial elements, and subject which is context independent.

specification (Sp) and **Setting** (Set): these regard the qualities that the competitors of the verb for CD may have. If the elements are **context independent** they are considered **specification** (and they become rheme); in the case where there are two new elements the second is called further specification (Fsp, which is different from FSP the abbreviation of the method); if by contrast, they are **context dependent** the become **setting**, and do not qualify to be competitors with the verb.

theme (th) **-** the element with the least degree of CD in the sentence

theme (rh) – the element with the highest degree of CD in the sentence

transition (tr) – it normally refers to the verb which acts as 'boundary' between theme and rheme

linguistic attitude the division of tenses according to narrative and comment

prominence or *relievo* the division of tenses according to foreground and background.

linguistic perspective the division of tenses according to retrospect, zero degree, anticipation

tense looking back at the results of Weinrich syntax, the term relates a linguistic sign or a morphological form of a verb which can be assigned in a specific place in Weinrich's grid; for example: present is comment, foreground, zero degree; present perfect is comment, retrospect (possibly foreground if one accepts that present perfect continuous is his equivalent background).

prelude following Weinrich proposal of the narrative and comment frames, prelude represents the initial sentence or for us the initial tense form in an episode

verbal construct in Aramaic, any sentence with a morphological verb

0   Introduction

The Latin framework inherited from medieval times used to access to the written word of the Bible has provided us with a huge amount of data and interpretative keys. Nevertheless, there is still a gap between modern Linguistics and Biblical Studies. Perusing Giorgio Graffi's book '200 Years of Syntax: A Critical Survey', one can get acquainted with the variety of Linguistic Schools, with their own founding fathers, disputes, agendas, and even revolutions.

As a Biblical scholar, it is a difficult decision to choose the right approach. Some have already done it: Wolfgang Richter and Hubert Irsliger follow the research of L. Tesnière (along with W. Gross, and R. Bartelmus); Alviero Niccacci that of Harald Weinrich; Tarsee Li has chosen the grammaticalization approach; and Renaud Kuty – Universal Grammar. Others are people coming from Linguistics to help with translation of the Bible (Summer Institute of Linguistics) as they are engaging with communities of faith which are interested in propagating the teachings of the Bible worldwide.

0.1   General approaches and objectives

This thesis has made the choice of harvesting the theoretical and practical results of two linguistic fields, Harald Weinrich's text–linguistics and the functional sentence perspective of Prague School (FSP). Its aim is to provide an outline of the Syntax of the verb in the Aramaic of Targum Jonathan, with a focus on 1Samuel. Also, this research draws on Alviero Niccacci's experience of reading Biblical Hebrew with the same text–linguistic approach.

0.1.1   Poststructuralism

These two approaches provide a wealth of material and knowledge enough to answer most of the questions posed by TA. However, there are particular points in Semitic languages which require going outside the comfort zone of structuralism towards poststructuralism. The limitations of the syntactical instruments provided by structuralism based on modern languages (English, German, and Romance languages

are the languages Weinrich analyses) are evident when applied to Targum Aramaic. Probably the most limited one is that of the understanding of the linguistic sign.

Looking at the number of tenses these languages display, we see that some work with more (English and Romance languages), other work with less (German and TA); nevertheless, the message gets across from the speaker/writer to the audience. This means that, despite the fact that their morphological values are not translatable, the functions supposed by them are there as the exchange of information is possible.

TA has the lowest number of tenses among them and we are faced with the question of how one *observes* the variety of meanings/functions that the other languages do convey through tense? The question ultimately is not about finding correspondences between languages using a common framework (in our case Weinrich's description) but on what objective evidence we may suppose that correspondence, besides the mere meaning that sentences convey through succession?

This requires a two-step approach: (1) step one explores Weinrich's proposal of tenses to the fullest to understand the functions that language has; (2) when that image of the tense–function correlation is clear, we look at the way in which is applicable to TA. We assume in this endeavour that *all* functions in language proposed by Weinrich are objectively identifiable in TA. This thesis follows these two steps: the first chapter looks at clarifying and putting into the wider context Weinrich's work on tense; chapters 2-4 propose ways of reading those tense values and functions into Targum Aramaic forms of: wqetal (waw-perfect), wparticiple (waw-participle), xqetal (x proposed element with perfect tense), xparticiple (x proposed element with participle) and xyiqtul (x proposed element with imperfect tense). Chapter 5 contains a brief summarising conclusion and a proposal for future research.

It may be already evident that this research is a process of *discovery* rather than of *exposition* of the functions that the above sentences have. The exercise of these processes in the course of this research is equilibrated: in the case of the wqetal and wparticiple forms (Chapter 2 and 3), I answer most of the questions through exposition as their functions are roughly equivalent to those of English simple past

tense and past tense continuous, respectively; in the case of xqetal and xparticiple,[1] the process of discovery is the only method of sorting through the various functions in Weinrich's method left to be filled by a grammatical form.

In the process of this discovery, one realises that there is a limitation within the structuralism current – that of the linguistic sign. Since its proposition by Ferdinand de Saussure, the father of Structuralism, linguists have been busy to expand on the line of the *visible linguistic signs*. They examine what the morphological forms do in the wider context of the relations with each other.

However, there is a problem when those linguistic signs simply do not exist: there is no equivalent morphological form in TA for the English *present perfect* or a *past perfect* (or other simple morphological equivalents) which would cover the meaning of these forms in the way (Weinrich says) the Italian *passato prossimo* and *trapassato* do, respectively. So when the linguistic explanations needs to go into developing a TA syntactical proposal with fewer linguistic signs, then one needs also to ask about the *invisible* linguistic signs that TA may employ to accomplish this. To be clear the overt linguistic sign in TA is made up of the combination of tense and word order.

From the methodological perspective, structuralism is more or a less at a loss regarding the *invisible* linguistic signs or they refer to them in a different way.[2] So, we resort to a number of concepts and relations of Jacques Derrida to *supplement* the meaning of the overt linguistic sign. One of them is that of the hidden *traces* or those objective elements which contribute to the linguistic sign in creating meaning when and if they occur – their presence or absence instructs about the meaning of the same *ambiguous linguistic sign*. A second one is that of *symptom* which designates that strange/out of the ordinary element whose occurrence in one example, if considered

---

[1] The xyiqtul form has only a 5 occurrences. The Aramaic text of 1Samuel follows the critical edition of Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic: Volume II - The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959).

[2] Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson observe the correlations of transitivity with the opposition foreground/background in language which may be interpreted as invisible linguistic signs. They demonstrate that higher and lower transitivity corresponds to foreground and background tenses. For example, if the action is punctual, affirmative, completed (telic) and supposes at least 2 participants than this adds up to be a foreground form; if the opposite occurs (non-punctual, negative, incomplete/atelic, and has 1 participant) that it is more likely to be a background form. cf P. J. Hopper and S. A. Thompson, 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', *Language* 56, No. 2 (1980). All these elements were not ever included as proper linguistic signs which influence the interpretation of the open morphological forms.

carefully, offers an alternative view to the normal interpretation. Effectively, the odd occurrence does not impeach on the rule but it changes it into a more inclusive one. The former term comes into discussion with the evaluation of the highly ambiguous function of xqetal (cf the explanations below and Chapter 4); the latter is mostly used in reading difficult cases of the verb הוה in Chapter 2.

0.1.2 Concepts derived from Niccacci's work

A modern analysis of Targum Aramaic requires updates, adaptations and even bringing new concepts within the dual framework that we have proposed. We have already set out some of them in the discussion above. Other elements rely on Niccacci's work on BH, like the concept of prelude or the form והוה understood as macro-syntactic sign. Not all his suppositions about BH and implicitly about TA are upheld. The opinions diverge with regards to the meaning of the word order; also, the direct speech and indirect speech are *not* the same thing as Weinrich's comment[3] and narrative, respectively, as Niccacci suggests. These divergences of methodology between this thesis and the work of Niccacci derive mostly from reading more literally various significant terms and relations in Weinrich's *Tempus*.

0.1.3 Concepts derived from literary critics: temporal metaphor, text, episode, and prelude

As 1Samuel is predominantly a narrative of events in a relative chronologic manner, the methodology is extended to include research of literary critics interested in the same genre, mainly Gerard Genette and Julia Kristeva. They both look at the same corpus of evidence, the literary work of Marcel Proust. While still being within the structuralist current, Genette is interested in the way Proust plays with narrative time to create different types of chronologies, zig-zag uses of the temporal line, expand and reduce the time allocated to one story.

Kristeva, on the other hand, offers a poststructuralist view: her interest seeks to engage with the so-called temporal metaphor and temporal metamorphosis as manners of conveying the temporal passage. I considered her contribution a way of

---

[3] Niccacci uses for what we call Weinrich's *comment* the term 'discourse' cf A. Niccacci and W. G. E. Watson [tr], *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, JSOTSS 86, 1990) 19-20. This term is associated with the terms *direct* and *indirect discourse*, which can be a source of confusion. The term *comment* avoids this and represents a linguistic calque of the Italian and French translation with '*commento*' and '*comentaire*' of the German '*Besprechen*'.

integrating into the analysis of the 1Samuel narrative the proposal of Weinrich's Tempus-Metaphorik. He remarks that the phenomena observed in language (of narrative/comment foreground or narrative/comment background) and their change from one to another (from narrative foreground to comment foreground, for example) is possible through specific combinations of tenses. Ultimately, based on Weinrich and Kristeva's argumentation, we will argue that narrative forms work together to create the time passage or the advancement of the plot. This is because every sequence of two narrative forms (in TA these are wqetal and wparticiple) create one metaphor. The succession of these metaphors begets the narrative time.

The discussion of time passage leads towards considering the limits within which one can go about evaluating it. 'Limits' refers here to the place where the text begins and ends and how one goes about categorising what is in-between. In this context, one needs to look at the meaning of text – what makes a text a text?

Niccacci proposed calling the beginning of a text *prelude* or that section of a text which, for the benefit of the reader, makes the introductions of places, characters, circumstances of the events about to be narrated. Obviously, prelude refers to a stretch of an episode. The term 'episode', however, is never properly developed in Niccacci's work so we are not able to say when that stretch of text is a prelude at the beginning of an episode or just circumstances added as the story progresses – as one is not sure where it starts, the term prelude becomes also diluted. The questions to which we seek an answer is that of how one establishes where one *text*/*episode*/*panel* (these are key terms in this thesis) begins and ends. We tackle these questions of *episode* and *panel* (it takes at least two of them to form an episode) starting from explaining 'what is text?', with the aim of providing a division of episodes in Targum 1Samuel. This in turn allows for the category of prelude to come to fore more clearly.

A second question in connection with the limits of text is that of how one differentiates within a text between its different parts. William Labov and Joshua Waletzky's socio-linguistic research proposed a delimitation of text from *orientation* (Niccacci's prelude) to coda (the end of a text). This in built on the supposition that the sentence or the tense (with their ability of containing both the predicate and the personal suffix suggesting the subject) have two functions. The first function is the

evaluative function which is traditionally discussed by all grammars under the tense/aspect. The second function is the *referential* one, which says something about the place within the narrative text. The discussion of *prelude* is thus, a discussion about referentiality.

We have outlined some of the main questions and key words of this work and continue with a presentation of its plan and aimed results.

0.2 The plan of this thesis

0.2.1 Chapter 1 – Methodology

The first chapter looks at the main methodological foundations of our analysis of the syntax of Targum Aramaic of 1Samuel. It gives a general presentation of the main theoretical points of our two linguistic methods, based on Jan Firbas' account of FSP (section 1.2) and Weinrich's text-linguistic account (1.3). The section 1.4 looks at the place of Weinrich's research in the wider context of linguistics as a *pragmatic* discussion of language, i.e. it is concerned with the relations that language supposes between speaker/writer and listener/reader. Furthermore, it explains that Weinrich's method does not associate tense with time.

Two further problems are addressed. The first is that of expanding and amplifying the methodological basis of Weinrich's work (cf section 1.5). Particularly, we look at his opposition between foreground and background as described by the 'fore-runners', Sergei Karcevski and Roman Jakobson. They represent the synthesis of ideas present in the Prague School and Russian Formalism about the opposition perfectives-imperfectives (marked or unmarked, respectively) verbs. Labov and Waletzky's discourse on narrative presents two important terms for our syntactical explanation, *temporal juncture* and *orientation* (*prelude*). This account continues with the so-called *American strand* of the foreground/background opposition, mainly represented by Paul Hopper, Hellen Dry, and Tanya Reinhart. The section closes with another conclusion outlining the similarities between the two strands (Weinrich and the American one) and raising the question of the 'illusion of the temporal movement', a term which names the impression that these witnesses of foregrounding (mostly Dry and then Reinhart) have with regard to the text they analyse.

The next section (1.6) is concerned with clarifying the basic terminology and relations which are going to be used most in the thesis. It discusses the rapport between Weinrich and the American strand on the matter of the foreground/background opposition (1.6.1). As Weinrich seems to make a stable connection between tense (as a linguistic sign) and the explanations of individual tenses, we exemplify how this works with a critical discussion of Reinhart's article (1.6.1). As Weinrich's vocabulary supposes specific meanings, part 1.6.2 seeks to

clarify its limits. Also, it will be evident that while the research on foreground/background is extensive (cf Hopper, Dry, and Reinhart), there is little to find in the literature about the other major opposition of narrative/comment apart from Weinrich's work.

The last part of this section discusses the 'terms and conditions' of Weinrich's methodology (1.6.4) by rehearsing the concepts and relations presented until that point. Its aim is to connect them with the topic of the last section (1.7) which discusses the meaning of the terms *text*, *episode*, *panel*, and *prelude*. The second last part of this section (1.7.3) examines the time passage in narrative based on Genette and Kristeva's work. The chapter closes with a brief exposition of the way in which the narrative forms of TA (that is wqetal and wparticiple only) contribute to the passage of time in narrative or to the advancement of the plot towards its ending.

0.2.2   Chapter 2 – wqetal forms

The second chapter discusses the Aramaic verbal construct of wqetal as the foreground narrative, according to Weinrich's methodology.

It begins with a model FSP analysis of 1Samuel 31 (section 2.1) outlining some of the basic principles presented at the beginning of the first chapter. This continues with an exposition on prelude wqetal (2.2.1) and its role in the sequence of episodes in the Targum 1Samuel – that of indicating the temporal continuity between the end of one episode and the beginning of the next; the other prelude forms lack this ability (cf section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3).

The remaining of the second chapter analyses the wqetal narrative in its four types: normal narrative (section 2.3.1), coordinate wqetal (following Lavob&Waletzky, section 2.3.2), non-sequential wqetal (2.3.3), and hendiadic wqetal (following Paul Hopper, section 2.3.4). The wqetal forms of the verb *to be* (והוה) receives a separate treatment in section 2.3.5. Wqetal is the *foreground* narrative form in TA.

0.2.3   Chapter 3 – wparticiple forms

The third chapter looks at wparticiple as the *background* narrative. In our analysis, wqetal and wparticiple represent the narrative word order in Aramaic which is verb-first in the sentence (Verb-Subject-Object) – I also call this the 'narrative word order'

or the *second word order*.[4] This chapter is divided into three main sections with the purpose of proving that the wparticiple is inherently a narrative form. Similarly to wqetal but keeping in with its background feature, wparticiple functions in temporally order sequences (3.1.1), it contains non-sequential/incomplete information (3.1.2 and 3.1.3), and it occurs in hendiadic pairs (3.1.4). Analysis of single occurrences of wparticiple is the topic of the second section which orders them according to their repetitive (3.2.1) and durative (3.2.2) properties; wparticiple forms which continue an prelude form in the episode are discussed in section 3.2.3.

The conclusion of Chapter 3 clarifies what narrative background means for Weinrich and how his methodology changes the discussion of wparticiple according to their routine or durative aspects, to that of describing their text-linguistic functions (3.3.1) of: description, introducing characters and circumstances, and as prelude and end-of-episode wparticiple. A short section (3.4) is dedicated to discussing the episode 2:12-17, a text which predominantly is composed of wparticiple − or a predominantly 'background' episode.

0.2.4   Chapter 4 – xqetal, xparticiple and the (few) xyiqtul forms

The x-verb or the first word order (SVO or sometimes OVS)[5] is represented by xqetal, xparticiple and xyiqtul and is analysed in the fourth chapter. First, we discuss the existence of the *first word order* and outline the main questions that the chapter aims to answer. These concern the connection between word-order and the way they fit with Weinrich's text-linguistic proposal with its three dimensions: linguistic attitude (comment/narrative); *relievo* or prominence (foreground and background), and linguistic perspective (zero degree, retrospection, and anticipation). To take the above examples, wqetal and wparticiple are both zero degree, both narrative, and foreground and background, respectively. The *comment* combinations among these three linguistic dimensions are represented by the x-verb sentences; the *narrative* combinations are represented by verb-x sentences.

---

[4] The TA *second word order* and *first word order* are associations made with Weinrich's narrative and comment tenses, respectively. He calls the Group tense I comment and Group tense II narrative cf H. Weinrich, *Tempus. Le funzioni dei tempi nel testo* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1978), 24.

[5] The element 'x;' represents any other morphological form, except conjunction, which occupies the first position in the sentence. The qetal and yiqtul represent the perfect and imperfect morphological values of the classic Aramaic grammars. The notation of the BH morphological forms follows that of Alviero Niccacci: w represents the letter waw (the conjunction in both languages); wayyiqtol (w + yiqtol narrative – or waw-imperfect); wqatal (w+qatal or waw+perfect).

The fourth chapter contains an analysis of:

- (i) xqetal contrast as variation from narrative wqetal;
- (ii) xqetal as comment retrospective information;
- (iii) xqetal as comment zero degree – it is divided into two parts. While the first presents the theoretical challenges and possibilities of this proposal, the second presents the analysis of examples;
- (iv) xparticiple as background form of comment;
- a short discussion of the few occurrences of (v) xyiqtul.

This analysis is supported by a lengthy theoretical introduction in sections 4.1 and 4.2 and conclusion in 4.4.

0.2.5   Chapter 5 – conclusions

The thesis closes with a brief general conclusion which stresses again the significance of delimiting the comment forms in indirect speech and presents further avenues for research on this matter.[6]

---

[6] This thesis does **not** engage the topics of **subordination**, **negation**, and **nominal sentence** (without verb). All translations belong to me, if there is no note to suggest the otherwise. The results of this research are limited to the text under analysis - the **indirect speech** of Targum 1Samuel.

0.3   Results of this thesis

This thesis makes the case for two major points. The first one is that Weinrich's text-linguistics is a particularly useful tool for research. This usefulness derives from the coherence that one is able to achieve when tackling question of syntax. The combination of tense and word order in Aramaic have delicate meanings which are not only dependent on the linguistic sign alone, but also need to be receptive to pressures from the speaker/writer in communication. Besides Émile Benveniste, Weinrich is one of the few linguists who understands this pressure and introduced it in his method with the difference between the comment type of communication (more involved and stressed about or between a first and a second person) and the narrative type of communication (relaxed, in state of distention about a third person). They are manners of speech placed in the hand of the speaker/writer which are indicative of his or her state of tension about the content of communication. While this is not explicitly stated by Weinrich, it is evident from this research that the speaker/writer is free to choose either of them in his or her communication in the direct speech or indirect speech.

This leads us to the second point of the delicate meanings that TA combinations of tense and word order have. The results of the analysis[7] of the wqetal and wparticiple (bearing the 'narrative word order' or second word order – VSO) show them to be roughly equivalent with the English past simple and past continuous, respectively. This correspondence is argued based on their function and the impact that they have on the text. They advance or stall the progress of the story, though wqetal does more of the first than that of the second, while wparticiple does the opposite.

With the minor exception of xqetal of contrast and variation, those forms of the first word order (mostly SVO but also OVS) reflect a comment linguistic attitude. Based on its uses, the xqetal form is the most ambiguous form of all being able to convey in specific instances the following functions. We have already mentioned the first function of (i) narrative contrast, which makes these xqetal on a par as function with wqetal, as foreground narrative.

---

[7] Due to the higher number of occurrences, the analysis of wqetal is restricted to the ten texts listed in the introduction of section 2.3. The analysis of the other verbal forms (wparticiple, xqetal, xparticiple, and xyiqtul) is based on all their occurrences in in indirect speech passages, with the exclusion of subordination and direct speech.

The second one is that of (ii) comment retrospective. In this function, the xqetal indicates that the narrative sequence of wqetal is interrupted to introduce a detail, a circumstance or other elements contributing to the overall understanding of the story. This change in TA is equivalent in English to the change from past simple (wqetal) to present perfect (xqetal comment retrospective). Though we are still reading a text in indirect speech, the narrator replaces the detached tone of narrative with a comment involved one, with the aim of inducing a connection between the narrator/audience and the event expressed.

The (iii) comment zero degree function is the third and the rarest occurrence of this type of xqetal, as only 5 out of 42 episodes of 1Samuel contain it. The zero degree[8] narrative status is validated by the presence of a (iv) xparticiple form. The xqetal zero degree supposes that within the indirect speech, the narrator suspends narrative to introduce a comment type of message which is not presented as retrospective (as it happens in the preceding case), but as a zero degree comment in line with the other zero degree form of xparticiple. The zero degree comment function of xqetal verifies only when an xparticiple precedes or follows it. The xparticiple has only one function of comment zero degree, so it acts as a marker of zero degree for xqetal.

The difference between these xqetal and xparticiple forms is that former is the foreground and while the latter is the background in the comment zero degree communication. The impact of this couple on the usual narrative wqetal sequence is similar to replacing the English past simple of narrative with a present tense (xqetal comment zero degree) and a present tense continuous (xparticiple comment zero degree).

The remaining form of (v) xyiqtul has only three occurrences in Targum 1Samuel (19:24d; 1:7a; 2:19a) in which its functions as comment background, in a very similar way with (iv) xparticiple. The other two yiqtul combinations (1:12d conjunction–yiqtul and 2:15a negation-yiqtul)[9] seem to be of the narrative anticipation kind (cf section 4.3.7), because they are of the second word order (VSO) type.

---

[8] The *zero degree* (in narrative or in comment) corresponds to the lack of retrospection and anticipation. The narrative and comment communication proceed without any reference to a 'pre-information' or a 'post-information' with regards to the moment when the tense occurs in the text.
[9] The negation and conjunction do not count as element x.

1   Chapter 1 – Description of methodology: Functional sentence perspective, Harald Weinrich, and the narrative text

1.1   Text–linguistics and Functional Sentence Perspective

The Targum of 1Samuel is a word–for–word translation of the Masoretic Hebrew text. The grammatical system underlying the Biblical Hebrew (BH) and Targum Aramaic (TA) is not significantly different. This is based on the fact that word order rarely varies in Targum in comparison with MT original. Moreover, there seems to be an almost mechanical rendering of the BH wayyiqtol with TA wqetal, of wqatal with wparticiple, of qatal with qetal, etc.

In Targum Aramaic, Michael Shephard showed that a text–linguistic reading of Aramaic is possible through his analysis of Aramaic texts found in the Hebrew Bible. He uses a reading which combines text–linguistics and 'distributional analysis'.[10] A later reading of the same text is that of Paolo Messina's MA thesis which keeps very close to the way Alviero Niccacci has interpreted both Weinrich's terminology and how that interpretation was applied to the BH text.[11]

From the perspective of the closeness in tense and word order, the analysis of TA is able to borrow with advantage from its more researched sister language, Biblical Hebrew. This chapter looks at Weinrich's methodology having also in view its application to BH by Alviero Niccacci. The main questions are 'what are Weinrich suppositions about language?. Furthermore, it aims to recuperate one important element of Weinrich's methodology which, I believe, was neglected in the application of Niccacci's Syntax, the linguistic attitude of comment, and give it an equal standing with its counterpart which is narrative. This is not narrative and comment as genres, but as *modes* of communications, as understood by Weinrich. Also, the distinction narrative/comment is not the same as that between indirect and direct speech.

---

[10] M. B. Shepherd, *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic: a Distributional Approach* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008). This thesis will not present a review of the literature of syntax of TA. For a *status quaestionis* in the field cf Shepherd, 2008, 1–23 (for TA syntax) and 24–53 (text–linguistics and Biblical Hebrew); L. Tarsee, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: An Explanation in the Context of Grammaticalization* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 7–8; and R. J. Kuty, *Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 5–14.

[11] P. Messina, 'Il sistema verbale dell'Aramaico Biblico: Un approccio linguistico–testuale', in Ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ, ed. G. Geiger and M. Pazzini (Milano/Jerusalem: Edizioni Terra Santa, Franciscan Printing Press, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum–Analecta 78, 2011).

Niccacci seems to believe that narrative and comment opposition correspond to indirect and direct speech distinction. The association corresponds to the reality in that narrative tends to be more present in indirect speech, while comment in indirect speech. However, Weinrich never makes that assumption. By contrast, narrative and comment tenses are present both in direct speech and indirect speech. The difference between the two pairs is similar to that between modes of communication (narrative/comment) and forms of communication (indirect/direct speech). Both forms can hold either of the two modes of communications. It is true that comment and narrative are associated more with direct and indirect speech respectively, but this association does not mean causation of the type 'because it is in direct speech this tense is a comment one'.

One of the main questions of the thesis is of 'how is Weinrich's comment reflected in Targum Aramaic as opposed to narrative'. Putting this question in the context of the distribution of tenses in English, the questions is 'does Targum Aramaic display a similar opposition like that of English past simple/past perfect, as narrative tenses, on the one side, and present and present perfect, as comment tenses, on the other?'. In order to answer this question we need to make clear the definitions of Weinrich for comment and narrative, and then show how they are different from all the others: the connection that he established between the tenses discuses (and word order for the case of German, for example) and their explanations. This is a fixed relation, which means that one tense is going to represent one meaning no matter the place where it is found, direct speech or indirect speech.

This fix relation between sign and meaning (for example the French passé simple is always narrative, zero degree, foreground tense), is crucial in Semitic languages for a reason already pointed out by Niccacci, arbitrariness in interpreting BH verbal forms. During an academic exchange of ideas with E. Talstra[12] on W. Schneider's *Grammatik*[13] which explained BH syntax using Weinrich's proposal, Niccacci realises its potential. He also observes that the development of Schneider was not complete.[14] Being sceptical of the explanations provided by the classical frameworks, Niccacci takes it upon himself

---

[12] E. Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible I: Elements of a Theory', *Biblica et Orientalia* 35 (1978) and E. Talstra, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible II: Syntax and Semantics', *Biblica et Orientalia* 39 (1982).

[13] W. J. Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (München: Claudius–Verlag, 1974).

[14] A. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum–Analecta 23, 1986), 6.

to draw a new proposal for Biblical Hebrew syntax. He reasons that it is a reality that some exegetes and translators interpret tenses 'rather arbitrarily according to their interpretation and sensibility'. For example, *wayyiqtol* is translated with all finite tenses in modern languages.[15]

Niccacci's goal is to teach Hebrew Syntax to his students in a modern way and to engage with scholars within the disciplines of Old Testament and Judaic Studies. These two audiences would be mostly unaware of the intricate theoretical background of textual linguistics, general linguistics and literary critical analysis, to name just a few of the disciplines involved in his research. This is probably why little is mentioned in his Syntax about Linguistics/ He also declares: 'I am more and more aware that, in the end, the syntactical norms really necessary for analysing the texts are reducible to a few'.[16] One can argue that he intentionally limits himself to referring to Harald Weinrich as his main source. He mentions only in passing scholars prominent in discourse analysis (T. Givón, P. Hopper, R. E. Longacre, R. S. Tomlin), but this only when engaging with M. Eskhult's research on verbal aspect in Biblical Hebrew.[17] This is to show that he was concerned with Hebrew syntax and how to explain it as plainly as possible, and less with Linguistic debates.

In this context, one can see clearer the necessity of another the other major aim of this thesis which is to expand the theoretical discussion of Weinrich and of those who work within the same linguistic parameters. In light of the newer research on the foreground/background opposition of Paul Hopper, Hellen Dry and Tanya Reinhart, a clarification and update of methodology are in order.

Passing to our second linguistic approach, Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) was born within the linguistic School of Prague. The approach looks at how the information is distributed within the sentence and how the contextual factor, the semantic factor, and linear modification are influencing the word order. J. Firbas summarized the results of this research undertaken since the beginnings of this school in the 1930s into a single

---

[15] Niccacci, 1986, 5.

[16] A. Niccacci, *Lettura sintattica della prosa ebraico–biblica* (Jerusalem: FPP, 1991), v.

[17] Niccacci, 1991, 34–41; M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Uppsala/Stockholm: Uppsala University, 1990). Other linguists are referred to only to clarify points of grammar for his Italian readers (L. Renzi, M. Dardano, B. Bagioli, V. Deon, P. Tekavčić).

volume (Firbas, 1992).[18] He illustrated his points with real life texts (Agatha Christie, J. Galsworthy, K. Mansfield, and New Testament) and different languages (NT Greek, English, Czech, French, and German).

A hint as to the direction of FSP was the introductory word of Niccacci in his Syntax, who mentions in passing these syntactic pairs (subject/predicate; topic/comment, etc.): 'By definition, the 'subject' is the topic spoken about (usually a person or animate being) and the 'predicate' is what is said about the subject. Modern linguists term these two components of the clause 'topic' and 'comment' or 'reference' and 'predication' or 'theme' and 'rheme'.'[19] Although all these three pairs are all part of the common vocabulary (except rheme), they have a specific meaning in the case of a linguistic argument, not obvious to non–specialists in the field. They are part of a history of linguistics and have been used for a long time to describe the sentence, as Niccacci acknowledges. The terms *theme* and *rheme* return sporadically in his writings with no clear statement to which functional school he adheres to (Prague School, Halliday, etc.).

From this perspective too, Niccacci's work needs further clarifications of method and expanding of its theoretical foundations. His method is not built to explain the regime of the noun sentences (no verb present), the syntax of the infinitive, and the place of the negation. Gregor Geiger's new course of BH Syntax (for the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum) addresses some of these challenges and the argument of theme–rheme resurfaced in a more clear way.[20]

Fusing FSP with text linguistics is not an original idea *per se*. From both schools there have been calls for scholars to employ them together, though only few methodological discussions took place. One of them is the article of Robert de Beaugrande (a prominent text–linguist) who describes the methodological basis of what he calls *functional text perspective*. The other is the article of Frantisek Daneš who argues that the Prague School is one of the main sources of text–linguistics.[21]

---

[18] J. Firbas, *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992). His publications on the matter go back to the 1950s: J. Firbas, 'Some Thoughts on the Function of Word Order in Old English and Modern English', *SMFPUB* A5 (1957).
[19] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 29.
[20] Gregor Geiger, *Hebrew A+B: Academic Year 2012–2013* (2012 [academic course]).
[21] R. de Beaugrande, 'The Heritage of Functional Sentence Perspective from the Standpoint of Text Linguistics', *Linguistica Pragensia* 34/1–2 (1992). F. Daneš, 'Prague School Functionalism as a Precursor of Text Linguistics', in *L'Ecole de Prague: l'apport epistemologique*, ed. M. Mahmoudian and P. Sériot (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1994)**.**

How it is that FSP is practically going to help Biblical Scholarship? To begin with, it will bring into the field of Biblical Languages the spirit of the Prague Linguistic Circle. For the past 90 years these scholars have produced a significant amount of research on phonetics, morphology, and syntax.[22] The Prague School has been stimulating debates in Western linguistics, as the works of its prominent like Roman Jakobson, Rene Wellek, and Jan Firbas had a remarkable impact in the field. They also inspired many modern linguists such as M.A.K. Halliday, J. Sinclair, and methods like Corpus linguistics, and text–linguistics.

My option for the Prague School is based on two factors. First, the Prague School has had a long history and is able to provide a portfolio of research which looks at language from a global perspective, taking into account all levels of the language (from phonetics to text and intonation). Second, the development of FSP has produced a minute description of language with a delicate vocabulary, well developed argumentation, and verifiable results (cf. Firbas' comparison of NT translations in English).[23]

Our discussion of tense in the narrative genre requires that we pay attention to one particular item in the analysis of tense, the referential function. William Labov and Joshua Waletzky argue that each tense has an evaluative function (signalled by the grammatical form) and referential function which is dependent on the place of one occurrence of one tense in the story. This is to say that the position in the story of a particular tense (in orientation/beginning, complication, evaluation, resolution, or in coda) influences its interpretation. Alviero Niccacci builds on the referential function of tense when he discusses the prelude forms in Biblical Hebrew.

Partly related to the argument of the referential function is also the topic of time passage in narrative. As 1Samuel is an extensive piece of narrative, the analysis of its verbal forms is interested in establishing how each form contributes to the narrative time passage or to the advancement of the plot. On the one hand, there is the general sequence of episodes which shows which circumstances of events the narrator considers to be worthy of relating because they are included in the book. 1Samuel includes the episode of Saul's election for example, but he does not make an episode to tell more

---

[22] The best place to find the old and the new research on Prague School is their academic journal, whose entire archive is accessible at http://sas.ujc.cas.cz/archiv.php?lang=en, (from 1935).

[23] Firbas, 'Some Thoughts on the Function of Word Order in Old English and Modern English', 1957, 72–100.

about his extended family (besides his two daughters and Jonathan) of which we hear in the genealogy of the house of Saul (1Chronicles 9:35–44). On the other hand, we have the development of the plot within the episode itself. Both these items will be developed in the Chapter 2.

The theoretical foundation of discussing time passage within 1Samuel as a whole and within specific episodes draws on the argument of prelude in Niccacci and the Labov–Waletzky theory of the referential function. Literary critics have an important contribution to critiquing time passage. Gerard Genette provides a framework of understating the different shapes that narrative time may take in it development (ellipsis, summary, scene, pause). Julia Kristeva's argument of the temporal metaphor felicitously completes Weinrich's account of Tempus–Metaphorik. Together they answer the question of why forms like TA wqetal (and rarely wparticiple) advance the narrative time.

The material in Chapter 1 contains a survey the terminology and core explanations of these two linguistics strands, Prague School and Weinrich's textual linguistics (sections 2 and 3 respectively). After some general notes on tense in Biblical Hebrew (section 4), I will introduce the work on foreground/background done by the American strand of text–linguistics or of those which in the same way as Weinrich analyse tense in its discourse function (section 5). The chapter closes with the limits of Weinrich's method and vocabulary (section 6) and discusses three important terms for the analysis of the narrative text of 1Samuel (section 7): text, episode, and time.

1.2 Functional Sentence Perspective

Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) is a scholarly method of interpreting the syntax of the sentence which has been developed within Prague Linguistic Circle. Its beginnings go back to the most prominent scholars of the Circle, Vilém Mathesius, J. Vachek, and F. Daneš. Its key concept is communicative dynamism.[24] The results of its development have been collected and presented by Jan Firbas. The FSP looks at what information we already have versus the information to be given in the text and pinpoints 'the immediately relevant verbal and situational context'.[25]

The present outline contains an overview of the contribution to syntax of the Prague School, starting from the three main factors which influence CD: contextual factor, semantic factor, and the linear modification. There is one context factor, one semantic factor, and one linear modification; each influencing the distribution of CD in its own way. Two scales of describing these factors and their arrangement within the sentence are employed: the scale of presentation (Pr–scale) and that of quality (Q–scale). As the verb is the main interest in our story, I will state from outset that the verb is considered a non–theme part of the sentence and is called 'transition', indicating its boundary function between theme and rheme. In this particular section, the main concern is to familiarise the reader with these fundamental terms of Prague School regarding sentence.

1.2.1 Communicative dynamism

The first key concept is communicative dynamism (CD), which, according to Firbas, means that 'linguistic communication is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon. By CD I understand a property of communication, displayed in the course of the development of the information to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development'.[26]

---

[24] Firbas, 1992, xii; in a previous article Firbas asserts that Mathesius came to the concept of functional sentence perspective under the influence of H. Weil and A. D. Scaglione[tr], *The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with that of the Modern Languages* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1844/1978) cf J. Firbas, 'From Comparative Word–order Studies', *BSE* 4 (1964), 111.

[25] Firbas, 1992, 22.

[26] J. Firbas, 'On the Interplay of Prosodic and Non–Prosodic Means of FSP', in *The Prague school of Linguistics and Language Teaching*, ed. V. Fried (London: OUP, 1972), 78.

Each element of the clause ('element is used in a broad sense'[27]) contributes more or less to the act of conveying information. Elements which contribute more are said to be more dynamic than others. In the analysed passages[28] the finite verbs convey 'irretrievable information' (meaning that they are the only ones bearing that specific information) and are said to be the most dynamic; in addition, they 'complete' or 'consummate' the communication.[29]

Other elements may perform this task and they are called 'competitors of the finite verb in the dynamics of communication'. This shift in dynamism is seen as a preclusion process as 'they [the competitors] prevent it from becoming the most dynamic element within the clause, independent or dependent'.[30] Consequently, the natural function of the finite verb is that of being the carrier of the CD of the highest level as long as there are no competitors (cf more on this under 'semantic factor'). Three items are relevant in the evaluation of CD, all developed below: linear modification, semantic content and relations, and context.[31]

1.2.1.1 Linear modification

Dwight L. Bolinger argues that at the beginning of the communication the set of communicative possibilities are infinite and subsequently restricted as the communication progresses. This changes as one utters the first word, the second, down to the last: 'the end is reached at which point the sentence presumably focuses on an event'.[32] This restriction of meaning is linear, hence its label 'linear modification'.

This gradual reduction has more than one meaning and impacts on the CD that individual words have in the sentence. According to Bolinger, 'gradation of position [at the beginning or towards the end of sentence] creates gradation of meaning when there are no interfering factors'.[33] As a result, elements positioned at the beginning of sentence carry less CD, and, as the sentence progresses to the second and the last element, the CD increases with the specificity of every element. Commenting this point,

---

[27] Firbas, 1992, 8.
[28] Firbas uses a parallel reading (French, English, German, Czech and its literal translation in English) of a fragment from V. Hugo's *Les Misérables*, describing a forgotten corner in Père–Lachaise cemetery.
[29] Firbas, 1992, 7.
[30] Firbas, 1992, 7.
[31] Firbas, 1992, 10–11.
[32] D. L. Bolinger, 'Linear Modification', *PMLA* 67, No. 7 (1952), 1118.
[33] Bolinger, 'Linear Modification', 1952, 1125.

Firbas asserts that 'the extent to which it [CD] is implemented can differ from language to language'.[34]

1.2.1.2 Contextual factor

There are two types of known information. The first type represents information which supports the actual new information, but it is 'irretrievable from the context'. For example, when one refers movement, the start of the action is the given information, while the direction and the end point are new information. In this case, the former is theme, while the latter is considered rheme. The second type of known information is that which is part of the 'common knowledge' of the interlocutors and present in the context before.[35]

The type of known information can be visualised as concentric circles starting from (1) immediate relevant context, continuing with (2) verbal context and situational and experiential context, (3) knowledge of the interlocutors and finally (4) general human knowledge (cf graphic below).
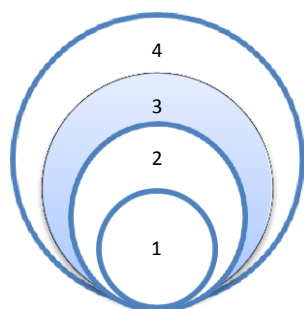
In considering the immediate relevant context, one examines to which extent one element is retrievable/irretrievable.[36] Opinions vary on this quality. Svoboda argues that once expressed, an element can be re–used without ambiguity through pro–constructions (i.e. pronouns or other types of referencing) for seven clauses. Firbas reduces that to three clauses.[37]

For transmitting context–dependent information (the 'given' or retrievable element), language uses repetition of the element, pronoun, morphological exponent (person or

---

[34] Firbas, 1992, 10.
[35] Firbas, 1992, 22
[36] Firbas, 1992, 23.
[37] Firbas, 1992, 27. Firbas refers to A. Svoboda, *Diatheme* (Brno: Masaryk University, 1981), 88

number which sends back to the original information), and even cohesive means (semantic) i.e. semantic associations (restaurant–lunch; summer–vacation).[38]

If all the information is retrievable from context (both *his father* and *famous musician*) apart from the relation between the elements, the relation will be perspective to this particular connection: *His father **was** the famous musician* – the verb or the transition represents the rheme.[39]

1.2.1.3   Semantic factor

The semantic factor is represented by the interplay between *context independent* complement, adverbial elements, and subject which become competitors for CD against the verb.

The semantic factor looks at the organisation of the sentence from the perspective of the meaning that each slot has in the sentence. In English, the meaning of these slot and their sequence is: **agent** who performs the **action** towards a **goal**. The increase in CD is seen from the agent (who is usually context dependent, so lower CD), towards the action, and its goal, which has the most high degree of CD. 'As a rule, context–independent objects, direct or indirect, non–prepositional or prepositional, exceed the verb in CD irrespective of sentence position'.[40]

1.2.1.3.1   Complement

One needs to stress again that the **complement** is carrying a higher CD only when it is context–independent. When both the complement and the subject are context–independent, the linear modification can discern which one bears the highest CD. Consider the sentences:

(1) *Especially remarkable was her oval face.*
(2) *Especially remarkable her oval face was*.

In the first example, the subject represents a context–independent element posited the latest in linear modification (which makes it the element with a higher CD than the complement). In the second example, linear modification lacks relevance as it is simply

---

[38] Firbas, 1992, 31–34.
[39] Firbas, 1992, 36.
[40] Firbas, 1992, 42.

not employed: 'the non–use of presentation order indeed prevents linear modification from asserting itself, and the context–independent complement can come to the fore'.[41]

1.2.1.3.2 Adverbial elements

As the adverbial elements may function as (1) specification or (2) setting, their qualification as having a higher CD is dependent on which of the two function they fulfil (cf discussion below on Pr–scale and Q–scale) as 'context independence is not the only condition of successful competitorship [to verb]'.[42]

The adverbial element does not have a higher CD when it represents setting. As specification, the adverbial elements 'complete the development of the communication and prove to be competitors of their verbs'. Compare:

Specification: *He lived <u>in London</u>.* OR *He flew <u>to Prague</u>.*
Setting: *I met an old friend <u>yesterday</u>.*

The setting ('yesterday') provides information which can be omitted from the communication without rendering it unintelligible. By contrast, the specifications are 'obligatory amplifications [which] belong to the core of the message'. Firbas observes that specification (*in London*, *to Prague*) also may occur along with verbs of appearance/existence or movement (*fly*).[43]

The specification function, and hence its degree of CD, is not influenced by the position in the sentence. [44] As a note, in a delicate context 'yesterday' can render specification (cf the discussion of theme–rheme).

To summarise the relation between the position in sentence (linear modification) and the adverbial elements, Firbas states that 'the initial adverbials serve as settings and the final adverbials as specifications. […] in the vast majority of cases this distribution of settings and specifications is in harmony with linear modification.'[45] The problem of

---

[41] Firbas, 1992, 47–48. These are two examples present in the CoBuild Dictionary. Here Firbas continues: 'The awkwardness of the structure noted by CGEL [CoBuild], however, remains. The complement does not open the presentation order […] but itself conveys the information towards which the communication is perspective'.

[42] Firbas, 1992, 49.

[43] Firbas, 1992, 49–52.

[44] Firbas, 1992, 50.

[45] Firbas, 1992, 54–55: 'Examining the Mansfield text, we find that all the adverbials occurring initially (thirteen in number) serve as settings (all of them operating in basic distributional fields). In an overwhelming majority of cases (seventeen out of twenty in basic distributional fields; four out of four in distributional subfields), the final adverbials serve as specifications.'

setting versus specification was tackled by L. Uhlírová who connects the former to being the theme and the latter to being the rheme.[46]

1.2.1.3.3 Subject

The subject receives a higher CD when the sentence contains a 'context independent subject': '*A cold blue light filled the window*'. The sentence needs to contain a verb whose meaning implies 'appearance or existence on the scene' with all its variations: *to be*, *to come into* (and other combinations with a preposition), *to stay*, *to arrive*, *to happen*, etc.[47] Furthermore, if the adverbial element is present, it should express setting (not specification). The subject is not a viable competitor if the sentence contains a context–independent complement.[48]

Coming to the relation sentence–text, Firbas notes that 'a semantic and grammatical sentence structure becomes a genuine sentence only when serving a definite communicative purpose, i. e. within a definite context'.[49] The function of the sentence is not known until it is integrated into a context: 'Outside context, a semantic and grammatical sentence structure can be looked upon merely as a spurious sentence, not performing any genuine communicative function'.[50] A 'definite context' supposes a communicative purpose and, ultimately, a text where one theme (a character, an object, etc.) remains context dependent after it occurred the first time. Ultimately, the context contributes to resolving the potential ambiguous scale of one sentence: Quality–scale (is this sentence attributing a quality?) or Presentation–scale (is this sentence introducing a new element?).

---

[46] L. Uhlírová, 'The relationship between the semantics of adverbials and functional sentence perspective (in Czech)', *Slovo a slovesnost* 35 (1974) in Firbas, 1992, 57–58. Uhlírová's research is based on a corpus based examination which looks at educational and journalistic texts in Czech, analysing whether they belong to setting or specification group. In view of the table (cf page 57), the adverbial conveying condition (82%) and concession (74%) belong in general to setting group. The specification is conveyed by adverbial elements of result (97%), measure (93%), agent (88%), manner (76), and means (70). In the middle, there are adverbial expressing viewpoint (66%), time (62%), purpose (57%), cause (52%), restriction (47%), place (35%), source (31%) are setting, while the rest to 100% are referring specification. The numbers are important as adverbs with higher numbers (over 50%) serve as signal for determining the scale (Q–scale or Pr–scale, cf below) the sentence uses.
[47] Firbas, 1992, 59. For further examples of verbs expressing existence or appearance see p. 60. With the exception of the first two sentences, the examples are taken from J. Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*: 'A boy came into the room. / There was a boy in the room. / In the centre of the room, under the chandelier, as became a host, stood the head of the family, old Jolyon himself. (G 6) / A very sweet look had come into the old lady's face. (G 16) / There was little sentimentality about the Forsytes. (G 24)'.
[48] Firbas, 1992, 65.
[49] J. Firbas, 'A Functional View of 'Ordo Naturalis'', *BSE* 13 (1979), 45.
[50] Firbas, 'A Functional View of 'Ordo Naturalis'', 1979, 31.

1.2.2 Perspective in FSP: Presentation–scale and Quality–scale sentences

As the explanations become more intricate, it is helpful to keep in mind Daneš' distinction of the three levels of sentence syntax: grammatical structure, semantic structure and organisation of the utterance (FSP).[51] In the case of English the word orders are:

- according to FSP: theme–transition–rheme;
- according to grammar: subject–predicate–object;
- Semantic word order: agent–action–goal.

In the example *Paul decided to learn foreign languages/that he would learn foreign languages*, the communication of sentence is 'perspectived' (or purposed/steered; the term 'oriented' is avoided intentionally) towards providing the new information: 'Provided only *Paul* conveys retrievable information, the basic distributional field [of the sentence] is perspectived to *to learn foreign languages/that he would learn foreign languages*.'[52]

This process of giving perspective is fulfilled by the verb as the most important part of the sentence.

> 'It [the verb] perspectives the communication either (i) towards the phenomenon presented by the subject, or (ii) towards the quality ascribed to the phenomenon expressed by the subject … [i.e.] its specification. In other words, it performs either (i) the dynamic semantic function of presentation (Pr), or (ii) that of expressing a quality (Q). In consequence, the subject either (i) performs the dynamic semantic function of expressing the phenomenon to be presented (Ph), or (ii) the dynamic semantic function of expressing the quality bearer (B).'[53]

Two items need to be retained: the scales which may be represented in one given sentence and the place of the verb within these two scales.

(1) There are two resulting scales, the scale of Presentation and Quality scale:

---

[51] F. Daneš, 'A Three–Level Approach to Syntax', in *Travaux linguistique de Prague 1*, ed. F. Daneš, *et al.* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966).
[52] Firbas, 1992, 19.
[53] Firbas, 1992, 66.

Pr–scale: Set(ting) – Pr(esentation of Phenomenon) –Ph(enomenon presented);

Q–scale: Set(ting) –B(earer of Quality) – (Quality) – Sp(ecification) –F(urther) Sp(ecification)[54]

The example below uses a Pr–scale sentence followed by a Q–scale sentence:

> 'Linnets (Ph) sang (Pr) in the trees (Set). Ages ago (Set) a young king (B) ruled (Q) his country (Sp) capriciously and despotically (FSp).'

(2) Verb as transition (Tr) between theme and rheme:

This is the kernel of the language system: 'A central feature of primary importance indeed are the two communicative perspectives: the Ph[enomenon]–perspective and the Q[uality]/Sp[ecification]–perspective (the frequency of the latter markedly exceeding that of the former).'[55] As the verb is not completing the CD, the other competitors (complement, adverbial elements, and subject) are present and as a result, 'the verb is either perspectived towards a phenomenon that is presented or to some piece of information that acts as a specification or further specification'.[56] In these two functions, the verb acts as 'mediator' or 'transition' between the context–dependent (known information) towards the context independent (unknown information). The task is performed both by its meaning or semantic content and by the categorial exponents ('person, number, tense, mood, voice, positive/negative polarity').[57]

Looking at what exactly makes the verb a transition, Firbas notes that the TMEs (tense–mood exponents) are transitional (the verb contains the TME exponents and the 'notional component of the verb'[58]. As transition, the verb is simultaneously *boundary* between what is theme ('foundation') and the non–theme ('core–constituting elements'), and a *link* between the two.[59]

1.2.3   Theme and Rheme

Regarding the distribution of the information within the sentence, the theme is the part with the least degree of CD and the rheme is the highest, with transition being in

---

[54] Firbas, 1992, 66.
[55] Firbas, 1992, 69.
[56] Firbas, 1992, 69.
[57] Firbas, 1992, 70.
[58] Firbas, 1992, 70–71.
[59] Firbas, 1992, 71.

between. The degree of CD is distributed as follows the lowest to the highest: theme; transition; and rheme.[60]
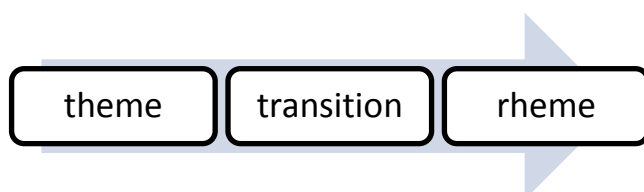
The scale of CD from lowest to highest.

According to Firbas, there seem to be two systems underlying the fabric of the sentence: functional and syntactical.

Theme and rheme are not connected with the grammatical structure (i.e. to one of the grammatical Subject–Verb–Object–Adverbial), [61] but with how the new information is shared. Consequently, each element of the sentence can contain new information (SVOA), or rather new information is shared in different grades among the competitors: complement, subject, adverbial elements, verb (when all the others are context dependent the verb has the highest degree of CD).

It is worth noting that the verb as *transition* cannot be confused with *theme* or *rheme*. The semantic dimension is present in the theme and rheme as the former is referring the 'aboutness' and the latter the 'communicative purpose'.[62] Theme and rheme represent the outcome[63] or two goals that the sentence seeks: to denote what the communication is about and why. In this context, we understand Danes' third scale outlined in the introduction of this section – the semantic scale and its correspondences in function: Agent/theme; actions/transition; goal/rheme.

Rheme is represented in the sentence by context–independent information represented by Sp(ecification) and F(urther)Sp(ecification). The possible combination contain two adverbs (Ad1 and Ad2) and one object (O),[64] where the preferred combination

---

[60] Firbas, 1992, 72.
[61] Firbas, 1992, 73. 'In principle, the thematic and the non–thematic elements have not been invariably linked with any syntactic functions or any syntactic forms.'
[62] Firbas, 1992, 74. Rheme proper and theme proper refer to the double composition that theme, transition and rheme have. One the one hand they have the notional component (the sense that the word has) and the form in which is present in the text; for example, a verb/transition will have a TME (tense and mood).
[63] Firbas, 1992, 74.
[64] Firbas, 1992, 82.

(observed in the versions of the Bible in English) being Ad1–Ad2–O (16 cases), followed by O–Ad1–Ad2 (7 cases), Ad1–O–Ad2 and [0]–O–Ad2 (2 cases each).[65]

1.2.4 CD and Potentiality

The question of *potentiality* 'occurs when the interplay of FSP factors permit of more than one interpretation'.[66] The argument of the potentiality rises as one is not sure which of the two scales (Q–scale or Pr–scale) should be applied when assigning the functions to a delicate element within the sentence.[67]

The breeze of morning lifted in the bush and the smell of leaves and wet black earth mingled with the sharp smell of the sea. Myriads of birds were singing. A goldfinch flew over the shepherd's head. (K. Mansfield, *At the bay*)

Within these three sentences, *the breeze of the morning*, *the smell of leaves and wet black earth*, *myriads of birds*, and *a goldfinch* are the Ph; *in the bush* and *with the sharp smell of the sea* are Set. The transitions (*lifted, mingled, were, flew*) have the function of transition, introducing their *appearance*;[68] this means that the verbs are connected more to the *appearance* of these elements than to their action.

Nevertheless, in the case of the sentence '*the smell of leaves and wet black earth mingled with the sharp smell of the sea*' there is room for potentiality as the function of its parts can be interpreted with Q–scale too. The CD shifts from the *smell of leaves and wet black earth* to *the sharp smell of the sea* (from S to A). The latter becomes Sp instead of Set and consequently, it contains the most important part of communication.

There are some observations induced by the argument of *potentiality*, not obvious to the reader up until this point.

(1) The Pr scale is perspectived towards the Ph and its presentation or appearance in the story. Consequently, the subject (Ph) is rheme; the verb refers transition (Tr), while the object (Set) is theme. The sense of the CD is towards the Subject or if one is to look at the word order in English the arrow points to the right (←).

---

[65] Firbas, 1992, 83.
[66] Firbas, 1992, 108.
[67] Firbas, 1992, 109–110. The argument of Pr/Q–scale sentence impacts on the analysis of certain TA sentence which may display both these types of sentences in the same time cf especially the section 'Wqetal prelude' of Chapter 2, page 119.
[68] Firbas, 1992, 110.

(2) In the second case, Q–scale is perspective towards the Sp and FSp. In this case, the subject (Bearer) is the theme, the verb (transition) refers the quality (Quality of the Bearer) and the object/adverb refers the rheme (as Sp and FSp). The focus of the CD is opposite to the previous case, i.e. towards the end of the sentence ($\rightarrow$).

1.3 Text linguistics

1.3.1 Generalities on text linguistics

Robert de Beaugrande asserts that as soon as the linguists started to analyse the text 'beyond' the limits of the sentence, text–linguistics is born. He also points out that there is no one single school of text–linguistics but several, similar through their concern with syntax in text: 'text–grammar' (Teun A. van Dijk), 'text–syntax' (Wolfgang Dressler), 'hyper–syntax' (Bohumil Palek), or 'macro–syntax' (Elisabeth Gülich).[69]

Eva Shoenke is another author looking at the history of text–linguistics. She starts by asserting the influence of Prague School (František Daneš and Jan Firbas) and Stylistics. The research in this area was mostly carried out in the university centres of Köln, Bielefeld, and East Berlin Academy of Sciences. She mentions Harald Weinrich as the one who coins the term *text–linguistics*: „*Linguistik ist Textlinguistik*".[70] Her lengthy presentation develops the five main currents in text–linguistics: (1) Thematic progression (František Daneš); (2) theme development (Klaus Brinker); (3) John L. Austin's Illocutive structures (Wolfgang Motsch and Dieter Viehweger); (4) theme as object with information deficiency (Andreas Lötscher); and (5) 'Quaestio' of texts (Klein and von Stutterheim).

These two authors show the diversity importance of that text–linguistic movement had in German Linguistics and its inherent connection with Prague School, given the high number of theories which look at the *theme* and by the active engagement Daneš had with this method.

1.3.2 Text linguistics of H. Weinrich – Tempus

As we shall see in the following pages, Weinrich draws his this theory from the difference between the use of the verbal forms in writing and in real life communications, as presented by Wolfgang Goethe, Käte Hamburger, and Günther Müller. This constitutes the starting point of his text–linguistic proposal which analyses the syntax of the phrase under three dimensions: linguistic attitude (narrative or comment); linguistic perspective (retrieved information (retrospect), zero degree, and

---

[69] R. de Beaugrande, 'Text Linguistics', in *Discursive Pragmatics*, ed. Jan Zienkowski, Jan–Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2011), 287.
[70] Eva Schoenke, 'Textlinguistik im deutschsprachigen Raum', in *Text– und Gesprächslinguistik: Linguistics of Text and Conversation*, ed. Klaus Brinker, *et al.* (Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 2000), 123; cf H. Weinrich, 'Syntax als Dialektik', *Poetica* 1 (1967), 109.

anticipated information (prevision)); prominence or *relievo* (foreground and background, or first and second level of communication). Defining these three elements and their presence in language are the main purpose of his book.

Hamburger's analysis of the German *preterite* bears importance for understanding Weinrich and our subsequent argumentation on: the role of the preterite versus present; the displacement of origo (point of reference) from text to narrator; the opposition of comment versus narrative; and ultimately the disconnection between tense and time. Given the importance of her account, a section dedicated to her will follow, before passing to Weinrich.

1.3.3 Hamburger and 'logic of literature'

Hamburger's analysis of literature evolves around preterite. The preterite or simple past ('said') has a number of properties: (1) it gives contour to the characters in the story, as this is when they ''make their appearance' as living persons autonomously 'in action''; (2) the preterite is 'autonomous' because when used in narration the preterite induces a transfer from reality to fiction[71]; the presence of the preterite signals that the I–Origo[72] (the point of reference) is transferred from the narrator 'into the field of fiction – […] where now 'today', 'yesterday', or 'tomorrow' refer to the fictive Here and Now of the respective figures, and no longer to a real Here and Now of the narrator'.[73]

Three consequences arise from this last change of origo into narrative: (1) 'the preterite relinquishes its function of designating past–ness'; (2) the I–origo of the narration 'is not referred to the real I–Origo, […], but to the fictive I–Origines of the figure in the novel'.[74] (3) with the use of 'inner speech verbs' (*to think, of feel, to believe*), or with

---

[71] 'Fiction' does not have anything to do with the value of truth of the narration.

[72] Origo or 'origin source' is a concept belonging to K. Buhler's deixis. The origo contains information about the space and time of the characters, authors, reader etc. Cf K. Bühler, D. F. Goodwin, and A. Eschbach [tr], *Theory of Language* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1934/2011). There is a strong deixis (personal pronouns, adverbs as here, now) and a weak deixis (the article, verbal agreement), cf the introduction of W. Abraham, 'Preface: Traces of Bühler's Semiotic Legacy in Modern Linguistics', in *Theory of Language*, ed. D. F. Goodwin and A. Eschbach (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2011), xix.

[73] K. Hamburger and M. J. Rose [tr], *The Logic of Literature* (Bloomington: IUP, 1971/1993), 79.

[74] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 81.

that of the verbs *to say* and *to think*[75] one experiences the character through the act of speech leading to 'the impression of 'presentification''.[76]

On the same note, Hamburger explains that it is an 'error' to think the preterite represents a temporal past.[77] The ultimate consequence is that the past tense and the pluperfect tense are 'temporally meaningless' and that 'only the semantic meaning–content of the verb itself […] is relevant. […] *It is the figure of the novel, the fictive person, which annuls the past–tense meaning of the depictional verbs*'.[78]

These observations support her proposal of the 'fictive temporal system, which can be formed in narrative literature';[79] in the same vein, one talks in narrative literature of the notion of space and sensorial instances (*smell, taste*, etc.), which are not real as such. This proposal is based on the fact that narrative literature provides no indication as to the time when the action is taking place or 'it 'presentifies' without referring to any temporal present, past, or future of the epic figures'.[80] In this context, tenses do not refer to real time.[81]

On the historical present tense, relying on Wunderlich and Reis, Hamburger argues that the experience of the narrator when reporting is that of *seeing* the events (when the object of reporting is part of an event in his past).[82] Because the preterite does not locate in time the events, neither the historical narrative 'in epic fiction [it] has no genuine function: neither a temporal one nor one of fictional presentification'.[83]

At the end of this presentation of Hamburger, an anticipatory comment is in order in the context of Weinrich's proposition of comment/narrative opposition. This is an elusive pair of key concepts whose explanation starts with this very difference that Hamburger makes between the *documentary function* (cf below) and the 'narrative literature' with its 'fictive temporal system' and its 'fictive I–origo (cf above). The narrative text or, to be more specific, the sequence of tenses which make up a narrative text does not convey

---

[75] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 83.
[76] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 84.
[77] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, cf 86–88.
[78] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 88–89.
[79] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 93.
[80] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 93.
[81] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 98.
[82] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 99, cf H. Wunderlich and H. Reis, *Der deutsche Satzbau* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1924), 74.
[83] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 105.

time. The main tense of narrative, the preterite and its equivalents in other languages, does not inform the reader about time, but about the fact that this is a composition referring sequence of events arranged as such by the narrator.

In contrast with this preterite which in fiction 'has no function of designating the past',[84] the historical present refers a *documentary* function by retaining the real existence of the narrator (the examples refer to a biographical and a history textbook) and the 'historical reality' of the account.[85] Deriving from this contrast, we can introduce the opposite of narrative, which is Weinrich's comment. Comment passages in literary works display the narrator's origo and the connection between time and tense stands. Where preterite has not real origo and a 'fictional temporal system', present tense has a real origo (of the narrator) and refers real time.

Hamburger does not go as far as Weinrich in this opposition between the 'fictive temporal system' of preterite and the documentary function of the historical present (as we described it as narrative versus comment). She stops short of proposing it and thinks that they are merely the same. According to Hamburger, preterite and present tense are interchangeable: 'without exception, in every fictional context where the historical present appears, we can replace it with the preterite, without noticing any change in our experience of fiction'.[86] She presumes that one can replace preterite with present with no impact on the literary work as a whole, which amounts to a kind of contradiction in her framework. There is no explanation of how and why is possible for the preterite (which suggests that the origo of the narrator is replaced a fictional one) to be substituted by a present tense (which does retain the origo of the narrator in communication).

Weinrich, however, builds his text–linguistic description of tenses on this very difference of narrative and comment tenses, here represented by the opposition between preterite (past simple) and present tenses.

---

[84] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 105.
[85] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 104.
[86] Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, 107.

1.3.4 Weinrich and text linguistics

1.3.4.1 Verbal tenses in text

In the introduction, Weinrich explains that the aim of the book is to 'describe[s] all linguistic elements taking into consideration the function these have in the oral and written texts'. Its main focus is on the 'the—text—in—the—situation', and on how 'the verbal forms concord in giving interesting temporal profiles to a determined text'.[87]

He makes a clear distinction between real time as an 'extra—linguistic phenomenon', and verbal time as 'linguistic form', again tense does not depict time. There are also two other important elements which Weinrich declares will not feature in his work. The first is the generic word for *tempus/time* which will be considered 'a word with unknown etymology'.[88] Still, the nomenclature used to distinguish one *morphological* class from another is strictly followed.

The second is the challenge addressed to the 'classical' understanding of the sentence as 'the largest unit of grammatical description'.[89] Instead, he proposes for the analysis of tenses in the text – text is explained as 'a logical (i. e. intelligible and consistent) sequence of linguistic signs, placed between two significant breaks in communication'.[90] From the array of items discussed in the introduction, I will only refer to the types of linguistic signs or linguistic markers:[91]

> a. Obstinacy markers [*Obstinate Zeichen*] – this refers to all verbal forms occurring in a given text (the conjunctives, imperatives and infinitives are excluded).
> The obstinacy marker is at the base of the distinction between narrative and comment tenses. Weinrich defines temporal forms by this particular discrimination: 'temporal forms are morphemes obstinately inserted in the signs

---

[87] Weinrich, 1978, 5.

[88] Weinrich, 1978, 11. The English translation belongs to Watson, cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 56.

[89] J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969), 172. Lyons cites here L. Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1933).

[90] Weinrich, 1978, 14.

[91] Of these three, (a) and (c) are of interest for our research. The obstinacy markers are morphological forms which marks the difference between narrative and comment. As Targum Aramaic presents a lower number of morphological tenses, I proposed a different way of telling them apart under the name 'trace of comment' (a term borrowed from J. Derrida and G. C. Spivak [trans], *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore/London: JHUP, 1976/1997)). The term of interest is the 'macro–syntactic sign' which was already associated by Niccacci with the BH particles והנה, ויהי, והיה and ועתה, cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §12, p. 33.

chain of a text and they are used by the speaker to make heard a particular type of signal. In the first case [i.e. comment] the signal says: 'this is a comment passage', while in the second [i.e. narrative]: 'this is a narrative passage''.[92] Narrative tenses which relate the actual events taking place; and comment tenses which interpret or explain the facts.[93] He later adds other types of obstinacy markers: the pronoun (personal, demonstrative, and possessive) and the article.[94]

b. Non—obstinacy markers [*nicht—Obstinate Zeichen*]: date and time adverbs;

c. Macro—syntactic signs [*makrosyntactischen Signale*]: *one day*; *at that time*; *therefore*; *in those days*; *finally*; *at last*.[95]

Further items of Weinrich's proposal come to fore in his comments on the work of prominent linguists and literary critics:

- **the opposition between foreground and background** which is intimated with the mention of Goethe's 'law of retardation':[96] that there are two alternating paces in the development of a story: fast progress and the slow moving progression;

- **tense does not convey time**, a point supported by A. W. Schlegel's idea that the epic poem has its own time;

- **the existence of prevision and anticipation which break the so–called 'zero degree' of the events arranged in the sequence they occurred in the reality described**. W. Kyser proposes the 'epic law' where the author is omniscient; he is able to include within the epic thread the retrospection and the prevision.

- **tense signals the existence of a type of communication** (not of time). Reflecting on *Der Zauberberg* (Thomas Mann), Weinrich doubts that the Imperfekt (in German) is the tense of the long gone past; instead, he believes

[92] Weinrich, 1978, 37.

[93] Weinrich, 1978, 23–27.

[94] Weinrich, 1978, 40.

[95] Due to the fact that *Zeichen* and *Signale* have a very similar sense, the Italian translation (Weinrich, 1978,), translates *Zeichen* and *Signale* with the same term 'segno'. The English translation of Niccacci, 1986, [Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990,] uses both *marker* and *sign* when referring to macro—syntactic signs. For the sake of clarity, I think that the *macro—syntactic sign* should be used for rendering the technical term *makrosyntactischen Signale* as Niccacci does in his latest Hebrew course support (cf. A. Niccacci, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press [SBF course support], 2011).

[96] Cf. S. Unseld, *Goethe and his Publishers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 34 cites a relevant quote from Goethe: 'One of the chief characteristics of the epic poem is that it is always moving backwards and forwards and so all retardations are epic '.

that the Imperfekt is the tense of the novel/story writing. [97] Again this supposes a severance between tense and time, where the latter creates its own time *within* the literary work. He calls this *text time*, which is determined by the sequences of linguistic signs in the literary work (for us the sequence of tenses, and by extent the sentence in which they are in).[98] The same argument is repeated through readings of Kate Hamburger[99] (cf above).

- Further evidence on the previous point is presented through: (1) Gunther Müller's suggestion that narrative time does not coincide with solar time. Consequently, it can be stretched or shortened according to the author's choice or interpretation[100] (cf the narratives of Marcel Proust and James Joyce); and (2) Roland Barthes, talking about the *passé simple*, explains that its purpose is not to denote a specific tense, but to take 'the reality to a certain point, […] to a pure verbal act' which is integrated into a set of actions and which 'supposes a constructed world, thought out, detached, reduced to a few significant lines'.[101]

1.3.4.2   Linguistic attitude: comment and narrative, two faces of communication

The first dimension of the text—linguistic method is that of *linguistic attitude*. It supposes discrimination or opposition between the narrative and comment in communication starting from their different tension. On the one hand, by using comment tenses, the speaker conveys an 'attitude of tension' as the listener is alerted that the message is something of interest for him. On the other hand, the narrative passages convey information where the listener is not in tension.[102] This tension is reflected in their corresponding literary genres which can act as means of validating their proprieties.[103]

The literary genres which correspond to comment verbal forms are: 'the dramatic dialogue, the political memorandum, the main column [in a newspaper], the testament,

---

[97] Weinrich, 1978, 28–30.
[98] Weinrich, 1978, 77
[99] Weinrich, 1978, 36.
[100] G. Müller, 'Erzählzeit und erzählte Zeit', in *Festschrift fur Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1948; reprint in *Morphologische Poetik* (Tübingen: 1968)).
[101] R. Barthes, *Le degré zéro de l'écriture* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), 46ss.
[102] Weinrich, 1978, 44.
[103] Weinrich, 1978, 47.

the conference, the philosophical essay, juridical comment and any form of ritual discourse, formalised or performative'. These are texts which suppose 'a state of tension'. As the events are directly connected to the speaker, so he 'is presenting the text is in a state of tension […] and, consequently, the one who is listening too must receive it in a state of participation'.[104] It is typical of these texts to contain verbs and pronouns in first and second person, reflecting the implication of the person transmitting the information.

Narrative compositions are considered 'a youth story, the description of a hunting expedition, a fable of one's invention, a religious legend, a short story or a historical episode, a novel of an ingenious construction, or even the information present in a newspaper referring to a political meeting'. The verbal forms are specific and create the impression of distension (non–involvement) where neither the speaker nor the reader needs to react in consequence.[105] Pronouns and verbs are usually in third person, reflection this state of distension.

In a later article published in English, an abbreviated version of his method, Weinrich refers again to linguistic attitude, assigning to the opposition the same type of vocabulary (tension/stress versus non–tension, non–stress):

'Any narrative is remote from me … It does not touch me immediately and, above all, it does not impose on me the need for an immediate action or action … at least personally I am not affected by it [the action narrated]'.

By contrast, the state of tension or 'stress' is associated with comment: 'they [a sermon, a political negotiation, commentary to a football match] all concern me directly […]. They [the people involved in the activities above] are under considerable stress' with the amendment that '[t]here are grades of tension, of course. But all discursive speech [i.e. comment] situation have necessarily much more tension than a speech situation which is only narrated'.[106]

---

[104] Weinrich, 1978, 47.
[105] Weinrich, 1978, 48.
[106] H. Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', *Archivium Linguisticum* 1 (1970), 34–35; cf also Weinrich, 1978, 44.

1.3.4.3   Linguistic perspective: retrospect, zero degree, and anticipation

Passing to the second dimension, in consistency with his uncoupling of tense from time, Weinrich refuses the classical tripartite division of time (past, present, future).[107] In this context, Weinrich poses the difference between *real time* and *text time*. While real time refers to the reality described, text time is created by linear disposition of tenses (as linguistic signs) which (1) render the succession of the facts as they happened or signals that the succession is disturbed to introduce an event that happened (3) after or (2) before. When decoding the message, the listener pays attention to whether the information conveyed is in sequence, the 'zero degree'[108], or that sequence is disturbed by the introduction of 'pre—information and post—information' with regards to the zero degree sequence. They interrupt the zero degree narrative (in English this is the sequence of past simple tense) to insert a recuperated or an anticipated information with regards to the real time. In this context the *text time* is not the solar time but, as we already interpreted above, the sequence of tenses/sentence in the text.[109]

 The degree zero in any kind of text (comment or narrative) refers to the case in which 'there is no problem between text time and real time'. At this point we can assert that *text time* may actualise three situations reflecting zero degree, anticipation and retrospection.

(1) When *text time* represents zero degree, the sequence of tenses reflect the order of events as they happened in the reality described, or rather the sequence of events is not interrupted by anticipated or retrospective information. Moreover, zero degree does not necessary imply temporal advancement of the plot. In the next fragment from Margaret Atwood, narrative continues with simple past tense uninterrupted, relating events in zero degree.[110] The past tense does not necessarily mean advancement of plot as it is obvious in the use of this tense in this fragment.

'Morrison was not up on the theories of group dynamics. He liked the old way: you taught the subject and forgot about them as people. It disconcerted him when they

---

[107] This was supported by: Protagoras (drawing on Homer), Dionysius the Thracian, Quintilian, Augustine; in recent times, Schiller and Voltaire share the same opinion, cf. Weinrich, 1978, 75.

[108] The term *zero degree* is also rendered as 'zero point' of tense cf Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 37.

[109] Weinrich, 1978, 77–79.

[110] All excerpts of this section are from Margaret Atwood, *Dancing Girls and Other Stories: Polarities* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), 52–53.

slouched into his office and mumbled at him, fidgeting and self–conscious, about their fathers or their love lives. He didn't tell them about his father or his love life […].'

(2) *Text time* may reflect a different sort of sequence than that of real time which strays from the zero degree of past simple into a past perfect recounting a preceding string of events (again from Atwood):

'It was colder, the weak red sun almost down, the snow purpling and creaky. She jumped up and down beside the car till he got the plug–in engine heater untangled and the door opened, her head coming out of the enormous second–hand fur coat she wore like a gopher's out of its burrow. He had seen a lot of gophers on the drive across, many of them dead; one he had killed himself, an accident, it had dived practically under the car wheels. The car itself hadn't held up either: by the time he'd made it to the outskirts—though later he realized that this was in fact the city—a fender had come off and the ignition was failing. He'd had to junk it [the car], and had decided stoically to do without a car until he found he couldn't. He swung the car onto the driveway that led from the university.'

The zero degree of past tense ('*It was colder …*') is interrupted by a sequence past perfect of recuperated information or presenting pre–information about character's preceding experience with the 'gophers'. His accidental hitting of a goffer becomes a recuperated memory that the author inserts into the zero degree sequence starting from 'He had seen a …' to 'He'[ha]d had to junk it, and had decided …'. After the experience is recounted, the text returns to zero degree past tense ('He swung the car onto the driveway …'). Both tenses are narrative, past simple representing zero degree, past perfect recuperated information.

(3) A second type of interruption of zero degree is that of anticipated information:

'The house was one of the featureless two–storey boxes thrown up by the streetful in the years after the war when there was a housing boom and materials were scarce. It was stuccoed with a greyish gravel Morrison found spiritually depleting. There were a few older houses, but they were quickly being torn down by developers; soon the city would have no visible past at all. Everything else was high rises, or worse, low barrack–shaped multiple housing units, cheaply tacked together.'

In this particular passage, the past simple is briefly interrupted by a prevision or a pre–information signalled by the form 'would' ('soon the city would have no visible past at all'), after which the zero degree resumes. The buildings (supposed to be demolished by the time Atwood talks about them) still stand in the next sentence ('Everything else was high rises …') which completes the prevision effect of the sentence with 'would'.

With these texts, we exemplified the use of English past simple tense as zero degree narrative, whereas past perfect and *would* sentence reflect the recuperated and the anticipated information, respectively. Weinrich develops this discussion of tenses using the example of Italian where narrative uses the *imperfetto* and *passato remoto* for zero degree. In narrative, the retrospect is indicated by a *trapassato prossimo* or *trapassato remoto* (in English that is past perfect/past perfect continuous), and *conditional* for a prevision.[111]

We have not given any examples of distribution of tenses in comment. For the moment, it will suffice to remind Weinrich's division of Italian *presente* as zero degree comment (in English present tense), with retrospective information conveyed through *passato prossimo* (i.e. English present perfect), and prevision or anticipated information with *futuro*[112] (in English, future) On a more general note, 'interrogation and declaration are forms of comment'.[113]

1.3.4.4 *Narrative Prominence: foreground and background*

Prominence or *relievo*[114] is the third dimension that Weinrich proposes for the analysis of language, which is the opposition between foreground and background tenses or tenses on first/second level of communication. Similarly with the other two dimensions, it implies specific tenses in each language. French displays this opposition with the *passé simple* (foreground) and *l'imparfait* (background). Looking at their uses in literary texts, Weinrich observes that 'narrative tenses are mixed. There is no story

---

[111] Cf. Weinrich, 1978, 79–80.
[112] Weinrich, 1978, 80.
[113] Weinrich, 1978, 107; 'Verhör und Aussage sind Redeformen der Besprechung' H. Weinrich, *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964/1985), 78.
[114] For Weinrich's original German term *Reliefgebung,* Wilfred Watson (in his translation of Niccacci's Syntax) proposes as equivalent 'prominence' cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 14. Weinrich in his article translates with *relievo*, cf Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 37. I will use them equally throughout this thesis. Two out of three meanings presented by OED (17/07/2016) for *relievo* seem to apply to our context: 'moulding, carving, or stamping in which the design stands out from the surface' or 'the effect or appearance of three dimensions given on the plane surface of a painting, etc.; an instance of this'.

containing only occurrences of *imparfait* or *passé simple*'.[115] Also, their distribution may be influenced by an intentional arrangement of the narrator, who may decide to use a background tense like imparfait for the frame of the story (first and last sentence) and passé simple for the 'narrative core' (cf Weinrich example of *The legend of Saint Dimitrios*).[116]

The alternation between the imparfait and passé simple has the purpose of 'giving prominence to narrative according to a background and a first level' [foreground].[117] Whether the action is punctual or durative, iterative or unique is not relevant when choosing between the employment of imparfait or passé simple (or the equivalents in Italian and Spanish).

We will answer the question of (1) what the foreground/background opposition represents and (2) its constraints. A few words will be dedicated to the situation of (3) foreground/background opposition in English.

(1) First level is represented by the reason of the story and the ideas described in the summary; first level or foreground is represented by the item/article/object 'that in fact would induce the people to leave for a time their work to listen to the story of a world which does not belong to the daily life';[118] here, Weinrich equates this type of narrative with 'the unheard–of event'[119] of Goethe. Background is the opposite of the first level/foreground but also the one providing a better understanding of the text.[120] A story is worth writing when something new occurs, unheard of, unusual, that does not happen every day – this is the component of narrative which attracts the reader to reading it. In the narrative passages, everything that is recounting this element of newness represents the centre of the action, which uses in French *passé simple*. All other information,

---

[115] To take the example of French, a further opposition foreground/background found in narrative is that of passé anteriuer/ plus—que—parfait, both tenses representing recuperated information.
[116] Weinrich, 1978, 127–128. In English the succession would roughly correspond to past continuous – past simple – past continuous.
[117] Weinrich, 1978, 161.
[118] Weinrich, 1978, 129.
[119] 'We talked over the title which should be given to the novel. Many were proposed; some suited the beginning, others the end, but none seemed exactly suitable to the whole. 'I'll tell you what,' said Goethe, 'we call it 'The Novel' (Die novelle);' for what is a novel but a peculiar and as yet unheard–of event? This is the proper meaning of this name; […]' cf. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe et al., *Conversations with Goethe* (Da Capo Press, reprint of the 1930 London edition, 1998), §1827, p. 162–163.
[120] Weinrich, 1978, 129.

which one can do without, and is not critical to the understanding of the story, will be related using the *imparfait*.[121]

A further clarification of the meaning of foreground/background opposition occurs in Weinrich's later article on the method. He starts from the fact that in French the zero degree narrative is represented by passé simple and imparfait.[122] He expands on this point: 'These two tenses are like two tempo indications: *lento* for the imparfait, and *presto* or *molto presto* for the passé simple' (Weinrich's italics). He exemplifies this explanation with the types of narrative passages which contain them: one finds imparfait in 'the exposition and final passages, in descriptions and portraits, in marginal scenes, additions, details, and in images' and passé simple in 'the main plot'.[123]

These differences (passé simple/imparfait; *tempo* indications: *presto*/*lento*) are suggestive of two further developments in our thesis. The first refers to the constraints that tenses observe in terms of their referential function (position in narrative in the beginning, middle or end). This referential distinction is referred to in the next point and will be discussed when we arrive at W. Labov and J. Waletzky's article about narrative. The second regards the way in which time passage is signalled in narrative, a topic reserved for the section 'Narrative: Text, Episode, and Time'.

(2) Turning to the constraints that this opposition reflects, we need to acknowledge that there is a certain connection between content and the distribution of foreground/background tenses. While some information might be preferably be conveyed with *imparfait* and other with *passé simple* (cf the above correlation of story frame – imparfait, body of narrative *passé simple*), this distribution is dependable on the author's freedom to express his ideas, and on 'several narrative fundamental structures.'[124] The introduction, the conclusion, the presentation of the secondary circumstances, descriptions, reflections, and everything that the author wants to put in the background require the imperfect tense. However, the alternation between *passé simple* and *imparfait* is subordinated to this narrative intention or sometimes to specific characters in the plot.[125] Thus, the referential function is dependent on the narrator.

---

[121] Weinrich, 1978, 160–165.
[122] Weinrich calls this 'an asymmetry in the French system'.
[123] Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 38.
[124] Weinrich, 1978, 128–129.
[125] Weinrich, 1978, 166.

(3) In English the place of the imparfait, as background tense is occupied by the form 'he was singing', as 'the tense in English of the background in the narrative world'.[126] Past tense is the tense of foreground in English narrative. [127] In this context, the exhaustive counting of the tenses in a text is not necessary, but 'the identification as verbal tenses of those forms only which without doubt belong to group I [comment] or group II [narrative]' is required.[128] The important element in tense analysis is not the higher number of uses for one tense or the other, but their quality with regards to the foreground/background opposition. As seen in point 2 above, this quality is conferred by the author (according to Weinrich), and then by the place of information within the story (frame or body of the story).

As English tenses in *–ing* are going to be feature in our description of tenses, we outlines here Weinrich's three observations on this matter:

- Verbal forms similar to *he was singing* are less frequent than the imperfect in other Romance languages, so that 'in narrations in English language background and first level represent a different distribution to the narrations in Romanic languages';[129]

- tenses in *–ing* and the present participle like *singing* (which completes a verb) 'are sharing the function of creating emphases',[130] mostly containing background information in narratives;

- In reference to the previous point, the verbal forms as *he is singing, he has been singing, he will be singing,* (in contrast with the participle and the narrative background tenses in –ing) are (i) forms which belong the comment and (ii) they have the same value (to create emphases) as their narrative counterparts[131] i.e. *he was singing*, *he had been singing*, *he would be singing*.

---

[126] Weinrich, 1978, 168.
[127] Weinrich, 1978, 171.
[128] Weinrich, 1978, 170.
[129] Weinrich, 1978, 167–168.
[130] Weinrich, 1978, 168.
[131] Weinrich, 1978, 175–176; cf also 177: The examined texts belong to the modern short—story genre and the points made are mostly confined to a specific type of literature (Hemingway), as Weinrich himself admits. This is not to undermine his conclusions but to say that particular types of genres or English dialects may use different opposing values to achieve the foreground/background meaning.

1.3.5 Historical context of Weinrich's oppositions and the limits of his terminology

The first section of this chapter looked at the main theoretical premises of this thesis. One the one side, it presented the basic tenets of the Prague School as a method which considers the sentence within the text. On the other hand, we outlined the main themes of Weinrich's methodological account. The rapport between FSP and text–linguistics is of complementarity. One needs both levels of syntax, sentence and text, to work in consensus to produce a coherent account.

This section is concerned with the historical context and discussion of the opposition between foreground and background, i.e. Weinrich's prominence or *relievo*. We are interested in two points.

(1) Weinrich's understanding of the terms will be put into perspective of the American trend of the 'foreground/background' distinction (Paul Hopper, Tanya Reinhart, and Hellen Dry). All this will be preceded by explaining the common roots of foreground/background which go back to Sergei Karcevski and Roman Jakobson, both original members of the Prague Linguistic Circle,[132] who look at this in terms of perfective/imperfective and markedness, respectively.

The American trend relates this opposition to either the advancement of the narrative plot or to the idea of time passage in narrative. Weinrich understands divides time between *text time* (as succession of the linguistic signs in communication, or plainly put the succession of tenses/sentences) and *real time* (the time represented in the plot in communication; this is always variable: some novels relate just one day (cf James Joyce), others years (cf Marcel Proust)).

(2) Regarding Weinrich's text time, there is the task of answering the question of the 'illusion of temporal movement' (cf Helen Dry) or time passage. This is an honest observation of the way narrative captivates our attention and creates a sense of time. This thesis discusses the answer provided by Julia Kristeva (a literary critic) and her analysis of temporal metaphor in the narrative of Marcel Proust.

---

[132] Along with N. Trubetzkoy and P. Bogatyrev, Jakobson and Karcevski are former members of the Moscow Linguistic Circle (Russian formalism) and initiators of the Prague School Circle, cf P. Steiner, 'The Roots of Structuralist Estetics', in *The Prague School: Selected writings, 1929–1946*, ed. P. Steiner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 174–175.

A tentative answers also discussed in this thesis is the description of the narrative time by Gerard Genette, the French literary theorist. He presents a general delimitation of the *shapes* of narrative (the representation of single events are represented in the plot) which are at the disposal of the narrator: summary, ellipsis, pause, and scene. He engages the problem of time in narrative looking at the content of the narrative, but I would say he does not provide an answer to our question: how do Weinrich's narrative tenses, or the succession of narrative sentences, relate time in narrative.

At this point it is worth outlining again the interpretation of approaching the problem of time in narrative in this thesis and how they make sense in context of Weinrich's two oppositions (foreground/background and narrative/comment). I suppose that comment tenses, though integral part of texts which predominantly narrate, are not engaged in the passage of time. Time passage is limited to narrative tenses. The impact of the combinations of narrative and comment tenses is of creating the curvature of narrative time (the time it takes to read something) or Weinrich's *text time*. [133] In the case of biblical narrative, the curvature of narrative time is created by:

- narrative tenses themselves – some advance while others stall the plot;
- the interruption/substitution of narrative tenses by comment tenses (in indirect speech), which do not advance or stall the plot; they are there as communication between the first person of the narrator to the second person of the readers, outside any meaning of plot advancement;
- passages of dialogue (or direct speech) which do not contribute to the plot, but represent a communication between the first person of a character(s) to another second person of a character(s).

---

[133] The idea of time as curvature follows the way in which Joanna Hodge interprets time in the writings of Jacques Derrida cf Joanna Hodge, *Derrida on Time* (London/New York: Routledge, 2007).

1.4 Generalities on tense in biblical studies and Weinrich's general approach

This section aims to establish the place of Weinrich and our own description of the language in the wider perspective of linguistic disciplines. While Weinrich is said to be part of the text–linguistic discipline, it is argued that through his focus on the relations between speaker and listener, his approach fits within the field of pragmatics, rather than semantics.

In his general introduction *Time and the Verb*, Robert I. Binnick asserts that the *waw conversive* theory of BH is 'untenable' (looking at the evidence presented by Leslie McFall); the responsibility of resolving the conundrum of the four existing verbal forms (*qatal*, *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, *weqatal*) is relegated to the rather general 'realm of syntax'.[134] This point of syntax is refined later: Binnick concludes that there must be either a pragmatic difference between yiqtol and qatal forms ('imperfective represents backgrounded information, and the perfective, foregrounded') or a semantic difference (modal 'certainty versus possibility' or status 'real versus irreal').[135]

Binnick asserts that it is difficult to come to a conclusion when it is about BH as 'literary language' and part of the group of 'artificial languages'. After discussing other 'colloquial 'tenseless' languages', he suggests that because 'tenses and aspects have distinctive pragmatic functions', 'verb forms serve to do things, and what they can do is obviously linked to what they can mean'. Among the 'things they do', Binnick lists (1) foregrounding/backgrounding; (2) they provide information about whether the text is a narrative discourse or not, and about its structure; (3) they situate 'logical relationships between statements or reported events, even if this is mere temporal sequence'; (4) they 'glue events together into sequences of events or indicate their independence'; and (5) they show which perspective is present (of speaker or other characters).[136] Interestingly enough the first four items are very much in line with Weinrich's ideas: of prominence

---

[134] R. I. Binnick, *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect* (New York/Oxford: OUP, 1991), 439; McFall Leslie McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982), 4–21; P. Kustár, *Aspekt in Hebräischen* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissionsverlag, 1972), 32.
[135] Binnick, 1991, 442.
[136] Binnick, 1991, 446–447.

(cf 1: foregrounding); linguistic attitude (narrative and comment, cf 2); and linguistic perspective (cf 3–4: zero degree and recuperated/anticipated information).[137]

In a later contribution, Binnick returns to talk in general about 'Aspect in Discourse' which expands on the 'textual function' of aspect: aspect for this perspective is meant 'to create and maintain the coherence of the discourse at global and local level of structure'. His discussion turns immediately to the opposition between the 'narrative' and 'discourse', following Benveniste who uses for this the pair 'history' and 'discourse' (in French *récit* and *discours*).[138] Benveniste's 'history' and 'discourse' is described at length by Weinrich, who asserts that they may be 'juxtaposed' (but not necessarily the same) to the his own comment/narrative pair.[139]

It is important that Binnick observes the significance narrative and comment because, in contrast with that of foreground/background, it has fallen off from the attention of scholars in the field. While the latter pair is amply discussed (as we shall see in this section), the former pair is only examined by Benveniste (one article of 1959), Weinrich's book *Tempus* (first published in 1964), and most recently only mentioned in Binnick's work.[140]

As this thesis looks into providing a textual discussion of the verb in Aramaic, it cannot ignore the fact that the genre of the text is a major factor in determining the significance of verbal forms. I recall this postulate, as the authors considered in this section talk

---

[137] Binnick, 1991, 447. For further on this connection between these 'pragmatic functions' and Weinrich's dimensions (especially with regards to relations within the text, i.e. Binnick's points 3 and 4), cf the section 'What is text', page 87.

[138] R. I. Binnick, 'Aspect and Aspectuality', in *The Handbook of English Linguistics*, ed. B. Aarts and A. M. S. McMahon (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 259. É. Benveniste and M. E. Meek [tr], 'The Correlations of Tense in the French Verb', in *Problems in General Linguistics* (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1959/1971).

[139] Weinrich, 1978, 292. He observes that Benveniste 'recuperates the traditional distinction between primary and secondary tenses of the Latin and Greek grammars'. Egon Werlich scales down Weinrich's associations of tenses of comment and narrative (which may sound daunting to some people) as the 'Present Tense group' which 'centres on the Present Tense' and includes 'Present Perfect, Future I and Future II' and the 'Past Tense group' which 'centres on the Paste Tense' and includes also 'Past perfect, Conditional I and II' cf E. Werlich, *A Text Grammar of English* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1976/1982), 144. I take the use of the verb 'to centre' to mean zero degree/point of these tenses within narrative (past tense) and comment (present tense).

[140] Benveniste *récit* and *discours* receive a further earlier by Gerard Genette. In his essay '*Frontières du récit*', Genette shows that the difference *discours* and *récit* mirrors that of the ancient 'mimesis' and 'poiésis' and 'mimésis', respectively; cf G. Genette, *Figures II* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 61–62. His description (64–65) of the opposition is very similar to that of Weinrich: 'In *discours* [comment] someone speaks, and his situation in the act of speaking itself is the seat of the most important meanings; in *récit* [narrative], as Benveniste forcefully says, *nobody speaks* in the sense that there is no need for us to ask ourselves *who speaks* or *when*, etc. in order to understand the meaning of the text' (italics belong to Genette).

about the verb in narrative, in its meaning as 'narrative genre'. The acquiring of the foreground/background opposition is determined by the study of narrative texts.

Each genre has its own 'backbone' or foreground tense around which other tenses are employed. This is the main idea of the latest book of Robert Longacre and Andrew Bowling on the Biblical Hebrew verb. They show that verbal forms are bound to specific genres. For example, wayyiqtol forms the 'backbone' of the narrative in the Bible.[141]

I agree that genre is important when considering verbal forms in Biblical Hebrew; nevertheless, we are again left with the question – what is there in wayyiqtol that makes it narrative? The difference between Longacre's and Bowling's research and this contribution is that while they look at the *quantity* of wayyiqtol to determine that it is the 'backbone' of narrative[142], this research is interested in its *quality* or what is there in the fibre of the wayyiqtol sequence that makes it what it is.[143] This search outside the scope of a syntactical discussion is prompted by the fact that understanding Weinrich's theory requires much more than attentive reading of his writings, in order to be able to replicate his positioning towards syntax. His interests are not limited to syntax but expand to borrow concepts and theories from philosophy, literary criticism, rhetoric (he was a disciple of Heinrich Lausberg) and stylistics. This expertise is applied to and combined, most importantly, with analysis of real life texts.

To put this discussion of BH tense into the wider perspective of the pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic discussions, we need to assert that tense is better described by

---

[141] R. E. Longacre and A. C. Bowling, *Understanding Biblical Hebrew Verb Forms: Distribution and Function Across Genres* (Dallas, TX: SIL–International–Publications, 2015). Bowling also seems to support the contention of the methodological chapter of this thesis that the approaches and results of text–linguistics and the Prague School are complementary. Bowling states: 'despite the criticism of Longacre [promoter of the tagmemic approach – a type of text–linguistic proposal] coming from some members of [the] Prague School [not named specifically, but probably referring to J–M Heimerdinger and Stephen Levinsohn], I find that this approach and Longacre's discourse approach are far more complementary than contradictory', cf Longacre and Bowling, 2015, p 43.

[142] Andrew Bowling, the author of this particular section of the book, states: 'Narrative is marked by the constellation of wyyqtl [the w–consecutive with the imperfect] and Nqtl [imperfect with preposed noun] as its main elements'. Cf Longacre and Bowling, 2015, 5.

[143] Interest in this matter follows a reversal into the way of looking at things in general introduced by Jacques Derrida. In his writings, he replaces the classical prominence of quantity over quality espoused by Emanuel Kant with that of quality over quantity. This observation belongs to Hodge, 2007, viii who developed her view of time in Derrida starting from this inversion: 'They [her inquiries] started out from a formal delineation, tracing out a disruption and inversion of the order Kant attributes to his categories of quantity, quality, relation and modality, as capturing some truth about Derrida's enquiries with respect to time.'

pragmatic instruments as Binnick suggests above. At this point, we observe two facts, one related to Weinrich general methodology and one connected to its place in the wider linguistic context.

Weinrich's text–linguistic proposal is eminently a pragmatic proposal as shown by the double distribution of tenses according to narrative/comment and foreground/background both referring the mode in which the speaker/writer addresses his communication to the listener/reader. This communication of the writer is aimed at transferring to not only the semantic content of the message but his/her involvement or, on the contrary, his/her distention with regards to the message itself (i.e. his or her linguistic attitude), and the type of relievo or prominence – some information is foregrounded, other is backgrounded.

The second point regards this specific connection between semantic and pragmatic factors in the context of what we, as scholars interacting with biblical texts, call general syntactical analysis. Authoritative voices from the Prague School assert that the (1) content of the message, (2) the mode of communication and (3) the syntactical disposition of this message in the sentence is to be analysed together rather than separately. Petr Sgall, Eva Hajičová, and Jarmila Panevová argue that while a semantic only analysis is possible, 'the truth conditions of a sentence depend also on pragmatic phenomena' where 'to (the non–semantic layer of) pragmatics' examines items like the '[r]eferential indices, modalities, probably also tenses'.[144] In consonance with Weinrich's discussion above, tense *tends* (though this cannot be confined) to be more adequately described by a pragmatic analysis. By the account of Sgall and all, it is difficult to draw a line between the two as pragmatics could be included in semantics (cf p. 46). However, the three items discussed are levels of 'semiotics' which look at relations: between symbols (for syntax), between objects (for semantics), and between speakers (pragmatics).[145]

Admittedly, tense describes both the relation between objects (or Agent–Action–Goal) and speakers (speaker–listener), hence the difficulty to draw a line between them (cf the discussion of Sgall and all on the same page on personal pronouns versus proper

---

[144] P. Sgall, E. Hajičová, and J. Panevová, *The Meaning of the Sentence in its Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects* (Prague: Academia, 1986), 12.

[145] Sgall, Hajičová, and Panevová, 1986, 46.

names). However, for both Sgall and all and Weinrich, the relation between speakers supposed by tense is a pragmatic one.

A further evidence that Weinrich's work is a pragmatic one is his basic tenet that 'tense is a word with unknown etymology'. This could refer two kinds of rejections. (1) One could interpret this as a rejection of the connection between tense and time, i.e. that function of tense predicated by Hans Reichenbach and his calculus of tense in the context of event time, speech time, and reference time. (2) A further interpretation of this rejection refers to the *semantic* interpretation of tense/aspect. This excludes the interpretation of tense as a sign for meaning time. To give an example, Weinrich is not in favour of semantic analysis of tense similar to that of scholars like Patrick Griffiths: '[t]he past simple indicates that he "told people …" before the time when he wrote the material quoted' or '[p]rogressive aspect portrays an event (in this case, him spending time with farmers) as in progress – hence the name progressive – during the relevant period of time, but leaves open the matter of whether and when it ended'. [146] One strand mirrors a logically deduced paradigm; the other displays a semantic description of tense.

---

[146] Cf for the semantic description of tense the example in P. Griffiths, *An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 93–94. His chapter on pragmatics does not discuss tense and aspect from a pragmatic point of view.

1.5 Further descriptions of narrative foreground background

Regarding the history of the foreground/background opposition (cf the introduction of this section), we turn to those authors writing within the same ethos with that of Weinrich. In contrast with Weinrich who casually mentions the plot as being part of the foreground (and what does not contribute to it is background), they take the plot to be much more important in their description. It all comes down to the idea of complete action (perfective–marked–foreground–online) or incomplete action (imperfective–unmarked–background–offline) of the verb. This is because only a sequence of completed actions may convey a sequence which creates a plot. In this context, they talk more about Weinrich's *real time* referring to the way in which certain verbal forms advance the plot (and hence the real time described) with foreground/online forms, while the other are background/off–line forms.

This section is organised chronologically according to authors: (1) Sergei Karcevski (imperfective/perfective) and Roman Jakobson (unmarked/marked); (2) Hopper, Dry, and Reinhart – the 'American strand' of the foreground/background proposal. The work of Labov–Waletzky will describe what a temporal juncture is. As an introductory remark, these authors are either developing (Karcevski, Reinhart, Dry) or just mentioning the idea that tenses in narrative are distributed according to their ability to convey the passage of time, propelling or advancing the narrative, being on or off time line, or part of the narrative skeleton.

All of them write without being aware of Weinrich's research and, to a certain degree, they represent an independent confirmation of Weinrich's proposal. Monika Fludernik explains this ignorance of the German scholarly advancements on this matter with the language barrier.[147] Probably, the weightiest affirmation of all about narrative foreground is the proposal of the temporal juncture of Labov and Waletzky

---

[147] M. Fludernik, 'Narrative Schemata and Temporal Anchoring', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 21 (1992), 118.

1.5.1 William Labov and Joshua Waletzky – a narrative analysis of verb

The Labov–Waletzky proposal[148] argues that genuine narrative is represented by the correspondence between the temporal sequence of the story and that of narrative. The narrative sequence is an 'order that cannot be changed without changing the inferred sequence of events in the original semantic interpretation'.[149] The delimitation of the narrative clauses is given by the temporal juncture, which represents two clauses, not necessarily one in continuation of the other, which cannot be interchanged without changing the narrative sequence. The narrative clause 'cannot be displaced across a temporal juncture without a change in the temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation'.[150] Accordingly, there are four types of clauses (or sentences), which represent the **evaluative function** of sentences in narrative:[151]

- *narrative clauses* are clauses which cannot be moved from their position as this represents the order of events as they happened;
- *free clauses* are those which can be moved back and forth in the sequence of clauses with no impact on the meaning of the narrative; they are not part of a *temporal juncture* (see below) and consequently, the temporal order is not disturbed when they are moved;
- *coordinate clauses* can switch places without changing the semantic value of the text (they could be in a sequence of two or more sentences);
- *restricted clauses* represent clauses whose rearrangement in the text is restricted by the same 'temporal sequence of the original semantic interpretation', but they are also restricted by other linguistic signs ('they did not…. he did not either').

The narrative appears when there is at least one temporal juncture as in 'I got into my car and turned on the radio'. The second clause cannot come before the first, without affecting a change in the sense of the message.[152] It supposes a scheme 'a–then–b'

---

[148] I consulted its reprinted version of their article of 1967, W. Labov and J. Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, No. 7 (1967/1997). Their research is based on extensive empiric evidence gathered by analysing oral interviews of people with different ages and social backgrounds with no higher education.

[149] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 14.

[150] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 20–21. All italics belong to the authors.

[151] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 4; for the referential and evaluative functions of the sentence cf 14–15.

[152] See on the topic of what narrative text is the section 'Alviero Niccacci's proposal of prelude' discussing the term 'episode' as the appropriate narrative division for the analysis of verb.

which becomes the benchmark against which all the other types of sentences in the narrative are described.[153]

A further important point for this thesis is the second function of narrative sentences – the **referential function**. Narrative texts suppose that certain sentences structure the narrative so that they can part of orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, or of coda. For our purposes, we only explain *orientation* (Niccacci calls this *antefatto* or prelude) as that section of the narrative which 'serve[s] to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavioural situation'.[154] Our examination of the biblical text shows that the grammatical value (wqetal or not) of the first (prelude) sentence in the episode signals whether the episode about to begin continues the end of the previous episode (those with wqetal prelude) or not (the rest of the other prelude forms).

1.5.2   Sergei Karcevski and Roman Jakobson

According to Karcevski, narrative past sequence is a series of preterite/perfective forms which replace one another, each of them being a result which takes us ever closer to present: 'Our attention has no time to hang on every result […] and senses only the succession of different acts'. By contrast, the imperfective looks at the action in its progress and therefore does not induce the connection with the present time, as it has its own 'past dimension separate from present dimension'.[155] Previously, Karcevski explained that the perfective (the determinative) represents 'an action conceived as unity' and imperfective or 'the indeterminate aspect (zero aspect) does not have such an indication'.[156]

This particular difference between perfective/imperfective forms the basis of a supposition of Karcevski of the two axes of the narrative. (1) The succession axis depicts 'images of the event' where each fact is replaced by another as one goes along the succession. '[E]ach event represents [in French '*decoupe*'] one unity of time, within which there is no place for a second event' – perfect is intended 'to mark the limits of each event'. (2) The non–succession axis contains 'an unlimited number of processes [which] can be assumed as being simultaneous, the temporal unity may be extended

---

[153] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 25–26.
[154] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 27.
[155] S. Karcevski, *Système du verbe russe* (Prague: Legiografie, 1927), 152. 'preterite' here refers not to the tense, but to the meaning of the verb which may be 'preterite of the perfective verbs' (no duration implied) and 'the imperfective preterite' (duration is also present).
[156] Karcevski, 1927, 133.

indefinitely'. Geometrically, 'non–succession is represented by a plan while the succession is a line'.[157]

Jakobson's argument on the verb derives from his general understanding of markedness. He supposes that in communication there is always a 'two–choice selections'. Thus, Jakobson suggests that '[e]ach verb of a given language imperatively raises a set of specific yes–or–no questions, as for instance: is the narrated event perceived with or without reference to its completion? is the narrated event presented as prior to the speech event or not?'.[158] The Russian perfective aspect 'signals the absolute end of a verbal process, in opposition with the imperfective (zero aspect) which leaves the question of the end of the action unresolved'.[159] Both Karcevski and Jakobson's zero aspect refers the unmarked imperfective in contrast with the marked perfective and it has nothing to do with the zero–tense (linguistic perspective) of Weinrich. While the latter applies it to the existence of a flow of communication as *narrative* asserted by zero degree tenses (passé simple and imparfait in French) and as *comment* with other zero degree tenses (present), for the Russian linguists, zero is attributed to the unmarked imperfective aspect *only*.

1.5.3   Paul Hopper

The topic of foreground and background fell under the scope of American linguistics starting with Paul Hopper. At the time of this original proposal he was not aware in his writings of the advance of his German counterpart.[160]

Hopper asserts that the definition of foreground and background relies on the quality of being on 'the story line' or whether it 'narrate[s] the main events'. By fulfilling both these tasks, foreground makes up the 'skeletal structure of the discourse'.[161] Foreground represents the sequence of events in chronological order; the sequence contains

---

[157] S. Karcevski, 'Remarques sur la psychologie du russe', in *Inédits et introuvables*, ed. I. Fougeron and G. Fougeron (Leuven: Peeters, 1938/2000), 60–61.

[158] R. Jakobson, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translations', in *Selected Writings II: Word and Lanugage*, ed. R. Jakobson (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1971), 265.

[159] R. Jakobson, 'Zero Sign', in *Russian and Slavic Grammar: Studies, 1931–1981*, ed. L. R. Waugh and M. Halle (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1939/1984), 153.

[160] I received this information by personal communication from Professor Hopper. The topic of delivered foreground/background was discussed at the Symposium on *Tense and Aspect* (UCLA, May 1979), whose papers were gathered in a volume edited by P. J. Hopper, *Tense–aspect: Between Semantics & Pragmatics* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1982).

[161] P. J. Hopper, 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse', in *Discourse and Syntax*, ed. J. M. Sadock and T. Givón (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 213.

completed events one after another. The subject tends to be the same within the sequence. The sentence displays an unmarked (normal) word order and preference for human subjects and dynamic events; the information is presented as real (as opposed to modal, subjective, optative, etc.). Background is represented by non–sequenced and non–completed events (the events may be simultaneous, after, or before what is previously stated). Frequent changes of subject, marked (emphatic) word order, irrealis information, and static events are its main features.[162]

Drawing on Wallis Reid's quantitative analysis, Hopper adds to the list above the following contrasting features of foreground–background (which can be said to be specific to the foreground–background opposition in French): 'affirmative as opposed to negative verbs', 'human subjects as opposed to nonhuman subjects', 'first person subjects as opposed to third person (definite animate pronominal) subjects', 'singular subjects as opposed to plural subjects', 'main character of discourse as subject as opposed to secondary character', 'main clause as opposed to subordinate clause', 'proper name subject as opposed to pronominal subject'.[163]

In a later article, Hopper and Sandra Thompson expand on the fact that foreground conveys high transitivity and background lower transitivity. The parameters according to which transitivity is assessed are (the first option of the two characterises foreground): **participants** (2 or more vs 1 participant – participant has the pragmatic meaning of agent, object, etc.); **kinesis** (action vs non action); **aspect** (telic and atelic) – telic, i.e. complete or incomplete action; **punctuality** (punctual vs non–punctual); **volitionality** (volitional vs non–volitional); **affirmation** (affirmative vs negative); mode (realis vs irrealis); **agency** (Agent high in potency vs Agent in low potency); **affectedness** (Object totally affected vs object not affected); **individuation** (object highly individuated vs object non–individuated).[164]

From this short outline of Hopper's articles, the reader can see that the existence of Weinrich's original concept of foreground/background pair is confirmed (they emerge

[162] Hopper, 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse', in *Discourse and Syntax*, 216.

[163] Hopper, 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse', in *Discourse and Syntax*, 217; cf W. Reid, 'The Quantitative Validation of a Grammatical Hypothesis: the Passé Simple and the Imparfait', in *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, ed. J. A. Kegl, D. Nash, and A. Zaenen (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1977).

[164] Hopper and Thompson, 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', 1980, 252–253. The article provides statistical evidence (cf 284–288). The authors also state that foreground is determined by 'a cluster of proprieties' – no single propriety is sufficient for it to be ascertained (cf 284).

from the analysis of narrative plot) and expanded to include other features like transitivity (transitive–intransitive), telicity (complete versus incomplete action), chronology (chronological versus non–chronological), and subordination, to name those that are important for us.

1.5.4 Hellen Dry and the 'illusion of temporal movement'

In the first of a series of three articles (between 1981 and 1992), Helen Dry produces a classification of sentences in function of their notional component which may reflect an accomplishment, achievement, state, and activity. Foreground (following Paul Hopper) is referred to as 'being on the timeline' where 'timeline is defined as a sequence of related situations portrayed as happening 'now' within the narrative'.[165]

She goes on to develop the so–called 'illusion of temporal movement'.[166] The timeline is a propriety that each narrative text has and it is manifested in the span reflected in the 'narrative's normal ration of reading time to represent time'. In contrast with background, the foreground narrative will be in (1) 'simple past or historical present tense', and it is (2) definite or 'actually occurring in the narrative world'. By contrast, (3) background is 'merely talked of, expected, or hypothesized'.[167] Equally, Dry distinguishes between perfective forms containing 'the final endpoint, of a situation' and imperfective which do not contain an endpoint.[168] One can infer from this presentation that foreground as 'propelling' the narrative is a concept tied with (1) perfect simple, (2) 'aspect and adverbials such as 'now'' and (3) sequencing particles.[169]

In her third contribution, Hellen Dry presents an overview of the major discussion on foregrounding.[170] Her personal mark on this discussion is the proposal that foreground/background represents a continuum (not as a contrastive relation – the

---

[165] H. Dry, 'Sentence Aspect and the Movement of Narrative Time', *Text* 1, No. 3 (1981), 233–234.
[166] H. Dry, 'The Movement of Narrative Time', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 12, No. 2 (1983), 19. In the introduction, she observes that narrative is a topic of discussion for philosophers of language, linguists and literary critics. The literary critics are said to have produced the foreground/background proposal but 'none, has, to my knowledge, addressed the question of what structures – linguistic or extralinguistic– create the illusion of the moving time stream' – in turn, this task has been taken up by the philosophers (she mentions here Hans Reichenbach and Arthur Prior) and linguists, discourse analysis specialists (Robert Longacre and Paul Hopper – to name the important ones).
[167] Dry, 'The Movement of Narrative Time', 1983, 21.
[168] Dry, 'The Movement of Narrative Time', 1983, 29.
[169] Dry, 'The Movement of Narrative Time', 1983, 48–49. Dry does not attribute the term foreground to a verbal form but to the sentence as a whole.
[170] She looks at the two fields of research which are interested in narrative text, Linguistics (Joseph Grimes, P. auld Hopper, Sandra A. Thomson, C. Wallace, and Tanya Reinhart) and Literary theory (Suzanne Fleischman and Deborah Schiffrin).

common opinion), made possible by a scalar view of foreground. She agrees with Hopper (1979), that temporally successive clauses have the propriety of 'identifying the foreground with a clearly defined level of text structure, one which, moreover, frequently has a morphosyntactic marking, e.g. the aspectual marking'.[171] In conclusion, Dry asserts that there is no agreed definition of foreground and 'we may identify as foreground whatever textual feature strikes us as prominent'.[172] It is evident from this presentation that she associates foreground with the marked perfective tense.

1.5.5 Tanya Reinhart

Reinhart begins with Labov's definition of narrative as being 'a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered'.[173] She links the classical proposal of Russian formalism of sjuzet/fabula (the order of events as happened versus the order of events in narrative, respectively) into Labov and Waletzky's work: 'the narrative clauses are only those in which the order of presentation in the text (*sjuzhet*) is identical to the order of occurrence of the represented events (in the *fabula*)'.[174]

Her view is that the narrative is present only where the order of events in the plot corresponds to that of the narrated reality. Reinhart recognises that her interpretation contradicts the assumption of the literary theory where 'temporality (or causality) is the defining property of narrative texts' or 'they define narrativity in terms of the *fabula*, rather than the *sjuzet'*.[175]

---

[171] H. Dry, 'Foregrounding: An Assessment', in *Language in Context*, ed. S. J. J. Hwang, W. R. Merrifield, and R. E. Longacre (Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington, 1992), 444. However, Dry recalls the distinction that there are a *temporal ordering criterion* and *the important event criterion* (following S. A. Thompson, ''Subordination' and Narrative Event Structure', in *Grounding and Coherence in Discourse*, ed. R. S. Tomlin (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1987), 436).

[172] Dry, 'Foregrounding: An Assessment', in *Language in Context*, 447.

[173] W. Labov, *Language in the Inner City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972/1986) 360.

[174] T. Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', *Linguistics* 22 (1984), 780. To support her point that a narrative means a text/fabula 'organized temporally', Reinhart uses as a counter example (of a non–narrative text) a summary of Ch. Dickens'*Great Expectation.* Her example is for a reader used to Weinrich's terminology a *comment* passage – Weinrich himself gives a similar example of comment of the summary of G. Orwell's *1984* by A. Lass, cf Weinrich, 1978, 61.

[175] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 781: The example of narrative and non–narrative contrast sentences which describe an event using 'and' ('*Well this person had a little too much to drink and he attacked me and the friend came in and she stopped it*' – narrative text) with sentences which change the temporal ordering ('A friend of mine came in just in time to stop this person who had a little too much to drink' – non–narrative text).

Furthermore, Reinhart points out that because foreground is described by Dry (1981 and 1983) as a 'sequence of clauses which move forward the time line of the story', it constitutes a change in interpretation of narrative time from that of Hans Reichenbach[176] (who included the speech time in his evaluation of time).[177] She observes a significant difference from Reichenbach, as we pass from a perception which included the time of speech (the S time in Reichenbach) to a narrative where time is determined based on the previous reference point: 'subsequent events are related directly to the previous reference point.'[178]

This is a point where Dry concords with the position adopted by Weinrich from K. Hamburger with regard to time: the tense in narrative has nothing to do with our solar time, the writing or reading time. For Weinrich, tense marks the zero degree of events (the same order of events in *fabula* and *sujet*) or deviations (anticipation or retrospection) from it – this leads to the creating Weinrich's text time.

The point of Reinhart's article is to link foreground/background with Gestalt theory as 'the temporal organization of narrative texts reflects principles of the spatial organization of the visual field'.[179] The difference between the two derives from their contrast: 'The foreground, or the 'narrative skeleton' is a (report of a) sequence of events ordered on a time axis. This chain of events, in and of itself, is meaningless. […] Its interpretation or its significance can be determined only if we know the physical conditions of its events, their motivations, the preceding circumstances …etc. In this sense, the background enables us to perceive or understand the foreground events'.[180] If we accept that narrative can also be interpreted as foreground/background that is because 'proprieties of the human mind restrict the way humans can process both visual

[176] H. Reichenbach, *Elements of Symbolic Logic* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), especially 287ss.

[177] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 785.

[178] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 786. Reinhart concludes this section by mentioning Käte Hamburger and Meir Sternberg who also supported the idea that speech time is not part of the narrative world, which constructs the time internally cf Hamburger and Rose [tr], 1971/1993, and M. Sternberg, *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore: Indiana University Press, 1978). The latter, together with Robert Alter and Adele Berlin, represents the literary approach to the Bible.

[179] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 787. Her research draws on studies of the narrative by Gerard Genette, William Labov and Kurt Koffa's Gestalt psychology.

[180] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 789.

and temporal or linguistic information'.[181] This approach effectively associates the experience of reading with that of seeing objects.

At the end of this description of Reinhart's points on foreground/background, we need to adjust some of her examples and affirmation for those of us familiar with Weinrich's methodology. Most of the problems derive from the fact in Reinhart's framework background receives all the events which are not in temporal sequence.[182] Switching to Weinrich's vocabulary, this leads to confusion of (1) comment and background; (2) background and recuperated/anticipated information:

(1) For Weinrich, there is a difference between narrative and comment as modes of communication. Reinhart's comparison between Charles Dickens's *Great Expectations* with past simple and its summary in present tense of N. Friedman does not stand.[183] This is because Reinhart compares something that is a comment text (summary) with background non–sequential information. For Weinrich, Dickens's text is narrative communication (not involved exposition about a third person); Friedman's summary is a comment communication or an involved exposition for the benefit of a second person, the reader, who for personal reasons decides to read the summary instead of the actual text of Dickens.

(2) Reinhart supposes that a sentence presenting recuperated information with 'had just sat down' is background. For Weinrich, this is not so as the sequence of past simple zero degree (cf the sentences in italics) is interrupted with recuperated information (not background or foreground) in past perfect after which zero degree resumes in past simple ('I told him').[184] In Reinhart's example (16), the fact that the mother sat down

---

[181] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 790.

[182] cf Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 795: 'each event in the series does not move the reference time further, hence it is part of the background'.

[183] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 793. Weinrich uses the same type of comparison (original narrative and its summary) in describing this opposition when discussing the narrative text of G. Orwell's 1984 and its summary in comment present tense by A. Lass Weinrich, 1978, 61.

[184] Cf most of the examples in Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 798–801 make this confusion.

occurred at an indefinite point in time before 'he sort of ran out …' – the sitting down is not background but recuperated information:[185]

'*He sort of ran out in the yard – this was way out on Coney Island – and he started to talk about it*. And my mother had just sat down to have a cup of coffee. *And I told him to cut it out*'.

We will return to one of Reinhart's example in our argumentation below to argue the connection that Weinrich supposes between tense and function.

---

[185] In order to be background information in Weinrich's framework, the sequence of tenses should have used a background English past continuous tense: 'and he started to talk about it. And my mother was sitting down to have….And I told him'.

1.6   Weinrich's text linguistics and the important terms for this thesis

1.6.1   Weinrich and the American strand on foreground/ background

The framework of Labov–Waletzky obviously mirrors Weinrich's foreground sequence of tenses. Because we are talking about 'a–then–b' events, these are events that are completed, i.e. the a–event ended before the beginning of the b–event. In Karcevski and Jakobson's terminology, this is the use of the marked perfect tense; perfect is marked as it contains a completed event.

The main advancement of Weinrich from Karcevski and Jakobson is this: while they assigned the marked/unmarked property to *clusters* of tenses based on whether they were completed or not, Weinrich presents (referring here only to a narrative communication flow) a duality of *single* tenses based on *presto* and *lento*: French passé simple (past tense) is foreground, imparfait (past continuous) is background.

Karcevski's proposal of the two types of narrative, using imperfectives and perfective (with their own temporal axis), matches that of Weinrich's relievo. The imperfectives refer background which considers 'the action in its progress' with unmarked or uncompleted events, here, Weinrich's *lento* comes to mind; by contrast the perfective has that *presto* feeling of '[o]ur attention has no time to hang on every result' with a marked and completed verbal form. These axes are probably part of the same communication flow of narrative and, thus, one exchanges one for the other in the process of communication. [186]

The zero–tense means lack of perspective (or of any hint about retrospection and prospection), where the information is presented only in sequence with the previous, with no swerving to past or future. Foreground/background builds on this idea of sequence and, down the line, as 'tempo indications' (lento – *imparfait*; *presto* or *molto presto* – preterite). The focus of Karcevski's foreground/background is the plot: preterite contains the sequence of the plot which conveys a fast pace narrative, while imperfectives convey 'past dimension separate from present dimension'.

---

[186] If a language supports *relievo* in comment this would not be related to a *lento* or *presto* quality; hence, the difference between narrative tenses and comment tenses.

Hopper and Reinhart seem to be in consonance about the plot expressing function of foreground in narrative. They also suggest the ability of foreground to convey complete, punctual information, with the exclusion of modal and negative sentences.[187] Hopper's evaluation of foreground is probably the most complete and looks at a varied pallet of dimensions as the organisation of the plot (foreground is 'skeletal structure of discourse'), markedness, agency, complete versus incomplete, and diathesis.

For these, there is, I think, sufficient rationale as the assumptions are corroborated by facts at least with regards to English. The other element which found its way into the core belief of their creed is that, in Reinhart's words, 'the foreground is defined as the sequence of temporally ordered event clauses, or the clauses which move the reference time forward'.[188] This particular statement, I dare say, is supported by intuition and direct observance of the narratives in question; however, what exactly is there in foreground that makes this phenomenon possible? These two authors limit their exposition to the statement of this fact, leaving the act of convincing us to the texts themselves. We shall see more about that when it comes to discussion the advancement of narrative time with wqetal and wparticiple (cf the last section of Chapter 1 '1.7.4 Aramaic tense distribution according to time passage').

Passing to Dry's articles, her approach is very much in line with Hopper with regards to the considering foreground that which is temporal sequence within the plot, the correlation of foreground with perfective tense (which refers the 'final endpoint, of a situation'), and the delimitation of the background using transitivity. Finally, she too indicates the existence of human agent as a sign of foreground.

In the following sections, I will pass to the discussion of this vocabulary in the context of Weinrich's work and show its place in the linguistic description of this thesis.

The idea that time is enclosed in the narrative text seems to be a common theme for these authors (Hopper, Reinhart, and especially Dry). Weinrich discusses this only from a philosophical perspective, looking for answers to questions outside the domain of linguistics. All authors profess a temporal advancement which narrative provides as the

---

[187] Cf here Reinhart's positive comments on Hopper, 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse', in *Discourse and Syntax*, and Hopper and Thompson, 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', 1980, in Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 801–802.

[188] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 794.

by–product of informing us about the events of the story. Nevertheless, we are left with the examples and with an increased interest in the way in which this could be linguistically or otherwise explained. The idea of the temporal 'illusion of temporal movement' proposed by Dry names this conundrum (cf a development of this illusion in the section '1.7.3 Time in narrative').

1.6.2 Tense as linguistic sign in Weinrich's methodology

Through a discussion of one of Reinhart's examples, this section illustrates the fact that, in Weinrich's methodology, each system of tenses has designated one tense for conveying one stable function within the language. This creates a 'stable connection' between tense and function. In my understanding of Weinrich's three dimensions, language displays several slot functions: narrative foreground and narrative background; comment foreground and comment background; in addition, the combinations between zero degree, retrospect, and anticipation and each of these four possible functions.

In this context, each tense represents one slot function in communication, marking the 'structural limit/border'[189] between narrative or comment along with the other specifications (foreground/background and linguistic perspective). Not all slots are covered morphologically by one tense, as in those languages which display a smaller number of tenses (cf German and Targum Aramaic), tense may come in combination with other linguistic signs (word order, particles, etc.) to fulfil the function required by one slot. In this respect, the case of French and Italian is revealing as, in contrast with English, they do not display a morphological tense for the comment background tense of English, the present continuous.

In this section, we compare the methodologies of Weinrich and Reinhart in order to show that the American strand is generally less strict with regards to the tense–function assignation. Opting for an exclusively descriptive way of interpreting syntax (this is foreground because this tense contributes to advancing narrative time, is transitive, etc.) without seeking to create a stable and uniform connection between tense and its explanation leads to confusion. This is evident both in the theoretical discussion of Reinhart and in the examples she presents as support. Also, it will be evident what we

---

[189] H. Weinrich, 'Tempus, Zeit, und der Zauberberg', *Vox Romanica* 26 (1967), 198. In German, he calls this *Strukturgrenze*.

mean when we say that Weinrich's methodology proposes a 'stable connection' between tense and function.

Reinhart's examples are (the italics belong to Reinhart who supposes that these forms are background):

(18) a The host was telling another joke. *Having already heard this joke many times before*, Rosa started to yawn.

(18) b The host was telling another joke. *Starting to yawn/having started to yawn*, Rosa has/had already heard this joke many times before.

Reinhart suggests that the 'awkwardness' of example 18b derives from the fact that 'in the second sentence the event belonging to the current reference time is presented as a background to an event ordered prior to this time, i.e. foreground–background relations are inversed'.[190] To explain her point, she believes that an event occurring prior cannot occur as foreground so the quality of being prior implies also background. In 18b, 'Rosa has/had already heard this joke many times before' is presented as foreground instead of background and this is from where the awkwardness comes, according to Reinhart.

I begin my explanations with 18a: the author decided to arrange the events of 1–2–3 (joke was heard many times before, joke heard again, yawn of one subject) as 2–1–3: (2) joke heard again; (1) the joke was heard many times before; (3) yawn of the subject. In 18a, the participle perfect tense ('having heard') suggesting recuperated information was correctly used in relation to the past simple foreground (2) 'the host was telling a joke'. So, 18a is indeed correct, but not because '*having already heard this joke*' is background (as Reinhart thinks) but because it is recuperated/retrospective information correctly signalled with a retrospective tense.

Turning to 18b, we need to clarify the confusion and to analyse the tenses making up the fabric of the three sentences. The confusion is caused by the changed order of events from 18a to 18b, from 2–1–3 (of 18a) to 2–3–1: (2) the joke is told; (3) yawn of character; (1) the character heard the joke before.[191] To complicate the matter further,

---

[190] Reinhart, 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', 1984, 799; the italics belong to Reinhart.

[191] The numbers suggest the order of events in the reality described or *fabula* (she heard the joke, she hears it again, she yawns).

18b adds into the mix one present perfect (*has heard*), a comment recuperated information tense, where 18a only displays narrative tenses.

Within Weinrich's work, the analysis of each tense in 18b is:

- *was telling*: narrative background;
- *starting to yawn*: narrative background tense;
- *having started to yawn*: narrative retrospective information;
- *has heard* : comment retrospective information;
- *had heard*: narrative retrospective (equal to participle perfect 'having started').

In my opinion the 'awkwardness' of 18b derives from two causes:

- the event 2 is followed by event 3 (she heard the joke a second/third time – she yawns), but the two grammatical situations of event 3 (*the yawn*) contradict this smooth continuation:
  - in the case with '*Starting to yawn*', the mistake resides in attaching event 3 as subordinate to retrospection (the event 1), when in reality it continues event 2;
  - in the case with '*having started to yawn*' besides the previous mistaken subordination, there is no suggestion of the continuous sequence of events between 2–3 because that order is broken with the use of past perfect participle of *having started to yawn*;
- in 18b, only one of the tenses for sentence 3 is correct: that of narrative tense of retrospect *had already started*, not the comment of retrospect – *has already started*;

So, 18b is awkward because the above sequence of events (*fabula*) of 2–1–3 (of 18a) is re–arranged into 2–3–1 (the joke is told, yawn of character, the character heard the joke before) without adjusting the tense order from event 2 to 3 to represent foreground advancing the narrative time (he tells the joke, she starts to yawn). When the change in the order of the events takes place, tenses follow suit. The sentences below in 18c and 18d (with past perfect) amend 18b appropriately:

(18) c The host was telling another joke. Rosa started to yawn, she had already heard this joke before. (narrative tenses: 1. background; 2. foreground. 3. recuperated information)

(18) d. The host told another joke. Rose was yawning, she had already heard this joke before. (narrative tenses: 1. foreground. 2. background. 3. recuperated information)

As shown by these examples of 18acd, authors of communication are free to use any order of events as long as tense does not contradict the meaning of the linguistic sign of tense as it happens in 18b.

So whenever, like in example 18, the event of 'telling the joke the nth time' has the position 1 before the event of 'telling the joke the first time' (as 2 or 3), the latter event requires past perfect retrospective as in 18acd. Using any other of the tenses presented for the hearing of the joke the second time contradicts their own signal as in 18b.

The syntactic explanation does not need to resort to the ideas of simultaneity and causation. While the events in reality described is 1–2–3 and fixed[192] (hear the joke once, hear the joke the second time, yawn), in relating this to the listener/reader the speaker/writer can arrange the events in any sequence of the above (2–3–1, 3–1–2, etc.) with the appropriate tense adjustment to account for the change from the reality (*fabula*) to the story (*sujet*). When the sequences coincide (event 1 is followed by 2 and then by 3) the zero degree is undisturbed – past tense or past tense should be used. The rearrangement of events in the story is signalled through the other tenses.

To summarise, in contrast with Reinhart's position, for Weinrich each particular tense receives a unique explanation in relation with the others on three coordinates: narrative/comment; foreground/background; recuperated/anticipated information interrupting or not zero degree. This triple organisation of the explanations creates a connection at the level of the linguistic sign. The signifier or the morphological tense, as it appears in Romance languages and English, receives a unique functional slot in the temporal system.

Conversely, when one examines more than one language, one can see that these slots are not present morphologically in a uniform way. Some languages have a morphological empty slot in their tense system. For example, French and Italian do not

---

[192] Any change leads to a completely different *fabula* – the basis itself changes leading to another variant of events to be described.

have a tense which differentiates between foreground/background[193] in comment while English does, as we already said above. Other languages, like German, may display the whole opposition foreground/background with word order: verb in second position for foreground; verb in last position for background.[194]

Weinrich's methodology binds the linguistic sign of one tense to one linguistic function, unique to itself. By discussing the case of German, which has word order as a secondary device for foreground/background, Weinrich recognises that besides the morphological signs, though enough for Romance languages and English, word order and other linguistic signs need to take part in the analysis of tense system.

1.6.3 The limits of Weinrich's vocabulary versus narrative descriptions in the American strand

In contrast with its American counterparts, Weinrich's vocabulary seems to be very cautiously construed. This is probably for reasons of simplicity and unity. Weinrich uses terms which apply to more than one context: For example, zero degree, retrospect and anticipated information as terms apply to both foreground and of background; narrative can be both foreground and background; comment can be both foreground and background.

In contrast with his counterparts, Weinrich does not use advancing of time[195] in talking about the progress of the plot to its end or about simultaneity or transitivity of tenses (discussed in other tense theories). With this, Weinrich confines his explanations within text–linguistic area only. In our own description of tense and word order, we need to thread carefully as we need to explain what their vocabulary does when saying 'backbone of narrative' or 'advancing the time' and how that is a good description of the linguistic reality. This is a discourse about opposing how physical or temporal images are conveying linguistic realties present in narrative literary works.

---

[193] Weinrich, 1978, 250. English has both a present simple for foreground and present continuous for background

[194]. Weinrich, 1978, 199–202. This thesis explains that in determinate circumstances Targum Aramaic uses word order to relate comment/narrative opposition.

[195] The assessment of time in language is a literary critical endeavour, not the object a linguistic analysis. Weinrich confirms that time is not a linguistic category: 'Past time, as well as present time, is not a linguistic category. Language is not interested in the question whether a fact is situated in a moment previous to the present time, but in the way a speaker looks back at it'; cf Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 36.

Let us take the example of Longacre and Bowling who for foreground wayyiqtol use the term 'backbone' of narrative. This builds on the image of the backbone – a sequence of bones which supports the frame of vertebrates – to depict what *wayyiqtol* does for narrative. Wayyiqtol effectively supports the disposition of events in chronological order which is the simplest order in communicating the plot from the beginning to the end. 'Advancing time' is also an image as it refers to the fixed sequence of events mirroring that of the reality (cf Labov) and ultimately leads to its finish. These terms are images not explanations of the phenomenon of advancing the time or the chronological dispositions of events.

Though for some it might not seems so, Weinrich proposes an *explanation* for presenting events in a way that chronology is respected or at least is not disturbed – which is the term of zero degree. In this context, he advances another two explicative terms of *presto* or *lento* as 'tempo indications'.

It is a reality that nowhere in his *Tempus* does Weinrich explain what *tempo* means apart from that it may be of a *presto* or a *lento* type. This might be one of the key deficiencies of his method. Are they still images or explanations as I interpreted them above? Weinrich discusses his idea of what passage of time means in the *Epilogue* of his 'On Borrowed Time'. We find that the so–called 'indications of tempo' do not actually mean time but *cadence*. His explanation of time is 'Hippocratic' and reflects on the play on words that the Latin *tempus* supposes. There is a homonymy between tempus/tempora, as time, and as temple (the flat sides of the head), the latter being ultimately related with 'pulse' which *beats* (it does not *advances*) at slower or faster pace. The continuous beating amounts to a sense of time, which he calls 'the sixth sense'. This connection between pulse and *tempo* contributes to his theory of Hippocratic time: 'Human time, which derives its rhythm from the regular or irregular beating of the pulse, cannot be understood as movement in space, or if so, at most as the circulation of the blood flowing through the arteries and veins'. This is based on his disagreement that time could be assimilated to space (against Aristotle's theory). So, for

Weinrich, time is subordinated to 'the fundamental conditions of human beings who know (but do not always want to know) that their days are numbered'.[196]

In a nutshell, what *lento* and *presto* mean is not advancing of time (though we see the image of it) but the way in which we are supposed to go over the plot, sometimes in a *presto* or a *lento* fashion. I interpret this as indications not of the time advancement but of the time we need to take – more for *lento*, less for *presto*. It might be that the story is not there to take us to the end; however, in this context, the story should take us swiftly over some events and less so over the others. The story is not there only to advance but also to stall our time to a different degree. This, I think, amounts to an explanation of zero degree, not an image of what zero degree does.

In our terms, wayyiqtol is there as 'backbone' of the narrative because it implies the *tempo* indication of *presto*, which is not time, nor movement, nor sequence. It is of importance that Weinrich never uses to describe foreground narrative the terms sequence of one event after another, form which advances the time of the story or as temporal movement. Weinrich's method is too carefully constructed to suppose that he missed the idea of sequence or temporal sequence.

Once we understand, where Weinrich stands with regards to time passage, we realise that this idea of passage present in the American strand does come in contradiction with Weinrich's creed expressed negatively with 'tense is not time'. Those who think time and tense are connected would say that tense does contain time because it is able to enclosed it and advance it towards the end. Their image of backbone and advancing time is based on the tense–time connection.

At this point, I support Weinrich's tense/time disconnection. Also, I clarified to a certain extent the limits of his vocabulary. However, two items need to be also asserted. First, the images used by the American strand depict the reality faithfully, so they are of use in discussion. Second, the audience of biblical scholars I address is entirely unaware of Weinrich's rather unique conception of time. As a result, we need to explain (i) why Weinrich avoids these images and (ii) why we are going to used them anyway in our discussion.

---

[196] H. Weinrich, *On Borrowed Time* (Chicago/London: Universtiy of Chicago Press, 2008), 201–209. As he admits, this follows the line of Martin Heidegger's conception of being towards death, *Sein–zum–Tode*.

(i) One cause for this avoidance could be the nature of the texts examined, which are mostly modern narratives with a highly distorted sequence of events, so one can never simply say that past simple has temporal sequence as function. In Targum Aramaic, it is true, as we shall see in the analysis of wqetal in indirect speech, where wqetal (the equivalent of past simple) does create a temporal sequence, with few exceptions.

In his analysis of these texts, Weinrich cannot use *images* of events like, *backbone*, or *sequence of events* or *temporal movement* to describe what narrative foreground. This is not because they are not true, but because it confuses the structure of his method which relies on comment/narrative opposition: comment tenses can also be used in sequence of events or temporal movement, or make up the backbone of novels. As a note, none of these combinations with the adjective 'temporal' imply that tense would signal time, but only its advancement or progression towards the end. Also, Weinrich restricts the use of *lento*/*presto* explanations for narrative foreground/background opposition, while for the comment foreground/background he does not advance any explanation other than that of the opposition of 'serious'/ 'less serious' statements (his examples contain the opposition present perfect and present perfect continuous).[197]

(ii) The avoidance of these easier images would make reading this syntax for the said student difficult to say the least. As we shall see a direct observation of Targum 1Samuel shows that wqetal (the Aramaic correspondent of wayyiqtol) is either in temporal sequence, i.e. the first event happened before the second in time, or, very rarely, wqetal lists events in which the sequence adds events in no particular order. We have made the observation and given the fix value of wqetal, and the image becomes the definition of wqetal itself. But this is not because the temporal sequence **caused** the wqetal.

As a result, we need to take a conscious decision about this. We can continue with the discussion of 'tension' or 'stressed' situation, 'tempo indication' of *lento* or *presto* in our outline of the Aramaic verbal forms. The problem for us is that, when a new syntactical proposal is construed, these terms are not resonant with the reader and they do not depict the reality as we *see* it. Some people might not be even interested in the mechanics of Weinrich's proposal and try to look ahead to into the actual verbal

---

[197] Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 37–40. He recognises that more studies on what comment foreground/background means are needed, cf p. 39.

analysis. Moreover, these terms are vague with regards to a common reader's understanding.

The other way is a two–step process: first, we need to acknowledge that the opposition narrative/comment (as linguistic attitude) works *together* with that between background and foreground (as relievo) as values of narrative *and* comment. Second, we include in our description those images which correspond to the reality of Aramaic tenses, as narrative values only. This also tells that the authors proposing the images only look at narrative as foreground/background, with no concern for the comment/narrative contrast.

On the one hand, the purpose of this little discussion was to outline the mechanics of Weinrich's text–linguistics and acknowledge its standards. On the other, we need also to acknowledge the necessity of these images describing the advancing time of the narrative, as tools which go back to the reality of tense sequence in text. As long as that reality of the oppositions is clearly defined, there is no room for confusion.

So the reality is that narrative is one mode of communication which has two *tempo* indications (not temporal indications) *presto* and *lento*. However, in our description of the verbal forms we will resort to images like that of Bowling's, and to many others which are going to come to the fore below. They are images and describe perceptions which facilitate adding to even more support (as we shall see independent) to Weinrich's reasoning of tense. Also they bring in body of proof and knowledge, which will shape our linguistic discussion of Targum Aramaic verbal forms.

1.6.4   Terms and conditions of the text–linguistics method

Taking into account the two oppositions (comment/narrative and foreground/background), any type of communication is ultimately an exchange of information between a speaker/writer and a listener/reader.[198] We discuss in the conclusion of this section: (1) which terms are important to retain from this rather ample methodology; (2) how Weinrich's framework is different from the traditional discussion of tenses; he rejects the connection tense/time, traditional syntaxes embrace it; (3) word order for FSP and Weinrich, as well as its impact on BH and Targum Aramaic. The last

---

[198] Weinrich Weinrich, 1978, 37–39.

point of this evaluation regards the necessity of a clearer definition (4) of text and its divisions, preparing the argument of the next section on text, episode, and time.

(1) In Weinrich's method, verbal forms undergo a triple analysis. It aims to surpass the traditional understating of the syntax, which offers descriptions based on a self–explanatory nomenclature (for example: 'here the past tense is used because the context of the action happens in the past'). Weinrich proposes three dimensions of language, by gradually uncovering (a) the structural limit or boundary between comment and narrative; (b) that these two structural differences may take *relievo* of foreground or background; (c) and that there is a delimitation of retrospect, degree zero and prevision which is to be found on both sides of the structural limit, in narrative and comment. Accordingly, these three dimensions express that the author/speaker conveys not only the content of the information (or the notional content of the verb) but also: (a') the level of interest of the author: comment suggests that tension/implication is present or required; narrative is associated with no tension – the reader is in a state of distension or non–implication; (b') how this information should be understood by the reader/listener, by positioning it on foreground or background (*relievo*); (c') the verb conveys the rapport of its information with the sequence of event. In zero degree, the sequence of events of the text is not disturbed to introduce retrospect or prevision. Retrospect and prevision mark this particular intrusion of a previous or an anticipated event within the zero degree sequence.

Turning this into the practical realities of the language, each of the languages Weinrich analyses display one tense responsible with the following types of communication: narrative foreground, narrative background, comment foreground, and comment background. These four types of information are multiplied when one looks at the likelihood that these languages should also differentiate according to the zero degree, retrospect, and anticipated information. To take the examples above and also attested by Weinrich, past tense is a narrative, foreground, zero degree tense; past continuous is again a narrative zero degree tense but of the background sort; past perfect is a narrative, foreground, retrospect; present tense is a comment, foreground, zero degree tense, with present continuous as comment, background, zero degree tense; future tense is a comment zero degree, used for anticipated information. Analysis on these three coordinates is developed for the remaining of English tenses.

A further term one should take into account is that of Hamburger's *I–origo* or simply, *origo*. The point of reference rests within the narrative as long as the communication is not of tension: we are charting the advancement of the plot and of time reference towards its end with the occasional backward or forward indications (retrospect/anticipation). It is customary for this communication to contain predominantly third person verbs and pronouns. The origo is connected and advances Weinrich's *text time*. As soon as this communication is turned into a stressed communication involving or supposing a first and second person (sometimes associated with a change of person verb and pronouns from third to first and second person), the *origo* is no longer referred to *text time* of the literary work and passes to the time between the narrator/reader, referring no time at all. This is considered a direct address of the narrator (in the case of a narration) who comments events just narrated or relates other new events for the benefit of the reader. The type of *origo*, associated with the passage of time within the literary work or referring to events as being not related to that time passage, is pertinent to the type of communication, narrative or comment, respectively.

(2) In the context of the writer/reader communication, referring to narrative but not excluding from this the comment dimension, Weinrich asserts that narrative is reader oriented and not concerned with simultaneous/non–simultaneous events. He asserts that 'In discussing the use of these temporal forms [past simple and past continuous], it is of no use to operate with concepts of simultaneity to conclude that the dialogue with the old man and the recognition of the bridge [described by Hemingway in *Old Man at the Bridge*] are simultaneous. It is natural that they are simultaneous; what is important, however, is not the simultaneity [of two events] but the fact that when the author recounts one after the other simultaneous facts, he chooses a specific prospective [foreground or background]. Of these two simultaneous events,[199] he moves one of them on the first level [i.e. foreground, with past simple] and the other to the background [with past continuous], and for this, he is using verbal tenses. […] he does that mostly because he knows that most of the readers prefer a story with narrative *relievo*'.[200] For Weinrich, the author decides which information is allocated to foreground or background. His stance on simultaneity reflects not a rejection of the

---

[199] Weinrich comments here two simultaneous actions described in Hemingway, *Old Man at the Bridge*.
[200] Weinrich, 1978, 174.

possibility that these actions are simultaneous. Instead, it seeks to replace the interpretation that simultaneity supposes about tenses (that they in some way relate time) with a foreground/background one – which is not based on time, but on *tempo* (cf below). Simultaneity becomes in his interpretation a by–product of the much broader category of foreground/background relation.

Weinrich's interpretation of simultaneity is ultimately in line with his decoupling of tense from time. Tense is not there to relate one time or the other but to relate the three dimensions described in this outline: linguistic attitude, linguistic perspective, and prominence/*relievo*.

(3) Another important term is word order. In these two syntactical methods, word order has two different meanings. For FSP, different word orders (within the analysis of linear modification, contextual and semantic factors) lead to establishing the unmarked and marked word order of the sentence.

For Weinrich's text–linguistics, word order has little importance when discussing Romance languages or English – these languages convey the distribution of tenses according to the three dimensions (linguistic attitude, linguistic perspective, and prominence/*relievo*) in a morphological fashion, i.e. the morphological tense is sufficient to signal any delicate combination of the three dimensions; in the case of German word order is of major consequence as it influences the way in which relievo is achieved, i.e. the distribution of sentences according to foreground/background.[201] Word order in German, according to Weinrich, relates (1) the opposition between foreground and background narrative (*relievo*), and (2) the replication of this opposition in comment passages: foreground and background comment.

To inform about the delicate difference on this topic of the tense system and what one can do with it, we observe that for particular combinations of dimensions, even romance languages may not present certain tenses. In Italian for example, whereas tenses do the opposition between imperfetto and passato remoto (narrative background versus narrative foreground), there is no similar opposition in comment because, as Weinrich notes, there is no difference between foreground/background in comment, which is left

---

[201] Weinrich, 1978, 202.

for the context to signal it.[202] This means that there is no morphological opposition between comment foreground and comment background tense in Italian – if present, it is supplied with other instruments, other than a morphological tense and word order.

Going down the scale of availability of morphological combinations from English (it displays all combinations of dimensions) to Italian (it lacks the comment foreground/background different), Targum Aramaic presents the same kind of paucity in morphological tenses as German. Thus, one expects that word order similarly is of significance in creating an opposition either on *relievo* (foreground background, cf German) or the other possible opposition of comment versus narrative. A third option is possible where word order has no impact (English). In view of the results of this thesis, the TA word order impacts not on the foreground/background opposition, but on the comment/narrative opposition (cf Chapter 4).

(4) In light of Weinrich's research, how text is understood requires clarification. Robert de Beaugrande pointed out this before by asserting that the definition of the term *text* proposed by Daneš ('a text is a linkage of minimal statements [Aussagen], i.e., of sentences that are fitted to a certain context and situation') does not offer enough detail and clarity.[203]

We discuss this term from the perspective of W. Dressler and Robert de Beaugrande, who propose the seven standards of textuality, and seek to further that delimitation with the proposal of the term *episode* as the proper division of 1Samuel, within which a sentence could be analysed. A sequence of coherent episodes adds to create the book. In this context, *text time* (of the zero degree sequence and its retrospective/anticipated information) receives a field of distribution where it has a beginning in the initial sentence/tense (following Weinrich and Niccacci, we call that *prelude*), and continues with the content and ends.

This section has pointed out that Weinrich has as a basis for his research in the linguistic current of Structuralism, but he adopted a personal way of interpreting the written text by putting together a mosaic of suggestions and insights belonging to W.

---

[202] Weinrich, 1978, 201.

[203] de Beaugrande, 'The Heritage of Functional Sentence Perspective from the Standpoint of Text Linguistics', 1992, 4.1. Beaugrande refers here to F. Daneš, *Papers in Functional Sentence Perspective*, 114.

Goethe, G. Müller, and K. Hamburger. As the book progresses and the reader familiarises himself or herself with the new terminology, his basic assumption of the three dimensions (linguistic attitude, linguistic attitude, and prominence) become clearer. Given the difficulty posed by the vocabulary and methodology used in this thesis, our approach will be similar: the reader will find at the beginning of each chapter a review of the major concepts used in developing our argumentation.

At the end of this discussion of the method, we cannot deny the fact that language does create Dry's 'illusion of temporal passage'. As time in literary work cannot be analysed by linguistic means, as Weinrich says, we turn to the literary critical proposal of Julia Kristeva and her analysis of 'temporal metaphor' in Marcel Proust's novels to answer how the illusion of temporal passage is possible. Also, this discussion takes into account the referential function of the sentence developed by Labov and Waletzky, who named the five possible functions of the narrative as orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, or coda.

The following two sections expand our discussion of the referential function of the orientation/prelude in biblical texts and provide a literary critic explanation of time passage in narrative texts.

1.7 Narrative: Text, Episode, and Time

According to René Wellek and Austin Warren, literature is a 'time–art (in distinction from painting and sculpture, space arts)'. In most types of literature, time followed by causation is the basic ordering factor.[204] We begin with these general thoughts on time in narrative to argue that even though time is not part of the linguistic discussion of individual verbal forms, as Weinrich says, one cannot ignore its importance in the analysis of narrative texts.

Gerard Genette and Jacob Licht[205] have attempted to count the phenomenon of time in narrative by looking at the difference in a number of sentences between events. From their accounts, one may conclude that time is not a measurable value within the literary work. However, Genette acknowledges that it is impossible to determine the duration of narrative[206] by the 'time it take[s] to read', as the speed of reading varies. He also stresses, and rightly so, that duration is simply related to shorter or longer narratives: the 'gradual slowing down of the narrative [is] achieved by the insertion of longer and longer scenes for events of shorter and shorter duration'.[207]

Time passage, however, is a narrative phenomenon which may be described through Julia Kristeva's 'temporal metaphor', which I propose as supplement to Weinrich's 'Tempus–Metaphorik' (tense metaphor).

Before looking at time passage, we need to examine the limits and define three terms: text, episode, and narrative. '*Text*' is a general label which meets the 'seven standards of textuality' (cf below) and is in contrast with the *non–text*. The text comes in different lengths starting from one episode of a literary work to a literary work as a whole, containing a multiple self–standing episodes.

---

[204] R. Wellek and E. A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), 222. René Wellek is a former member of the Prague Circle and a pupil of V. Mathesius.

[205] J. Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1978), 99–100 matches the verses within the Debora and Barack narrative episode with numbers of words for each and hours/days that the action could have taken to complete. The slowness or alert rhythm in the passage of time can be observed just by looking at the extremes he presents (p. 100): the summoning of Barak and his coming to Mt Nephtali needed 6 words and must have taken 6–10 days to complete; by contrast, the killing of Jael by Sisera is told in 70 words and must have taken an hour or less.

[206] G. Genette and Jane E. Lewin [tr], *Narrative Discourse (Figures III: Discours du récit)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972/1983), 86–87: 'no one can measure the duration of a narrative'.

[207] G. Genette, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Aspects of Narrative*, ed. J. H. Miller (NY: Columbia University Press, 1971), 101.

The discussion of 'text' and its limits (from where to where one can consider a text as being what it is) is connected with the so–called 'referential function' of narrative sentences indicated briefly in summarising the article of Labov and Waletzky above. They propose that there is an evaluative function according to which sentences may be divided in narrative clauses, free clauses, coordinate clauses, and restricted clauses. The second function of the sentences in narrative is the referential one. Labov and Waletzky assume that a sentence is a narrative genre text is part of orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, or of coda,[208] as specific places within the composition with a specific purpose. For example, the orientation is found at the beginning of the text and contains the basic information on which the narrative is built, the coda is located the end and shows how the story finishes. For the purpose of our research it is important to know where a text begins and ends so that one can effectively say that one sentence or another is part of the orientation/prelude, middle or end/coda.

The coming section will provide the vocabulary and methodology to determine how one sequence of sentences becomes a self–standing episode, while this status is refused to other. Based on this delimitation of what an episode is, Chapter 2 will show that the grammatical form of the prelude (first sentence in the episode) is a signal of the type of sequence between episodes: sentences with wqetal refer that the current episode continues the end of the previous one; the rest of the prelude sentences do not suggest this information.

1.7.1   What is a text?

The syntactical discussion in a text–linguistic environment cannot begin without answering properly to the question 'what is a text?'. The answer comes from outlining those characteristics which make a text a *text*, in contrast with a random sequence of sentences with no connection between them (or a '*non–text*', cf below).

Before presenting the definition of *text* accepted by this thesis (that of Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler), I will shortly review the various meanings the word *text* receives in the relevant areas of text–linguistics and discourse analysis, based on Jurgen Esser (about text) and John Sinclair and CoBuild (about discourse) – the two

---

[208] Other authors have developed the referential function of the narrative sentence. In this paragraph and in this note, narrative sentence means sentence which is 'part of the narrative genre' not Weinrich's narrative as a linguistic attitude.

terms are often confused. This discussion also looks at disciplines involved in the study of *text* and *discourse*.

Looking through the literature on the subject, Esser asserts that the range of meanings the term *text* can assume extends from 'any written material' to the loose supposition that 'the text of a speech, broadcast, or recording is the written version of it'.[209] As this kind of text has physical manifestation on paper, text is said to be 'medium–dependent', it needs to be 'meaningful and devoted to one topic'; in length it needs to be 'typically more than just a word or a sentence'.[210] Passing to the topic of *discourse*, CoBuild talks about *discourse* as being a 'medium–independent' part of communication (not in writing) and it can be 'a serious talk or a piece of writing which is intended to teach or explain something'.[211]

As is evident in the previous paragraph, *text* may be sometimes confused with *discourse*, so I turn to T. Sanders and J. Sanders for contrastive explanation of the two terms. Being meaningful, focused on one topic, and more than a sentence in length are the common traits that *discourse* shares with *text*.[212] They continue by saying that '*discourse* is used as the more general term to refer to both spoken and written language. The term 'text' is generally used to refer to written language.'[213] *Discourse* is the object of study for Rhetoric, and Conversation Analysis, and Sociolinguistics. In turn, *text* is explored by Stylistics, Text–linguistics, and Psycholinguistics. Due to the increasing options of recording oral communication in writing and the appearance of 'spoken corpora', they warn that the line between these separate disciplines has become increasingly blurred.[214]

Looking to summarise the meanings that the term text may have, one can conclude with Esser that the *text* can be: (1) the product of writing, (2) a fragment of spoken or written communication, (3) a corpus (containing a large quantity of texts in a language, from a specific period of time, belonging to an author, etc.), (4) 'a unit of linguistic description

---

[209] J. Sinclair and Collins COBUILD, *CoBuild English Language Dictionary* (London: Collins COBUILD, 1987/1995).

[210] J. Esser, *Introduction to English Text–linguistics* (Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang, 2009), 1–3.

[211] Esser, 2009, 3 quotes here from Sinclair and COBUILD, 1987/1995.

[212] Esser, 2009, 5.

[213] T. Sanders and J. Sanders, 'Text and Text Analysis', in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)*, ed. Keith Brown (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006), 597.

[214] Sanders and Sanders, 'Text and Text Analysis', in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)*, 598.

larger than the sentence', (4) a semantic unit (or a unit of meaning). [215] He concedes that 'in linguistics the terms 'text' and 'discourse' may be even used synonymously'.[216] Although for some authors, like Esser, the delimitation of the two terms may seem artificial, we can conclude *discourse* and *text* are described by two complementary disciplines, discourse analysis and text–linguistics.

Delimitations in our text–linguistic analysis

We have seen above that linguists and literary theorist alike struggled to define text and that their definitions do not make a clear difference between the lengths of texts. We do have a clear distinction between text and discourse, as medium dependent and independent ways of conveying a message, respectively. However, according to Esser, both text and discourse have in common the trait of meaningfulness, length (more than one sentence) and the focus on one topic. This is where the confusion appears between sections of text and discourse.

To clarify the term *narrative sentence*, I adhere to Labov and Waletzky's definitions who think that a narrative is established by only two temporally sequenced sentences: 'Any sequence of clauses that contains at least one temporal juncture is a narrative'.[217] Narrative, as a result, is not dependent on length or focus on one topic. It is only indicated by the sequence of two sentences, chronologically ordered. I will outline the general definition of text and then pass to discuss its application to episode.

Definition of text

Returning to the question asked in this section (*text* versus *non–text*), this particular difference is explained in Beaugrande–Dressler's classic 'Introduction': a *text* is a 'communicative occurrence which meets seven standards of textuality'.[218] They are cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality. These standards make a text what it is. Those texts which do not meet the standards are called 'non–texts'.

---

[215] Esser, 2009, 9.
[216] Esser, 2009, 9.
[217] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 21. Chapter 2 of this thesis analyses one type of wqetal as narrative. However, as our analysis is bound also to Weinrich's concept of narrative, I include the other forms of wqetal (the coordinate wqetal, non– sequential/incomplete wqetal, and wqetal hendiadys) and of wparticiple into to the *narrative linguistic attitude*.
[218] R. de Beaugrande and W. U. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1981), 3.

All the seven standards are 'relational in character' and examine how one occurrence fits the other: 'via grammatical dependencies on the surface (cohesion); via conceptual dependencies in the textual world (coherence); via the attitudes of the participants toward the text (intentionality and acceptability); via the incorporation of the new and unexpected into the known and expected (informativity); via the setting (situationality); and via the mutual relevance of separate texts (intertextuality)'.[219]

Each of these standards of textuality represents the milieu within which I or the authors I refer to discuss the analysis of specific verbal forms. I made clear these connections between one standard and its implication in the linguistic analysis in the second paragraph (not all standards include this connection). Four standards belong to text–linguistics (cohesiveness, coherence, informativity, intertextuality) while the other three to pragmatics (intentionality, acceptability, and situationality).[220] The seven standards of textuality are:

(1) A text is **cohesive** when 'the actual words we hear or see, are mutually connected within a sequence'.[221] Dependence and surface structure are the key words here: dependence refers to the relation of the various parts of speech within the text (grammatical dependence). Surface structure is 'the presented configuration of words'.[222] A more comprehensive definition of cohesiveness refers to 'all of the functions which can be used to signal relations among surface elements'.[223] More plainly this refers to the grammatical accord.

(2) **Coherence** is that standard that examines whether 'concepts and the relations which underlie the surface text are mutually accessible and relevant' or not. The authors list several coherence relations: causality, enablement (A is 'sufficient but not obligatory' for B: 'she made cookies, he stole them'); reason ('an action follows as a rational response to some previous event'); purpose; arrangement in time (or temporal proximity).[224] The coherence and cohesiveness of the text are text internal traits of the communication and on them rests the flow of communication.[225]

---

[219] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 37.
[220] Cf de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 31.
[221] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 3.
[222] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 48.
[223] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 3.
[224] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 6.
[225] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 4–7.

Coherence is important in determining the key concepts and relations within the episode. Their clarification within the episode is crucial for considering the episode a 'complete' text. When concepts and relations are not clarified, the status of episode for a sequence of sentences is to be rejected leading to expanding the length of the text until the clarification of the concepts and relations is contained within the text. An example of this process is the discussion of John 11 below.

(3) **Intentionality** refers to the fact that the communication aims 'to distribute knowledge or to attain a goal specified in a plan'.[226] This accounts for the attitude of the person producing the text/communication.

The intentionality factor is connected with Weinrich's delimitation between comment and narrative and that between foreground and background. According to him, it is the author who decides which linguistic attitude (narrative or comment) the text uses in communication or which relievo that linguistic attitude should have (foreground or background).[227]

(4) **Acceptability** mirrors the receiver's attitude of consent that the text is cohesive and coherent, 'to acquire knowledge or provide co–operation in a plan'.[228] Sometimes the receiver must use inference to attain this standard.

(5) **Informativity** is a standard which 'concerns the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected vs. unexpected or known vs. unknown/certain.'[229] There is a certain correlation between the amount of new information and effective communication: no new information causes boredom; an appropriate amount of information keeps the receiver interested; too much new information overloads him.

The standard of informativity reflects the distribution of the communicative dynamism within the Prague School's FSP. It is their contention that new information usually presented at the end of the sentence is based on the given inserted at the beginning of the sentence. Our reading of a sentence is perspective towards the new information at the end.

(6) **Situationality** 'concerns the factors which make a text relevant to a situation of occurrence'.[230] The text takes into account the class of people to whom the message is addressed, and the place and time you need to read it. (ex: the message addressed to

---

[226] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 7.
[227] Weinrich, 1978, 37 and 127–128.
[228] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 7.
[229] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 8–10.
[230] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 10.

motorist: 'Slow Children at Play' near a school or a playground; everybody should be able to read it at once).

(7) **Intertextuality** refers to that activity of the text producer who uses, or hints at previous texts known to his readership in order to convey his own message in a more convincing way.[231]

These standards provide a basis for determining a '*complete*' text, which means for de Beaugrande and Dressler, the point where author reaches the so–called 'threshold of termination' or when 'the producer finds the outcome satisfactory for the intended purpose'.[232]

This concept of completeness or the seven standards asserting the completion of a text provides an objective way of asserting that a literary work is completed, on the one hand, and the ability of dividing it into sections or episodes which produce a meaningful message by themselves, on the other hand.

This later delimitation is particularly important in the analysis of verbal forms or sentences. As narrative verbal forms have a double function, one referential and one evaluative function (cf Labov & Waletzky), our analysis of 1Samuel narrative needs the 'episode' demarcation as the shortest possible complete text within which the verbal constructs could be examined without missing Labov and Waletzky's referential function of narrative. Detecting the referential function needs marking the beginning and end of a text, the episode being the appropriate place within which the verbal form can be analysed taking into account the immediate context of the episode and the connections and relations established with other sentences. To give two examples of this referential function, besides being narrative, the sentence may begin a story (so it introduces characters, places, etc.) and functions as orientation; a narrative sentence could also end a story (it shows how the story is resolved), and hence it functions as coda. In the narrative of 1Samuel, *episode* is a term which contributes to determining this referential function of the narrative sentence.

---

[231] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 11.
[232] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 34–35.

1.7.2   Episode and prelude of episode

The necessity of explaining the terms *text* and *episode* derives from two reasons. On the one hand, Weinrich uses a rather vague definition of text as 'an ordered sequence of language signs between two noticeable discontinuations [*Unterbrechungen*] of communication'.[233] One the other hand, starting with Niccacci, the text–linguistic analysis in Semitic languages has turned to the referential function by looking at the so–called antefatto/prelude or Labov and Waletzky's orientation.

Now, we can define 'episode' as a section of a literary work in a natural language, which has a meaning by itself and as a result, it may be read outside the context of the other episodes. The episode is a self–contained unit, bearing the features of the term *text*, as described earlier by Beaugrande and Dressler (coherence, cohesiveness, situationality, information, etc.). One needs two episodes to delimit them one from another. The break in meaning from one episode to the next may be of theme, geographical or time location, and characters. A stretch of a literary work needs to contain information about the beginning, middle, and end of the story, and be at least three sentences long (corresponding to the beginning, middle and end parts) in order to qualify as an episode.

As a note on Weinrich's definition above, I think he refers to a length of communication closer to an episode, as the beginning and end of a literary work do not need discontinuations or breaks to be marked. An internal division of the text would need a discontinuation in communication, which means a discontinuation in the relations and concepts discussed, a change in characters, etc.

 After the delimitation of the term *episode*, this section looks at providing a practical discussion of how one may go about deciding the *length* of an episode. The test case is the example of John 11, already discussed by Niccacci. This is an opportunity to assess the meaning of the first sentence of an episode or of what it does not only within the episode but also in connection with the previous episode (cf for the discussion of the prelude forms the section 'Prelude forms in Targum Aramaic' on page 117). Ultimately, this is not about a specific length but about how to decide on the 'threshold of termination' where the episode makes sense by itself. Once the length of a self–standing

---

[233] The translation belongs to de Beaugrande, 'Text Linguistics', in *Discursive Pragmatics*, 288 from H. Weinrich, *Sprache in Texten* (Koln: Klett–Cotta, 1976).

episode is established, the sentences presenting the referential function of orientation/prelude, complication or coda/end–of–episode are easier to determine. The section will also seek to define the meaning of prelude.

Niccacci's prelude comes from the Italian *antefatto*.[234] Prelude or 'antecedent' forms contain information which 'the reader is reminded of so that he can understand the narrative which follows'.[235] Niccacci's analysis shows that the 'constructions with antecedent' are waw–x–qatal, waw–x–yiqtul and waw–simple nominal clause with a participle.[236] Also, in his opinion, there is a distinction between foreground forms (advancing the narrative) and antecedent forms with which 'the author provides the prelude to narrative'.[237]

In later articles, *antefatto* is explained as 'that text unit expressed with background verbal forms which describes the prior situation in which the account [about to be narrated] takes place, or provides information which the reader/the listener needs to know in order to understand the account which is about to be narrated'.[238] Also, *antefatto* contains information about 'the situation, characters, and place' where the account takes place.[239]

Blurring the line between background and *antefatto*, Niccacci extends this explanation (in his analysis of John 11) of *antefatto* to comprise 'not only that [unit] found at the beginning of an account, but also that which occurs in the middle [of an account] to signal minor subdivisions of the same account'. He continues here with what he believes to be a feature of *antefatto*: 'it signals a rupture with regards to the foreground

---

[234] Oxford–Paravia, *Italian Dictionary* (Milano/Oxford: Paravia–OUP, 2010), 1499: *antefatto* – antecedent, prior event; (*narrativo*) back–story.

[235] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 36. The existence of 'antecedent forms' is validated with an analysis of Genesis 1:13; 2:5–15; 3:1 and 4:1 (cf pp. 37–38).

[236] The last construction is called 'simple nominal/noun clause' in contrast with the first two which are 'complex nominal/noun sentences' because they have a 'predicative' verb headed by a noun. Together these two types of sentence form a contrast with *wayyiqtol*, *weqatal*, *weyiqtol*, *weimperative* which are predicative sentences with no noun before the verb.

[237] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 40.

[238] A. Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', *Liber Annuus* 42 (1992), 97; my translation.

[239] Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', 1992, 104. Similar information in English about prelude is found in A. Niccacci, 'Marked Syntactical Structures in Biblical Greek in comparison with Biblical Hebrew', *Liber Annuus* 43 (1993), 39. The only new features of prelude or *antefatto* mentioned in this article are the Latin origin of the term (*ante factum*) and that *antefatto* is 'a kind of circumstance placed at the beginning of the text'.

form which precedes it while it constitutes a syntactical unity with the foreground form which follows'.[240]

In view of the function that *prelude* forms have in the narrative of 1Samuel, we need to propose an adapted definition for the purpose of this thesis. Once one divides the book of 1Samuel into episodes, it becomes evident that in most cases it is wqetal (or in BH the wayyiqtol) which begins the new episode by introducing characters and new places (cf Annex 1).

To state our main points about prelude or *antefatto*, it marks by definition a 'rupture' from the previous events and is connected with the coming foreground forms in the story, as Niccacci rightly observes. Nevertheless, we need to limit the position of the prelude to the *first sentence* in the episode and grant this label only to those sentences which continue introducing new characters and places after the first sentence immediately. Moreover, we need to warn that the referential function (being a prelude/orientation or coda/end–of–episode) do not necessarily say anything positive or negative about the value of a verbal form as foreground/background or comment/narrative. For example, as observed above, most of the episodes in 1Samuel start with a wqetal, a narrative foreground verbal form, which happens to be in prelude position.

As a note, the analysis of Chapter 2 shows that the episode beginning with wqetal forms in prelude position have the role of signalling that two subsequent episodes are in *temporal* sequence, i.e. the second episode could not have come before the first (cf the section 'Temporally sequenced narrative in 1Samuel and wqetal and wqetal of prelude' on page 130). When prelude contains other types of sentences, that temporal sequence is no longer in place, and the order of episodes is disrupted (cf the section 'Other forms of prelude' on page 137).

We will explain our main points about prelude by discussing the same text Niccacci offers as support of his argumentation: the pericope of John 11. The language in which prelude is discussed is of no consequence as the referential function is an attribute of the narrative genre.

---

[240] Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', 1992, 100; my translation.

Niccacci argues that there could be two episodes in John 11:1–17 (death of Lazarus) and 11:18–45 (Jesus is informed about this by his Lazarus' sisters) and that would allow 11:18 to be read as *antefatto*. [241] However, reading this narrative with the two of the seven standards of textuality (coherence and cohesiveness), we observe that one section cannot be separated from the other as they form together one episode divided into two panels.

The fundamental difference on which this discussion relies is that a narrative in the Bible (and I dare to say in all pieces of literature) is divisible into episodes. For a sequence of sentences to become an episode, it is not sufficient to meet Weinrich's criteria, i.e. the sequence to be delimitated by a significant break in communication. The sentences, I would argue, need also to meet the same textuality criteria proposed by Robert de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler. Their seven standards of textuality apply to all text (discussed above).[242] These criteria, as we shall see, help deciding whether two pieces of literature apparently independent qualify to become an independent episode, i.e. a proper text. The most important two standards of textuality are cohesiveness and coherence.

Following Beaugrande and Dressler, cohesiveness refers to 'functions which can be used to signal relations among surface elements', which roughly means grammatical accord. The most powerful concept of all is that of coherence which refers to concepts (cognitive contents) and relations ('links between concepts').[243] Trying to identify what exactly makes an episode what it is, an episode needs to contain all the necessary

---

[241] Niccacci's article of shows that the basic principles of the text–linguistic method of Hebrew are very much applicable to the Greek of John 11 (cf Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', 1992, 85–108). The alternation foreground/background is represented by the alternation aorist/imperfect, respectively.

My division in episodes of John 11 is: episode A (11:1–45) – the death of Lazarus and his resurrection by Jesus and episode B (11:46–57) – the reaction of the high ranking officials to Jesus miracles. This is based on the fact that there is no mention of Lazarus resurrection after verse 44; the second is that the particle δέ in verse 46 is to be read not as adversative but as transition particle from one episode to another, as a simple *then* or, if one needs to show a clearer break, *after that*. There are plenty of examples of this use in John with δέ at the beginning of a new episode (1:44; 2:8–9; 23; 3:1, 23; 8:1; 11:1; 13:1; 20:1, etc.). Moreover, in the episode B, (1) Jesus' activities are referred to as ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἰησοῦς ('what Jesus had done' vs 46) and σημεῖα ('signs' or 'miracles' vs 47) – so to a plurality of events – which refers to entirety of Jesus' activity; (2) the place and characters are completely different from A to B: in A, Jesus is main character; in B, he is only referred to as a third person during the plot of 47–53, and then showed as reacting to their plan (54–57), again in third person. The point is that there is no loss of understanding of the full meaning of the pericope B if one read it as a self–standing episode.

Anticipating the argument of this section, 11:46 is a good example of aorist being used as prelude/*antefatto* at the beginning of a new episode.

[242] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 3–10.

[243] de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 3 and 6.

concepts and relations – when that is not the case the episode is no longer a coherent text and is demoted to a *panel* which needs a previous or later *panel* to contain that concept. At that point, they form one episode together.

There is a scale of narrative. The first level is the simple sentence; the second level is that of 'sequence of sentences' or *panel* – this formation makes sense together but because it needs another 'sequence of sentences' or another panel to clarify concepts and relations – they remain a *panel*; the third is the episode which can be read independently from another episode without needing to clarify concepts or relations. At the end of the scale, there is the finished product of literary work. To be clear, *the prelude only occurs at the beginning of an episode* – in all other circumstances (transition from one panel to another inside an episode or just introducing new characters or information), it is only a prelude–like transition from one panel to another.

Discussing the same passage of John 11 is a good opportunity to clarify and adapt the concept of prelude and episode. In verse 18, Niccacci supposes that this is 'another short prelude [antefatto] within the narrative'[244]. If we read separately the panel starting with verse 18, we see that that there are a number of questions (again about concepts and relations) that we need to ask ourselves before we understand the section as proposed (mainly without Lazarus's death which happens in 1–17):

- The story of 11:18 begins with where Bethania is. This is a lack of relation because we do not know why the place of Bethania is important. The name has already appeared twice in 11:1–17 and this place is days away from Judea were Jesus was; another relation we miss is that of whom Martha and Maria are. This was stated in 11:1–2 where they are named as sisters of Lazarus from Bethania; also, more information is said about Maria (she anointed Jesus' feet and wiped them with his feet);
- People come to comfort Martha and Maria in verse 11:19. If we read 11:18 as prelude of episode (and not as a transition), this becomes a lack of concept: what happened to their brother exactly? he was sick and died, an event related in 11:11;
- The two ladies hear of Jesus coming in verse 20. What is he coming for? There is a lack of concept and relation: he is coming because the sisters sent for him

---

[244] Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', 1992, 105.

(relation present in 11:3) and because he is a friend (concept presented in 11:4–5).

A less obvious connection between the two panels is the fact that by reading separately the second we miss that that Jesus comes to Bethania for the purpose of the miracle already announced in 11:4 ('This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God') – this is lack of relation.

Consequently, supposing a prelude form in 11:18 severs the close relationship between the panel of 11:1–11 and the next starting 11:18, two parts of the same episode. If they are considered together, we also understand other internal connections within the episode. In the words (21) 'Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died' there is a question we can ask: was Jesus family or was he from that village to support her presumption that Jesus could have helped? Verse 11:3 answers it with the relation that the sisters sent for him, probably in time to save Lazarus, but he delayed coming for another two days (11:6).

As a result, the coherence of the panel starting in 11:18 lacks major concepts and relations for us to be reading it as a self–standing episode, with its own prelude/antefatto, even though the events recounted in the two panels (11:1–17 and 11:18ss) suppose a time gap. Instead, 11:18 acts as a transition between episodes rather than a prelude.

Each episode allows a completely separate reading from the previous or the next episode in a narrative, i.e. all the information is already present in the *antefatto* or is distributed later within the episodes itself. If a panel displays a lack of concept or relation, we need to pair it the previous panel or the next to achieve coherence. *Antefatto* or prelude has the single task of building the bridge between two episodes, allowing for the new episode to be read as a self–standing story.

We note that the term *episode* is mentioned only a couple of time in Niccacci's *Syntax* with no definition of what it means. Later contributions also do not give a definition. However, his syntactical comment on the Deluge (Genesis 6:9–8:22) asserts that an *antefatto* form is used to introduce the new episode in 7:6: וְנֹחַ בֶּן־שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מַיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ.[245] In his analysis of Ruth, he states the existence of narrative division of

---

[245] A. Niccacci, 'Diluvio, Sintassi e Metodo', *Liber Annuus* 44 (1994), 25.

episodes in 2:1 and 4:1.[246] All in all, Niccacci is aware that biblical narrative may be divided into episodes which are introduced by specific *antefatto*/prelude forms.

Our technical discussion of episode provides the basis for the divisions into episodes of 1Samuel and the interpretation that this division receives (cf Chapter 2). Furthermore, in the context of discussing time in narrative, it provides the extent of the episode where the idea of time may be analysed: there is the passage of time within the episode (a sequence of forms may or may not contribute to it); and there is the passage of time suggested by the prelude forms – some prelude forms display chronology between two episodes temporarily, others do not.

---

[246] A. Niccacci, 'Syntactic Analysis of Rut', *Liber Annuus* 45 (1995), 105: On Rut 1, 'The main narrative line (wayyiqtol) goes on uninterrupted until 2:1. There we find an off–line construction with the function of providing 'antecedent information' at the beginning of a story. It is not, however, a new story but rather a new episode of the same. Another such off–line construction is found in 4:1. It also marks the beginning of a new episode.'

1.7.3 Time in narrative

Tense theories have always considered that tenses are there to convey time of some sort.[247] Weinrich's method is unique in stating that tense looks at the sequence of events (or lack thereof) rather than being involved in signalling time. However, the analysis of language rarely puts in separate boxes time and tense, so our argumentation would be lacking by ignoring time in the description of tense.

Though we cannot say for certain what is the proper rapport between time and tense (Weinrich chooses to say that time in his description is a word with an unknown etymology), the type of text under analysis does influence the decision of whether the topic of time may be avoided. If this thesis had *imperative tense* or Winston Churchill's speeches as a body of reference, the linguistic analysis could have avoided discussing time. These two objects of study would suggest a comment type of text where time is not involved. However, 1Samuel is predominantly a narrative text so this topic cannot be evaded. We are not going to look at time but at *time passage*, and not from a linguistic but from a literary critic perspective.

Time passage was a concern for a number of literary critics, including Gerard Genette[248] and Julia Kristeva[249] the scholars we are going to discuss. They happen to look at the same body of evidence (the works of Marcel Proust) but with a different perspective. The former is interested in the isochrony[250] between the real time of the events

---

[247] W. Klein, *Time in language* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 16–31. Klein lists the three 'conventional' theories (of tense, aspect, and *Aktionsart*) which do include time in their explanation and opposes them to Weinrich's comment/narrative and Hopper foreground/background who associate tense a 'discourse function'. In his interpretation this latter type refers to 'time as secondary meaning of tense', the primary being 'to mark different discourse types'; cf pp. 17 and 20. As a note, Klein refers to Weinrich's comment as 'reporting' – comment does report but only when introduces retrospect information with *present perfect*; the other tenses of comment, *present tenses* and *future*, represent zero degree and anticipation, respectively.

[248] Genette, a literary critic and linguist, wrote widely on Proust narrative and developed his own textual linguistic account of the verb in French Cf more about the place of his in the discipline of narratology cf J. C. Meister, 'Narratology,' ed. Peter Hühn and et al, *The Living Handbook of Narratology* (Hamburg: Hamburg University; URL: http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/narratology [consulted 26/03/2016], 2011, revised 2014).

[249] Cf a short summary in W. Fowlie, 'Review: 'Proust and the Sense of Time' by Julia Kristeva', *The Sewanee Review* 102, No. 1 (1994).

[250] OED 15/03/2015: isochronous 'a. Taking place in or occupying equal times; equal in metrical length; equal in duration, or in intervals of occurrence, as the vibrations of a pendulum; characterized by or relating to vibrations or motions of equal duration; vibrating uniformly, as a pendulum. spec. in Prosody, equal in metrical length.'

described (*fabula*) and the time it receives in the literary work (*sujet*). He[251] also expands our understanding of the shapes that time can take in narrative (ellipsis, summary, scene, and pause).

Kristeva explains the way in which Proust uses the five senses to create a metaphorical time and a metamorphosis of the event in narrative. I engage with Kristeva's work as it completes, I believe, Weinrich's account of the Tempus–Metaphorik, where the latter observes that the sequence of two tenses is a metaphor. Kristeva illustrates the impact of this metaphor on our reading which is the passage of time.

1.7.3.1 *Genette and time in Proust*

Genette seems to agree with de Beaugrande and Dressler in terms of what a text does. Their 'threshold of termination' receives a new meaning when interpreted with Genette's supposition that 'all narratives, regardless of their complexity or degree of elaboration […] can always be considered to be the development of a verbal statement such as 'I am walking' or 'He will come', or 'Marcel has become a writer''.[252] The text (either as episode or as the literary work as a whole) becomes what it is whenever the statement summarising it becomes clear, with no need for further clarification. To take the example of the episode John 11:1–45 (discussed above), the summarising statement of this narrative could be 'Jesus resurrected his friend Lazarus'.

There are numerous points of contact between the work of Weinrich and Genette. We list two of them as confirmation of their common theoretical core. First, they both refer to Gunther Müller's distinction[253], between 'story time' (Erzählzeit) and 'narrative time' or better, using Weinrich's interpretation of this distinction, 'narrated time' (*Erzählte Zeit*). The time of the written narrative is granted by reading – narrative 'has no other temporality than what it borrows, metonymically, from its own reading'.[254]

---

[251] In the introduction to the English translation of this book, Jonathan Culler shows that in his analysis of Proust's narrative, Genette focuses on the 'the power of the marginal, the supplementary, the exception' and this is part of Derrida's post–structuralist analysis. Individuating these particular exceptional categories of Proust, Genette shows that, though apparently 'marginal phenomena', they 'determine the norms; these cases which the system seems to set aside are in fact crucial to it', cf J. Culler in Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 13.

[252] Genette, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Aspects of Narrative*, 93; the idea is fully developed in Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 30.

[253] Müller, 'Erzählzeit und erzählte Zeit', in *Festschrift fur Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider*. Also cited by Weinrich, 1978, 32–33.

[254] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 34.

Second, the way Genette integrates past and future in his account of narrative reminds of Weinrich's retrospection, anticipation, and zero degree: Genette transfers the anachronies that retrospection/anticipation signify to another pair: **prolepsis** ('narrating or evoking in advance an event that will take place later') and **analepsis** ('any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment').[255] A story with no anachronism means 'a kind of zero degree that would be a condition of perfect temporal correspondence between narrative and story' (this is more of a possibility than a reality).[256]

With regards to time in narrative, it is important to note two of Genette's proposals. The first proposal is the alternatives to ordering events in chronological succession: (1) 'geographic ordering' or 'spatial proximity' (the succession of stations on a train line); (2) 'thematic kinship' (a certain feeling) or (3) thematic identity (good weather associated with one family, bad weather with the other).[257] These are of significance in observing the relation that episodes of 1Samuel (as independent sections of text) enter, besides the chronological relation (cf for this the section 'Prelude and the sequence of episodes in 1Samuel' on page 132).

A further similarity between Genette and Weinrich regards the shapes or forms that narrative may take in its progress. Reminiscent of Weinrich's 'tempo indications' (*lento* and *presto*), Genette establishes 'canonical forms of novel tempo' (similar to the four movements in music: *lento*, *andante*, *allegro*, and *presto*). This supposes a progressive deceleration from one extreme of 'the infinite speed of ellipsis' to the other extreme of 'the absolute slowness of descriptive pause' (i). These classical forms of representing time in narrative are four:[258]

- **ellipsis:** (i) 'a nonexistent section of narrative corresponds to some duration of story'; (ii) 'certain amount of narrative covered in a zero amount of narrative';
- **summary:** (i) story time is longer than narrative time; (ii) it reduces the narrative time to a minimum; it acts as 'transition' device between scenes[259] and

---

[255] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 40.
[256] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 36.
[257] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 84–85.
[258] (i) Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 93–95; (ii) Genette, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Aspects of Narrative*, 102
[259] Genette, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Aspects of Narrative*, 97.

'with great flexibility of pace covers the entire range included between scene and ellipsis'.[260]

- **scene:** (i–ii) story time and narrative time are equal – e.g. dialog, supposes an 'equality of time between narrative and story'.[261] Besides dialogue[262], a scene is a central venue of showcasing all the information through various devices: 'digressions of all kinds, retrospection, anticipations, iterative and descriptive parentheses, didactic interventions by the narrator, etc';[263]

- **pause:** (i) narrative time is longer that the actual story time; (ii) 'discourse [narrative] continues while historical [story] time is at a standstill'. It is the moment of contemplation or depicts in narration the interior experiences of the character (impressions, discoveries, errors, feelings).[264]

Moreover, it is important to note that one could interpret this section of Genette, as an apt literary critic expansion of Weinrich's *tempo indications* of foreground (*presto*) and background (*lento*). The *lento* verbal forms are the fabric of pause and scene; the *presto* verbal forms create the scene and sit very well in a summary, though probably what differentiates scene and summary would be the number of *presto* forms used – less for summary. Ellipsis would be using *presto* verbal forms, probably an even lesser number of forms than summary to suggest the implied events, omitted thought ellipsis.

1.7.3.2 Kristeva's temporal metaphor – time in narrative

This section introduces and provides support for one core idea of this thesis that time in narrative does not have a linear development but it follows the expansion of a curvature. The phenomena of expanding the narrative through scene (for example, a dialogue may be expanded as much as the author considers necessary) and pause described by Genette find support in the discussion of Weinrich's Tempus–Metaphorik and Kristeva's analysis of time in Proust. Ultimately, this leads to accepting Jacques Derrida's presumed position that being does not follow a linear time of one event after another. Instead, our experience of being through reading is a curvature: in narrative, some

---

[260] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 94.
[261] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 94.
[262] Dialogue is probably the most familiar of the examples presented. The assumption do not regards anything else by the equality between narrative and story time. Genette is aware that it does not restore the speed with which those words were pronounced or the possible dead spaces in the conversation' cf Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 87.
[263] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 111.
[264] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 102.

events receive more substance than others, leading to this particular expansion of time passage.

1.7.3.2.1   Weinrich and 'Tempus–Metaphorik'

In light of the existence of the three text dimensions (*relievo*, linguistic perspective and attitude), Weinrich develops the 'Tempus–Metaphorik'[265] or tense metaphor or tense imagery (*tempus* means tense not time). In a few words, it supposes that at the beginning of the text the reader has an 'information status equal to 0', which means that 'all the possibilities are still open',[266] where all subsequent information is a 'reduction of possibilities'.[267] The tense transition is 'the passage from one sign to the other in the course of the linear unfolding of the text'[268] or from one verbal form to the next. These transitions may be homogenous (foreground form to foreground, recuperated information to recuperated information, comment to comment verbal form) or heterogeneous, i.e. possible changes among these three dimensions.[269] The homogenous transition are called 'tense shift', while the heterogeneous one is called 'tense metaphor'.[270] It is called 'tense metaphor' as it supposes a double (hence the metaphor) change within the dimensions (relievo and linguistic perspective or linguistic attitude and linguistic perspective).

Leaving aside Weinrich's delimitation of the tense metaphor, two of his observations are worth mentioning in our context. First, it is necessary to look at language as text in order to grasp the value of a verbal form: 'a metaphor needs at least two signs (lexical

---

[265]This was hailed by Monika Fludernik as 'his most innovative contribution' by which 'he here manages to add a semiotic functional perspective and also allows one to explain phenomena like free indirect discourse as combinatory metaphorical tense shifts' M. Fludernik, 'Narratology and Literary Linguistics', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, ed. R. I. Binnick (Oxford, New York: OUP, 2012), 82. Cf W. J. M. Bronzwaer, 'Review: Harald Weinrich, *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Second Edition, 1971)', *Poetics* 2, No. 4 (1973), 110: he calls this 'the most exciting aspect of Weinrich's theories'.

[266] Weinrich, 1978, 217. This is Paul Ricoeur's translation, cf. vol 2, 72.

[267] Y. Bar–Hillel, *Language and Information* (London: Addison–Wesley, 1973) quoted by Weinrich.

[268] Weinrich, 1978, 218.

[269] Weinrich, 1978, 220–223.

[270] The former translates '*Tempus–Ubergang*' in the way Watson did. The translation 'tense metaphor' avoids Watson's English 'temporal metaphor' for 'Tempus–Metaphorik', cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §79, 111. The opposition supposed in the German original of Weinrich is between 'tense shift' (homogeneous transition) and 'tense metaphor' (heterogeneous transition) cf Weinrich, 1964/1985, 191. Using the adjective 'temporal' for 'Tempus–Metaphorik' obscures the common denominator which is tense.

The confusion derives from the fact that while German displays two nouns (*Zeit/Tempus*) and two adjective (*zeitlich/temporal*), English has two nouns (*time/tense*, respectively), but only one adjective (*temporal*). Italian (as many other Romance languages) are even more confusing as they have one word for tense/time which is *tempo*, with one adjective *temporale*; cf Weinrich, 1978, 9.

or morphological), and as a result, every metaphor is part of the concept of text'.[271] This means that at least two verbal or lexical forms are necessary to produce the metaphor (as lexical signs he counts: 'if'). Second, Weinrich's Tempus–Metaphorik does not refer to passage of time, but to the sequence of grammatical tenses, for him this labels the heterogeneous transition.

1.7.3.2.2 Kristeva's temporal metaphor

Weinrich provides the first key concept, 'metaphor' which we will adapt to our purpose of explaining time passage in narrative. I suppose that two signs (tenses or one tense and one lexical particle) create a metaphor − I operate a change in meaning to Weinrich's tense metaphor to mean all tense shifts, not only those which contain changes in dimensions. In the context of a narrative text, the metaphor created by two sequenced preterites has one function: that of 'passage of time'. It is impossible to grasp the concept of time passage without this sequence as we have seen in Labov and Waletzky above.[272] In this context, we arrive at the idea that the narrative text cannot exist without one tense metaphor, i.e. the sequence of two narrative tenses.

Kristeva's discussion of the 'new form of temporality' in Proust[273] marks a new understanding of Weinrich's 'Tempus–Metaphorik'. Reading her account alongside that of Weinrich, I argue that in the specific case of narrative texts, the metaphor created by two narrative tenses leads to the perception of Dry's 'illusion of temporal movement'.

Kristeva's argument starts from the idea that 'time in fact persists as the only surviving imaginative value which can be used by the novel to appeal to the whole community of readers',[274] i.e. time has a universal value which speaks to everybody. Her **definition of time** in the novel, I think, is applicable to any narrative text. This definition explains two types of time passage in narrative: metaphoric time passage and the metamorphosis.

'Time is this bringing together of two sensations which gush out from the signs and signal themselves to me. But since bringing things together is a *metaphor*, and sensation implies *body*, Proustian time, which brings together the sensations imprinted in signs, is *metamorphosis*. It is all too easy to rely on just one word of the title and conclude that

[271] Weinrich, 1978, 251.
[272] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 14–15.
[273] J. Kristeva and S. Bann [trans], *Proust and the Sense of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 3.
[274] Kristeva and Bann [trans], 1993, 4–5.

this is a novel about time. Proust uses this as his intermediary *in the search* (*A la recherché*) for an embodied imagination: that is to say, for a space where words and their dark, unconscious manifestations contribute to the weaving of the world's unbroken flesh, of which I is a part. I as writer; I as reader; I living, loving and dying'.[275]

Kristeva puts together in this passage her own experience of tasting a madeleine offered by her mother and that offered to Proust by his Aunt Léonie.[276]

The switch from past described to the present of 'I' (and back) is not unique to Proust, or to narrative literature but it omnipresent in life. She observes that 'we live in a dislocated chronology', where in our own particular time frame we are all witnessing more than one time scale (her examples belong to the beginning of 1990s, but each epoch can find its own): that of 'regression to infancy through civil violence', 'futurist breakthroughs of new musical life forms like rap', '[n]ewspapers and universities … continuing their role of transmitting and handing down knowledge, also belong to totally different time–scales'.[277]

The first two long sentences in Kristeva's quote refer the difference between metaphor, as two signs working together to add a new meaning to its parts, and metamorphosis, when to the metaphor a body sensation, here the taste of a madeleine, is added to these signs.

The application of Kristeva's **definition of time** starts from the premise that under the label 'sensation' one may include the feeling that time passes, which we experience through our senses (hear/see the passing car, feel the change of temperature from a sunny to a shaded place, etc.). In narrative, these perceptions which mark time become events of narrative[278] (tasting, feeling cold, moving, seeing etc.) so that they can be observed by a third party; Kristeva shows that the persisting item in both experiences is

---

[275] Kristeva and Bann [trans], 1993, 5.

[276] This refers to the madeleine memory of Marcel Proust, famously described in the opening chapter of *À la recherché de temps perdu*.

[277] Kristeva and Bann [trans], 1993, 4.

[278] The event is defined by Genette in terms of narrative itself: (1) 'narrative statement, the oral written discourse that undertakes to tell of an event or a series of events' – this understand the event as basic unit of a narrative; (2) the technical term in narratology as 'the succession of events, real or fictitious, that are the subjects of this discourse'; (3) 'A third meaning, apparently the oldest, has narrative refer once more to an event: not, however, the event that is re–counted, but the event that consists of someone recounting something: the act of narrating taken in itself'. This note was suggested by Ilai Rowner, *The Event: Literature and Theory* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 14.

time, as 'time is this bringing together of two sensations which gush out from the signs and signal themselves to me' and, one could add, the passage in reading from one sensation to another marks time. The succession of two tenses (as signals of events happening) count toward creating one metaphor after another within our consciousness, a tense metaphor which enclosed the time passage from the first tense (event) to the second.

When the metaphor is connected with a body sensation, the metamorphosis occurs. In the context of tasting a madeleine, the metamorphosis represents the experience of (bodily) tasting (metaphoric) is brought together with time as these two elements occur one after another: the first taste from Aunt Leonie's madeleine in author's time, our taste of the madeleine, and the moment of reading. This particular type of experience in Biblical literature, I argue, occurs only with the speech event or with those sentences which introduce direct speech (in Aramaic with wqetal or wparticiple forms of אמר) – cf next section on metamorphic events in the Bible.

We note that Kristeva's discussion takes a *paradigmatic* view of the things: we can choose whatever sensation or event which is part of the common experience to create the same perception of sense in the consciousness of the reader (here, the taste of a madeleine) at the time of reading/hearing.

Where is the passage of time in narrative? This happens within a *syntagmatic* view of this definition – two verbal forms of perfective action in *sequence* (implementing a syntagmatic relationship between two sentences or elements of a sentence) impact one another to a further level than their respective content. The sequence *Mike got into his car and drove off* is more than the sum of its parts (the subject has departed in a car), because it further implies the time that these two actions took to be completed. For one reason or another, the author included two actions, getting in and driving the car, instead of one – *Mike left in a car*, in order to give the sense of time passage.

1.7.3.2.3 Metamorphic events in the Bible: direct speech

How is the metaphorical sequence of narrative different from the narrative metamorphosis? Recounting two events without body involvement is one metaphoric displacement which is able to convey various durations of time: a king died, his son

became a king, he lived happily ever after – the capacity of narrative for representing elliptical time (what where the events preceding his death?; what are the great things that his son accomplished) is unlimited. This is the normal way of advancing the narrative plot until the story is completed, as far as the narrative of 1Samuel is concerned. The label metaphoric displacement also fits to those narratives where the tense refers body movement as in the fight between David and Goliath (1Samuel 17) as the type of bodily involvement does not involve our senses (as a second person) more than that of observing a third party described by a narrator (a first person).

In the case of biblical literature, the narrative metamorphosis is difficult to attain given the distance of space, time, and cultural separation between our time and that of the Bible. While the narrative metamorphosis may be achievable by Proust with his portrayal of the taste of Aunt Leonie's madeleine (as Kristeva shows), there is modest evidence that the Bible refers tastes, tactile sensations or any other types of descriptions of sense objects which would have the same effect as that of Proust's literature. The latter does not only build on the fact that we may still have the same recipe for this cooking, but also on the striking style in which the experience of tasting is presented. The scarcity of the biblical narrative account with regards to sensations does not inspire this particular kind of metamorphosis.

The notable exception is the direct speech of the characters. When the narrator makes the characters talk, I suggest that the grammatical signs are no longer signs of events or metaphors, as Weinrich says; instead, these sequences are metamorphoses with a bodily presence in literature. This metamorphosis of reading someone's direct speech expand the time and propose to the reader a level of experience other than that of narrative – that of being witness, a 'make–believe' of the reader being present at the scene and re–living the experience through senses, i.e. to hearing the character speak for themselves. This is why Kristeva's discussion ends with the *I–origo* of the reader involved in writing–reading the notion of 'I living, loving and dying'. The point of the narrative metaphor (with time) and of metamorphosis (with time and speech) is to scale down the narrative idea of time, and that of time and body, respectively, into the world of the reader.

Explicating the theory behind the so–called 'speech event' (cf Chapter 2), those wqetal or wparticiple forms which introduce direct speech are a narrative metamorphosis. This

derives from the fact that, reading the sentence with the FSP in mind, any sentence with 'he/she said' needs a proper rheme or grammatical object to complete its meaning. This means that the wqetal/wparticiple of אמר has a grammatical bond with the notional content of the dialogue as it introduces to complete its meaning. Moreover, it creates along with its rheme the metamorphosis of the character appearing to us as speaking in *viva voce*.

This distinction allows us to understand the passage of time as it happens in all narrative – every two narrative forms act as a metronome, marking the passage of time in narrative, where each tick counts a different type of tempo (*lento* or *presto*). The metaphorical one advances the narrative towards its end and makes use of the narrative forms described above (ellipsis, summary, scene, and pause) as it sees fit. The metamorphic time packs sensations (in our case, only speech) within the narrative time and is able to expand the latter indefinitely.

This description of time in narrative confirms Jacques Derrida's presumed position about time in writing: the linearity of time is more a curvature following the events, rather than straight line advancement.[279] The point of this discussion and this last observation on metamorphosis is to provide a literary support for a core statement of this thesis which is to be exemplified in the coming chapters: time in narrative does not follow a line, but a curvature. This is based on foreground and background oppositions of narrative: each set is represented by graded linguistic exponents – some are more foreground than others or more background than others. Their play produces the inflexion of curvature in the passage of time in narrative. While this implies a grey area in between, this is not the case – foreground/background relation is a constant *grammatical* opposition which forms the basis of communication, represented in Aramaic by wqetal and wparticiple respectively (cf Chapters 2 and 3).

Time passage is the exclusive attribute of Weinrich's narrative; in comment, time passage is only possible only if the I or You as characters of dialogue decide to narrate what happened to them, as if talking about a third person, him/her/they.

---

[279] Derrida does not expressly say that time in narrative is a curvature. The ideas is an interpretation that Hodge, 2007, ix proposes to a body of literature left by Derrida with no clear statement about time passage.

1.7.4 Aramaic tense distribution according to time passage

This section anticipates the results of the thesis in that it sketches the general distribution of wqetal and wparticiple (as the only proper narrative forms) in Targum 1Samuel according to their contribution to time passage. In this context, wqetal is the foreground tense, while wparticiple represents background. This delimitation is presented now as to strengthen the connection between the linguistic and literary critic discussions of this chapter with the philological analysis of these two verbal forms in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. The analysis distinguishes between five types of wqetal and three types of wparticiple (cf the table below).

The curvature of time in narrative is given by the non–linearity of the events. The wqetal forms (or BH wayyiqtol) come one after another in narrative producing a linearity of time passage in writing. There is a difference between time linearity and linearity of the sentence. In Kristeva's words:

'Linear time leads implacably to death (that 'fear', that 'risk'). *Unlike*, linear time, the sentence reproduces a giant breath through explanatory detours or backwards leaps that develop traces that had already been constructed, erased, and nor absorbed. The chronological progression, broken up and superimposed onto itself, can thus sketch out a space − the architecture, that always already interior texture of a sort of timelessness'.[280]

The linearity of wqetal does mirror that of time. This foreground linearity of wqetal may be expanded from (1) wqetal narrative (completed action in temporal juncture) to:

- (2) wqetal hendiadys: two wqetal forms for one completed action;
- (3) wqetal coordinated: the actions of the two or more wqetal are interchangeable – the sequence displays temporal juncture with the wqetal forms found before and after;
- (4) wqetal non–sequential/incomplete: the impact of the action extends over the sentence, there is no temporal juncture;

---

[280] J. Kristeva, *Time and Sense: Proust and the Experience of Literature* (New−York, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1996), 304; Kristeva's italics.

- (5) wqetal of speech event: at the end of the dialogue, the action is completed and it is in temporal juncture. Because it contains a dialogue, this wqetal represents a metamorphosis of time passage.

The foreground of these types of wqetal forms may be broken with a wparticiple background sentence which expands the linearity of time sentence to produce Kristeva's 'explanatory detours'. The curvature of time passage is given by this difference in linearity from wqetal (1) to wqetal (5) and by the occasional intrusion of wparticiple which consent narrative to be expanded.

The table aims to put the two dimension of Weinrich (narrative/comment and foreground/background) alongside the explanation of time passage in narrative as it is represented by the linguistic signs of wqetal and wparticiple.

Narrative Time Passage		linear	curvature				Relievo
Linguistic attitude	***narrative***	wqetal normal or narrative	wqetal hendiadys	wqetal coordinate	wqetal non–sequential /incomplete	wqetal of speech events	*Foreground*
		metaphoric time passage				**metamorphic time passage**	
			wparticiple with temporal juncture and wparticiple hendiadys	wparticiple incomplete and/or non–sequenced		wparticiple of speech event	*Background*
	comment	lack of narrative – time passage is not a present					

In the end, we suppose that xqetal narrative of contrast and variation (discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis) are associated with their narrative 'head', it may belong to any of the types of wqetal forms in the table, following the quality of their narrative 'head'. Any other sentence deemed as comment (xqetal and xparticiple of comment) do not contribute to the time passage of narrative, as they are indications/observations that the narrator addresses to the reader directly – so not narrative. Time passage in text belongs to the discourse type of narrative.

2   Chapter 2: Wqetal

The first chapter of this thesis aimed to provide an extensive methodological background for the coming analysis of the verbal forms. First, it described the two methods employed in our analysis of verbal forms, text–linguistics and functional sentence perspective. As little is known in the Anglo–Saxon world about Harald Weinrich and his research, we needed to expand and connect his research with people writing on the same lines before him (Sergei Karcevski and Roman Jakobson) and after him, mainly the American strand of the text–linguistics method, represented by Paul Hopper and Hellen Dry. Our account pointed out the similarities and differences between these scholars. One important observation is that most of them included in some way references to time in narrative and its illusory passage.

In this section we endeavour to provide a description of prelude forms, based on our proposal of episode, as set of sentences, where the narrative time is observable. Once this argument is developed, we explain the function of wqetal prelude in narrative in contrast with other forms of prelude. The bulk of this chapter is dedicated to a description of the narrative wqetal (in four types), which marks the foreground zero degree of this type of communication flow. Our account starts with a short FSP analysis of Targum 1Samuel 31.

2.1   FSP patterns in Aramaic

As a preliminary observation, the beginning of every episode presents the characters and the places where the action is going to take place. These sentences contain a Presentation–scale pattern (Phenomenon–Transition–Setting). The organization of the narrative revolves around wqetal in sequence which produces the progress of the story from the point of introduction up to the point when dialogue needs to be in place or the narrative ends. In FSP this means that these sentences start with Transition (Tr) followed by Theme (Th) and Rheme (Rh). I will exemplify my general statements on word order on the FSP analysis of 1Samuel 31.

The place of Th is the first item of discussion. In wqetal form (as in wimperative, wparticiple, and wyiqtul), Tr comes first in the sentence, Th follows Tr. For economy reasons, the presence of the subject is dependent on several factors: (1) the

subject is not derivable from the context, because the episode has just started (31:1b) or because the subject is a new one (31:3a: עבדי קרבא; 3b: קשׁתיא); (2) there are two or more subjects in play so each sentence needs to specify which subject is activated (31:2a: פלשׁתאי); (3) if the subject is known, then it is not mentioned for economy reasons (7de: אנשׁ ישׂראל) or it is replaced by a pronoun (31:5c: זיניה נטיל).

1 Samuel 31: ופלשׁתאי (Th) מגיחין קרבא (Tr) בישׂראל (Rh: Sp)

ואפכו (Tr) אנשׁי ישׂראל (Th) מן קדם פלשׁתאי (RH: Sp)

ונפלו (Tr) קטילין (Rh: Sp) בטורא דגלבע (Set):

2 ואדביקו (Tr) פלשׁתאי (Th) ית שׁאול (Rh: Sp) וית בנוהי (Rh: Sp)

וקטלו (Tr) פלשׁתאי (Th) ית יהונתן וית אבינדב וית מלכישׁוע

בני שׁאול (Rh: Sp):

3 ותקיפו (Tr) עבדי קרבא (Th) על שׁאול

ואשׁכחוהי (Tr) קשׁתיא (Th) גברין דאמנין מגד בקשׁתא

ודחיל (Tr) לחדא (Rh) מקשׁתיא:

4 ואמר (Tr) שׁאול (Th) לנטיל זיניה (Direct speech is Rh)

שׁלוף (Tr) חרבך (Rh)

וקטולני (Rh/Tr) בה

דלמא(Rh) ייתון (Tr) ערליא האלין (Th)

ויקטלונני (Rh/Tr)

ויתלעבון (Rh /Tr) בי

ולא אבא (Rh/Tr) נטיל זיניה (Th)

ארי דחיל (Tr) לחדא (Rh)

ונסיב (Tr) שׁאול (Th) ית חרבא (Rh)

ונפל (Rh/Tr) עלה:

5 וחזא (Tr) נטיל זיניה (Th) (5b is Rh for 5b)

ארי מית (Rh/Tr) שׁאול (Th)

ונפל (Tr) אף הוא (Th) על חרביה (Rh)

ומית (Rh/Tr) עמיה:

6 ומית (Tr) שׁאול ותלתא בנוהי ונטיל זיניה אף כל גברוהי (Th) ביומא ההוא (Set)

כחדא (Rh):

7 וחזו (Tr) אנשׁ ישראל (Th) דבעברא דמישׁרא (Set) ודבעברא דירדנא (Set)

[Rh for 7a] ארי אפכו (Tr) אנשׁי ישׂראל (Th)

[Rh for 7a] וארי מיתו (Tr/Rh) שׁאול ובנוהי (Th)

ושׁבקו (Tr) ית קרויא (Rh)

ואפכו (Rh/Tr)

ואתו (Tr/Rh) פלשׁתאי (Th)

ויתיבו (Tr/Rh) בהון:

The unmarked FSP and syntactical word orders are Tr–Th–Rh and Verb–Subject–Object (VSO), respectively. In the context of the FSP word order (Tr–Th–Rh), the linearity principle is in place in all cases where Rh is positioned at the end of the sentence, as the highest CD element of the sentence. This is one of two unmarked word orders (cf Chapter 4 develops this argument in detail in the introduction from page 245).

What is then the status of the wqetal? Is it still a verbal form *per se*, or is it a composition of waw and qetal? What would be the difference between a qetal and a wqetal? The real question, I think here, is that of how the idea of time, or more precisely of the sequence of temporally ordered events, anteriority, and posteriority are conveyed in Aramaic.

Counting how many morphologic verbal forms are present in the language, one can observe that there are only 4 grammatical and predicative verbal forms: qetal, participle, yiqtul, and imperative. The set number of verbal constructions may be expanded by the use of the x element posited in front of the verbal form[281] bringing the number of verb combinations to 8. As the absence of the verb is a linguistic sign, one needs to count also the sentences with no verb where the word order may be Th–Rh (normal, unmarked word order) and Rh–Th (emphatic, marked word order), bringing the total number of word combinations to 10.

The answer to the question *Is the time conveyed by verbal forms?* is not simple, as one needs to consider the verb in connection with other elements of the sentence.

---

[281] The 'x' element represents one of the following morphological forms in front of a verb: a conjunction, a noun, and adverbial, a pronoun, cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 25.

Starting from the separation between narrative and comment (as suggested by Weinrich), the function of wqetal is to advance the passage of time. Anticipating, the results of the other sections of the analysis, some of the other verbal contribute to this progress of narrative (wparticiple narrative and xqetal narrative of contrast), while others are comment (xparticiple, or xqetal retrospective and xqetal zero degree, and xyiqtul), reflecting a change in linguistic perspective. Nominal sentences are not analysed in this thesis.

Our reading of the Targum 1Samuel supports the proposal that the FSP word order corresponds to the grammatical word order. The corresponding word orders are: Transition–Theme–Rheme and predicate–subject–object, respectively. Because Aramaic does have signs for grammatical cases (for example, genitive – construct case, accusative (ית), dative (ל), locative (ב), etc.), the grammatical word order allows for looser combinations so as to answer to the needs of FSP.

The distribution of the Th–Tr–Rh (FSP) and predicate–subject–object (grammatical elements) within the sentence is analytic when all these elements (FSP and grammatical) are present (1Sam 9:11) or synthetic. The sentence shows a synthetic distribution when a theme element is omitted, if, for example, it is already stated in a previous sentence (1Sam 7:4); the theme is still signalled by the verb's PNE (in this case 3 plural).

אנון סלקין במסקנא דקרתא	1Samuel 9:11
rheme – transition – theme	
ואעדיאו בני ישראל ית בעליא וית עשתרתא	1Samuel 7:4
וֿפֿלֿחֿוֿ קדם יי בלחודוהי	
Rheme – Theme/Transition	

Along with transition, rheme is a *sine–qua–non* element of the sentence[282] and as a result it is always present. When it is not represented by a separate grammatical component (object, attribute), the notional component of verb acts as rheme (9:12bcd: *to go, to flee, to escape*; 28:24: *to take, to slaughter, to knead*). The notional component loses its rheme quality when the object is in place (28:24cd: *flour* and *bread*), which becomes the part of the sentence with the most

---

[282] Firbas, 1992, 72.

communicative dynamism. Grammatical Tense and Mode Exponents (TME) of the verb take the role of transition in FSP.

1Sam 19:12	וֹשׁלֹשׁילת מיכל ית דויד מן חרכא <u>ואזל וערק ואשׁתיזב</u>:
1Sam 28:24	ולאתתא עיגל פטים בביתא <u>ואוחיאת ונכסתיה</u> ונסיבת קמחא <u>ולשׁת</u> ואפתיה פטיר:

The FSP approach will be used to a lesser degree than that of text–linguistics in the investigation of the function of the verb. However, it illustrates that the mechanisms described by Jan Firbas in language are applicable to Semitic language. Occasionally, when the FSP organisation is relevant, the coming analysis will resort to observing the two types of sentence proposed by Firbas: Presentation–sentence (Phenomenon–Tr–Setting or Ph–Tr–Set) and Quality–sentence (Th–Tr–Rh). The next section develops the subject of prelude and his contribution to the narrative of 1Samuel.

2.2 Prelude forms in Targum Aramaic

Alviero Niccacci asserts that the *antefatto* or prelude of the narrative contains 'recovered information'[283] which presumably contribute to the understanding of the story about to begin. Our analysis of 1Samuel aims to develop and exemplify the concept of *prelude* as a self–standing part of story present at the beginning of any episode. The episode is that text which makes sense on its own. Our analysis will demonstrate that prelude has two functions: one relating to the internal content of the episode and one illustrating the position of the episode with regards to the preceding episode in narrative (either in sequence with it or not). Both functions are connected with the initial verbal construct of the episode. In the first function, prelude represents the place from where the communicative flow commences. It is the place from where the *real time* of Weinrich commences within the episode. This happens irrespective of the nature of the grammatical form of the first sentence, as the communication only needs a place to start.

Equally important to this function is the second, where the prelude form signals whether the episode about to start is in sequence with the previous episode. The purpose of this section is to look at this second function of prelude forms and differentiate the wqetal prelude function, which does exhibit temporal sequence of episodes, from the other verbal constructs, which do not. They have in common the first function of facilitating the start of the narrative flow of communication; however, only the wqetal indicates that two subsequent episodes are in temporal sequence.

The narrative of 1Samuel is composed of 42 episodes (cf Annex 1). The main characteristic of each episode is that it may be read separately from the preceding one. In all analysed cases, the prelude forms contain some kind of information about the characters, names, and places. There is no story without characters, so they are the minimal requirements for a new episode to begin. In 1Samuel, the prelude has one sentence[284] or it may extend to the one or two sentences if the information is about the same topic, character, or geographical place or time.

---

[283] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §27, p. 48.
[284] We are not able at this point to say in which *conditions* prelude quality extends over the coming verbal constructs.

In view of the verbal constructs analysed in this thesis, we suppose that the background/foreground quality or narrative/comment quality of the prelude is not neutral. This means that even though it marks the prelude, the verbal construct remains of the quality signalled by its morphology and sentences structure (word order). This is because its position as prelude does not affect the functions that we are going to present based on Weinrich's framework (as comment/narrative; foreground/background). As we shall see, none of these oppositions (of linguistics perspective and of relievo, respectively) presumes a fixed position in the episode.

This is to differentiate our proposal from that of Gregor Geiger, who supposes that prelude 'is neutral with respect to the distinction foreground/background'.[285] Niccacci argues that prelude is a background structure; in direct speech, prelude may be a foreground structure.[286] Nevertheless, this account will only consider the contribution of prelude forms to the temporal sequence of episodes, leaving the argumentation as a whole to ascertain the rest.

There are 42 episodes in the narrative of 1Samuel, divided according to the methodology outlined above. The majority of prelude forms in Targum 1Samuel are of the wqetal form (32), either of the verb והוה or other verbs (ערק, מלל, כנש, קרי, אמר) מות, קום, חוי, אזל, אתי). My analysis of prelude will examine these cases of wqetal, along with the other remaining 10 prelude forms (4 wsubject–qetal, 1 w–xqetal (temporal), 3 wsubject–participle, 1 Nominal–Clause (rheme–theme), and 1 Nominal–Clause (theme–rheme)).

---

[285] Geiger, 2012 [academic course], 20.
[286] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, 40.

2.2.1 Wqetal prelude

The wqetal prelude forms may be divided into three categories: (1) speech event wqetal; (2) movement event wqetal; and (3) והוה as wqetal prelude. All prelude constructions have as their ultimate goal introduction of characters. The first group introduces them through speech, the second through movement, and the third by stating their existence in a place or time.

2.2.1.1 *Speech event wqetal in prelude*

The goal of the speech event with wqetal in 1Samuel is to state who is speaking to whom by using a variation of the verb אמר (a ואמר or a wqetal of another verb followed by the infinitive למימר). The speech event wqetal may introduce a proper direct speech (cf cases (a) and (b), this is a presumably oral communication) or represent a speech event in the indirect speech, in which the narrator relates in third person the content of that communication (cf case (c)).

a) 15:1, 18:17a and 27:1 are different from a regular ואמר because they mark the beginning of a new episode. 15:1 marks a strong disconnection between the focus of verses 14:49–52 which contained the names of Saul's family members. This type of ואמר shows that the previous section has ended by introducing new focus and characters, and their speech. These three ואמר forms switch the attention of the reader:
   - Ch. 15:1 – from family members and summary statement to the new word of God direct to Saul through Samuel's voice;
   - Ch 18:17a – from Saul's envy to the circumstances of David's marriage with Michal;
   - Ch 27:1 – from the newly established peace between David and Saul to David's move to become a servant to the Philistine king Achish.

b) The second type of speech event prelude form is marked by wqetal forms other than of the root אמר, followed by ואמר (3:16), or the infinitive of אמר (23:1; 26:1). They all introduce direct discourse.

וקרא עלי לשמואל ית שמואל	1Sam 3:16
ואמר	
וחואו לדויד למימר	1Sam 23:1
ואתו אנש זיף לות שאול לגבעתא למימר	1Sam 26:1

c) The third type of speech event which refers indirect discourse is that with
ומליל (19:1). The first two types of speech event forms in (a) and (b) represent
actual words of characters and hence they can be understood as
'metamorphosis' type of wqetal. By contrast, the indirect speech event is
only a metaphorical wqetal. This indicates that speech events may be
represented by both the metamorphic and metaphoric wqetal forms.

ומליל שאול עם יונתן בריה ועם כל עבדוהי למקטל ית דוד	1Sam 19:1

2.2.1.2 Movement Event Wqetal in prelude

The movement event wqetal is a second way of introducing a new episode in the
history of 1Samuel. The analysis of this type of wqetal prelude uses the methodology
of FSP.[287] We need to remember the two scales which the sentence may implement
in the FSP:

- Q(uality)–scale (Th–Tr–Rh) occurs in those sentences which assign a
  quality (represented by the Rheme) to the Theme. The sentence is
  'perspectived' towards the Rh or that quality which completes the
  sentence;
- Pr(esentation)–scale (Phenomenon–Transition–Rheme): this sentence
  introduces a new theme; it is oriented towards the new character or
  object, or the phenomenon, which becomes the element of the sentence
  with the highest CD. As a result the orientation to rheme in the Q–scale is
  changed to orientation towards Phenomenon or the new Theme.

The perspective of the movement wqetal sentence is variable, either towards the new
phenomenon (hence a Pr–scale sentence) or towards the Rh (hence, a Q–scale
sentence). There is also the case where a sentence could be read both as Pr–scale
oriented towards the new theme and as Q–scale, oriented towards the rheme of the

---

[287] Cf page 31, the section 'Semantic factor: complement, adverbial elements, and subject'.

sentence (cf the section above 'CD and Potentiality', on page 37). This marks the potentiality that sentences may have.

I divided the movement wqetal of prelude in three types: (a) the sentence is with certainty a Pr–scale type; (c) the sentence is with certainty of a Q–scale type; and (b) the sentence is in–between a (a) Pr–scale sentence and a (c) Q–scale.

a.   I will start with the Pr–scale prelude wqetal of 11:1:

wqet	וסליק נחש מלכא דבני עמון	1Samuel 11:1
wqet	ושרא על יביש גלעד	

The Nahash is said to *go up*, but the sentence does not complete the sense of the verb with any place of departure or goal, these are both stated in the following sentence of 11b. This is the first clue which supports the contention that 11a is a Pr–scale sentence aimed at introducing Nahash as a new theme or Phenomenon ('Phenomenon' term suggests both new theme and Pr–scale sentence). As this is the first mention of the theme Nahash in 1Samuel, the theme is context–independent and exceeds in communicative dynamism the transition וסליק (*went up*). Further evidence to consider *Nahash* as Phenomenon is to read the passage without וסליק: this would not affect the cohesion or the coherence of the message (11:1a becomes a casus pendens).

In line with the function of the Pr–scale sentence, which is to convey *appearance* of a new theme, וסליק (*he went up*) should be interpreted as a way of referring the English construction '*there was*'. Also, English assumes that the Phenomenon marking appearance of theme should be placed towards the end of the sentence as to heed to the linear modification (CD increases towards the end of the sentence). Consequently, the translation should be: '*There was Nahash, the king of the sons of Amon*'.

b.   The cases of movement wqetal of prelude that could be interpreted both as Pr–scale and as Q–scale are three.

29:1

The prelude wqetal in 29:1 is situated in–between Pr–scale and Q–scale. Its theme (פלשתאי) is context independent as the last record of Philistines is in 28:5. The room

for potentiality is seen in the evaluation of the Rh. לאפק is a geographical location which could be either setting (making the sentence a Pr–scale one with פלשתאי becoming Phenomenon with highest CD) or a specification (inducing a Q–scale, the highest communicative dynamism goes to the end – לאפק).

וכנשו פלשתאי ית כל משריתהון לאפק	1Sam 29:1

The fact that this wqetal is a prelude form gives a much more weight to the Theme, which may be read as Phenomenon of the Pr–scale sentence. The appearance of the Phenomenon/Theme is expressed through the verb. The attention of the reader is drawn by the fact that there is a gathering of Philistines who are about to attack: the place where they gather remains only a setting. By contrast, if this wqetal form was to be considered a normal narrative (not a prelude), the Th (פלשתאי) would have been less inclined to be context independent. Q–scale would have been implemented shifting the attention of the reader towards the geographical place (*to Afek*).

17:1a and 20:1a

The Q–scale or Pr–scale status of 17:1a and 20:1a is again difficult to ascertain as one need to consider whether parts of the sentence may be context independent (so they are Q–scale) or not (so they are Pr–scale). There are two specific traits which help in determining whether a sentence is a Pr–scale: (1) the subject is context independent and (2) all other elements present besides transition are setting (Set), not specification (hence the Pr–scale is Ph–Tr–Set).

וכנשו פלשתאי ית משריתהון לאגחא קרבא	1Sam 17:1ab
ואתכנישו לסוכו דלשיבט יהודה	
וערק דויד מבית אלפנא דברמתא	1Sam 20:1abc
ואתא	

Both Themes are context independent (פלשתאי and דויד). In the case of the former, פלשתאי was previously mentioned in the story line in 14:52 so it is definitely context–independent. The latter case reiterates the theme David (after his last appearance in 19:21), found 13 sentences back. According to Aleš Svoboda, an item persists in the mind of the reader for approximatively seven sentences after its last

appearance. Firbas reduced this number of sentences to three sentences:[288] 'it is normal for the retrievability span [of a theme] to be very short'. This is to say that the Th could be read as new Phenomenon, and hence, the contestant with Rh for the position of the element holding the highest CD.

In 17:1a, the possible Rh elements (לאגחא קרבא and ית משריתהון) could be context independent element (none of them appears in the previous context as such). However, (i) they are closely associated with the idea of Philistines as being at war with Israel. As a result, the Philistines establishing a camp in preparation for an attack acts more as a Setting of the story in general, rather than a Specification of this particular episode. (ii) The Transition element וכנשו (17:1a) bears less CD as it is usually completed with a physical location (cf 5:8: לותהון, i.e. *to them/in their presence*; 5:11 repeats the sentence but without לותהון). The actual place of gathering appears in the next sentence 17:1b (where again the same root is present כנש). As a result, I would interpret 17:1a as a Pr–scale sentence marking the appearance of the Philistines as a new theme.

In the case of 20:1, the adverbial element (דברמתא) is not context independent as it is present in 19:22 and 23. However, if one accepts the limit imposed by Firbas (if an element is absent more than three sentences than it is context independent) דברמתא is a context independent Rheme. I interpret this as a Q–scale sentence.

The three cases of 29:1, 17:1a, and 20:1a are difficult to interpret. On the one hand, there are elements which could act as specification (לאפק; לאגחא קרבא, and מבית אלפנא דברמתא, respectively) leading to a Q–scale sentence. On the other hand, these sentences contain context independent themes (the Philistines in the first two cases and David) which could become Phenomenon in a Pr–scale sentence. This is to show that ascribing some sentences to either a Pr–scale or a Q–scale is possible and that this decision ultimately rests with the interpreter, rather than being clearly marked by language.

c.   In the coming examples, none of Th is context independent and thus Q–scale is in play. The Rh has the normal form specification (Sp) (10:17: ית עמא; 21:2: לנוב)

---

[288] Cf the discussion on the topic of 'retrievability' of a theme Firbas, 1992, 29–30.

and a further specification (Fsp)[289] (10:17: למצפיא יי לקדם ; 21:2: כהנא אחימלך לות), both being the Rheme (Rh) of the sentence.

1Sam 10:17	וכנש שמואל ית עמא לקדם יי למצפיא
1Sam 21:2	ואתא דויד לנוב לות אחימלך כהנא

By contrast, still within the Q–scale limits, with Th context dependent, there is the case of 25:1e and 22:1. As there is no Rh, the verb has no competition in terms of CD and consequently, its TME becomes Rheme of the sentence. מתמן ('from there') in 22:1 does not count as a viable Rh, as it acts as setting (which excludes Rh in principle): 'from there' does not actually refer back to a proper geographical place. The antecedent element to which מתמן connects is the passage of 21:11: David fled from Saul to דגת מלכא אכיש – *Achish the king of Gat*. The verse does not necessarily mean the geographical location of Achish, but his status as king of a city.

1Sam 22:1	ואזל דויד מתמן
1Sam 25:1ef	וקם דויד ונחת למדבר פארן

The connection between מתמן and Gat is weak, and, thus, one is able to read the narrative starting in 22:1 as a separate episode from the previous account as the place of departure is not of consequence. The prelude of the episode starting in 25:1ef lacks even that setting support of מתמן.

2.2.1.3 *והוה as wqetal prelude*

The wqetal of הוה introduces prelude information in 17 cases in 1Samuel. The basic meanings of הוה are *to be* and *to have*; as any other verb, it is a transition element (in the FSP framework). Its roles extend from conveying the idea of existence/propriety to that of conjoining two separate pieces of information. The roles of הוה as prelude

---

[289] According to FSP of the Prague School, Sp (specification) and Fsp (further specification) are two components that a Rheme can have (at least one specification is needed). In the example *You need to meet him at 6 pm at the gas station*, *at 6 am* is specification and *at the gas station* is further specification – the context attests that these are Sp and Fsp (the abbreviations belong to Jan Firbas) because they are context independent. If we imagine this sentence as part of a text or conversation, this information appears here for the first time – hence it is context independent. By contrast, Setting (abbreviation: Set) means a context dependent element so it is not a Rheme – as an example: *George will be at the gas station. You need to meet him at the gas station at 6 pm*. This time, only *at 6 pm* is context independent (hence rheme) – *at the gas station* passes from being specification (hence rheme) in the first sentence to being setting (hence, non–rheme) in the second.

wqetal are: (i) to signal existence of a person and/or Ascribing of Quality in Q–scale sentence; (ii) to act as Transition in a Pr–scale sentence (Ph/Rh–Tr–Set) introducing a new phenomenon – the Rheme of the sentence is the grammatical subject; (iii) to adjoin (circumstantial) indications of time with characters and events (macro–syntactic function – MS).

i)   Existence is the simple or the unmarked usage of the verb הוה and it connects a place or time with or assigns a quality to the Th. The distinctive sign of a closer connection between the Theme and Transition is provided by (a) the PNE (person and number exponent) of the verb which is in accord with the subject (in the case of attributing a quality: 4:1).

Alternatively, (b) the connection Theme–Transition is signalled by the lack of preposition which would prevent the following element from being anything else but the subject (cf 6:1). The word order is Tr–Th–Rh. Regarding the scale, I argue that all three examples presented are developed around a Q–scale sentence for 4:1, 6:1 and 15:10, attributing to B(earer) its respective quality: *word of Samuel – pleasant / ark – in the cities of Philistines for seven months / the word of prophecy – arrival/coming to Samuel*. They all refer the existence of a certain object and its attribution to a third party (which is not the grammatical subject); the third party here acts as Rheme of the sentence and bears the highest CD.

והוה פתגם שמואל מרעא לכל ישראל	1Sam 4:1
והוה ארונא דיי בקרוי פלשתאי שבעה ירחין	1Sam 6:1
והוה פתגם נבואה מן קדם יי עם שמואל למימר	1Sam 15:10

ii)   The Pr–scale occurs often in prelude as, by default, it indicates or restates a Ph. These prelude wqetal forms introduce the appearance of Elkanah the father of Samuel and that of Saul, the first king of Israel. They are different from the previous type in that they are part of Pr–scale sentence (oriented towards the Th) not a Q–sentence (oriented towards the Rh).

והוה גברא חד מרמתא מתלמידי נבייא מטורא דבית אפרים	1Sam 1:1
והוה גברא חד משבטא דבית בנימין	1Sam 9:1
והוה יומא	1Sam 14:1

The last sentence asserts the existence of a *certain day*.[290] The sentence is proper Pr–scale oriented towards יומא – the element with the highest CD in the sentence. This means that the quality of appearance is attributed to *day* as the temporal event, which points that in this certain day this event took place (Jonathan wins the battle with Philistines by himself).

iii)   The third prelude use of הוה wqetal is as a macro–syntactic sign. According to Niccacci, the macro–syntactic signs (he lists 4 forms) are 'elements which assist in connecting segments of text'.[291] Similarly to ויהי of BH, its Aramaic correspondent והוה is followed by a protasis and by an apodosis. The entire construction is considered together. ויהי and its Aramaic counterpart והוה have the function of 'introducing a new element within the narrative sequence, usually a circumstance, yet without interrupting the main line of communication and so that that the [circumstantial] element becomes an essential and integrant part of the narrative'.[292] This supposes that והוה, the protasis and the apodosis are foreground, according to Niccacci.

In the cases analysed in 1Samuel, the circumstantial protasis of wqetal prelude of הוה relates the time of the event (it answers the question 'when?'); the apodosis indicates the events with which this time is associated. I will discuss the cases of prelude wqetal of והוה as MS (with apodosis wqetal and one special case with apodosis in wsubjqet).

The protasis constructions contain information about the point in time when the action of the apodosis is taking place. Given the frontal position of these time indications, they are to be considered as setting not specification in FSP framework.[293] In this context, the MS construction is oriented towards the information contained in the apodosis. והוה acts as transition in the FSP framework:

---

[290] The sentence is not complete, as the content is too vague.
[291] Niccacci, 2011, §12: 'elementi che servono a collegare le parti di un testo'.
[292] Niccacci, 2011, §28c: 'la sua specifica funzione testuale è introdurre un elemento nuovo, normalmente una circostanza, nella linea narrativa, senza quindi interrompere il livello principale della comunicazione e in modo tale che quell'elemento diventa parte integrante e importante del racconto'
[293] The position of protasis with regards to apodosis is important for its specification (Rheme) or setting (non–rheme) status. If one accepts that the protasis–apodosis could describe the subordinate–regent relation, the protasis or subordinate sentence posited *after* the apodosis/regent induces a Rheme status for the protasis/subordinate. To take the example of 8:6, the temporal circumstance (6b) is Rheme of the main sentence 6a; cf also protasis/subordinate as rheme with ארי (*because*): 18:12ab, 28bc; and 22:6. None of the examples discussed in this is introduced with והוה.

it signals the existence or appearance in the plot of a new event. The entire construction is a Pr–scale sentence, where והוה is transition, the protasis is setting, and the apodosis represents the Phenomenon that takes place.

Most of the protasis constructions contain only adverbials of time. These are introduced with a preposition:

- with ל:

1Sam 1:20	והוה	MSwqet
protasis	לזמן משלם יומיא	temp
apodosis	ועדיאת חנה	wqet

- with ב:

1Sam 18:6	והוה [6]	MSwqet
protasis	במיעלהון	temp
	כד תב דויד מלמקטל ית פלשתאה	[xqet]
apodosis	ונפקא נשיא מכל קרוי ישראל לשבחא בחנגיא לקדמות שאול מלכא בתפין בחדוא ובצלצלין:	wqet
1Sam 18:10	והוה	MSwqet
protasis	ביומה דבתרוהי	temp
apodosis	ושרת רוח בישא מן קדם יי על שאול	wqet
1Sam 28:1	והוה	MSwqet
protasis	ביומיא האנון	temp
apodosis	וכנשו פלשתאי ית משריתהון לחילא לאגחא קרבא בישראל	wqet
1Sam 31:8	והוה [8]	wqet
protasis	ביומא דבתרוהי	temp
apodosis	ואתו פלשתאי לחלצא קטיליא	wqet

- with מ:

MSwq	והוה ²	1Sam 7:2
xqet	מיומא דשרא ארונא בקרית יערים	protasis
wqet	וסגיאו יומיא	apodosis

In the first five cases, the protasis is not a full sentence. Protasis and apodosis share the logical subject present in the apodosis. In the protasis of 1Sam 7:2 (the sixth example), we have the appearance of a subject because דשרא ארונא בקרית יערים is a relative sentence (dependant on מיומא) whose subject does feature as theme or rheme in the protasis apodosis construction.

Three other examples show the flexibility of this construction which can contain in protasis a full sentence. With regards to grammatical subject distribution, 8:1, 24:2, and 30:1 have a protasis with xqetal, where the subject in protasis and apodosis coincide (8:1), the apodosis contains an impersonal verb, so no subject is formally stated (24:2) or the subject in of the protasis and apodosis are completely different (30:1).

MS	והוה	1Samuel 8:1
cqet	כד סיב שמואל	protasis
wqet	ומני ית בנוהי דיינין על ישׂראל:	apodosis
MSwet	והוה ²	1Samuel 24:2
cqet temporal	כד תב שאול מבתר פלשׂתאי	protasis
wqet	וחויאו ליה למימר	apodosis
MSwqet	והוה	1Samuel 30:1
cqet	כד אתא דויד וגברוהי לצקלג ביומא תליתאה	protasis
wsubjqet	ועמלקאי אתנגדו על דרום ועל ציקלג	apodosis

In 30:1, the w–subject–qetal in apodosis represents a different word order than the usual wqetal. The sequence of events in the apodosis and in the following wqetal form narrates an event which had already taken place at the time when David and his men came to Ziklag. They see the result of their invasion. This is an evident

retrospective function of the w–subject–qetal (or xqetal) which derives from the כד–qetal form which seems to change narrative zero degree into a narrative retrospect (cf more a discussion of this in the section 'Further on retrospection: comment xqetal against wqetal narrative', page 279).[294]

In terms of FSP arrangement of these 9 prelude forms with והוה, the apodosis of 24:2 is oriented towards introducing direct speech (cf למימר) and, as a result, the following direct speech represents the Rh of the apodosis. Other apodosis constructions are oriented towards or have a Rheme:

- infinitive constructions: 28:1 ;(לקדמות שאול מלכא בתפין בחדוא ובצלצלין) 18:6 (לחלצא קטיליא); 31:8 (לאגחא קרבא בישראל);
- an object and a place (as specification (Sp) and further specification (Fsp)) 8:1 (מן קדם יי על שאול – ;(ית בנוהי דיינין על ישראל); or origin and target as Sp and Fsp, respectively) in 18:10;
- the verb's semantic content (1:20 – ועדיאת; 7:2 – וסגיאו).

Finally, 30:1 has a variation of the usual wqetal in apodosis with w–subject–qetal. An interesting feature of this apodosis is that it displays a Pr–scale because it marks the appearance of the theme (Amalekites). All the other cases discussed are Q–scale sentences. This variation from wqetal to w–subject–qetal is not motivated by the fact that protasis and apodosis do not share the same subject (30:1: David and Amalekites, respectively), as 18:6 shows a regular wqetal in apodosis when the protasis and apodosis have different subjects (protasis: David [*in their ascent*]; apodosis: *the women*).

---

[294] The narrative retrospection seems to be conveyed by כד–qetal forms (a first word order sentence narrative). As this thesis does not examine subordinate sentences the answer to this question will be only partial. Cf also on 30:1b the section '(i) Contrast xqetal – variation of second word order', page 260.

2.2.2   Temporally sequenced narrative in 1Samuel and wqetal of prelude[295]

The previous outline of the wqetal prelude forms describes, on the one hand, the disconnection that the prelude form creates between the current and the previous episode as they introduce different place, characters, time, etc. These wqetal forms of prelude offer the information on which the upcoming development of the story is built. On the other hand, the prelude form of wqetal has a second function – that of continuing the story from where it was left in the previous episode. This may be of a temporal sort but necessarily. This section exemplifies the terms in which the wqetal of prelude creates the meaning of continuity between the ending of one episode and the beginning of the next.

In contrast with the prelude wqetal, the other types of prelude sentences break up that continuity. The non–wqetal prelude forms pick up a theme which occurs earlier in the previous episode to develop the about–to–start episode. As a result, the narrative thread at the end of the previous episode (i.e. in the very last sentences) does not continue in the next episode.

In order to investigate those features which cause two episodes which are one after another on paper (or *sujet*) to be subsequent in the story (or *fabula*),[296] we turn to Gerard Genette. He observes that, in some cases of Proust's work, a sequence of events is ordered only according to a 'geographical ordering' and 'thematic kinship'. This observation is important as it establishes that the sequence of events may be of temporal quality or it may follow a different logic (a geographical arrangement, a specific theme, i.e. a character, a topic of discussion). He does say that these may be 'deprived of every temporal connection', which probably is true in Proust's narrative[297].

Within Proust's narrative, in one case, the recounting of one episode after another is connected to the main character remembering them as he is on a train: at this train station, this happened at some point in time, and the following train station that happened at that point in time. Probably Genette would agree that even in Proust, the

---

[295] Cf Annex 1 for the division in episodes in Targum 1Samuel.
[296] The term 'subsequent episodes' define those episodes in which the second episode picks up the thread of the story from where it was left off in *at the end* of the first one. It does not continue a thread occurring in the beginning or in the middle of the previous episode.
[297] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 84–85.

ordering the events after the sequence of train station does not exclude time and that developing a theme is easier to understand by the reader if the event outline follows a temporal order.

By contrast with Proust, in the case of the Bible, these two orderings (geographical and thematic) of events are very much connected with time. This is because the biblical author knows that it takes time to get from one point to another and the sequence of geographical locations that a character moves in a narrative is a reflexion of time; he also understands that the easiest way to develop a theme is chronological. What I take as essential from Genette's commentary is that the sequence of time in narrative may be very well associated or intertwined with other kinds of sequences – which can shape the narrative in a new way.

In Biblical narrative, the sequence that we are examining is that at episode level. In this context, the sequence of temporally ordered episodes is not only connected with time but with thematic focus of the episodes themselves. The simplest sequence of episode is the temporal one – where episodes with no connection whatsoever happen one after another.

The second type of sequence is that which presents a theme which the author builds in a temporal fashion. Saussure's paradigmatic and syntagmatic opposition is of help in understanding how this works. The omniscient[298] author has a set of temporally sequenced events. They are all paradigms waiting to take shape into the actual syntagmatic sequence of events in the text. When that happens, the events are either sequenced temporally or temporally with a theme, as the description of one theme gives focus to the temporal arrangement of events. This is because the narrator has the theme (as in 'content of narrative organised in a particular fashion') in mind first and then seeks to present it in a temporal way. As a result, the syntagmatic sequence of events in narrative is either temporal or thematic–temporal. The wqetal of prelude has the function of marking the smooth succession of the narrative thread between two subsequent episodes.

---

[298] Omniscient means the one that knows the whole story that is about to be written – not omniscient in the absolute sense.

2.2.2.1   *Prelude and the sequence of episodes in 1Samuel*

The section 'wqetal prelude' above presented a classification of the wqetal prelude (of speech event, of movement, and those with והוה) and its FSP analysis. Now, we examine how wqetal of prelude shapes the sequence of episodes and time in narrative of 1Samuel. Beginning the episode with wqetal prelude is a strong indication that we are dealing with two temporally subsequent episodes. In most cases besides the chronological sequence, two episodes share the property of having the same theme. All the initial forms in this section are wqetal forms and they show the capacity of this form to connect chronologically two episodes. There are three types of episodic sequences in 1Samuel:

(1) The simple chronology is represented by two episodes one after another with no visible connection besides the temporal one. The first example is that of the episodes of the discussion between Samuel and Eli about the vision (3:16), which is followed by that of the battle with Philistines (4:1) introduced with wqetal. There is no connection between the two besides the continuation in time. The second example is that of 7:2 (Samuel's wars with Philistines) and 8:1, where Samuel's sons are shown as wicked; the third is that of a dispute between Saul and Samuel (13:1) followed by Jonathan's bravery (14:1).

(2) A more advanced type of chronology involves two subsequent episodes in time with a common theme. There are four examples of this in 1Samuel:

- birth of Samuel 1:1–19 followed by 1:20[299] (promise and fulfilment);
- the ark is taken in the episode starting in 5:1 and returned in the next episode, 6:1–7:1;
- Samuel's vision: 3:1–15 followed by 3:16;
- Saul's Disobedience of Saul (command and disobedience): 15:1 and 15:10.

---

[299] A strong indication that 1:20–2:11 is a self–standing episode, separate from 1:1–19, is the fact that the second episode in 1:20b ('Hanna conceived') continues the information that 'the remembrance of Hanna went before God' which closes the episode in 1:19. There is a certain redundancy: God's remembrance of Hannah in 1:19 means that he granted her wish of becoming pregnant; the information of Hanna's pregnancy is repeated in 1:20b. The redundancy disappears if we consider these texts as separate episodes. The information in one case closes by confirming that Hannah's prayer is granted; in the other case, Hannah's pregnancy is the point of depart for relating Samuel's birth.

Both episodes in these pairs act together and, at the same time, can also be read separately as they make sense by themselves. The first episode builds up the problem (a barren woman, the ark being taken by Philistines, Samuel's vision about the sons of Eli, Samuel's command of destroying all Amalekites) and the second show its resolution (birth of Samuel, the ark resides in Kirjath–jearim in Judah, Eli asks and receives an (incomplete) account of what God said, Saul loses legitimacy as king).

(3) The last type of chronological episode with a theme is that containing more than two episodes. 1Samuel contain three such sequences. Two of them contain 4–5 episodes in sequence.

T**he first thematic and temporal pairing of episodes** is that of '**Saul as king'**:

- 8:1 Samuel's sons not walking in his path;
- 9:1–10:16 presentation of Saul and his anointing as king;
- 10:17–27: official election of Saul as king by casting lots on the families of Israel;
- 11:1–12:25: the episode contains two interdepended panels (wqetal: victory against Ammon and (wqetal) the Philistines in 11:11).

The second thematic and temporal pairing of episodes is that of **the final Philistine war** from 28:1 to 31:13 (the last 4 chapters of 1Samuel). The story of this war is divided into 4 parts in 28:1–5. In the beginning of the first episode of this story (28:1–25), the narrator seems to put equal weight on these four parts and, thus, uses a wqetal or a subject–qetal:

- 28:1c–2 (wqetal)– David agrees to go to war on the side of Achish;
- 28:3 intermezzo: (w–subject–qetal) reminds of Samuel's death and there were no diviners in the land;
- 28:4: (wqetal) Philistine camp in Shunen and Saul in Gilboa (connected temporally with 28:1ab and with the next episode of 29:1);
- 28:5 (wqetal) – being afraid of Philistines, Saul, seeks the council of a woman diviner.

The only exception to the use of wqetal as the initial form is the relating of the death of Samuel – this is regarded as retrospective information introduced in the zero degree sequence of the wqetal forms. By reading the episode without the verse 23:3,

we receive a further argument for the text starting in 28:1: if that this particular information were not to be provided than the sequence of sentences would have missed a key piece of information – Samuel is dead, so Saul turns to a wizard for guidance. With 23:3, the episode has all the necessary information within it to be read outside the context of the others. It does not need to rely on 25:1 for us to understand Saul's actions. The author does not suppose that the reader will be aware of the whole content of the book and feeds him all the necessary information.

The two episodes in 29:1–11 (David's presence is unwanted in the Philistines' camp – he returns towards the land of Philistines) and 30:1 (the raid of Amalek against Ziklag and David's pursuit) change theme from Saul to David, but they do continue the end of episode 28:1 where we leave Saul after the ominous news of his death. Because the temporal advancement the wqetal in 29:1 does not interrupted to recount something occurring previously before 28:1, the zero degree of the episodic sequence is undisturbed.

The episode of 31:1 (death of Saul) does not continue with wqetal but with a waw–subject–participle as it is not subsequent to 30:31 (David's deeds for Ziklag). This episode comes after 29:11, the ensuing war with Philistines – the actual story order is not reflected in the narrative. The last episode of this pairing is that of 31:8 which through its wqetal form continues with the events after the death of Samuel and his sons (31:1–7), with the account of what happened with their bodies.

The third thematic and temporal pairing which covers 14 episodes contain the account of '**Saul chasing after David**': after the second restart of 17:55–58, there is a sequence of 14 wqetal initial episodes. Are these 14 episodes recounting only subsequent material? It seems so as the story goes smoothly. These episodes are introduced with wqetal which reflects that fact that the episode order in the *fabula* coincides with that of the story/*sujet*:

18:6 Saul's anger for David's greater popularity
18:10 First attempt to kill David
18:17 Second attempt to kill him by hands of the Philistines through cunning – David wins Michal's hand
19:1 Jonathan mends fences between David and Saul, Third attempt to kill him by javelin (10), later at his house in Michal's bed (17), and in Ramah (19)

20:1 David flees from Naioth in Ramah back to Jonathan who seems unaware of these attempts that took place after he mended fences between Saul and David – Jonathan acknowledges the hate of his father and sends David away

21:1 David flees to Ahimelech the priest in Nob, and then to Achish the Philistine king of Gath

22:1 David escapes from Achish and resides in the cave of Adullam, then Mizpeh of Moab (after an agreement with the king of Moab (3)), then in Hareth in Judah (listening to the word of a Prophet (5))

  – with verse 7 (wqetal) the narrative introduces Saul who kills Ahimelech and the priests of Nob for helping David (18 by the hand of Doeg, Ahimelech's servant and witness to David visit in Nob, cf 21:7)

  – with verse 20 (wqetal) Abiathar the priest (whose father Ahimelech was killed by Saul because he had assisted David cf 22:16) escapes to David bringing an ephod (this is how the narrative returns to David)

23:1 David and his help in Kehila, Saul is in his pursuit again (7), David escapes to Ziph (14), to Maon (24) and En–gedi (24:1)

24:2 – Saul again follows David – David spares Saul's life the first time (7) – David is sworn by Saul that he will not kill Saul's seed (21–22) – David remains in the stronghold

25:1a–d – Death of Samuel – there is no indication that this happened at another time in the story

25:1e – David moves to desert of Paran – Nabal and his death and David's marriage with Abigail, Nabal's wife

26:1 – Saul again follows David in the wilderness of Zif – David spares Saul's life a second time (12) – they return each to his place

27:1 – David realises by now that there is no place for him in Saul's kingdom and passes to Achish in Gath as his servant in Ziklag (6).

Based on the theoretical proposal of by Labov–Waletzky, this discussion has developed further the *referential* function of prelude that wqetal displays when it is the first sentence in the episode. In Targum Aramaic of 1Samuel, wqetal prelude does not simply introduce the new episode but it also marks that the episode starting continues chronologically the end of the previous one. As we shall see, the other types of prelude forms discussed below do not share this chronological function –

they are, conversely, a sign of temporal discontinuity between two subsequent episodes.

2.2.2.2 An exception to the rule of prelude wqetal as referring episodes in temporal sequence

It is a fact that in 1Samuel there is a case where a prelude wqetal form seems to defy the function of temporal continuation of wqetal. It is the sequence of episodes in 16:14–23 and 17:1–11 (introduced with wqetal): after the episode of Saul being tormented by the evil spirit, a prelude wqetal of temporal continuation introduces the episode of Philistine preparation for war and Goliath's injurious words against Israel. As the latter begins with a wqetal, the episode 17:1–11 should have had the beginning in temporal continuation of the previous one. This is not so for various reasons.

The explanation is that after 15:10–35b, a short intermezzo composed out of two episodes 15:35c–16:13 (David is anointed as king) and 16:14–23 (David becomes a music performer for Saul) was introduced severing the temporal continuation between the episode of 15:10–35b (Saul's disobedience) and 17:1 (another war with Philistines).

Further evidence for this is that this intermezzo introduces a slight incoherence with the whole context of these episodes, since there is no sign that Saul knew David in 17:30–31 (their meeting before the battle with Goliath); and he even asks Abner who he is (17:55). By contrast, when read in continuation 15:10–35b and 17:1, this incoherence disappears. Also, the episode 18:10 (David the warrior plays an instrument for Saul's comfort) still fits correctly with the context, because this is said to be a routine activity (cf the waw–participle form) that happened before ודויד מנגין בידיה כיום ביום.

The intention of the final redactor was to set aside the intermezzo with a w–subject–qetal from the temporal order of events. He continued with the usual wqetal in 17:1 to reconnect it to Saul's story left open in 15:34b. This intermezzo (15:35c–16:13 and 16:14–23) are discussed below.

2.2.3 Other forms of prelude[300]

Passage of time in narrative has two particular ways of expression in narrative. The most obvious is the occurrence of time passage within the episode itself generated by the succession of wqetal narrative forms. The second one is connected with the sequence of episodes themselves. If the order of episodes coincides with the order of episodes in the reality described (*fabula*), the normal wqetal prelude is used as it was shown in the analysis of the prelude wqetal forms (cf also the section below 'Prelude and the sequence of episodes in 1Samuel', page 132). In the same way as wqetal narrative forms within episode, the wqetal of prelude indicates that the present episode continues the thread of the story from where it was left off at the end of the previous episode.

The other forms of prelude apart from wqetal represent a difference in the way narrative of episodes progresses. They are non–sequenced forms which signal that the order of episode in *fabula* does not coincide with the order of the story. The use of a non–wqetal form is a disruption of this order which accounts for the episodes just being introduced to be considered as being 'retrospective', 'anticipating' or even 'simultaneous' with the episode which has just finished. In other cases, the current episode may begin by picking a secondary thread of the previous one.

In 1Samuel, prelude forms are waw–subject–qetal and waw–subject–participle. Two combinations of Nominal Clauses (NC) are also discussed: waw–theme–rheme and the emphatic rheme–theme.[301] The main question this section investigates is to what extent the non–wqetal prelude forms continue the sequence of events in the previous episode from where it ended.

2.2.3.1 Waw–subject–qetal prelude

There are five forms of the combination waw–subject–qetal of prelude in 1Samuel (5:1; 14:24; 14:47; 15:35c; 16:14). This form is one of the variants of waw–xqetal forms that we can encounter in sentence as the x element could also be an object or a subject.

---

[300] Cf Annex 1 for the division in episodes in Targum 1Samuel.

[301] For the impact on Aramaic syntax of the prelude waw–subject–qetal and waw–subject–participle see the section below 'Instead of conclusion: the impact of first word order on prelude and end–of–episode xparticiple/xqetal'. The discussion of NC (verbless sentences) is limited to the current section, as this thesis does not discuss nominal sentence.

5:1: The Philistines and the Ark

5:1 is a continuation of 4:11 (*and the ark was taken* – ‏וארונא דיי אשתבי‎) and not of the two panels in 4:12–22 which end the previous episode: when the news about the ark reaches Shiloh, Eli and his daughter–in–law die by accident and in childbirth, respectively. This waw–subject–qetal marks the discontinuation between 5:1 and 4:22 – the sayings of the midwife are not continued by another event in 5:1.

The episode starting with waw–subject–qetal in 5:1 acts together with the following two episodes 6:1 and 7:2. They contain information which in some way is related to the ark once it was the possession of the Philistines.

wqet	‏ואמרת‎	4:22
qet	‏גלא יקרא מישראל‎	
cqet	‏ארי אשתבי ארונא דיי:‎	
wsubjqet	‏ופלישתאי שבו ית ארונא דיי‎	5:1
wqet	‏ואיתיוהי מאבן סעדא לאשדוד:‎	

14:24: Jonathan breaks Saul's oath

The beginning of this episode leaves aside Jonathan's successful incursion into the Philistine camp in 14:1–23, and takes up the thread of its introduction in 14:2: there were 600 men with Saul, theme which continues with 14:23 where these men of Israel are presented as being in distress. The oath of Saul mentioned in 14:24 was taken obviously before the battle and before Jonathan's incursion in 14:6–23, so the order in *sujet* no longer follows that of the reality described. Not aware of the oath, Jonathan eats some honey (26).

wsubjqet	‏ואנש ישראל אדחק ביומא ההוא‎ [24]	14:24
wqet	‏ואומי שאול ית עמא למימר‎	
part pass (juss) [cyiqtul]	‏ליט גברא‎ ‏דייכול לחמא עד רמשא‎	
wxyiqtul	‏עד דאתפרע מבעלי־דבבי‎	
wlaqet	‏ולא טעים כל עמא לחמא:‎	

138

The waw–subject–qetal and its continuation with wqetal in 24ab have the function of re–introducing the people and Saul in a non–sequenced episode. They are to feature again at the end in 14:45 where the people save Jonathan (which is the object of the dispute) from Saul's wrath.

The temporal sequence between Jonathan's bravery and his eating of honey (vs 27) is not stated clearly. Nowhere in this passage is there a mention of Jonathan's accomplishment in 14:1–24, before 14:45 – פרקנא רבא הדין בישראל (*this great salvation in Israel*). Also the timeline is mixed with the event of the people's sin of eating flesh with blood (which occurred after the battle). Because these are so closely intertwined, it is very difficult to ascertain the position of this episode. Therefore, the prelude waw–subject–qetal in 14:24 has the function of introducing the new characters, the people and Saul, and reconnecting with the early stages of the battle described in 14:2.

15:35c and 16:14–23: David's intermezzo

The next two sections beginning with waw–subject–qetal compose the intermezzo which introduces David for the first time in the narrative. The first episode performs the task of introducing David's divine vocation to kingship (spirit of God resting on him now), while the second shows that Saul is tormented by an evil spirit (instead of the good spirit) and David is brought to comfort him through singing.

wlaqet	ולא אוסיף שמואל למחזי ית שאול עד יום מותיה	15:35ab
cqet	ארי אתאבל שמואל על שאול	
wsubjqet	וייי תב במימריה	15:35c
cqet	ארי אמליך ית שאול על ישראל:	
wqet	ואמר יי לשמואל	16:1
csubjpart	עד אמתי את מתאבל על שאול	

The waw–subject–qetal 15:35c echoes God's direct declaration of 15:11 of being sorry for having have appointed Saul as king which is the point of departure for God's command to Samuel in 16:1 to go to Jesse the Betlehemite, looking to anoint another king. The waw–subject–qetal again is not connected to the immediately preceding form in 15:35ab.

The same prelude form in 16:14 continues the narrative with the impact of David's anointing. Saul is no longer a place of residence for God but for the evil spirit. While the continuation could have been done with a normal wqetal form directly from 16:13c (*And the spirit of strength from before God resided upon David from that day on*), this particular possibility is prevented by the interposed passage of 16:13de (*And Samuel rose and went to Rama*) which closes the episode.[302]

wqet	ונסיב שמואל ית קרנא דמשחא ¹³	16:13abc
wqet	ומשח יתיה בגו אחוהי	
wqet	ושרת רוח גבורא מן קדם יי על דוד מיומא ההוא ולעילא	
wqet	וקם שמואל	16:13de
wqet	ואזל לרמתא:	
wsubjqet	ורוח גבורא מן קדם יי דהות עם שאול עדת מניה	16:14–15
wpart	ומבעתא ליה רוח בישא מן קדם יי:	
wqet	ואמרו עבדי שאול ליה	

2:22a: Admonishment and promised punishment for Eli's sons

This episode is again not in sequence after the one recounting Samuel's growth and Hannah's subsequent actions (2:18–21). From the previous episode of Hannah, the current one has a change of topic, scenery, and characters. The waw–subject–qetal form at the beginning of this episode continues the episode of 2:12–17 where the disgraceful sins of Eli's sons are listed; also, it does not continue temporally 2:21d:

wqet	ורבא רביא שמואל משמיש קדם יי:	2:21d
wsubjqet	ועלי סיב לחדא	2:22–23a
wqet	ושמע ית כל	
cpart	דעבדין בנוהי לכל ישראל	
cpart	וית דשכבין ית נשיא	
cpart	דאתין לצלאה בתרע משכן זמנא:	
wqet	ואמר להון	

From the analysis of these five prelude forms, we see that the waw–subject–qetal prelude is not a continuation form. It picks up and continues strands from the previous episode (and as such is subsequent to it) but is not a genuine temporal continuation of it *per se* – the waw–subject–qetal prelude has the task of severing the temporal continuation between two subsequent episodes by allowing for the second to continue a another thread present in the previous episode or even before. This is why the episode has new characters and geographical location (or recalls older characters and places in the narrative). The focus and the subject of the narrative are different from those at the end of the previous episode. In most cases, the episode continues a parallel strand of the story.

2.2.3.2 Waw–subject–participle prelude

There are three waw–subject–participle forms acting as the prelude of an episode in 1Samuel. Two of them are connected with Samuel serving or ministering to the Lord and the last reaffirms the conflict between Israel and the Philistines. In terms of their use in the time passage in the sequence of episodes, these three forms do not any show progress from one episode to another, as happens with the wqetal prelude. Instead, their function is to reinstate a previous moment from where the time passage in the current episode commences.

2:18 and 3:1

The story of Samuel's childhood runs from the beginning of the book to 4:1 (the moment when Samuel calls Israel to battle against the Philistines). This story is interrupted two times (with two episodes about Eli's sons, with whom he is obvious contrast) and each time the narrative of Samuel is restarted with a waw–subject–participle form. The formulation at the end of one episode and the beginning of the next sing the same tune: Samuel is a servant before God, משמיש קדם יי (2:18; 3:1). This is reminiscent of Hannah's promise made in her prayer for a child (1:11).

The waw–subject–participle in 2:18 reaffirms the point made in 2:11b, which ends the episode of Samuel's birth. The process repeats with the same wording at the end of the Samuel focused episode in 2:21d and the beginning of 3:1. In these cases Samuel is serving God, so there is no progression of time from one ending to the beginning of the next.

141

		1:20–2:11
wsubjpart	ורביא הוה משמיש קדם יי בחיי עלי כהנא:	2:11b Episode ends
	Sons of Eli and their sins …	2:12–17
wsubjpart	ושמואל משמיש קדם יי	2:18 Episode begins
xpart	עולימא אסיר כרדוט דבוץ:	
	…	
wsubjpart	ורבא רביא שמואל משמיש קדם יי:	2:21d Episode ends
	Eli rebukes his sons and God's promised punishment	2:22–37
	…	
wsubjpart	ורביא שמואל משמיש קדם יי בחיי עלי	3:1–2 Episode begins
wsubjqet	ופתגמא דיי הוה כסי ביומיא האנון	
NCrt	לית נבואה גליא:	
wqet	והוה ביומא ההוא	

The alternating sequence of these episodes (from Samuel, passes to Eli's sons, to Samuel, to Eli's sons, and finally Samuel again) is shaped around the idea of Samuel being servant of God (משמיש קדם יי). The author is careful to keep Samuel's status fresh in the mind of the reader within the longer passage of 2:22–37, focused on Eli's sons. Samuel's serving of God is repeated with a different wording in verse 2:26, again using the same waw–subject–participle form. This is also a pause between the rebuke of their father (2:22–25) and God's word against them (2:27–36), with no bearing on the passage of time.

31:1

With the waw–subject–participle in 31:1, the author does not advance the story from what happened in chapter 30. The focused is changed from David's story to the war with Philistines. The first sentence of 31:1 reiterates the existence of the war and suggests that it is happening – the waw–subject–participle form does not refer a completed action. Only the occurrence of the next two wqetal forms in sequence shows that the battle ended, and Israel fled and the people were slain by the

Philistines. The waw–subject–participle would have remained open without these two wqetal forms telling us that it is ended.

wsubjpart	ופלשתאי מגיחין קרבא בישראל	31:1abc
wqet	ואפכו אנשי ישראל מן קדם פלשתאי	
wqet	ונפלו קטילין בטורא דגלבע:	

The first completed movement of troops in this war is found 28:1ab with a wqetal form, וכנשו פלשתאי ית משריתהון לחילא לאגחא קרבא בישראל, which shows that Philistines gathered for battle. This is followed by another completed movement of troops in 28:4 (a wqetal again) showing where they camped (Philistines in Shunem, Israel in Gilboa). Another wqetal in 29:1 tells about a subsequent and completed movement of troops from the previous position of to Afek (Philistines) and Jezreel (Israel).

By contrast, there is no movement of troops in the waw–subject–participle of 31:1 – the form only repeats that the Philistines fight against Israel without adding new information. It has the purpose of restarting the story of Saul, after the two episodes focused on David (29:1–11 and 30:1–31).

2.2.3.3   Nominal Clause as waw–Pr–scale sentence: Phenomenon–Transition–Setting

There are two prelude examples of the form waw–theme–rheme in 2:12a and 17:12. In both cases, these sentences introduce completely new characters in the story, the sons of Eli and David, respectively. As they mark the appearance of new phenomena in the story and are found in the first sentence of the episode, in terms of FSP, these sentences have a Pr–scale sequence Phenomenon–Transition–Setting.

NCwtr	ובני עלי גברין רשיעין	2:12
laqet	לא הוו ידעין למדחל מן קדם יי׃	
NCwtr	ודוד בר גבר אפרתי הדין מבית־לחם דבית יהודה	17:12–13a
NCwtr	ושמיה ישי	
NCwtr	וליה תמניא בנין	
wxqet	וגברא ביומי שאול סיב מני בבחיריא׃	
wqet	ואזלו תלתה בני ישי רברביא	

These two sentences allow for the two scales of FSP to be asserted. In the Q–scale (Theme–Transition–Rheme) the element with the highest CD is the rheme; because of the sense of the sentence is without a doubt of *appearance into the scene* the orientation of the CD changes from the end of the sentence towards the Theme/Subject. This is why the second interpretation for these sentences is preferable (that of Pr–scale) where the Phenomenon in the sentence takes precedence over the rheme (the same Pr–scale is also present in a non–prelude NC in 4:19a).

Two observations are in order. The grammar of Aramaic (as that of the Biblical Hebrew) allows existential sentences with no verb. The simple juxtaposition of two words can create an existential sentence. As a result, the transition is in most cases missing, and, one could infer, if the verb *to be* is present, its use will be emphatic. As the transition is missing the Person and Number Exponent (PNE) and Time and Mode Exponent (TME) are either redistributed to other elements of the sentence or disappear. We can suppose that the PNE function may be still in place if one accepts that the accord in person and number between the grammatical subject and predicate are taking the place of PNE (in both cases this happens: the plural of ובני עלי is in accord with גברין רשׁיעין, the same applies to the second case). In terms of TME, the appearance in the story happens at a certain time, but there is no sense of time passage and because of that the Nominal Clause of Pr–scale is considered neutral with regards to time and mode – i.e. it does not count in terms of time of their occurrence (i.e. degree zero, retrospective or anticipated information).

The second observation derives from the Pr–scale status of the sentence which reverses the CD of the rheme from having the highest CD (so it would have been a Specification) to having the lowest CD which changes into Setting. The reading and the interpretation of the first sentence should be oriented towards the grammatical subject of the two sentences, which in English shifts the position of the grammatical subject after transition:

'There were the sons of Eli, evil men, they did not know to fear from before God' and

'There was David, son of this man of Ephrata from Bethlehem of the house Juda'.

Thus, the phenomena of the two sentences receive their proper place in the translation as having the highest CD. The translation also reflects the reduced status of the settings (i.e. everything that follows the introduction of Phenomenon), which give additional information on the appearing Phenomenon.

2.2.3.4 NC prelude: rheme–theme in 13:1

The Pr–scale in NC is not the only possible combination as prelude form. When the Phenomenon is already introduced and context dependent, the normal NC theme–rheme with Q–scale is a candidate for the position of prelude. This is the case of 13:1[303] where theme *Saul* is not context independent because he is present in the mind of the readers in the previous episode 12:1–25 (Samuel's discourse about his work as prophet and about Saul's kingship). As a result, Q–scale is applicable. Because the rheme is inserted at the beginning (instead of the end) of the sentence, this is an emphatic word order.

NCrt: rheme [includes an NCcrt] – relative theme	כבר שנא דלית ביה חובין שאול כד מלך	13:1–2
wtempqet	ותרתין שנין מלך על ישראל:	

This explanation corresponds with Staalduine–Sulman's translation of the passage which takes into account the emphatic word order:[304] 'As a one year old child, in whom there is no guilt, was Saul, when he became king; and he reigned two years over Israel'.

---

[303] Staalduine–Sulman attributes the variant present in the Targum ('As a one year old child, in whom there is no guilt, was Saul, when he became king') to a metaphorical interpretation of a grammatically corrupt original; explanation prompted by R. Ḥuna, cf Eveline van Staalduine–Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 299–302.

[304] Contrast this with a non–emphatic translation of D. J. Harrington and A. J. Saldarini, *The Aramaic Bible 10: Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1987): 'And Saul was *a year old – there were no sins in him –* when he became king, and he reigned two years in Israel' (the italics belong to the authors).

2.3 Wqetal and Narrative Time

The Aramaic wqetal form represents the narrative foreground zero degree in Weinrich's methodology. The analysis of the wqetal (non–prelude) forms reveals that these forms can be grouped in four main types:

(1) **narrative wqetal** (this type includes the wqetal of speech event) referring temporally sequenced events;
(2) **coordinate wqetal**;
(3) wqetal signalling **non–sequential/incomplete action wqetal**;
(4) redundant wqetal or **wqetal hendiadys**.

The wqetal of verb (5) הוה receives a separate analysis because of its different lexical values.

The wqetal forms in (1), (2), and (4) share the two specific traits of sequentially and completion or refer completed information in sequence. In narrative, a verbal form is considered complete whenever its action finishes before the beginning of the next verbal form.

I determined these four types of wqetal by analysing those episodes in 1Samuel which contain at least four wqetal forms in sequence (1Samuel 7:2–17; 10:17–27; 11:1–10; 16:14–23; 17:12–18:5; 19:1–24; 21:2–16; 23:1–24:1; 24:2–23; 28:1–25; 31:1–13)[305].

The (1) narrative wqetal is the predominant form in narrative. The order of these wqetal forms in narrative corresponds to the order of events in the narrative described. These forms provide two types of information: an account of events as they happened (the sequence of *fabula* coincides with the story/*sujet* sequence); furthermore, they indicate the advance of time or plot in narrative.

Time passage and wqetal

On this last point, the discussion of time passage with regards to wqetal forms is based on the methodological premises described in the first chapter of this thesis – Harald Weinrich's temporal metaphor and Julia Kristeva's delimitation of the metaphoric and metamorphic time passage. The metaphoric time passage is represented by the sequence of all the wqetal forms (including those with the verb

---

[305] The sections 11:1–10 and 17:12–54 constitute the first panel of their respective episodes.

הוה). Though each type accomplishes this to a different degree, the wqetal forms contribute the most to the passage of time in or the advance the plot of the narrative from the beginning to the end of the story. The theoretical discussion argues that it takes two forms of wqetal to form one temporal metaphor which generates the advance of story time towards its end.

While these metaphoric wqetal refer only to time passage, the metamorphic verbal forms specify those instances where time is conjoined with a body sensation. Two verbal forms of this sort give the expression of time and include a scale down of character's 'physical' presence (feelings of taste, smell, hearing, etc.) into the narrative for the benefit of the reader. In Targum Aramaic of 1Samuel, I insisted that the metamorphic verbal forms are only present in those instances where a speech event occurs, i.e. a character engages in direct speech introduced with some sort of form of the verb אמר (wqetal, wparticiple, and infinitive). The two constitutive elements of the metamorphosis (one wqetal of אמר and the direct speech) create the setting within which the reader is able to witness an oral communication of a character or between characters. The metamorphosis marks the substitution of narrative forms (wqetal and wparticiple) with comment forms. However, the character may choose to narrate something so direct speech would also contain a narrative passage.

The methodological background of this discussion of wqetal

The division of the (1) narrative and the (2) coordinate forms of wqetal derives from W. Labov and J. Waletzky's research. This supports our discussion of the *evaluative* function (the four types of narrative wqetal) and the *referential* function (the relevant forms are those of 'prelude').[306] Both functions contribute to the time passage or plot development from the perspective of 'temporal sequence' in which the *temporal juncture* marks the fact that 'two clauses … are temporally ordered with respect to each other'.[307] The existence of temporal juncture constitutes the linguistic support for the (1) **narrative wqetal** analysis of this chapter both in its referential function (described above with regards to wqetal prelude) and in the evaluative one (cf below).

---

[306] Cf for the outline of Labov and Waletzky's research in 'William Labov and Joshua Waletzky – a narrative analysis of verb', page 61.

[307] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 20.

Before presenting the methodological background for the remaining three types of wqetal, one needs to clarify the meanings of the term 'narrative' in order to introduce a further feature of wqetal – *listing*. Listing presumes a sequence of events which are not arranged in time or with no temporal juncture.

One meaning of narrative refers to genre which means groups of texts which share the same traits of transmitting information using some sort of sequenced events. A second meaning refers to narrative as Weinrich's linguistic attitude, opposed to comment. Weinrich's narrative mirrors a 'rhetorical' relation which refers to the simple sequence of events temporally ordered or not. Robert Binnick declares this ambivalence of the narrative sequence in his affirmation that 'narrative or sequence [of events]' (which does contain a temporal juncture) and listing are two 'rhetorical relations'. His examples of the narrative and listing are, respectively:

Bill sang a song. Jane thanked him on behalf of the audience
Bill sang a song. Jane played the piano.[308]

Both the first sequence of events temporally ordered and the second which display a list of events are features of the foreground zero degree of wqetal in Weinrich's framework.

Now we can clarify the other two types of wqetal forms which share the trait of listing: the (2) **coordinate wqetal** and the (3) **incomplete wqetal**. The coordinate wqetal supposes that these forms have, in Labov and Waletzky's words, 'the same displacement sets' which allow them to occur in 'in any …possible permutations [with each other] without altering the temporal sequence' in the story described.[309] In this definition, it is evident that once the temporal juncture between to subsequent events subsides, the narrative passes into the domain of listing. Binnick's second sequence is a good example of listing narrative as there is not temporal juncture: it is not at all clear which came first Bill's or Jane's performance.

In this setting, Weinrich's narrative sequence of zero degree can be clarified as being events either in a narrative sequence (containing temporally sequenced events) or in a listing one (a sequence where that temporal order misses). The events are arranged

---

[308] Binnick, 'Aspect and Aspectuality', in *The Handbook of English Linguistics*, 262.
[309] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 18.

in a coordinate list that results, in the case of coordinate wqetal, into a coordinate list of completed events.

The free evaluative function of Labov–Waletzky (cf the section above 'William Labov and Joshua Waletzky – a narrative analysis of verb', page 61) could correspond to the (4) **incomplete wqetal** phenomenon observed in the narrative of Targum 1Samuel. However, the examples of 1Samuel do not suppose that its 'displacement set'[310] is so lax as to allow for them to be placed anywhere in the narrative, as Labov–Waletzky framework supposes. These incomplete wqetal forms may not be always moved up and down the sequence of the narrative without changing its meaning. Some incomplete wqetal forms could indeed be moved from their original place to anywhere in the narrative (for example the wqetal referring to Saul's tallness, 1Samuel 10:23d) without changing the overall meaning of the narrative. By contrast, there are incomplete wqetal forms could not stand the same change: David is afraid when he is presented to Achish as a potential threat (21:13b), which does not apply to the earlier case of 21:11, when the former decided to escape to the latter. Consequently, the wqetal denoting David's fear is an incomplete but not free wqetal. Besides this feature of being 'incomplete' (their action does not end with the next wqetal form), these wqetal are able to create *lists* of events too in which the temporal juncture is not present. From this perspective, both the coordinate and the incomplete wqetal forms create a sort of list, with the difference that in one case the list is of complete events, while the list is of incomplete events, in the other.

The (4) **wqetal hendiadys** does not excludes the capacity for evaluative (temporally sequenced events or listing) or the referential (prelude) functions described above. They are a special case which englobes these functions as appropriate within its core operation of employing two wqetal forms ('he opened his mouth and said') for one meaning ('he said'). Hendiadys is another 'rhetorical' function of wqetal along with that of *sequence* and *listing*. The discussion of wqetal hendiadys is based on Paul Hopper's research on its occurrences with English verb.

Within the combined framework of Labov–Waletzky, Hopper, and Weinrich, on the one hand, and Kristeva on the other hand, the following analysis will examine these

---

[310] The displacement set refers the slots within narrative where a sentence can be moved without changing the meaning of the sequence.

four wqetal forms (narrative, coordinate, incomplete, and hendiadys) under two general functions: the evaluative/rhetorical function(s) and the time or plot advancing function.

2.3.1 Normal wqetal narrative

2.3.1.1 Wqetal narrative metaphoric

Wqetal is used to present sequences of events that take place one after another. The grammatical subject may change rapidly (10:20–21) among the agents of the story line or be the same for long stretches of text (10:25). Usually, the subject is stated once at the beginning of the wqetal line; when ambiguous, the subject is reiterated so as to prevent the confusion (10:25).

וקריב שמואל ית כל שבטיא דישראל	10:20
ואתאחד שבטא דבית בנימין:	
וקריב ית שבטא דבית בנימין לזרעיתיה	10:21
ואתאחדת זרעית מטר	
ואתאחד שאול בר קיש	
ובעוהי	
ומליל שמואל עם עמא ית נומסא דמלכותא	10:25
וכתב בספרא	
ואצנע קדם יי	
ושלח שמואל ית כל עמא גבר לביתיה:	

This type of wqetal propels the story forward, providing the information on the main line of communication. The flow of wqetal forms in 17:52–53 starts from the moment when Israel rise up and continues with 5 wqetal which denote complete action in sequence – they shout, follow the Philistines, the Philistines are defeated, Israel returns and takes their spoil. The connection between every two subsequent wqetal forms adds to create the temporal metaphor or the advancement of narrative from one point to another.

The order of each wqetal in the episode is fixed enclosed by the 'temporal juncture' as the second wqetal in sequence cannot be moved before the first without changing the meaning of the story. The beginning of one wqetal supposes the end of the preceding one. Any change in the order would render the whole narrative unintelligible: Israel could not have followed the Philistines (52c) before rising

against them (52a) or take their spoils (53b) before the Philistines have been defeated (52d) or without returning from their pursuit (53a).

wqet Tr/Rh–Th	וקמו אנשי ישראל ויהודה ⁵²	17:52–53
wqet Tr/Rh/Th	ויביבו	
wqet Tr/Th/–Rh–Set	ורדפו בתר פלשתאי עד מעלנא דגי ועד תרעי עקרון	
wqet Tr–Th–Rh	ונפלו פלשתאי קטילין באורח שערים ועד גת ועד עקרון:	
wqet Tr/Rh–Th–Set	ותבו בני ישראל מלמרדף בתר פלשתאי ⁵³	
wqet Tr/Th–Rh	ובזו ית משריתהון:	

Regardless of the amount of time these actions take to complete, narrative reduces it to six wqetal forms which advance our episodic time from Israel rising against the Philistines to the moment when they raid the Philistine tents. The passage of time in these temporal metaphors is visible by looking at the FSP organisation of the text in term of the disposition of the Th–Tr–Rh: they all look forward to the Rh of the communication.

The sentence 52a introduces a new theme 'Israel and Judah'[311] (after the battle between David and Goliath has finished), and for that reason, this is a Pr–scale sentence oriented towards Israel/Judah. This sentence is introducing their movement, which develops towards the next moment of shouting (52b). Starting from 52b, the wqetal forms convey subsequent and complete information about the action, switching theme (Israel to Philistines in 52d, and back – 53a) and advancing the time of the episode.

The temporal function of wqetal is prominently apparent in the case of the narrative wqetal forms as each marks a complete action; one form of normal wqetal narrative enters into a temporal juncture with the previous or the next form.

The temporal juncture of the normal narrative wqetal does not allow a temporal displacement. In contrast with the wqetal hendiadys, with the coordinate wqetal or

---

[311] The sentence restates an 'old' theme of Israel in 17:24, where the same men flee from Goliath.

with the other possible type of listing events (wqetal incomplete), the advancement of the narrative time or of the plot is unhindered.

The metaphorical time suggested by the normal wqetal forms is not left for us to interpret and thus the attention of the reader is not stalled with narrative wqetal. By contrast, in the case of the wqetal coordinate, the reader is uncertain which comes first or (with wqetal incomplete) whether the action of wqetal ends with the next form or continues. In a word, the sequences of normal narrative wqetal add up to create a linear narrative time, with no intention for stalling the development of the plot.

2.3.1.2 *Wqetal of speech event within episode or metamorphic*

The previous section investigated the advancement of narrative time through normal narrative wqetal. Its objective is to advance the plot forward towards its end by using ellipsis of events as much as possible. The speech event wqetal exhibits the capacity of wqetal for curvature of time (as described in Chapter 1). The narrative time is conflated with the introduction of a direct speech passage. The genre of the narrative in 1Samuel allows for a 'physical' appearance of the characters through speech leading to creating a wqetal form of the metamorphosis type: the reader experiences an expansion of the narrative time through dialogue. In dialogue, the narrative time stops as one no longer receives information about an unfolding story but a communication of a character in the first person – it is the 'I' of the character who speaks. This direct speech may support the narrative with a more prominent exposition or may be a dialogue between a first and a second person.

The speech event introduced with the verb אמר leads to stopping the elapse of time in narrative: the words of the characters *suspend* narrative.[312] In Weinrich's terms, narrative is exchanged with comment. The latter is not interested in sequencing events for the purpose of conveying a plot but in the communication between characters. To explain this, we resort to Genette's words: 'there is no difference between the statement present in the text and the sentence purportedly spoken by the hero other than what derives from the transition from oral language to written. The narrator does not narrate the hero's sentence; once can scarcely say he imitates it; he *recopies* it, and in this sense one cannot speak here of narrative'.[313] In line with Weinrich's observation that the presence of one sign means the lack of the other[314], Genette's 'recopying' of character's words means lack of narrative and the presence of comment.

---

[312] It is also possible that the characters narrate in the allocated direct speech, which means that the narrator hands over the narration of the plot to its characters. This is to explain why direct speech does not equate comment. Direct and indirect speeches are forms which the communication takes; the quality of the communication is either of narrative or of comment as described by Weinrich.

[313] G. Genette and J. E. Lewin [tr], *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1983/1988) 169.

[314] Weinrich, 1978, 230–231.

Genette proposes a classification of speech events that indicates how dialogues achieve this 'recopying' and how dialogues are converted into narrative. He divides speech event into three types:[315]

(1) dialogue or direct speech proper that is an ''imitated' discourse' or is 'discourse fictively *reported* as it supposedly was uttered by the character';

(2) 'narrativized discourse' or 'discourse treated like one event among others and taken as such by the narrator himself' (the example is 'Agamemnon was angry and bade him [Chryses] depart and not come again lest ....') i.e. reported speech in narrative. This type of narrative is absent from the 10 analysed fragments from Targum 1Samuel but probably present elsewhere in the Targum. Presumably, it would take the shape of a normal wqetal narrative in a similar fashion with the next type of speech event.

(3) 'reduction of speech to event' (Genette's example is 'Agamemnon refused and dismissed Chryses') which is the 'pure form of narratized speech' or the way in which comment proper is transformed into narrative proper.

As a general note, speech events in Aramaic narrative (or to be more precise, in the Biblical narrative in general) are introduced normally with the verb אמר, either in its predicative use (with qetal or participle) or added as an infinitive, לאימר, after a predicative form of a different root. The only exception we registered is 4:20b (ומלילא) which introduces direct speech without אמר. Integrating time passage with Genette's division of speech event, the narrative time extensions oscillates from a maximum level represented by the dialogue where time is lengthened as much as the narrator desires to the minimum of the 'reduction of speech to event'.

2.3.1.2.1   אמר as speech event

Speech event wqetal forms have the maximum capacity for extending the narrative. This is based on the fact that a narrative speech form introduced by אמר is not limited to the wqetal form marking the change in linguistic attitude (narrative to comment) – it is extended to comprise comment because comment represents its Rh. The

---

[315] Genette and Lewin [tr], 1972/1983, 169–170; Genette's italics.

sentence 'Saul said to Samuel' is not complete without the content of the direct speech.

Authors have attempted to correlate narrative time with the time that took for the events to complete in reality.[316] In terms of speech event wqetal, examples of play with narrative time and real time in 1Samuel can be adduced. There is a fast time passage in 7:2 (20 years to complete – the time the ark resided in Kirjath–jearim); the slower time occurs in 7:7–14 (8 verses, it took days to complete: one of Israel–Philistine confrontation; also the episode of Nahash of Amon 11:1–10). All these use wqetal forms in sequence to convey events that took place in more than a day.

By contrast, with a speech event wqetal, time is slowed to describe the election of Saul which took place probably in a matter of hours, in 10:20–27 (8 verses for the same event) or in 16:14–23, where we learn about Saul's affliction and the search for a person able to sing for him in order to soothe him. This wqetal of אמר allows for a detailed description of the scene through spans of conversation. The conversation conveys a decision, followed by the confirmation of its completion again through wqetal forms. The event in the latter episode is ended through a series of wparticiple forms (16:23cdefg) which slow narrative down to halt showing the consequences: David plays his instrument and the spirit of devil leaves.

The analysis of the speech events in the 10 episodes shows that two of the three speech event described by Genette are present in 1Samuel: (1) direct speech and (3) 'reduction of speech to event'. Only the communication with direct speech can be related to the metamorphic time passage of Kristeva.

2.3.1.2.2   Other speech event verbs

Besides the normal form of speech event, Aramaic of 1Samuel uses the verb חוי in pael (*to announce*) followed by the infinitive of אמר (19:2, 23:1, 24:2) or חוי in hitpael (*to be shown*) followed by infinitive (19:19) or, in one instance, by wqetal of אמר (23:7). The wqetal of קום (pael: *to swear* or *to make a covenant*) is also

---

[316] Licht, 1978, 99-100.

employed as a speech introducing verb in 19:6 with no אמר, or with the infinitive of אמר in 28:10.[317]

From these uses, we can conclude that the normal speech event form is the wqetal of אמר. When the wqetal belongs to another root, the infinitive of אמר is introduced just before the direct speech passage.[318]

2.3.1.2.3 Examples of 'reduction of speech to event'

By reducing of speech to event, the narrator avoids 'clogging up' the plot or the elision of the information that would have stood in a direct speech passage.

מלל

ומלל compresses comment into a single wqetal containing what would have been transmitted through one whole discussion introduced with אמר. ומלל is used to compress discussion through its ability to render direct discourse into indirect.

19:1–4	ומליל שאול עם יונתן בריה ועם כל עבדוהי למקטל ית דוד	wqet
	ויהונתן בר שאול אתרעי בדויד לחדא:	wsubjqet
	²וחוי יהונתן לדויד למימר	wqet
	Jonathan informs David about the plot	
	⁴ומליל יהונתן על דויד פתגמין תקנין קדם שאול אבוהי	wqet
	ואמר ליה	wqet
	Jonathan defends David in front of Saul	

In the case of 19:1a מלל compresses the planning of Saul's plot against David; by contrast, the למימר of Jonathan (19:2) contains his 'spoken' reaction and friendship with David. The instance of 19:4a shows that the two wqetal forms of מלל and אמר may come together – in this case, מלל acts as temporal contraction of אמר as it summarises with 'good words' (פתגמין תקנין) the contents of the following comment passage, where Jonathan defends David. From this, we can conclude that מלל has a

---

[317] קום is also used to reduce a speech to an event in 24:23 discussed below.

[318] Besides the one already signalled in 4:20b, there is another exception on 18:22 where the ופקד in wqetal introduces a direct speech passage without אמר. The presence of direct speech is evident through the initial מלילו imperative form: Saul orders his servants to suggest to David that he might become the son–in–law to the king.

telescoping function of rendering direct speech into indirect speech.[319] Like קום in 19:6, מלל registers an exception (4:20) to the apparent rule that comment should be introduced by אמר forms only:

wtemp	וכעדן מותה	4:20
wqet	ומלילא נשיא דקימן עלוה	
layiqtul	לא תדחלין	

The verb קום (in pael: *to swear*) summarises as an event a direct speech 24:23:

wqet	וקיים דויד לשאול	24:23
wqet	ואזל שאול לביתיה	

חוי (including also שעי and שמע)

The capacity of reducing to an event a direct speech is also the attribute of חוי (*to announce/to inform about*). The direct object is optional:

- חוי with ית כל פתגמיא האלין (object mark + *these words*) as in 19:7 (cf also the same with the root שעי in 11:5 and שמע in 17:31);
- חוי with relative sentence ית כל דעבד ליה שאול (19:18);
- חוי without any mention of object (11:9; 19:21; 17:31; 23:25):[320]

wqet	וקרא יהונתן לדויד	19:7
wqet	וחוי ליה יהונתן ית כל פתגמיא האלין	
wqet	ואתא לות שמואל לרמתא	19:18
wqet	וחוי ליה ית כל	
	דעבד ליה שאול	Theme: David
wqet	ואזל הוא ושמואל	
wqet	ויתיבו בבית אלפנא :	

[319] Cf more on indirect speech in M. Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[320] The xqetal hitpael form of חוי in 23:13 (ולשאול אתוחה) does not convey the passage of time – it shows as a side note that Saul was informed about David's movement and his subsequent renunciation to pursue David. The passage of time for theme David interrupted before xqetal continues with wqetal in 23:14 – David takes refuge in strongholds.

2.3.2 Coordinate wqetal – complete action

The coordinate wqetal refers to sequence of sentences in narrative where those sentences are interchangeable, i.e. reversing the order of one with the other has no impact on the meaning of the text. The label 'coordinate' derives from the Labov–Waletzky delimitation of narrative clauses. They observe that narrative may display sentences which can be moved within the text, without affecting the sense of the narrative as a whole. These sentences are not bounded with so–called temporal juncture, where the order of two sentences cannot be moved without changing the meaning of the narrative.[321]

The normal wqetal sequence (cf above) is built around two completed events which may be connected with time (*He got into his car and drove away*) or in more delicate situations, where the first action causes the second (*Joe pushed John and John fell*).

By contrast, this does not happen with the coordinate wqetal forms. The first example of coordinate wqetal shows the rituals accomplished by the people at Mitzpe in the context of their reconciliation with God.

wqet	ואתכנשו למצפיא	7:6
wqet	ושפכו לבהון בתיובא כמיא קדם יי	
wqet	וצמו ביומא ההוא	
wqet	ואמרו תמן	
qet	חבנא קדם יי	
wqet	ודן שמואל ית בני ישראל במצפיא:	

The sequence in 7:6bcde is preceded by the gathering of the people at the holy site. In this geographical context, the actions of drawing the water, fasting, confessing and being judged are events whose limits are clear: they did them after they got together and before Philistines decide to attack (7:7). The coordinate feature the four wqetal forms derives from the fact that there is no temporal juncture: all four were done simultaneously by the people or Samuel ('pouring of soul', fasting, words of repentance, judging of Samuel), and hence it is impossible to create a timeline. The

---

[321] Labov and Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', 1967/1997, 14–15 and 20–21.

effect on the narrative is that of stalling or immobilising the action which does not seem to move: we are in a scene where we contemplate their acts of repentance. The name of this list is 'liturgical acts of repentance', all to be imitated when one repents. The exit from this scene is given by the wqetal of 7:7 showing the attack of the Philistines.

The second example of coordinate wqetal recounts a list of events without any evidence of their actual order in the reality described (*fabula*). Other action could have been added. It displays the same type of freeness from temporal juncture in that the first wqetal (9a) may replace the second (9b) with no change in the sense of either.

wqet	9 ופסקו ית רישיה	31:9–10
wqet	וחליצו ית זיניה	
wqet	ושלחו בארע פלשתאי סחור סחור לבסרא בית טעותהון וית עמא:	
wqet	10 ושויאו ית זיניה בית עשתרתא	
wxqet	וית גופיה צלבו בשורא דבית שן :	

For the narrative, it does not matter whether the beheading or stripping of Saul's weapons come first. This list simply notes what was done to the body and leaves the door open to suppose that the subjects did not stop at that. A further sequence (wqet–wxqet) shows (10ab) the same 'list' trait, as we do not know whether his body was put on the walls or his armour went out first in the house of Astaroth. We can suppose that other acts of defilement took place and the author summarises them for us in a non–temporal sequence. This process of defilement ended when his body was buried properly by the inhabitants of Jabeshgilead. Also, the passage shows a chiastic structure (abcb'a'): they cut his head and strip his armour (ab); the objects of defilement are sent around (c); the armour is put in the temple of Astaroth (b'), the head on the walls of Beth–shan (a').

The examination of these two passages confirms that the wqetal form loses its temporal value in favour of becoming a list. This is an enumeration of events in contrast to all other instances of fixed wqetal of recounting. The coordinate wqetal is

almost hidden within the narrative wqetal advancing the plot as their enumeration is preceded and followed by temporally ordered events (Samuel calls the people to repentance, the people repents – 4 coordinate wqetal forms, Philistines attack; the men find Saul's body, defilement 2 pairs of wqetal forms, burial).

In both cases, the listing trait is also derivable from the fact that the events ((1) pouring of soul, fasting, confessing, judging; (2) beheading – stripping the armour; (3) appending the armour/the head) are so close on the timeline to one another that it makes no difference which came first. Furthermore, they describe actions completed or suffered by the same actor; if the subject changes, one gets immediately the sense of their temporal ordering (the Philistines attack; the people of Jabeshgilead bury his body).

The curvature of time is less evident in the wqetal coordinate forms (in contrast with the speech event ones or hendiadys), but their non–temporal disposition draws attention to their listing trait. They conserve a temporal disposition with the forms outside their pairing (hence the wqetal), but the reader pauses because he/she can add other elements to the list, in our cases another act of repentance or defilement. What is listed represents the gist of the story, leaving for us to fill it for ourselves with other possible events within the same lines.

2.3.3 Non–sequential or incomplete action wqetal

The non–sequential wqetal refers to a non–temporal sequence with the next wqetal. It conveys the idea of constancy (of a feeling or physical trait) or existence, with the verb הוה (as *to be* or *to belong*). In the non–sequential wqetal, the existence or quality is not 'consumed' or replaced by another one, but remains as a continuous event. In the following example, Saul's quality of being the tallest (23d) is not replaced or does not end with the coming wqetal of אמר. This is a stable value that belongs to the subject himself:

wqet	ורהטו ²³	10:23–24
wqet	ודברוהי מתמן	
wqet	ואתעתד בגו עמא	
wqet	ורם מכל עמא מכתפיה ולעילא:	
wqet	ואמר שמואל לכל עמא ²⁴	

Classic grammar calls this a static form. From the point of view narrative, this type of wqetal signals an incomplete action (it does not end with the subsequent wqetal) or non–sequential (it is not replaced by another quality: Saul does no become less tall). This type of wqetal does not advance the narrative, which means that it does the opposite; it becomes another way of prolonging the duration of the narrative. To 'being the tallest' other qualities may be added (being handsome, having strong arms, etc.) inducing the increase of duration without actually advancing the plot of the episode. If this is so, this type of narrative wqetal lists (traits, qualities, states) more than narrates.

The narrative is a list of events but a list where time is essential – they are arranged in sequential time. When this list is voided of its temporal trait, it remains a simple list with two impacts the narrative containing them: non–sequentially of events (the events do not have a fixed sequence or a temporal juncture) and the narrative time is stalled. The list produces a time prolongation on the respective moment in the plot or a curvature. In 28:20c, the subject Saul, after falling to the ground (also described with a prolonged hendiadys in 20ab), is afraid, a state which does not end with the following verbal form (conjunction–x–negation–qetal).

wqet	‏20‏ ואוחי שאול	28:20
wqet	ונפל מלי קומתיה לארעא	
wqet	ודחיל לחדא מפתגמי שמואל	
cxlaqet	אף חילא לא הוה ביה	
claqet	ארי לא אכל לחמא כל יממא יומא וכל ליליא:	
wqet	‏21‏ ואתת אתתא לות שאול	28:21

The sentence 20c stalls the action to the moment of his being on the ground. The sentences in 20de continue the description of Saul's poor state, after Samuel's prophecy. Only, the narrative wqetal in 21a advances the time of the episode with the diviner's reaction, but it does not show that Saul is no more afraid.

A similar wqetal attributes the same feeling to David in 21:13ab, with regards to Achish, marking the same non–sequential effect:

wqet	‏11‏ וקם דויד	21:11–14a
wqet	וערק ביומא ההוא מן קדם שאול	
wqet	ואתא לות אכיש מלכא דגת:	
wqet	‏12‏ ואמרו עבדי אכיש ליה	
Direct speech: The servants of Achish recognise David as a figurehead of Israel, being more admired for his deeds than Saul		
wqet	‏13‏ ושוי דויד ית פתגמיא האלין בלבה	
wqet	ודחיל לחדא מן קדם אכיש מלכא דגת:	
wqet	‏14‏ ושני ית מדעיה בעיניהון	

The 3 wqetal narrative of 23:11abc recount David's flight from Saul's court to Achish of Gat. The speech event expands narrative time by recounting that David is recognised as the hero of Israel. The narrative which restarts in 13a advances the plot in the sense that David acknowledges their opinion ('David placed these words in his heart'). 13b states his reaction as being afraid, a feeling which expands over the next wqetal forms when he changes his behaviour to feign insanity and save his life. Other wqetal could have been added to describing his fear, equally not advancing the

time of the narrative and creating a non–temporal *list* of events. This actually happens in 1Samuel 28:5:

wqet	וחזא שאול ית משרית פלשתאי ⁵	1Samuel 28:5
wqet	ודחיל	
wqet	וזע לביה לחדא:	

After describing Saul's fear in 5b, the narrator adds 'and his heart trembled' in 5c – we cannot say from the narrative that one happened before the other (and hence they do not advance narrative). This pair cannot be labelled as a hendiadys, because one sentence may be read without the other, in the sense that each of them is able to create meaning by itself. The feeling expressed can be also that of love as in 16:21c, again to the same non–sequential effect:

wqet	ואתא דוד לות שאול	16:21
wqet	ושמיש קדמוהי	
wqet	ורחמיה לחדא	
wqet	והוה ליה נטיל זינין:	
wqet	ושלח שאול לות ישי למימר ²²	16:22

2.3.4 Wqetal hendiadys

The hendiadic wqetal sequences convey the same event with two predicative verbal forms, i.e. the verbs cannot really be set one after another on a timeline, as in H*e walked to his car and drove off*. A familiar biblical phrase of this type is 'And Peter opened his mouth and said' (Acts 10:34, RSV), standing for 'Peter began to speak to them' (NRS). If one attempt to interpret or translate them separately or literally, the coherence of the passage comes into question as redundancy occurs – these are both evidence of an idiomatic use of language. Niccacci implies that these types of clauses (his example is 2Samuel 12:27: וישלח … ויאמר translated as 'he sent in order to say') should be translated using a subordinated clause; in his later improved BH course he calls this an 'idiomatic case'.[322] They are idiomatic sequences which impact on narrative as they prolong the curvature of time passage as the narrative receives an extra wqetal form, apparently for no other reason than idiom. Presumably, its purpose is the narrator's intention of giving more weight to what is said (or about to be said in the case of wqetal introducing comment). Let us compare two instances with the verb נסיב (*to take*):

7:12	ונסיב שמואל אבנא חדא	wqet
	ושוי בין מצפיא ובין שינא	wqet

and:

21:13	ושוי דויד ית פתגמיא האלין בלבה	wqet

The first hendiadic sequence contains the agent (*Samuel*) and the object (*stone*) in the first wqetal, delaying its geographical position to the second wqetal. In the normal wqetal narrative of the second construction, agent (*David*), object (*the word*), and the place (*in his heart*) find their place in the same sentence. Deferring the place where the stone is to be placed to the second verb produces a prolongation of the event over two verbal forms and hence, a prolongation of time in narrative. The use of hendiadys in recounting physical combat implying movements of body is a way of prolonging the focus of narrative on swift, fleeting images (Goliath attacking David):

---

[322] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §95, 127; Niccacci, 2011, §95.

wqet	ואזל	17:48
wqet	וקריב לקדמות דוד	Theme: Goliath

This is in contrast with normal wqetal for relating the fact of 'drawing near':

wqet	וקריב פלשתאה מקדים ומחשיך	17:16

Hendiadys[323] was the subject of two articles by Paul Hopper.[324] He defines it as 'a single conceptual idea realized by two distinct constituents'. The unicity of the event portrayed is the main condition for distinguishing it from the simple coordinated clause describing two events.[325] In contrast with the construction of two coordinated clauses, each describing one event, the hendiadic clauses are formed by two clauses, the first being 'semantically dependent' and a 'preparation for the second clause' (Hopper's example is '*I finally woke up and remembered the procedures*'). Hopper identifies hendiadys constructions as such because: (1) 'no independent assertion seems to be intended'; (2) the first clause is 'a recognizable ('slang') collocation'; (3) 'the first clause is not meant literally'.[326]

The analysis of 1Samuel shows that several verbs are candidates for classification as hendiadic construction. Hopper showed in English the existence of constructions as *take + Noun Phrase* (*take the number … and move it down to*) or *start and* (*started and established a rhythm*).[327] In a similar fashion, Aramaic contains verbs as נסב:

wqet	ונסיב שמואל אבנא חדא	7:12
wqet	ושוי בין מצפיא ובין שינא	

[323] OED 21/03/16: hendiadys is 'a figure of speech in which a single complex idea is expressed by two words connected by a conjunction; e.g. by two substantives with and instead of an adjective and substantive.'

[324] P. J. Hopper, 'Dispersed Verbal Predicates in Vernacular Written Narrative', in *Directions in Functional Linguistics*, ed. A. Kamio and D. Dokkyō (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1991/1997). A short literature review on hendiadys (for English) is present in P. J. Hopper, 'Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English', in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, ed. J. L. Bybee, M. Noonan, and S. A. Thompson (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub. Co, 2002), 146–147.

[325] Hopper, 'Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English', in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, 146 and 153.

[326] Hopper, 'Dispersed Verbal Predicates in Vernacular Written Narrative', in *Directions in Functional Linguistics*, 7–8.

[327] Hopper, 'Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English', in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, 162–163.

wqet	ונסיב שמואל ית מנא דמשחא	10:1
wqet	ואריק על רישיה	

Hopper also observes that certain hendiadys have an 'inceptive' mark, i.e. they describe the beginning of the action. All of the following cases in 1Samuel show the beginning of an event as a reaction to something happening earlier. The hendiadic construction starts with נסב or ,יחי ,אזל ,קום ,אתב. These are some examples with each:

ואתיב

wqet	ואתיב חד מעולימיא	16:18
wqet	ואמר	
wqet	ואתיב כהנא ית דויד	21:5
wqet	ואמר	
wqet	ואתיב דויד ית כהנא	21:6
wqet	ואמר ליה	

ואזל

wqet	ואזלו תלתה בני ישי רברביא	17:13
wqet	ואזלו בתר שאול לאגחא לקרבא	
wqet	ואזל	17:48
wqet	וקריב לקדמות דוד	

ואוחי

wqet	ואוחי דוד	17:48
wqet	ורהט לסדרא לקדמות פלשתאה:	
wqet	ואוחי שאול	28:20
wqet	ונפל מלי קומתיה לארעא	

וקם

21:11	וקם דויד	wqet
	וערק ביומא ההוא מן קדם שאול	wqet
23:13	וקם דויד וגברוהי כשית מאה גברא	wqet
	ונפקו מקעילה	wqet
23:16	וקם יהונתן בר שאול	wqet
	ואזל לות דויד לחרשא	wqet
23:24	וקמו	wqet
	ואזלו לזיף לקדם שאול	wqet
24:5	וקם דויד	wqet
	ופסק ית כנף מעילא דלשאול ברז:	wqet
24:9	וקם דויד בתרכין	wqet
	ונפק מן מערתא	wqet
26:2	וקם שאול	wqet
	ונחת למדברא דזיף	wqet
26:5	וקם דויד	wqet
	ואתא לאתרא	wqet
27:2	וקם דויד	wqet
	ועבר הוא ושית מאה גברא דעמיה לות אכיש בר מעוך מלכא דגת:	wqet

While for the previous examples one could imagine a physical lifting of the stone or of David's body and the movement, this is not possible with sentences operating at an abstract level:

11:4	וארימו כל עמא ית קלהון	wqet
	ובכו:	wqet

There is a certain pattern emerging. With the exception of the last example, these sentences convey the idea of movement. They include the action of fleeing, travelling from one place to another, or a physical act of by an agent on a patient,

and that of answering. Hendiadys is not obvious at first sight. One needs to ponder to what degree such sentence really expresses two separate events advancing the time of narrative. Looking at narrative time, their sequence does not convey any advance of events within the episode. There is a delay of time passage as the event starts in the first sentence and ends with the second. The idea of delay is also implied in the fact that each of the movement verbs (קום, אזל) supposes a point of origin or target which in the protasis is never mentioned, cf examples:

Saul goes to specific place:		
wqet	ואזל אף הוא לרמתא	19:22
wqet	ואזל לתמן לבית אלפנא דברמתא	19:23
David resides in specific place		
wqet	ויתיב דויד במדברא במצדתא [14]	23:14
wqet	ויתיב בטורא במדברא דזיף	
David and his men go to Kehila:		
wqet	ואזל דויד וגברוהי לקעילה	23:5

Ultimately, hendiadys is a protasis–apodosis construction. Both members work organically, i.e. they cannot exist one without the other. Protasis introduces or restates an object/subject and apodosis says something about it. In the case protasis deletion, the apodosis works with the whole but its subject or object might be missing (cf the impact of deletion of the first wqet in 23:13 and 7:12, respectively). If the apodosis is deleted, the protasis is left hanging (24:9: And David got up and ?).

Turning now to the effects of the hendiadys, Hopper confirms our supposition about prolongation of time by remarking that hendiadys has a rhetorical impact: 'to hold the attention of the listeners in a complex sequence of ideas' and 'to focus attention on her words and attribute importance to them by spreading them over two prosodic periods'.[328]

All in all, hendiadys is a discourse element which follows the linearity principle (of FSP) by putting the important information towards the end of the construction. By delaying the insertion of the object/place to the apodosis, hendiadys increases the

---

[328] Hopper, 'Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English', in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, 167–168.

prominence of the information with the effect of expanding the narrative. Protasis acts as Pr–scale at a discourse level, by introducing a new phenomenon or choosing one theme from the ones already present and then stating what the actual event is. The interplay between the sequence of the grammatical verbal forms and their semantic content allows hendiadys to act as FSP instrument at the level of discourse.

2.3.5 The wqetal of the verb הוה

A previous section of this chapter ('והוה as wqetal prelude') provided evidence for the multiple uses of the הוה. In its *referential* function of prelude, והוה has three uses: as predicate for an existential sentence (4:1; 6:1; 15:10); as predicate in a Pr–scale sentence (i.e. introducing completely new characters: Elkanah (1:1) and Saul (9:1)); and as a macro–syntactic sign (1:20; 7:2; 18:6, 10; 28:1; 31:8, 8:1, 24:2, 30:1). In the remainder of this chapter, we examine the *evaluative* function of the wqetal form הוה in its occurrences within the episode.

The discussion of הוה is divided in four sections.

We look at the uses of והוה as non–sequential/incomplete action first in the section 2.3.5.1 'The non–sequential/incomplete action with והוה'. This completes the analysis of the other wqetal forms of non–sequential/incomplete presented in 2.3.3.

In the second part, we examine והוה in its uses as macro–syntactic sign in the section 2.3.5.2 'והוה as macro–syntactic sign'.

Third, the argument of והוה as macro–syntactic sign continues with a section on the combination of והוה with protasis in participle (2.3.5.3). It is argued that its meaning is not of *progressiveness* (as Tarsee Li supposes). The progressive meaning may be suggested by the participle alone. Instead, the והוה acts as macro–syntactic function of connecting a (sometimes lengthy) circumstantial protasis in participle with an apodosis.

The fourth shorter section 2.3.5.4 shows that the plural wqetal of והוו is not a suitable candidate for becoming a macro–syntactic sign. As a result, this function is limited to the singular wqetal of והוה.

At this point, it is worthwhile to briefly discuss the rapport between the text–linguistic analysis and that of the theories which look at tense from the perspective of being punctual, durative, progressive, etc. The text–linguistic analysis (in Weinrich's variant) is based on the explanations obtained through observing the arrangement of information according to the two contrastive pairs of comment/narrative and of foreground/background. In their context, the recurrent labels of *progressive*, *durative*, *punctual*, *complete* and *incomplete action* attached to verbal forms are

considered *effects*, not explanations of their use in the text. To take the example of the normal wqetal narrative, this is a foreground zero degree form. Starting from this function, one can go into specifying that it is also punctual and that it conveys complete and temporally sequenced actions. By contrast, while having the same text linguistic value of foreground zero degree, the wqetal in its non–sequential/incomplete type may display the other meanings of showing events in progress, incomplete or durative. In this context, it is evident that being complete/incomplete or conveying durative/progressive/punctual action does not depend necessarily upon the grammatical form but on its use. However, these phenomena are traits that make one type of wqetal different from the other wqetal forms (normal narrative, coordinate, hendiadic).

The difference between these kinds of reading the grammatical form of wqetal is that text–linguistics creates a *stable connection* between linguistic sign (in English this is tense; in TA this is tense and word order) and its function. By contrast, I would say that the property of being a non–sequential and an incomplete form is not enough to mark properly the difference between linguistic signs. This is because more than one form happens to bear them: both wqetal and wparticiple are shown to have non–sequential and incomplete meanings. However, both types of reading the morphological forms are useful: one explains *author's reason* (if we are to believe Weinrich) for using one linguistic sign in contrast with another (wqetal and not wparticiple – s/he narrates using foreground, not background *relievo*); the other discerns between occurrences of the same linguistic sign: in one occurrence wqetal may be a complete event, in the next an incomplete one.

2.3.5.1 *The non–sequential/incomplete action with* והוה

In general, the verb *to be* takes four meanings: existence, belonging, becoming, and assigning a quality. In its occurrences as wqetal, והוה may take any of the functions outlined in the description of wqetal: narrative, coordinate, non–sequential/incomplete, and hendiadys. The combinations of these lexical meanings add to the MS function of והוה outlined above.

At least in 1Samuel, והוה is concerned with only one other function, besides the macro–syntactic one, that of the non–sequential wqetal conveying (i) existence, (ii) belonging, (iii) assigning a quality, and (iv) becoming. In this function, it states the reality with the effect of holding the progress of the plot.

(i) The simplest (physical) 'existence' wqetal with no event implied is 11:8bc (the number of David's men)[329]:

wqet	ומננון בבזק ⁸	11:8
wqet	והוו בני ישראל תלת מאה אלפין	
NCwtr	ואנש יהודה תלתין אלפין:	

There is no advancement of narrative from 8a to 8b: the soldiers of Israel are numbered but stating their number does not involve time passage or plot progression: their number is the same before and after the count, and stays the same for the coming wqetal forms.[330]

Two other example of non–sequential wqetal in 7:13–14 conveys existence of a more abstract object, in 13c ('the plague of God')[331] and 14d ('peace'):[332]

wqet	ואתברו פלשתאי ¹³	7:13–14
wlaqet	ולא אוסיפו עוד למיעל בתחום ארעא דישראל	
wqet	והות מחתא דיי בפלשתאי כל יומי שמואל׃	
wqet	ותבא קרויא ¹⁴	
cq	דנסיבו פלשתאי מן ישראל לישראל מעקרון ועד גת	
wxqet	וית תחומהון שיזיב ישראל מידא דפלשתאי	
wqet	והוה שלמא בין ישראל ובין אמוראי ׃	
wqet	ודן שמואל ית ישראל כל יומי חיוהי׃ ¹⁵	

---

[329] Cf also 14:25
[330] Cf also 13:2; 22:2.
[331] Cf הוה with מחתא: 4:10; 5:9; 14:14;
[332] Cf with קרבא (war) in 14:52;

Both instances state existence, with no impact on advancing the time of the narrative. The change in order of any of them, however, creates a less coherent account: because the Philistines were under God's plague (13c), they lose cities in favour of Israel (14a: Israel return to their cities), but that does not mean that Philistines are not under God's plague; moreover, there is peace in Israel who do not fear the Philistines, and because the other potential enemy, the Amorites, are not waging war (14d).

There is also a startling example of the use of ל and והות (feminine of והוה) in 14:15d; the sentence does not seem to have זיע as subject because of the presence of ל and because of the lack of agreement in gender with the masculine זיע – all this leads to the conclusion that זיע is not the subject; however, neither the other option ארעא works as the sentence in 15d is oriented towards 'from before God'.

wqet	15 והוה זיעא במשריתא בחקלא ובכל עמא	14:15
xqet	אסטרטיגיא ומחבלא זעו אף אינון	
wqet	וזעת ארעא	Tg
wayyiqtol	וַתִּרְגַּז הָאָרֶץ	MT
wqet	והות לזיע מן קדם יי׃	Tg
wayyiqtol	וַתְּהִי לְחֶרְדַּת אֱלֹהִים	MT

The former solution seems the better than the latter. Harrington–Saldarini follows this interpretation with their translation of this passage as 'and there was shaking from before the Lord'. The same meaning occurs in Staalduine–Sulman's interpretation: 'Yes, it became a quake from before the LORD'). There is another example of ל introducing a subject and והות Judges 11:39e.

(ii) There is only one case of והוה indicating *belonging* in 1:2d:

wqet	והוו לפננה בנין	1:2d

(iii) The same non–sequential/incomplete function is verified with 'assigning' the quality of being silent in 10:27e:

wsubjqet	וגברי רשעא אמרו	10:27
intyiqtul	במא יפרקננא דין	
wqet	ושטוהי	
wlaqet	ולא אתו למשאל בשלמיה	

wqet	וְהֲוָה כְּשָׁתִיק:	Episode ends
wqet	וּסְלִיק נָחָשׁ מַלְכָּא דִבְנֵי עַמּוֹן	11:1

This sequence in 10:27 closes the episode started in 10:17, 11:1 being the beginning of the next. The episode does not continue so we understand 10:27e as a matter–of–fact statement about Saul's attitude towards his detractors. Saul's attitude (of being silent) does not change in the next episode, where he reacts to a danger from the Philistines, not to his detractors. The wqetal of הוה retains a non–sequential trait with regards to what follows. The same is verified in the case of 'be son of' in 14:49a and 'be clean' in 21:6 (both in with והוו plural).

Other instances of והוה as wqetal non–sequential have participle to complete predication with the sense of assigning. Tarsee Lee thinks that these 'should be analysed as the predicate of the verb 'to be'' (his example is Daniel 7:19[333] – דִּי־הֲוָת שָׁנְיָה, *which was different*, שָׁנְיָה participle from שנה *be different*). It is worth pointing out that there is a difference in sense between 'existence' with the meaning of standing or being physically present in some place (cf above 11:8b; 7:2c and 14d) and that of 'assigning quality' as in Daniel 7:19, where the beast 'was different from all the rest'.

1Samuel contains 5 occurrences of והוה and participle as assigning a quality. The exception is 18:14 where Tg uses a והוה and participle hafel to translate a וַיְהִי and participle hifil (hence a literal translation).[334] The rest of these occurrences display different difficulties of Targum in translation:

- The use of והוה and participle hafel of רוח *to be empty* in Tg 1 Samuel 20:25 indicates the difficulty that Aramaic has in rendering a (passive) nifal of MT:

wayyqitol	וַיִּפָּקֵד מְקוֹם דָּוִד:	MT 1Samuel 20:25
wqet	וְהֲוָה אַתְרָא דְדָוִד מְרוֹחַ:	Tg 1Samuel 20:25

The difficulty of the passage resides in the sense of the verb nifal פקד (to remain empty), which seems to be connected to David as a person who is missing from the community (cf the nifal form of 25:21 'nothing was missed' of Nabal's property).

---

[333] Tarsee, 2009, 80.
[334] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 390 translates: '*And David was successful …*'.

The Targum interprets this as a static 'but David's place was empty' as Staalduine–Sulman translates.

- והוה completes the meaning of the sentence with appropriate participle form where it seems to be an ambiguous message in MT:
  - o in 4:1, Targum anticipates that Samuel's words will be well received so it adds the participle מרעא 'pleasing', transforming an existence clause ('And it was the word of Samuel to all Israel and Israel went down…') into an assigning quality ('And it was pleasing the word to all Israel and Israel came down') – my translation in both;
  - o 19:7 the MT has the sense 'he was in his presence, as before' (NRS) while the Targum has 'he was servant as yesterday and before'
- the case of Tg 1Samuel 18:9 reads the qere (participle of the verb עין *to eye*) instead of the qetiv (the noun עון *eye*) – in this respect the Targum reflects a literal translation (like 18:14):

| MT 1Samuel 18:9 | וַיְהִי שָׁאוּל [עָוֵן][עוֹיֵן] אֶת־דָּוִד מֵהַיּוֹם הַהוּא וָהָלְאָה: ס | wayyiqtol |
| Tg 1Samuel 18:9 | 9 והוה שאול כמין לדויד מיומא ההוא ולהלאה | wqet |

In these cases, והוה indicates non–sequential/incomplete and listing features, not an actual advance of narrative.

(iv) והוה as 'becoming'

Generically, when the verb *TO BE* puts together items A and B, and B in some way creates a change in A's status, translators render it with *become*. This occurs in the non–sequential wqetal of והוה followed by what in Aramaic could be a participle or a noun (cf 16:21d).[335]

1Sam 16:21–22	ואתא דוד לות שאול	wqet
	ושמיש קדמוהי	wqet
	ורחמיה לחדא	wqet
	והוה ליה נטיל זינין:	wqet
	22 ושלח שאול לות ישי למימר	wqet

---

[335] Cf also 22:2c.

Staalduine–Sulman renders 21d with 'he became his [Saul's] armour–bearer'[336] which is not incorrect as David was not his armour–bearer before 16:21. Nevertheless, this is not the lexical meaning of הוה, which translates literally 'he was his armour–bearer' (Harrington–Saldarini's translation). The point is important because after 21a (a narrative wqetal advancing the narrative plot), the rest of the verse contains non–sequential wqetal forms listing David's status (he served, he was loved by Saul, and was his armour bearer) – none of these actions are ended by the next; translating והוה here with *became* gives the impression that there was a time before when he was not his armour–bearer, hence a temporal progression from simple serving. In my interpretation, 21d is only a delimitation of his serving.[337]

David is called to court for his musical skills (cf the progression of the episode 16:14–20) but, in 21d, he is said to be Saul's armour bearer, only after 23 he is said to be his musician (vs 22 is still ambiguous about this – is he called to be Saul's armour–bearer or musician?). Obviously, in the temporal sequence of events in 21c anticipates his later position as armour–bearer and there is no sequence of events in the whole verse. This provides additional proof that 21d marks no temporal passage.[338]

This is not to say that והוה as 'becoming' has no other function than the non–sequential. There is a possibility that the wqetal in 25:42f is narrative:

wqet	ואוחיאת[42]	25:42–43
wqet	וקמת אביגיל	
wqet	ורכיבת על חמרא	
wxqet	וחמיש עולימתהא אזלן לקבלה	
wqet	ואזלת בתר אזגדי דוד	
wqet	והות ליה לאתו :	
wxqet	וית אחינעם נסיב דויד מיזרעאל[43]	
wqet	והואה אף תרויהון ליה לנשין:	

---

[336] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 342.
[337] This part the intermezzo of 1Samuel containing 2 episodes: 15:35c – 16:13 (David appears for the first time into the narrative plot – he is God's anointed) and 16:14–23 (David is introduced at the court of Saul as his armour bearer, cf 16:21, and then as his musician, cf 16:23).
[338] This discussion does not suggest that הוה should never be translated with 'became', but that the lexical value of 'become', I think, implies temporal passage from one moment to another, which is not the case here.

After David requests Abigail's hand in 25:40, she accepts (in verse 41, 3 wqetal forms in sequence) and prepares for making her way to him (42a–d), follows the servants to David (42e), and becomes his wife (42f). However, the new possible interpretation does not annul the non–sequential/incomplete function of והוה.

2.3.5.2   והוה *as macro–syntactic sign*

The macro–syntactic function of והוה is based on the proposal about its Biblical Hebrew equivalent ויהי of Alviero Niccacci. He discusses four macro–syntactic signs: ויהי ('indicator of narrative'); והנה; ועתה; and והיה.[339]

In the analysis of והוה as prelude, we have seen that it introduces a protasis–apodosis construction, where the protasis (either a subordinate sentence introduced with the conjunction כד or an adverbial construction with preposition[340]) narrates the circumstance, while the apodosis notes the event.

In the following two sections, we discuss how Niccacci's analysis of והוה as wqetal and macro–syntactic sign is affected by (1) our methodological decision to adopt the tenets of the Functional Sentence Perspective (2.3.5.2.1) and by (2) our current proposal of wqetal narrative as advancing the plot (2.3.5.2.2).

The third section (2.3.5.2.3) engages with three cases of the protasis–apodosis not preceded by והוה to confirm that its absence is of consequence: the double construction is no longer advancing the narrative plot.

The section 2.3.5.2.4 is dedicated to attesting that the wqetal should be the normal grammatical form of apodosis; whenever, the apparent apodosis is of a different sort (xqetal, xparticiple, participle), the wider context should be analysed to check whether the protasis could be extended until one wqetal form is found to assume the function of apodosis. This aims to keep the concordance in value between the wqetal of והוה as macro–syntactic sign and its own apodosis. If the apodosis contains another structure than wqetal for no obvious reasons (emphasis and retrospection are acceptable), than the narrative value of the והוה is contradicted by a non–wqetal apodosis.

The apodosis should work together with the narrative macro–syntactic sign by having the same grammatical value, not against it. While other particular examples could contradict this statement, the examination of the text of Targum 1Samuel

---

[339] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §12, 33
[340] 1Samuel 25:37 contains both options in the protasis:

MSwqet	והוה[37]	25:37
adverbial construction xqet	בצפרא כד פג חמרא מנבל	protasis
wqet	וחויאת ליה אתתיה ית פתגמיא האלין	apodosis

provided no evidence to support the contrary – see also the remarks on the apparent exceptions to this rule in '2.3.5.5 Conclusion on the usage of והוה as MS and the cases of 14:19 and 1:12'.

The last part of this section on והוה as macro–syntactic sign outlines the cases when the apodosis may contain an xqetal form, emphasis and retrospection 2.3.5.2.6.

As pointed out in the general introduction of section 2.3.5, Chapter 2 ends with the evaluation of והוה and participle in 2.3.5.3 and the analysis of the plural wqetal form of והוו (2.3.5.4).

2.3.5.2.1   והוה as macro–syntactic sign in the context of Functional Sentence Perspective

In his analysis of the MS ויהי, Niccacci makes the general point that ויהי acts as the predicate for the protasis–apodosis construction, while these are considered together as its subject.[341] As predicate/subject are labels limited to the sentence and ויהי is seen here at a text–linguistic level, I think the FSP framework provides a more felicitous vocabulary and explanation: ויהי works as transition for the protasis–apodosis construction, while the protasis–apodosis constructions take on the other functions. In the case of Q–sentence, the protasis acts as Setting and the apodosis contains the Theme and Rheme. In the case of Pr–scale sentence, protasis acts as Setting, while the apodosis acts as Phenomenon.[342]

Let us examine one example of the latter type. As it has the underlying sense of existence, the form והוה/ויהי acts as a transition introducing an event as Phenomenon within the narrative sequence of the plot (this is the FSP analysis). This is in the context of the protasis–apodosis as a Pr–scale construction. At text level, the function of BH ויהי or TA והוה is that of positioning this information (in the protasis and the apodosis) on the time line of the plot as degree zero. The interpretation is in tune with the FSP basic assumption that the quantity of communicative dynamism (CD) increases as the sentence progresses towards its end. ויהי has almost no load of CD, which increases with the circumstantial protasis as Setting, and again with apodosis or Phenomenon; the Phenomenon/apodosis completes the communication

---

[341] Niccacci, 2011, §127.2, 105.
[342] In both cases, Theme could also be part of protasis, its place being taken by the PNE of the verb in the apodosis.

with the new event in the narrative sequence in line with the preceding wqetal forms. The next example (24:5–6) refers the sequence of events concerning David avoiding to hurt Saul, God's anointed, and what David felt after that which is introduced with והוה:

wqet	וקם דויד	24:5–6	increase of CD
wqet	ופסק ית כנף מעילא דלשאול ברז:		
MSwqet	והוה [6]	Transition	
temp	בתר כין	Setting	↓
wqet	וחש דויד בלביה	Phenomenon	
cqet	על דפסק ית כנפא דלשאול:		

David's feeling of remorse over cutting Saul's garment is the new phenomenon introduced with והוה and has a zero degree function in that it is subsequent to the preceding wqetal form.

2.3.5.2.2 Niccacci's proposal of ויהי as macro–syntactic sign

Another of tenet of Niccacci's description of ויהי as macro–syntactic sign is that that the general protasis–apodosis may or may not be preceded by ויהי: 'they both [construction with or without ויהי] are equivalent to a double sentence, i.e. the temporal circumstance forms the protasis and the main sentence the apodosis of a single construction'.[343] He points out that the difference between the two is that the construction preceded by ויהי is 'narrative' whereas the other marks either 'comment' or it signals 'emphasis' of the circumstantial protasis.[344] All in all, they are equivalent to one another – their positioning in foreground or background being their formal differentiation.

Looking at time passage or plot advancement in narrative, this formal differentiation described by Niccacci impacts on whether the protasis–apodosis construction advances narrative time or not. He acknowledges that ויהי turns the protasis–apodosis construction into a 'narrative', without discussing the issue further.

---

[343] Niccacci, 2011, §127: 'ambedue sono equivalenti alla proposizione duplice, cioè che la circostanza temporale costituisce la protasi e la proposizione principale costituisce l'apodosi di un unico periodo'.
[344] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §38, 61. The 'emphasis' of the circumstantial protasis is unlikely as protasis provides Setting, not Specification of its construction (looking at the FSP organisation). This is evident in its non–emphatic position at the *beginning* of the double construction.

In this context, I argue that the absence of ויהי shows that the information in the protasis–apodosis is not in temporal sequence with the previous wqetal forms. Let us discuss Niccacci's examples explaining the use of ויהי and see its impact on the advance of narrative time. The aim of this discussion is to probe whether the presence of ויהי indicates the temporal continuity of two episodes (in the case of prelude forms – this is the *referential* function) or within the episode (this is the *evaluative* function). In both cases, its absence indicates discontinuity of the temporal flow.

We start with a prelude *referential* function of ויהי. Niccacci compares two protasis–apodosis constructions, MT 2Kings 18:1 and MT 1Kings 15:1, the former with protasis ויהי בשנת versus simply בשנת, and virtually identical apodosis מלך חזקיה and מלך אבים, respectively. Both passages are prelude forms introducing a new episode. Let us take the first example of MT 2Kings 18:1 (MS ויהי precedes the protasis–apodosis construction):

וַיְהִי בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלֹשׁ לְהוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן־אֵלָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל מָלַךְ חִזְקִיָּה בֶן־אָחָז מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה:

The preceding episode, starting in 2Kings 17:1, shows Hoshea king of Israel taking the throne in Samaria, while King Ahab reigns in Judah. The internal sequence of events is not really clear: first we learn that Hoshea, a vassal to the Assyrians, is imprisoned for reasons of treason (vs 4) and then we hear that Samaria falls after a three–year siege from the Assyrians (6), when it is reasonable to think that Hoshea was actually caught and imprisoned – both these two events happen in the 9th year of Hoshea's reign (which is also his last).

In the next episode of 18:1, the son of Ahaz, Hezekiah of Judah takes the throne when Hoshea of Israel was in his 3rd year of reining; he also is a vassal to the Assyrians of Sennacherib (18:13). These two episodes come in a relative chronologic order, as Israel and then Juda are subdued subsequently to the Assyrians. I say 'relative chronologic order' as the event of Assyrians taking hold of Israel in 17:6 (described above as happening in the 9th year of Hoshea) should have been after the sequence of wayyqiqtol in 18:1 (3rd year of Hoshea). Nevertheless, 2Kings 18:1 follows a different theme (the kingdom of Juda) than 2Kings 17 (the kingdom of Israel), so the chronological sequence of episodes is not really affected: Israel first, and then Juda fall under Assyrian occupation. Also, to complicate the matter more, between 17:6 and 18:1 there is a significant break in the sequence of events from the

normal narrative, because this is a list of the reasons for the Assyrian invasion of Israel (17:7–41), not a temporal plot – mostly related with a non–sequential wayyiqtol. Acknowledging both these difficulties (the apparent non–sequence of events and the non–sequential wayyiqtol forms), it is still valid that the information in one episode comes in sequence with the other, so וַיְהִי at the beginning of the episode in chapter 18 is justified.

The same happens with the other ויהי preceding the protasis–apodosis discussed by Niccacci in Exodus 12:41. This is the prelude form of a new episode after the previous ended in 12:40: the information about the time spent in Egypt is one the one side presented as a fact (12:40), followed by the same information presented as ended (12:41), hence the advancement of the plot;

By contrast with these two examples, in MT 1Kings 15:1 (ויהי does not precede the protasis–apodosis construction) the end of the preceding episode of 1Kings 14:31 has the same information as the prelude of 15:1, creating a clash between the sequence of events: in 14:31, we are informed about Roboam's death and burial along with the subsequent enthronement of Abijam: all are recounted with three wqetal in narrative sequence. Because 15:1ab contains the same information about Abijam, it cannot be in sequence with 14:31 and the two episodes do not display a smooth temporal sequence – as a result, the episode is not introduced with a narrative sequential ויהי. 15:1a is *repeating* information, rather than *advancing* the time of the narrative:

wa	וַיִּשְׁכַּב רְחַבְעָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו	MT1Kings 14:31
wa	וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית	
wa	וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲבִיָּם בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו: פ	
xq	וּבִשְׁנַת שְׁמֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה לַמֶּלֶךְ יָרָבְעָם בֶּן־נְבָט מָלַךְ אֲבִיָּם עַל־יְהוּדָה:	15:1

Passing to another example of Niccacci – Exodus 19:1ab (Israel reaches Sinai), the protasis–apodosis construction is not introduced by ויהי. This is a prelude construction which does not advance the plot from where it was left at the end of the previous episode of 18:27 (Jethro's visit to Moses and his counsel and Jethro's departure). Exodus 18 is set 'in the wilderness' after they left Egypt, but with no mention of the battle with Amalekites (which took place previously in 17:8–16) or reaching Sinai (which happens in 19:1ss). The non–sequential protasis–apodosis of

19:1 continues the episode of 17:8–16; the lack of narrative continuation between these two episodes in Exodus 18 explains the non–narrative lack of ויהי in 19:1.

In terms of the *evaluative* function of ויהי within the episode, we find in Niccacci the example of the two wayyiqtol forms in 1Kings 14:28, introduced by ויהי. They show the (repetitive) event of putting up bronze shields in the temple (whenever the king was visiting), in temporal sequence with two pairs of wayyiqtol forms: the former gold shields were taken by the Assyrians (14:26ab) and replaced with bronze ones by Roboam (14:27ab).

wa	²⁷ וַיַּעַשׂ הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם תַּחְתָּם מָגִנֵּי נְחֹשֶׁת	1Kings 14:27–28
wa	וְהִפְקִיד עַל־יַד שָׂרֵי הָרָצִים הַשֹּׁמְרִים פֶּתַח בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ:	
MSwa	²⁸ וַיְהִי	
cinf	מִדֵּי־בֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ בֵּית יְהוָה	protasis
yiqtol	יִשָּׂאוּם הָרָצִים	apodosis
wa	וֶהֱשִׁיבוּם אֶל־תָּא הָרָצִים:	

The presence of וַיְהִי keeps the information of this movement of the objects caused by Roboam's presence within the foreground line, as Niccacci argues. The quality of the double sentence is similar to that of wayyiqtol non–sequential (following the analysis of wqetal above in 2.3.3) showing along with the wayyiqtol in 14:28c a *listing* trait: the servants took them out and put them back – other events could be added to this list of activities (dusting, other movements while the kings was there, etc.).

We are not able to say whether the absence or presence of וַיְהִי impacts on the advancement of the plot from this single example because of the meaning of the whole construction is of a non–sequential type. We turn to other examples in TA to look at the impact of the absence of והוה.

2.3.5.2.3 Protasis-apodosis constructions without והוה

We complete our argumentation on time passage in narrative and the double construction without MS והוה with the examination of (the only) three cases in Tg 1Samuel where these conditions occur – two examples are in the same passage.[345]

---

[345] This discussion excludes 12:8 as it is a discourse, not a narrative. The grammatical forms in MT are mirrored in the Targum with the exception of conjunction–infinitive which is rendered with

These are examples of evaluative type. This will show that the absence of והוה before the protasis–apodosis construction marks the fact that the construction does not contribute to the advancement of plot in narrative.

The first example of 11:6 is preceded by the announcement (in direct speech) of the Philistine threat on the Israel city of Jabesh.

1Samuel 11:6	⁶ושרת רוח גבורא מן קדם יי על שאול	wqet
	כד שמע ית פתגמיא האלין	cpart
	ותקיף רגזיה לחדא:	wqet

This is a double sentence, where והוה would have been possible before 6b. It is important to note that most English translations (both of MT and Targum) suppose that the temporal circumstance of 6b belongs to 6a. This contradicts the logic of the passage as Saul surely gets angry when he hears the news about Jabesh, not when he receives the spirit of might. Reading the passage with this reversed interpretation (Saul gets angry when he hears the news), the explanation for the missing of והוה becomes more obvious. Because wqetal of 6a is a free one,[346] the double construction of 6bc is not in sequence with it. As a result, the narrative progress is delayed with a conjunction–qetal protasis in 6b, and restarted with wqetal of the apodosis of 6c.

The break in narrative time posited by the double construction without MS והוה is more obvious in the two cases in 17:55 and 57. To understand the non–sequential of this double construction, we need to acknowledge that verse 54, with three non–sequential (listing) wqetal, show the end of the panel of Goliath versus David: David takes Goliath's head and transports it to Jerusalem (hendiadys in 54ab) but he keeps the weapons for himself. The narrative of time advance 54 up to the moment when David reaches Jerusalem (which happens sometime *after* the two events in 17:55 and 57).

---

conjunction–qetal. The discussion of the presence of והוה is not affected by the internal structure of the double sentence.

[346] 6a is no longer a wqetal narrative proper (advancing narrative), but a coordinate wqetal as it can be moved after 6bc (Saul heard the news and got angry, and he receives the spirit of might just before he cuts the yoke and sends it to the other cities of Israel in 7ab) or even after 7ab (before the speech event in 7c) –either way one reads it, nothing changes within the narrative.

wqet	⁵⁴ונסיב דוד ית רישא דפלשתאה	1Samuel 17:54–55
wqet	ואתייה לירושלם	
wxqet	וית זיניה שוי במשכניה:	
wxqet	⁵⁵וכד חזא שאול ית דויד נפיק לקדמות פלשתאה	
qet	אמר לאבנר רב־חילא	
Direct speech: Saul asks who David is.		
wxqet	⁵⁷וכד תב דויד מלמקטל ית פלשתאה	1Samuel 17:57
wqet	ודבר יתיה אבנר	
wqet	ואתייה לקדם שאול	
NCwtr	ורישא דפלשתאה בידיה:	

The first double construction 17:55ab does not continue the battle of David and Goliath, but as the protasis shows, the dialogue happens before it, so the construction does not advance narrative time, it represents as recuperated information (within the episode) the dialogue between Saul and general Abner about David. This explains why there is no continuative והוה introducing it. By the same token in 17:57ab, והוה is missing because the event (David is invited by Abner to speak with Saul) happens before 17:54. The narrative is interrupted in both instances and hence the absence of והוה.

The discussion of this line of examples adds to Niccacci's account of the macro–syntactic sign ויהי and its Aramaic correspondent והוה. If this MS is not present before the protasis–apodosis construction, this is because the respective protasis–apodosis does not have the ability to advance the time or plot of narrative. By contrast, ויהי indicates that the following double construction is on the narrative line of events and hence it acquires a zero degree value. Zero degree, Weinrich explains, means 'absence of perspective (either retrospection or prospection)'[347] or it advances the narrative in its sequence of events. Zero perspective forms have no indication other than the narrative time: it does not bring into attention an event which happened before the preceding or the next wqetal (as the two examples of 17:55, 57 have shown). This, I presume, is limited to the cases where והוה is found in sequence with an apodosis with wqetal (other cases may vary, cf discussion of the xqetal/qetal in apodosis, point 3 below).

---

[347] Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 37.

2.3.5.2.4 Wqetal as predominant form in apodosis

A further point of Niccacci's explanations concerns the functions of the constructions found in the apodosis of the double sentence (qatal, xqatal, wayyiqtol, assimilated with qetal, xqetal, and wqetal, respectively, in Targum Aramaic). He maintains that: 'It follows from this [the examples] an important characteristic of the double sentence that when the main sentence (or apodosis) is preceded by a circumstance (protasis) all syntactical differences between wayyiqtol, (waw–) x– qatal and qatal recede'.[348]

The following analysis of the few non–prelude and non–discourse והוה as MS will show that while the syntactical difference may recede, there is a text–linguistic difference between these three cases. In the 24:6, the wqetal of the apodosis is a new phenomenon (*feeling remorse* becomes an event through this double construction) in temporal sequence with the last two forms of getting up and cutting (cf also 24:10– 16 and 3:2–4 below). This means that the zero degree of narrative is still present within the double construction, where the narrative value of והוה, aimed at confirming a zero degree status for protasis, is continued in the apodosis. In contrast with this, apodosis with xqetal and qetal do not have the same ability, i.e. the event related in the apodosis is simply a phenomenon introduced into narrative discourse without advancing it.[349]

We now investigate three examples of the form apodosis with wqetal (the xqetal form in apodosis is discussed in the next section). והוה with apodosis in wqetal is able to keep both the apodosis and what otherwise would a non–sequence information (of protasis) within the narrative sequence advancing the time of the plot. In the syntactic interpretation of 24:17, Saul's words (24:10–16) are followed by a moment when he admittedly finishes speaking, cf the protasis (it could be an idiomatic use), and then this is followed by the speech of David introduced with wqetal in 24:17c.

---

[348] Niccacci, 2011, §127.3, 107: 'Emerge qui una particolarità importante della proposizione duplice, che cioè quando la proposizione principale (o apodosi) è preceduta da una circostanza (o protasi) scompare ogni differenza sintattica tra wayyiqtol, (waw–) x–qatal e qatal.'

[349] Another example of MS ויהי with long protasis – MT Exodus 13:17 – apodosis wqetal in 13:18a (protasis includes also a direct speech). Other cases where NC is not apodosis but the coming wayyiqtol: Deuteronomy 5:23abc (NC is Pr–scale sentence) with apodosis in 23d (wayyiqtol).

wqet	ואמר דויד לשׁאול [10]	24:10–16
Direct speech: David's defence before Saul		
MSwqet	והוה [17]	
cqet	כד שׁיצי דויד למללא ית פתגמיא האלין עם שׁאול	protasis
wqet	ואמר שׁאול	apodosis
NCadv[i]rt	הקלך דין ברי דויד	

The same is verified in 17:48, where the phenomenon introduced in the wqetal apodosis – Goliath draws near David right after the former ends his speech – advances the narrative. Note also the hendiadic construction of 48bc ('Goliath came and drew near'):

	David speech ends	
MSwqet	והוה [48]	17:48
cqet	כד קם פלשׁתאה	protasis
wqet	ואזל	apodosis
wqet	וקריב לקדמות דוד	

In 1Samuel 3:2–4, the protasis extends over more than one sentence. After the prelude waw–subject–participle (3:1) introducing the new episode (Samuel's first vision), the narrative sequence starts with a wqetal narrative of והוה (3:2a) which acts as MS. The circumstance ביומא ההוא represents the temporal setting of an event which does not relate time for any of the coming forms 2bcd and 3ab – they all act together as temporal circumstance. These are further protasis forms which contain setting information about what each of the characters was doing at the time: Eli (sitting in his place and his fading sight), about the lights upon the altar (they were on), and Samuel (sitting in the area of the Levites) – they are Pr–scale sentences focused on the theme which now is considered as Phenomenon (Eli, Samuel, the lights), rather than the Rheme; in this interpretation the former Rheme forms (the respective places of the characters and things around the temple, Eli's blindness) recedes to the status of setting. The interpretation derives from the way narrative works, as characters and their settings need to be presented at the beginning.

Let us discuss in more detail the two candidates for the apodosis, 3cd or 4ab (in the latter case, 3cd is part of the protasis). The sentences in 3cd show an FSP

organisation around the Pr–scale sentence[350] where the phenomenon 'the voice of God' is introduced as new theme; the distribution of the FSP functions over the elements is: 'the voice' acts as Rheme/Phenomenon, 'was heard' represents Transition, and Setting is made up of complement and its relative sentence ('from the temple where the Ark was'). Furthermore, the context shows that 3cd signals appearance (the main characteristic of the Pr–scale sentence) on the scene of Phenomenon; as the sound a voice cannot be seen or appear, it uses its proper verbal counterpart – 'being heard'.[351] Furthermore, this function is also evident from the fact that 3cd completes the other setting information of the protasis (the ark was the source of God's voice). As a result, the remaining option 4ab is the appropriate apodosis of this double construction.

wsubjpart	ורביא שמואל משמיש קדם יי בחיי עלי [1]	3:1–4
wsubjqet	ופתגמא דיי הוה כסי ביומיא האנון	
NCrt	לית נבואה גליא:	
MSwqet	והוה [2]	3:2–4
temp	ביומא ההוא	Protasis
wsubjpart	ועלי שכיב באתריה	
wsubjqet	ועינוהי שריאה למכהי	
lapart	לא יכיל למחזי:	
wsubjxqet	ובוצין בית מקדשא דיי עד לא טפא [3]	
wsubjpart	ושמואל שכיב בעזרת ליואי	
wsubjqet	וקלא אשתמע מהיכלא דיי	
NCctr	דתמן ארונא דיי:	
wqet	וקרא יי לשמואל [4]	Apodosis
wqet	ואמר	
Direct speech		

---

[350] The construction could also be considered a Q–scale (oriented and having as Rheme 'from the altar'), but accepting it would yield a redundancy: a voice was heard from the temple of God – God calls.

[351] Firbas suggest that not only those verbs which lexically convey appearance/existence (leading to Presentation–perspective of Phenomenon–Transition–Setting), but also other verbs as long as the Phenomenon is context independent, cf the examples and the discussion in Firbas, 1992, 109–110: '*The breeze of morning* [Ph] *lifted* [Tr] *in the bush* [Set] *and the smell of leaves and wet black earth* [Ph] *mingled* [Tr] *with the sharp smell of the sea* [Set]. *Myriads of birds* [Ph] *were singing* [Tr]. *A goldfinch* [Ph] *flew* [Tr] *over the shepherd's head [Set]*'.

This example is symptomatic[352] of how וההו as MS is to be understood, especially the way in which the non–narrative sentence of protasis (i.e. which always is represented by other forms than wqetal) fits the profile of Pr–scale sentence. First, it shows that the Pr–scale sentence type (Phenomenon/Rheme–Transition–Setting) is much more present in the double construction than initially thought. One must not forget that Q–scale sentences (Theme–Transition–Rheme) are readable as Pr–scale under the right circumstances. Moreover, it indicates that the protasis may be extended for more than one sentence. Third, it advances the very likely hypothesis that Pr–scale sentence could be preferred arrangement of the protasis construction, even when it contains more than the usual temporal/locative circumstance. These three points impact also on apodosis, as it restricts its layout to Q–scale sentences because things need to happen for narrative to progress.

2.3.5.2.5 The apodosis with xqetal: retrospection and emphasis

This section tackles the verbal combinations of apodosis in xqetal. I presume at this point that apodosis can only be of the form wqetal (and hence the entire double construction is narrative) and very rarely (x)qetal, conveying a competing function to that of advancing narrative.[353] Regarding these rare cases of (x)qetal, they are apodosis only when they have a precise function: retrospection and emphasis[354]; otherwise, they are Pr–scale sentences, hence they become protasis leaving the place for the nearest wqetal to take the narrative forward.

---

[352] I use the term, *symptom* in line with J. Derrida. He writes philosophy at the 'limit of philosophical discourse' where he observes 'symptoms […] of something that *could not be presented* in the history of philosophy, and which, moreover, is *nowhere present*, since all of this concerns putting into question the major determination of the meaning of *Being* as presence' (author's italics) in J. Derrida and A. Bass [tr], 'Implications', in *Positions* (Chicago: Chicago U.P, 1967/1981), 7. The point of looking at 'symptoms' is to invite the reader to ride at the 'limit' of syntactical explanation allowing for the single occurrence to influence the interpretation of the majority. This change in approach aspires to instate a qualitative rather than a quantitative enthused syntax. In the same vein with Derrida who thought of 'writing as a particularly revelatory symptom' for philosophy and Being, the MS וההו in this single case performs as 'revelatory symptom' for the entire MS וההו structure.

[353] At least in 1Samuel, I have not been able to find an example of a double sentence with apodosis forms beyond wqetal and xqetal (no apodosis with simple qetal also). I presume this is possible, but in most cases, the interpreter is to apply a Pr–scale sentence pattern (Ph–Tr–Setting implying the idea of *appearance into scene*) in those combinations, resulting in their inclusion protasis. I note that there is one case where participle does defy the rule of qetal in apodosis (indirect speech), the case of 1:12 discussed at the very end of this chapter.

[354] The xqetal non–sequential/incomplete in 18:30bc does not qualify as apodosis but as part of the extended apodosis cf the analysis of this passage in 2.3.5.2.5.3.

MS with וֹהוֹה and xqetal in apodosis seems to be going off the zero degree line of advancing narrative – they do not continue the narrative as such. In this respect, וֹהוֹה is grammatically putting on the zero degree narrative sequence that which is a retrospective sequence. In 23:6, וֹהוֹה comes after a long line of sequenced wqetal of zero degree, all advancing the narrative plot: David and his men go to Keila (5c) to the moment when he saves them from the Philistines (5e).

wqet	ואזל דויד וגברוהי לקעילה 5		23:5
wqet	ואגיח קרבא בפלשתאי		
wqet	ודבר ית גיתיהון		
wqet	ומחא בהון מחא סגיאה		
wqet	ופרק דוד ית יתבי קעילה:		
MSwqet	והוה 6		
cqet	כד ערק אביתר בר אחימלך לות דויד לקעילה	Protasis	
objqet	איפודא אחית בידיה:	Apodosis	

The MS inserts the event of Abiathar's having an ephod as Phenomenon (in FSP framework). This event obviously is not in sequence with 5a–e as Abiathar's flight from Saul to David is recounted in 22:20–22. This apodosis with xqetal has the ability to break the narrative sequence of the plot.

Formally, the MS והוה is still a zero degree advancing the narrative, but the content of the double construction introduced by it refers retrospective information. The zero degree character of והוה is not confirmed by its apodosis. The use of the xqetal (instead of a wqetal) explains the inadvertence between the narrative pressure to advance the plot and the necessity for retrospective information. The fact that David is able to ask for Gods help as he has access to an ephod is a reality which precedes the events of 23:5 and consequently, in order to mark that retrospective view the apodosis is changed from the regular wqetal to xqetal of retrospective.

---

[355] The examples in this section should be read together with the section 'Further on retrospection: comment xqetal against wqetal narrative' of Chapter 4.

The same retrospective meaning has the macro–syntactic construction of 18:1. It uses a macro–syntactic construction where the protasis displays the combination of conjunction כד with qetal followed by an apodosis in xqetal (either object–qetal or subject–qetal). 18:1 presents an apodosis with subject–qetal:

wqet	והוה	a	1Samuel 18:1–2a
cqet – temp	כד שיצי למללא עם שאול		
wsubjqet	ונפשא דיהונתן אתחבבת בנפשא דדויד	b	
wqet	ורחמיה יהונתן כנפשיה:	c	
wqet	²ודבריה שאול ביומא ההוא		

18:1 is inserted in the narrative flow of the episode with a wqetal of והוה, but the content of the protasis/apodosis averts that this is not really the case. The narrative in 17:58a and 58b is in sequence with 18:2a: Saul asks (about his origin), David answers, and then Saul takes him to court. The sentences in 18:1bc refer narrative retrospect information: Jonathan begins to have a brotherly attachment to David before the latter is taken to Saul's court. In this case, the narrative sequence of tenses in 18:1abc (wqetal of 1c continues narrative retrospect here not the zero degree) changes from *past simple* to *past perfect*[356] to account for the retrospective narrative sense. I follow here the translation of Staalduine–Sulman, changing the tenses accordingly (italics are my modifications to keep the narrative retrospect and to accommodate for the existence of והוה. 18:2a returns to normal narrative zero degree of wqetal/past simple:

[17:58] And Saul said to him [direct speech]. And David said [direct speech]. [18:1] *And it happened* [w]hen he had finished speaking with Saul, *that* the soul of Jonathan *had been tied* in love to David's soul, and Jonathan *had loved* him as his own soul. [18:2] And Saul took him that day'

The retrospective meaning is not connected with the xqetal[357] but with the combination of the conjunction כד and qetal, which, together with the wqetal narrative of והוה, allows for the narrative to continue.

---

[356] Weinrich asserts in passing that in English narrative retrospective is conveyed with past perfect, cf Weinrich, 1978, 103.
[357] Only in particular cases, xqetal is a narrative form: as narrative contrast and as variation in longer sequences of wqetal narrative (cf the section '(i) Contrast xqetal – variation of second word order', page 260). In the rest of the cases, xqetal is a *comment* form, mostly retrospective and in a few cases

2.3.5.2.5.2   xqetal apodosis – emphasis

In order to clarify the emphatic use of waw–pronoun–qetal in 18:19b, we discuss the value of the waw–subject–qetal in 18:17fgh as narrative contrast (with 17be) and the sense of the narrative of 18:20abc.

wqet prelude	ואמר שאול לדויד ¹⁷	a	18:17–23
Saul promises his daughter, Merab, to David as wife in exchange for his bravery against the Philistines		b–e	direct speech
wsubjqet	ושאול אמר	f	
layiqtul	לא תהי ידי ביה	g–h	direct speech
wyiqtul	ויתמסר בידא דפלשתאי:		
wqet	ואמר דוד לשאול ¹⁸	a	
David doubts that he could marry Merab		b–e	direct speech
MSwqet	והוה ¹⁹	a	
cqet+inf	בעדן דמטא אתיהבא דמירב בת שאול לדוד		protasis
<u>wpronqet</u>	והיא אתיהיבת לעדריאל דממחולת לאתו :	b	apodosis
wqet	ורחימת מיכל בת שאול ית דויד ²⁰		
wqet	וחויאו לשאול		
wqet	וכשר פתגמא בעינוהי:		
wqet	ואמר שאול ²¹		
Saul's commands his servants to entrap David			direct speech
wqet	ואמר שאול לדויד		
xyiqtul	בחדא מן תרתין תתחתן בי יומא דין:		direct speech

---

zero degree; cf the sections '(ii) xqetal as comment retrospective' (page 271) and '(iii) xqetal as comment zero degree (first/second parts)', pages 284 and 319, respectively.

The usage of xqetal discussed in this section (23:6 and 18:1) are dependent not only on the word order (xqetal points to comment, rather than narrative) but also on how the protasis and apodosis work together with their macro–syntactic signal והוה. As the subordinate sentences (this includes the protasis with כד) are not analysed in this thesis, it is not possible to present a proper answer to the question of whether the retrospective information of these two cases is of comment or of narrative.

To keep with the conservative view of Niccacci who considers that the macro–syntactic signal והוה induces narrative in protasis/apodosis, I choose to consider these xqetal forms in apodosis as narrative rather than comment. However, in contrast with Niccacci Niccacci, 2011, §28c, I consider that the syntactical discussion should mark clearly the retrospective content of these apodosis sentences, which should be reflected in their translation with English past perfect (hence the translation above), regardless of the zero degree influence that והוה might induce. Cf on narrative retrospection: 'Further on retrospection: comment xqetal against wqetal narrative', page 279.

wqet	²²ופקיד שאול ית עבדוהי	
The servants convince David of Saul's matrimonial offer		direct speech
wqet	²³ומלילו עבדי שאול קדם דוד ית פתגמיא האלין	
wqet	ואמר דויד	direct speech follows

This is the beginning of the episodes recounting the marriage of David and Michal. The sequence of events marking the advance of time is less clear after the wqetal speech event prelude (17a). The xqetal of 17f (ושאול אמר) indicates a narrative contrast with 17b–e: Saul overtly offered to David his daughter into marriage (17b–e), '*but Saul planned/thought*'[358] that David may die by the hands of the Philistines (cf 17fgh), should he be interested in this offer.

Recounted with MS והוה in 19a, the marriage of Merab to somebody else is obviously in sequence with these three speech events:

- the promise of Saul (17b–e);
- Saul's inner thoughts indicative of his real intentions towards David (17g–h);
- David's rhetorical questions (18b–e)), continuing the narrative of 18.

The odd wqetal sequence is that of 20abc: Michal is in love with David, a feeling which certainly extends before and after this moment of the plot – this is a free wqetal (her feelings do not end with 20b) which along with 2bc may be moved anywhere in the flow of narrative time.

To understand the coming reasoning, we look first at the sequence of verbal forms and their contribution to narrative in 18:17–20:

- 17a wqet– prelude speech event;
- 17f subject–qetal – this is narrative contrastive;
- 18a wqet – continues 17a (not 17f and the inner dialogue);
- 19a wqet והוה – continues verse 18;
- 20abc free wqetal forms. The sequence shows temporal sequence within the verse: Michal loves David (a), this is told to Saul (b), and he keeps that in

---

[358] This modifies the translation of Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 390: '*For Saul thought*' to account for the narrative contrast. Cf for the theory behind the xqetal narrative of contrast in 'Contrast x–qetal – variation of second word order', page 260. In short, the narrative contrast of xqetal contains contrastive information with the previous wqetal or with the wider context. In this case, Saul said marriage but thought *killing*. The zero degree status of this xqetal in 17f justifies the translation with past simple.

mind (c). The verse as a whole may be moved to other places within the narrative without disturbing the coherence of the plot, hence its free status (following the Labov–Waletzky's framework);[359]

- 21–23 – wqet sequential with 19a.

Emphasis explains the construction of the apodosis with pronoun–qetal in 19c. Merab is a theme which occurs in protasis and we can guess that the verb in 3 person feminine 'was married' (in apodosis) does not refer to anyone else, but her. As a consequence, the initial pronoun והיא ('and she') is emphatic as its existence is not needed (following the principle of economy of language)[360]. Languages handle emphasis in translation differently. In English the non–emphatic version is:

'So when the moment arrived that Merab, daughter of Saul would be given to David, she was given to Adriel, who was from Meholath, for a wife'[361]

However, the emphatic והיא prompts a different orientation of the sentence. The translation needs to account also for the adversative value of the succession (not included in other translations): it undeniable that Merab was supposed to marry David, but she marries another:

'So when the moment arrived that Merab, daughter of Saul would be given to David, (yet) it was she that was given for a wife to Adriel, who was from Meholath'.

The other singular case of 14:19 (where a xparticiple in 19b seems to be apodosis) is discussed below in the section 'When והוה with participle becomes protasis'. The section provides further evidence for considering the xparticiple in 19b as protasis and 19c as apodosis.

---

[359] Cf the explanation of the 'free' sentences in the section 'William Labov and Joshua Waletzky – a narrative analysis of verb', page 61. This is one of the few examples of free wqetal in 1Samuel. Verse 20 could have been placed at the beginning or at the end of the episode with no impact on its meaning as a whole: either Michal loves David and then Saul's plot the David follows; or Saul's plot is described, and at the end, we understand the real feelings of Michal. The narrator if 1Samuel chooses to introduce this information in the middle of the episode.

[360] A. Radford, *Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge/New York: CUP, 2009), 301: 'Economy Principle: Minimise grammatical structure and movement operations (i.e. posit as little structure as possible, and move as few constituents as possible the shortest distance possible)'.

[361] This translation belongs to Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 391 and is roughly the same with Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 137.

The last example of a non–wqetal apodosis in 18:30b is found at the end of the episode discussed in the preceding section. This qetal form in apodosis has a temporal value assimilated to that of the preceding non–sequential in 29–30a – i.e. it does not advance the narrative plot– leaving the remaining option of *listing events*, rather than narrating. As the analysis progresses, the grammatical interpretation of 18:30b will gradually change but its *listing* function will remain constant.

wqet	ואוסיף שאול למדחל מן קדם דוד עוד 29	a		18:29–30
wqet	והוה שאול בעיל דבב לדוד כל יומיא:	b		
wqet	ונפקו רברבי פלשתאי 30	a		
MSwqet	והוה	b		
temporal	בזמן מפקהון			Protasis?
qet	אצלח דויד מכל עבדי שאול	c		Apodosis?
wqet	וסגי שמיה לחדא:	d		Episode ends

The wqetal forms (29ab and 30a) are of non–sequential/incomplete value as one event is not replaced by the next one in the sequence. This is connected with the overall context at the end of the episode (started in 18:17: David marries Michal) which slows down the narrative to a halt by listing facts (or their results) at the end of the episode. They recount a seemingly constant existence of elements: fear ('Saul continued to fear David' 29a), Saul being an enemy of David ('all days' 29b). Although it might look as a wqetal advancing the narrative with an incoming Philistine threat, the wqetal in 30a is both preceded and followed by another list that indicates no advancement of the plot. David's success in 30bc and his good name (30d) are very much connected with Philistines' pressure in 30a.

Turning to the topic of this analysis, the double construction of 30bc apparently contains a protasis marking a temporal circumstance referring to the action of Philistines coming down, which is not a one–off event: מפקהון is a participle which refers a continuous action. The apodosis with qetal (30c) does seem to continue the wqetal forms of 30ab; nevertheless, it adds to the list of events happening after his marriage with Michal: he was successful in his defence of Israel against Philistines which leads to his name being 'increased' (30d). None of the sentence (including the double construction) advances the narrative as the episode concludes. In this

interpretation, the translation is: 'And it happened that in their coming out, David was more successful than all the other servants of Saul and his name was highly esteemed'

The fact that this example is the only one of its kind in 1Samuel is a symptom, because it constitutes a further exception (a qetal in apodosis in a list of xqetal) to an exception (xqetal apodosis in the list of normal wqetal form in apodosis) – a symptom that there is something more to it. This symptom translates into inferring the other possible combination in this double construction: the qetal of 30c may be read as part of protasis, transforming the whole protasis into a xqetal.[362] All this is corroborated also by the fact that David's success against the Philistines is increasing his good name, i.e. the connection between 30c and 30d is stronger. Thus, the syntactical analysis changes:

30bcd	והוה	MSwqet
protasis	בזמן מפקהון אצלח דויד מכל עבדי שאול	xqet
apodosis Episode ends	וסגי שמיה לחדא:	wqet

The options that we have with these two variants of analysis are two: we either read David's success and good name as coordinated (first option) or as correlated (second option). If David's success and his great name were only coordinated (as Harrington and Saldarini's translation assumes, cf translation in note), they would have been both of the form wqetal, with protasis limited to בזמן מפקהון. By contrast (with the above translation), the corresponding translation to this second interpretation is:

'And it happened when David was more successful than all the other servants of Saul against their [Philistines'] coming out[363], that his name was highly esteemed.'[364]

In conclusion, it is worth repeating that the general form of apodosis is wqetal. In the rare cases where apodosis does present a xqetal form (the only valid qetal form of 30c is interpretable as xqetal), this is motivated by emphasis or retrospection. The

---

[362] The protasis with xqetal is possible, cf 5:9, 10; 10:9; 17:48.

[363] We need to bear in mind that בזמן מפקהון is Setting (in FSP analysis) within this protasis, so it should be moved to whichever place is less prominent in the English sentence.

[364] The existing English translations of 1Samuel are reflective of this difference in syntax. We have on the one side, Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 138 who favour a translation where the double construction is recognised but they leave 30d appended at the end: '[…] and at the time of their going forth David was more successful than all the servants of Saul. And his name was very great'. By contrast, Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 394 has a translation which reflects our syntactical interpretation: 'And the commanders of the Philistines came out—and as often as they came out, David was more successful than all the servants of Saul, so that his name was highly esteemed.'

apodosis with xqetal effectively does present a narrative advancement of the plot in the case of emphasis (18:19b) or a retrospective information. Other two particular cases of xparticiple in the apodosis of 14:19 and 1:12 are discussed below.

2.3.5.3 *When והוה with participle becomes protasis*

Tarsee Li acknowledges the fact that in Aramaic 'there is a general consensus that the combination of active participle and הוה expresses some type of imperfective function'.[365] All the evidence indicates an imperfect, i.e. a non–complete or non–sequential action with regards to the participle. Li argues (following the 'grammaticalization approach') that 'although the addition of הוה to the participle originally functioned as a tense marker, the expression became grammaticalized at the stage of the language attested in the corpus as a complex verb phrase consisting of the renewal of the imperfective'.[366] His argumentation follows the use of והוה and participle as progressive/inceptive, habitual/iterative/frequentative, inceptive, future, and modality.

As in the construction והוה and participle the latter completes the predication of the former, it is natural for Li to suppose that והוה is grammaticalized into becoming one 'complex verb phrase' with the predicate. The examples above (iii) attest to the effect of assigning of quality. However, והוה in such construction may function as a macro–syntactic sign. This is not a contradiction of Li's 'complex verb phrase' theory but, I would say, a further development of it.

Our attention was drawn to this possibility by the sequence of verbal forms in 25:20. This is another example of what I called a 'symptom' (following Derrida, as explained in note in section 'והוה as macro–syntactic sign'). It exhibits a disruption in the way it is constructed indicating that there could more to it than meets the eye.

In 25:20, there are three disruptions of coherence. The first is the lack of agreement between the masculine והוה and the feminine participle רכיבא, which means that they are not connected grammatically. The second is the interposition of the feminine pronoun between the two, which otherwise never happens (at least in 1Samuel), regardless of the value of והוה. The third is the wqetal in feminine in 20d (וערעת יתהון). As narrative is suspended after והוה in 20a (none of the following sentences

[365] Tarsee, 2009, 79.
[366] Tarsee, 2009, 80.

are wqetal or wparticiple of narrative, the wpart ונחתא continues the preceding xparticiple), one would expect that the newly introduced theme of David and his men would continue as theme/subject in 20d.

25:19–21	ואמרת לעולימהא ¹⁹		wqet
	Abigail gives orders for her servants to go before her to meet David		
	והוה ²⁰	a	MSwqet
protasis	היא רכיבא על חמרא		pronpart (passive)
	ונחתא בסטר טורא	b	wpart
	והא	c	wMS
	דויד וגברוהי נחתין לקדמותה		wsubjpart
apodosis	וערעת יתהון:	d	wqet
	ודויד אמר ²¹		wsubjqet

There is also the question whether the protasis should always be introduced with a preposition or conjunction, as all the other MS והוה in 1Samuel have one at the beginning (כד ד עד ד, כ, ל, מ). The three examples of this section show that they can also be absent. This is because the protasis sentence has already an inherent subordinate value to the apodosis, both as part of double construction – it supposes that one is subordinated to the other. The function of protasis is that of offering circumstance, presentation of Phenomenon or, as it happens in this particular case, it creates the backdrop of the coming dialogue.

In 25:20, the protasis is built around a descriptive participle (referring to Abigail) and a presentative והא, connected with David and his men. The wqetal והוה of 20a is intended to narrate an event as shown by grammatical form. But neither of the verbal forms advances the time of the plot: Abigail is on a donkey and comes down the mountain, David and his men come down to meet her. Only with 20d (וערעת) does the narrative resume again. Because these two forms (20a and 20d) refer to the same theme (Abigail) and the latter completes and advances the former, the והוה in 20a induces the formation of a double construction: the sentences in 20abc are the extended protasis while 20d is the apodosis. What is the impact of this new interpretation on the passage?

First, the translation is different, as the MS in 20a should introduce the static (extended) protasis as a single event within the narrative flow. The interpreter needs

also to account for the fact that while it does not have the subordinated grammatical form, the protasis is subordinated, so he or she should render that in target language; also 20a and 20d are closely linked as they both as wqetal advance the narrative.

A tentative translation which takes all this into account is:[367] '*And it happened that as she [Abigail] was riding on the ass and was coming down by the side of the mountains, behold David and his men were coming down toward her, so that she met them*'.

The protasis answers the question about the circumstances when she met them. The role of the והוה is to make an event out of three circumstances of protasis: this happened as one event (her riding an ass down the mountain and David and his men were coming down) and then she met them, the second event.

This leads to the second impact that of the interpretation of the passage. Staalduine–Sulman's translation indicates four events one after another. Note also that her translation makes no difference between participle and wqetal in the original.
'*And she rode on the ass and came down by the side of the mountain. And behold, David and his men came down toward her. And she met them.*' (cf p.441)

By contrast, my interpretation reflects the meaning of the original, which is organised around two events, both narratives: one event setting the stage (they both were coming towards each other), and the one event of Abigail meeting David and his men.[368]

Looking for similar construction of the MS והוה, protasis with subject–participle, והא and participle, apodosis, I suggest that it is likely to be a fixed form of narrative sequence: there is at least one other example in Genesis 42:35, beside the two discussed in the remainder of this section.

---

[367] It modifies the translation of Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 441.
[368] We need to note that the protasis/apodosis with והוה contain verb second sentences (pronoun/subject–participle, subject/pronoun–qetal: 25:20ad; 23:26cd and 27a; and 7:10ab). Chapter 4 of this thesis argues that verb second sentences are comment construction (and hence equivalent to English present perfect or present tenses). However, I suppose that the overall construction of protasis/apodosis with והוה is narrative (and these tenses should be translated with past and past perfect) because the construction is headed by a wqetal of והוה, a narrative form. This reverts the value of verb second sentences from comment to narrative, cf also the section 'The limits of trace (13) in analysing the xparticiple-xqetal sequence הוה', page 333. Further research on this topic may change this interpretation.

1Samuel attests two variations of this construction without והא and participle. This is likely to be the 'simple' variation of this narrative sequence – protasis with participle and apodosis. The first one is 23:26c–27a:

wqet	²⁶ואזל שאול מסטר טורא מכא		23:26–24:1
wtr	ודויד וגברוהי מסטר טורא מכא		
wqet	והוה	c	
x–participle x=subject	דוד מתבעית למיזל מן קדם שאול		protasis
wsubjpart	ושאול וגברוהי כמנין על דויד ועל גברוהי למיחדהון:	d	
wsubjqet	²⁷ואזגדא אתא לות שאול למימר	a	apodosis
impv	אוחי		direct discourse
impv	ואיזיל		
cqet	ארי אתנגדו פלשתאי על ארעא:		
wqet	²⁸ותב שאול מלמרדף בתר דויד		
wqet	ואזל לקדמות פלשתאי		
advqet	על כין קרו לאתרא ההוא כיף פלגותא אתרא		
cqet	דאתפליג ביה לבא דמלכא למיזל לכא ולכא:		
wqet	וסליק דוד מתמן		24:1
wqet	ויתיב במצדת עין גדי:		

It is worth noting that both in the previous and in the current example, the protasis presents as one event the circumstances of two entities (Abigail and David; David and Saul), so that the apodosis is able to continue the one that is prominent in the respective double construction. One the one hand the construction leaves aside the narrative time of one character (in both cases David's), and, on the other, it continues that of the other character (Abigail and Saul, respectively).

Let me explain. After 26b (David and his men were walking on one side of the mountain), the participle in 23:26c shows a continuous action (David and his men are anxious to run from Saul) whose duration of event ends in 24:1a – wqetal form, where David is shown moving from there. Time passage is divided starting 26ab, where Saul and David move in parallel, each on his side of the mountain. With 26c, David's time enters a loop where he is hurrying to escape Saul. On his side, Saul pursues him (26d), but the attack of Philistines (27a) prevents him from continuing. Saul's time continues with two wqetal forms in 28ab where he turns and goes to

repel their threat. During Saul's sequence of events, David remains in the suspension of 26c which ends with his movement to reside in En–Gedi in 24:1.

From this analysis, we can infer that והוה followed by participle may be conveying an event with two themes (characters or items) which are united in the protasis and go in parallel. The apodosis picks up and continues just one of them and with this the narrative advances again. In the case of theme David in 23:26, narrative time stops in 26c and resumes in 24:1, introducing a 'loop' which suspends David's actions over the coming narrative or at least for several wqetal forms. This is because narrative can follow only one theme (here Saul) at the time. If the thread of events for one theme parts from the other, it is impossible to advance the narrative time for both of them.

This leads us to one other major difference between והוה as MS with protasis in participle and the והוה and participle as 'assigning quality': in 19:7d and 16:21d (cf above), the times of David's serving as armour bearer and of ministering, respectively, are indefinite, and, as a result, the wqetal והוה is of non–sequential and listing. By contrast, the והוה as MS inserts a protasis as setting and signals the advancement of the plot through the apodosis.

Like 23:26c, wqetal of והוה and participle in 7:10a conveys an advance of narrative with the same play between themes:

wqet	והוה [10]	a	7:10–12
subjpart	שמואל מסיק עלתא		protasis
wsubjqet	ופלשתאי אתקרבו לאגחא קרבא בישראל	b	
wqet	ואכלי יי בקל רב ביומא ההוא על פלשתאי	c	apodosis
wqet	ושגישנון	d	
wqet	ואתברו קדם ישראל:	e	
wqet	ונפקו אנשי ישראל [11] מן מצפיא		
wqet	ורדפו ית פלשתאי		
wqet	ומחונון עד מלרע לבית־שרון:		
wqet	ונסיב שמואל [12] אבנא חדא		

The wqetal in 7:10a is wqetal of normal narrative sequence with 7:8–9: Samuel is asked (wqetal 8a) to pray for the people (who were about to fight the Philistines), he sacrifices a lamb and prays (9abc – three wqetal forms – 9ab hendiadic sequence

meaning 'he sacrificed a lamb'). In response, God receives his prayer (9d wqetal). The wqetal of 7:10a takes place after his prayer is received at the time of the battle.

This wqetal 7:10a is not part of the previous temporal sequence as shown, but of the subsequent. The form in 7:10a stops the narrative time of the theme *Samuel* as he enters the scene to follow that of the battle; the scene is ended with four wqetal forms in temporal sequence (7:12) where the theme of Samuel returns to set a monument in remembrance of the victory. The usual wparticiple of continuative/simultaneous information is avoided in 7:10a, as all the information pertaining to Samuel is in temporal sequence. The construction והוה MS with a protasis in participle manages simultaneously to present the narrative sequence of Samuel and temporal frame for another temporal presentation of the battle.

2.3.5.4   *והוו as MS?*

Our presentation has relied on MS והוה, a singular form. Targum 1Samuel offers generally a 'literal' translation, meaning that in most places where this is possible, the choice word order and verbal constructs follows closely the Hebrew base text.

In certain cases, nevertheless, Targum may have a different idea of how narrative should progress. When it uses MS וַיְהִי, the Masoretic Text sees together in one event the circumstance (or the extended theme of the event) and the event itself. In MT 1Samuel 11:11 (cf also Joshua 8:25) the extended theme is introduced in protasis as a casus pendens, and apodosis informs about the events itself: in this verse scattering of the rest of Ammonites is seen in its sequence (Israel came, cut down the Ammonites, the survivors were scattered). This relies on the protasis remaining a circumstantial/casus pendens construction.

MS wayyiqtol	וַיְהִי	11:11
Casus pendens	הַנִּשְׁאָרִים	protasis
wayyiqtol	וַיָּפֻצוּ וְלֹא נִשְׁאֲרוּ־בָם שְׁנַיִם יָחַד:	apodosis

By contrast, when rendering this into Aramaic, the Targum does not look at this as an event in line with the others (advancing narrative or listing items within it). The literal sense of והוה is 'existence', from where the MS derives the meanings of 'and it happened that' or 'and it was that'. These meanings can be combined with almost

any construction that follows. In this context, the Targum shows a change of verb form from participle to qetal:

wqet + cqet	והוו דאשתארו	11:11e
wqet	ואתבדרו	
wlaqet	ולא אשתארו בהון תרין	
cpart	דערקין כחדא:	

To the change of wqetal to wparticiple, the Targum adds a change of orientation of focus from event to the theme. What first was a Pr–scale sentence introducing the **event** in MT ('And it happened that those who survived were scattered'), becomes in Aramaic a Pr–scale sentence introducing a **theme**: 'And there were those who survived, and they were scattered ….'.

As the interpretation of the Targum obscures the MT original intention of narrating events, it could mean that Targum does not always see a distinction between sentences of the type represented by MT 1Samuel 11:11 (protasis–apodosis, introducing the event of scattering) on the one hand, and MT 1Samuel 22:2 (introducing the existence of persons) on the other:

| wayyiqtol | וַיִּהְיוּ עִמּוֹ כְּאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אִישׁ: | MT 1Samuel 22:2d |
| wqetal | והוו עמיה כארבע מאה גברא: | Tg 1Samuel 22:2d |

The case of Tg 1Samuel 11:11 is also made possible by the presence of the conjunction ד (which is able to turn almost any construction into an extended substantive), but the point of this discussion was to demonstrate that MS wqetal is less likely to be of plural form, והוו.

2.3.5.5 *Conclusion on the usage of והוה as MS and the cases of 14:19 and 1:12*

The evidence of this section on והוה as MS leads to the conclusion that the normal construction in apodosis is wqetal. In the cases of emphasis and retrospection, xqetal form may also be found in the apodosis: while for the former case the zero degree narrative continues, the retrospection would imply a break in that sequence to introduce a 'pre–information' (cf more on this in the section 2.3.5.2.6).

Also, the previous section explained that combinations of והוה and participle usually are והוה as macro–syntactic function followed by a circumstantial protasis containing participles and an apodosis.

Furthermore, this discussion provided more incentive to the idea that apodosis cannot be represented by combinations of participles. If the evidence for apodosis with participle is scant, in longer macro–syntactic constructions, the umbrella of the protasis should be extended until a suitable candidate of wqetal or xqetal as apodosis is found.

This is the case of 14:19. Verse 19 begins with an obvious macro–syntactic והוה with no proper subject, which implies a protasis and apodosis. The protasis starts with עד דמליל שאול עם כהנה. [369]

wqet	¹⁸ואמר שאול לאחיה		14:18–19
impv	קריב ארונא דיי		
cqet	ארי הוה ארונא דיי ביומא ההוא עם בני ישראל:		
MSwqet	¹⁹והוה	a	
cpart	עד דמליל שאול עם כהנא		protasis
wxpart including one NC	והמונא דבמשרית פלשתאי אזיל מיזל	b	
wpart	וסגי	c	
wqet	ואמר שאול לכהנא	d	apodosis

The status of the coming sequence xparticiple–wparticiple (19bc) is uncertain. One could take the wxparticiple in 19b to be apodosis. This would be an out of the ordinary case of apodosis, where wqetal represents the norm, with xqetal (of retrospection and emphasis) a less likely exception. Moreover, the grammatical meaning of the wqetal forms in 18a (Saul orders for the Ark to be fetched) and 19a of והוה suppose advancing of temporal plot. By assuming that 19a has an apodosis in wxparticiple in 19b, whose meaning does not advance the plot the theme Saul, but refers the gathering of the Philistines, the temporal advancement of 18a–19a would be thwarted. This is because the sense of sequential macro–syntactic והוה is contradicted by its own apodosis in wxparticiple.

The apodosis cannot be other than the wqetal in 19d. In verse 18, Saul first requires the priest to bring near the ark and then, in vs 19d, to 'withdraw' his hand (from the ark). The protasis (19abc) provides the circumstances of this subsequent request:

---

[369] MT 1Samuel 14:19 has as apodosis a wayyiqtol making the grammatical subject of this particular apodosis to stand outside the sentence as casus pendens:

MS	וַיְהִי	MT 14:19
xqatal	עַד דִּבֶּר שָׁאוּל אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן	Protasis
casus pendens + relative sentence	וְהֶהָמוֹן אֲשֶׁר בְּמַחֲנֵה פְלִשְׁתִּים	Apodosis
wayyiqtol	וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וָרָב פ וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן אֱסֹף יָדֶךָ:	

time (while they were speaking) and cause/time (because/when 'the number … grew and grew'). The translation of Staalduine–Sulman presents the events of growing number of people and Saul's order as two independent sentences: 'And while Saul was speaking with the priest, the multitude, which was in the Philistine camp, grew more and more; and Saul said to the priest…'[370]

The macro–syntactic sign imposes a constraint to have only one independent sentence in the construction that of the apodosis: 'And while Saul was speaking with the priest, because the multitude, which was in the Philistine camp, grew more and more, Saul said to the priest…'

The sequence of sentences contains a redundancy induced by the repetition of theme שאול both in protasis and apodosis, a redundancy which stands whether one accepts this analysis or not. While the parallel passage of 14:16 seems to be similar as והא could be also a macro–syntactic sign at first. Nevertheless, והא is a predicative: it actually indicates what the watchmen see (cf 16a), i.e. the Philistine multitude was melted away. The Aramaic participle וסגי is either a misreading of the adverb וַהֲלֹם (hither) or an idiomatic translation (cf the section 'Durative single wparticiple forms', on page 244).

1:12

The similar interpretation applies to the passage of והוה as MS 1:12. The xparticiple in 1:12b cannot come in contradiction with the wqetal narrative value of its macro–syntactic sign והוה.

MSwqet	והוה[12]	a	1Samuel 1:12–13
cqet	מדאסגיאת לצלאה קדם יי		protasis
wsubjpart	ועלי מוריך לה	b	
cyiqtul	עד דתפסוק:	c	
wCP	והנה[13]	a	
subjpart	היא מצליא בלבה		
csubjpart	לחוד ספותהא נידן	b	
wsubjlapart	וקלה לא משתמע	c	
wqet	וחשבה עלי	d	apodosis
csubjpart	כאיתא רויא:	e	

Verse 12 comes immediately after we hear Hannah's prayer in direct speech. The והוה with double sentence contains the circumstances (in protasis) which led to Eli

---

[370] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 311; cf also Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 126

believing that Hannah was inebriated. The translation of Harrington and Saldarini shows the difficulty of reading this passage as the protasis seems to be almost disconnected from the apodosis: 'And from the time that she prayed very much before the Lord, Eli was waiting for her until she stopped'.[371]

Instead, the protasis should be extended to include as circumstantial events the subsequent sentences until a suitable candidate for apodosis of wqetal form occurs in 1:13d. The translation needs to take into account the fact that the longer protasis (1:12a–13) presenting the setting (Eli observing the outwardly behavior of Hannah as basis of his judgment about her) should be presented together in one construction.[372] I propose a translation which reads together the wqetal of the MS in 12a its apodosis in 13d: 'And it happened when she … *that* Eli took her to be as a drunken woman'.

The full translation modifies Staalduine–Sulman's rendering[373] (italics mark my modifications): '(1:12) *And it happened* when she continued praying before the LORD, *as* Eli was waiting for her until she would stop, (1:13) *because* Hannah was praying in her heart, only her lips *moving*, and her voice *not being*[374] heard, *that* Eli took her to be as a drunken woman.'

This second chapter of thesis described the referential function of wqetal as prelude and its evaluative functions as normal wqetal (advancing the narrative plot), the coordinate wqetal, along with the non–sequential/incomplete and hendiadys wqetal forms. The occurrences of the verb והוה received a separate description, focused on the analysis derived from its lexical meanings and the grammatical function as macro–syntactic sign.

The following chapter continues the discussion of the narrative forms with the opposite narrative form of wqetal foreground – the wparticiple background. Together they form the two narrative kinds of *tempo – presto* and *lento*, respectively – both representing the zero degree.

---

[371] Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 103.

[372] In view of the overall results of this thesis, a further complication is the presence of xparticiple forms in 12b and 13abc which, as x-verb sentences, are marked as comment forms (cf Chapter 4). There is a methodological decision to take interpret these types of protasis as their narrative counterparts (cf the section '4.3.8.6 The limits of trace (13) in analysing the xparticiple–xqetal sequence'). As a result the xparticiple will be interpreted as wparticiple background with the English past continuous (instead of the comment present continuous).

[373] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 194.

[374] The participle forms in 13bc require a continuous form of background.

3   Chapter 3: Wparticiple

The wparticiple is the narrative zero degree of *background* form of Targum 1Samuel, corresponding roughly to those narrative background forms in the modern languages. Using the rather classical vocabulary of the Aramaic grammars, one can argue that, compared with wqetal, wparticiple recounts mostly repetitive or durative information. In some cases the repetition is noted with an adverbial construction of the form preposition ב along with an adverb of time (בזמן שנא בשנא in 7:16) or with כל (*all* – with noun: *days* (7:15)). Wparticiple forms accommodate duration and, to a lesser extent, repetition.

Sequences of wparticiple may occasionally be temporally ordered events, i.e. the events show a positive temporal juncture, which prevents one wparticiple from being switched with the previous one. In some cases, when a wparticiple sequence concludes the episode, characters are left in a time loop where they continue their day–to–day lives in a new re–instated order of things. As this occurs more than once (I discuss two cases in 1Samuel), they appear to consist of formulaic repetitions of actions inserted at the end of episode, describing the function that each character fulfils in Israelite society of the time: Samuel is always the itinerant prophet who judges (7:16–17); David is the permanent lyre player who soothes Saul's torment (16:23).

Following Weinrich's proposal regarding the division of narrative zero forms in foreground (cf *passé simple* in French) and background (*imparfait*),[375] wparticiple is the other zero–tense form besides wqetal, as it exclusively conveys narrative and nothing else, i.e. no retrospection or anticipation information. In contrast with the other narrative form wqetal (foreground) it does not advance the narrative time, hence its background or, as Weinrich alternatively calls this, *lento* status. Wqetal is the only pure narrative form advancing the plot towards its end, in a *presto* narrative tempo. The narrative feature of wparticiple derives from its ability to imitate movement but in a *lento* manner – this is visible in its similarity to wqetal, especially the non–sequential/incomplete type.

---

[375] Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, explained more carefully in his Weinrich, 1978, 64.

In the following, we discuss those common elements between wqetal and wparticiple with the aim of arguing that the wparticiple is the (a) narrative of (b) background sort in the Targum Aramaic verbal system, in opposition with wqetal as narrative foreground. In concordance with the connection established by Weinrich between verbal forms and explanation (one slot in the system corresponds to one verbal form), wparticiple is the only narrative background form in Targum Aramaic.

This chapter is divided in three parts. The first part describes the three features that display the inherent *narrative* property of the wparticiple: (1) the passages in which occurs in temporal juncture, as its narrative counterpart – the wqetal; (2) the occurrences of two or more wparticiple forms in sequences of wqetal – as we shall see there is not much of a difference between wqetal non–sequential/incomplete and wparticiple; (3) the passages where the Targum translates with wparticiple the BH wayyiqtol, in contrast with the normal rendering of the latter with wqetal. The second feature of wparticiple discussed in this part is its background function.

The second section looks at single occurrences of wparticiple in their durative and repetitive/routine features. The third part of this chapter – the conclusion – establishes that the repetitive/routine and the durative features are not the main function of the wparticiple. Instead, they derive from their *background* quality which includes those cases where it has a referential use: in prelude, it introduces more information after the initial form; in end of episode position, it provides closing statements for the episode. Also, it is employed in descriptions and when introducing circumstances and secondary characters within the narrative sequence of wqetal. The conclusion will also provide the necessary methodological support drawn from Weinrich's analysis of the French *imparfait* to explain these new functions (prelude, closing the episode, description, introducing characters, circumstances etc.), which are functions specific to wparticiple background.

In the tables below, the morphological forms indicated in the right column display the underlying Biblical Hebrew forms; the morphological analysis of Targum is, as usual, present in the left column.

3.1 Sequences of wparticiple forms

This outline will look at the narrative traits of wparticiple which position it on a par with wqetal as zero degree form. This derives from its (1) ability to describe events in temporal juncture; (2) it is easily interchangeable with wqetal non–sequential/incomplete. Moreover, (3) wparticiple forms introduce speech events (a function reserved to wqetal and the infinitive of the verb אמר) and it occasionally translates narrative wayyiqtol forms from Biblical Hebrew.

3.1.1 Wparticiple forms in temporal juncture

The first argument for considering wparticiple a narrative form relies on its similarity with the wqetal form with its use in temporal juncture. The typical use of this latter form is in temporal sequence. The evidence of 16:23 (a verse which closes the episode of 16:14–23) attests a sequence of wparticiple accounting for routine actions which occur in temporal order one after another. The impact of the wparticiple sequence is to produce a little repetitive narrative account.[376]

MSwpart	והוי 23	1Samuel 16:23 wayyiqtol
cpart	כד שריא רוח בישא מן קדם יי על שאול	conjunction–infinitive
wpart	ונסיב דוד ית כנרא	wqatal
wpart	ומנגין בידיה	wqatal
wpart	ומתרוח לשאול	wqatal
wpart	וטאיב ליה	NCrt
wpart	ומסתלקא מניה רוח בישא:	wqatal Episode ends

The sequence of wparticiple happens to be introduced by a wparticiple of הוה, in its macro–syntactic function. The protasis marks the *appearance* of the evil spirit.

The section developing the wqetal forms of והוה as macro–syntactic sign has shown that protasis often takes a Pr–sentence layout (Phenomenon–Transition–Setting) where the Phenomenon (here: *the evil spirit*) is the actual Rheme of the sentence. Marking *appearance* means that it only acts as point of departure of this temporal sequence,

---

[376] The analysis of the right hand column marks the Biblical Hebrew forms which Aramaic wparticiple translates. I only added the corresponding verbal forms for wparticiple and wqetal (only occasionally, for the other verbal forms).

which starts with the next wparticiple (in apodosis) where David takes up and plays the lyre, with its subsequent beneficial effect on Saul and the retreat of the spirit. As there are no other adverbial constructions, which could suggest repetition, it is the sequences of wparticiple which create the repetitive narrative ending the episode.[377]

1Samuel displays one further attestation of הוה wparticiple as macro–syntactic sign in 13:22.

MSwpart temporal	וְהֲוֵי[22] בְּיוֹמָא דִקְרָבָא	1Samuel 13:22–23 **protasis** wqatal
wlapart	וְלָא מִשְׁתְּכַח חַרְבָּא וּמוֹרְנִיתָא בִּידָא דְכָל עַמָּא דְעִם שָׁאוּל וְעִם יוֹנָתָן	**protasis** wloqatal
wqet	וְאִשְׁתְּכַח לְשָׁאוּל וְלִיוֹנָתָן בְּרֵיהּ:	**apodosis** wayyiqtol
wqet	וּנְפַק אִסְטַרְטִיג פְּלִשְׁתָּאֵי לְמִגְזַת מַכְמַס:[23]	wayyiqtol

The content of the sentence refers a durative situation[378] in which there was no spear or sword in the army of Saul, except those of Saul and Jonathan. In both these cases of 16:23 and 13:22, Targum turns the macro–syntactic sign of BH weqatal of היה, which I take as the background, zero degree narrative form in Hebrew, into a wparticiple,[379] also a zero degree of the same sort. The same process occurs in Targum Genesis 30:41; 38:9; Exodus 17:11; 33:7, 8, 9; 2Samuel 15:5. All of them are routine events, justifying the Aramaic wparticiple. Wparticiple is the normal rendering of narrative weqatal of BH.

Based on this found correspondence, the cases of 1Samuel 10:9, 17:48, 25:20 (all translate the BH wqatal with the Aramaic weqetal, *not* wparticiple) seem to be part of a different logic – that of temporally ordered events. Here, the same BH weqatal background is rendered in Aramaic with wqetal (zero degree, yet foreground). In each of these cases, there is a sense of temporal movement of the plot to which the entire macro–syntactic construction contributes: from Samuel's speech for the anointing of David (10:1–8) to God changing the heart of David (10:9); from David's words (17:45–

---

[377] Cf the same effect in the pairs of wparticiple in14:52bc.
[378] Duration excludes temporal passage as one action needs to be finished before the next commences for the temporal passage to occur, besides being arranged in a temporal order.
[379] The other case of wparticiple of הוה in 1Samuel 13:21 is not a MS sign: cf below.

47) towards Goliath to his approach to David (17:49); from Abigail's orders (25:19) to her meeting David's company (25:20).

The point that I am making is that BH and Targum have different ways of arranging the same information, which derives from the common trait that these pair of tense in BH (wayyiqtol/weqatal) and Targum Aramaic (wqetal/wparticiple). The common trait is that of being narrative zero degree forms: of foreground (BH wayyiqtol and TA wqetal) or of background (BH weqatal and TA wparticiple). With regards to the examples above, while BH reads in 1Samuel 10:9, 17:48, 25:20 a background narrative form with weqatal, the Targum reads them as foreground narrative as it uses wqetal (instead of the wparticiple).[380]

---

[380] These considerations refer to narrative passages only.

3.1.2 Wparticiple with non–sequential/incomplete meaning (part 1)

The second argument for considering wparticiple a narrative form is its seamless interchanging with the non–sequential wqetal in the same narrative as it happens in Targum 1Samuel 7:14c–15 (wqetal to wparticiple) and in 21:14–15a (wqetal to wparticiple and back).

The episode of 7:2–17 recounts the war between Israel and the Philistines in which Samuel has an important role, with his prayer (cf vs 10: he offers sacrifice to God and God thunders loudly) and establishing a monument of remembrance (vs 12). All these events are recounted with temporal wqetal forms in sequence (cf the sequence in 2–14ab); none of them could have happened in a different temporal order.

With the sentences in 14c–15 the temporal sequence is slowed as these two wqetal are non–sequential: the content of 14c (with the verb *to be*) and 15 extends well beyond the boundaries between themselves and the coming wparticiple forms. The reinstated peace (14c) is continuous during the time Samuel judges the people (15), both continuing for the remainder of narrative time in 7:16–17.

wqet [cq]	ותבא קרויא ¹⁴ דנסיבו פלשתאי מן ישראל לישראל מעקרון ועד גת	Samuel 7:14–17 wayyiqtol
wxqet	וית תחומהון שיזיב ישראל מידא דפלשתאי	
wqet	והוה שלמא בין ישראל ובינ אמוראי :	wayyiqtol
wqet	ודן שמואל ית ישראל כל יומי חיוהי: ¹⁵	wayyiqtol
wpart	ואזיל בזמן שנא בשנא ¹⁶	wqatal
wpart	ומסתחר לביתאל ולגלגלא ולמצפיא	wqatal
wpart	ודאין ית ישראל ית כל אתריא האלין:	wqatal
NCwtr	ובמתביה לרמתא ¹⁷	
NCctr	ארי תמן ביתיה	
wxqet	ותמן דן ית ישראל	
wqet	ובנא תמן מדבחא קדם יי:	wayyiqtol

In vs 15 wqetal non–sequential is so similar to a wparticiple that it takes on an adverbial construction which suggests repetition כל יומי חיוהי (*all the days of his life*).The three wparticiple forms in vs 16 do not describe a temporal sequence (by contrast with 16:23, above) but one single idea: every year, Samuel was judging in Bethel, Gilgal and Mitzpeh. This information is distributed with the use of hendiadys on three wparticiple:

- 16a contains the time (*every year*) – the theme of Samuel is named in the preceding sentence; a further indication of hendiadys is that there is no point of departure or arrival in 16 to justify the movement verb ואזיל (he was going);
- 16b contains the places where he would go;
- 16c contains the action he would perform – judging.

Similar to the hendiadic wqetal, this sequence of wparticiple slows down narration with the intention of marking very clearly the respective rheme (when? where? what was he doing?).

Samuel's activity as judge is a leitmotiv of this chapter as it starts with his judging (7:6) and ends with mentioning it three times in the last three verses. This an intentional stress on the prophetic vocation and how it was performed, in contrast with the one to kingship addressed to Saul. The contrast is evident as the two vocations are described conveniently in chapter 7 and 8, respectively. Chapter 7 shows that the prophetic task assists and goes where the people needs assistance, the prophet follows the people where it is convenient for them to come (Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah) – the prophet is a servant. The king is not a servant, but a master who imposes taxes, requires military service and so on (cf chapter 8).

The non–sequential feature of wparticiple is also visible in 21:14cd. The narrative slows down already in 21:13ab with two non–sequential wqetal forms (David pays attention and fears Achish) followed by two narrative ones in 14ab showing that David changed his behaviour to feign madness.

wqet	¹³ושוי דויד ית פתגמיא האלין בלבה	1Samuel 21:13–15a wayyiqtol
wqet	ודחיל לחדא מן קדם אכיש מלכא דגת:	wayyiqtol
wqet	¹⁴ושני ית מדעיה בעיניהון	wayyiqtol
wqet	ואשתמם בידהון	wayyiqtol
wpart	ומסריט על דשי תרעא	wayyiqtol
wpart	ומחית ריריה על דקניה:	wayyiqtol
wqet	¹⁵ואמר אכיש לעבדוהי	wayyiqtol

The two wparticiple forms in 14cd stop advancing the narrative plot in the same way as 21:13ab do. Both pairs display the same non–sequential trait lacking the temporal juncture between them: we are not able to discern which of the two wqetal and

wparticiple are first in their own pair. David fears and preserves the words into his hearth, and later (because of the wqetal narrative in 21:14ac, not because the sequence 21:13ab–14cd), he lets saliva fall out of his mouth before writing on walls. The reaction of Achish with speech event wqetal picks up again the temporal passage in 21:15a.

In 27:8–9, the change in the verbal sequence from wqetal forms in 27:8ab to wparticiple in 27:9a) mirrors the change in BH from wayyiqtol (MT 27:8ab) to weqatal (MT 27:9a). About what this means in BH, Niccacci asserts that the sequence marks the change from foreground narrative of wayyiqtol (meaning 'a single action') to background 'repetitive routine action'.[381]

wqet	וסליק דויד וגברוהי [8]	a	1Samuel 27:8–10 wayyiqtol
wqet	ואתנגדו על גשוראי וגזראי ועמלקאי	b	wayyiqtol
cNCtr	ארי אנין יתבת ארעא		
ctr	דמיעלמא מעלנא דחגרא ועד ארעא דמצרים:		
wpart	ומחי דויד ית יתבי ארעא [9]	a	wqatal
wlapart	ולא מקיים גבר ואתא	b	wloyiqtol
wpart	ושבי ען ותורין וחמרין וגמלין לבושין	c	wqatal
wpart	ותאיב	d	wqatal
wpart	ואתי לות אכיש:	e	wqatal
wqet	ואמר אכיש [10]	a	wayyiqtol

Because TA uses the waw–perfect (wqetal) to convey the narrative sequence of the plot (in contrast with BH which uses waw–imperfect form), the Targum shows an alternation with waw–participle (cf 9c) in the case of routine repetitive actions, i.e. it needs another grammatical construction than that based on perfect. Similar to 16:23, the sequence of wparticiple forms in 27:9 is a little story which shows the routine work of David for Achish starting from his invasion into the territories to his return along with sizeable spoils.

---

[381] Niccacci, 2011, §46, 67: 'The transition impacts on the aspect of the action, in that the wayyiqtol signals a single action while the weqatal in narration signals a repetitive routine action'.

Again, this repetitive little story in wparticiple confirms that wparticiple is a background form of zero degree/point[382] marking the narrative 'and nothing else' (with regards to retrospection or anticipation). Its notional content is in temporal sequence after the last wqetal in 27:8b, keeping in with narrative in its specific *lento* mode.

The alternation in tenses between wqetal to wparticiple should be reflected also in translation. The translations of 27:8–9 proposed by Harrington and Saldarini, and Staalduine–Sulman display a proper rendition of the narrative wqetal forms in verse 8 with simple past:[383]

'*And David and his men went up, and they spread out against the Geshurites, the Gizrites, and the Amalekites, for they were inhabiting the land from old, the entrance of Hagra and unto the land of Egypt.*' (Harrington and Saldarini)

Nevertheless, they waver in verse 9 where neither of the two is constant in rendering the routine aspect of David's incursion – all with wparticiple: Harrington and Saldarini start with a simple past (against wparticiple in 9a) and then switch to a past continuous tense following the participle:

'*And David struck down the inhabitants of the land, and he was not letting live a man or a woman, and he was plundering sheep and oxen and asses and camels and garments; and he was returning and coming into Achish*'

By contrast Staalduine–Sulman shows a good repetitive solution with 'used to' in 9a, but reverts (against the wparticiple forms in 9cde) to simple past:

'*And David used to strike the inhabitants of the land and he left neither man nor woman alive, but captured the sheep, the oxen, the asses, the camels, and the clothes, and came back to Achish*'

The force of the repetitive '*used to*' is still in place over the coming temporally sequenced events – making them repetitive. This would be an elegant solution – but the repetition needs to be reinforced in some other way in the coming verbal forms, either with an adverbial of the type '*each time he left neither man nor woman alive*', or the use of the modal '*he would leave no man…*'). The translation should heed the *relievo*

---

[382] On its equivalent verbal form of BH weqatal, Niccacci agrees that it is a background form, but disagrees that weqatal could be a zero degree form cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §147, p. 180.

[383] Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 154; Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 457.

imposed by the alternation wqetal (27:8ab) foreground to wparticiple (27:9acde) and back (29:10). This is (following Staalduine–Sulman's wording):

27:8. *Now David and his men went up, and marched out against the Geshurites, the Gizrites, and the Amalekites, for these were the inhabitants of the land, which was from of old the entrance of the Heger unto the land of Egypt.* **27:9** *And David used to strike the inhabitants of the land and he **would leave** [left] neither man nor woman alive, but he **would capture** [captured] the sheep, the oxen, the asses, the camels, and the clothes, and **would come** [came] back to Achish.* **27:10** *When Achish asked* […].*

3.1.3 Wparticiple of speech event with non–sequential meaning (part 2)

There is one occurrence of repetitive/routine wparticiple introducing speech events in
2:15. Wqetal of אמר is usually employed[384] and is supported by common sense that one
rarely uses the same words in a dialogue, though a routine response to something is
possible .This is a third similarity between wparticiple and wqetal that supports the idea
that both are zero–tenses and convey narrative.

clayiqtul	אף עד לא יתסקון תרביא למדבחא ¹⁵	1Samuel 2:15
wpart	ואתי עולימא דכהנא	wqatal
wpart	ואמר לגברא דנכיס	wqatal

The effect of the construction is to add to the slowness of wparticiple presenting
repetitive information that of the speech event.

The other pair of wparticiple found in the indirect speech of 1Samuel (19:23) is the
result of a change in tenses introduced by the Targum to the BH sequence of wayyiqtol
(cf MT 19:23cd).[385] The reason for this change is the conjunction–qetal form in 19:23e
which, as rheme of 23d, marks the end of the effects of God's spirit on Saul: '*he went
about singing praise until he came to the house of study that was in Rama*' (Harrington
and Saldarini's translation).

wqet	ואזל לתמן לבית אלפנא דברמתא ²³	1Samuel 19:23 wayyiqtol
wqet	ושרת עלוהי אף הוא רוח נבואה מן קדם יי	wayyiqtol
wpart+inf	ואזיל מיזל	wayyiqtol
wpart	ומשבח	wayyiqtol
cqet	עד דאתא לבית אלפנא דברמתא:	

The translator of the Targum observes that the events in 23cd are no longer in sequence
(they are a hendiadic pair) but they have a foreseeable duration which extends until Saul
reaches Rama (23e), and thus he takes the liberty to adapt the translation, probably to
make it more natural for the Aramaic reader. The events of the wparticiple are not

---

[384] Wqetal of אמר usually introduces direct speech, but that does not exclude the combinations with
infinitive למימר which also introduce direct speech. There are two cases regarding למימר. On the one hand,
it is used after another wqetal form and, consequently, that action and the speech event with למימר are
compressed in one sentence with the effect being a foreground narrative.
On the other hand, למימר is combined with the xqetal (9:15; 13:3, 4; 23:27; 25:14; 26:19; no other
combinations have been found in 1Samuel). The xqetal sentences are narrative only in case of contrast; its
second function is of conveying comment, cf the analysis and evaluation in Chapter 4 of this thesis.
[385] The Vulgate too shows imperfect (background narrative) in both sentences.

repetitive, but they have a durative value. This change shows that there is a sort of equivalence between wayyiqtol as narrative foreground and wparticiple as background form, making more evident the narrative trait of the latter.

A similar translation from BH wayyiqtol (narrative foreground) to TA wparticiple (narrative background) is present in 14:52c. The verbal forms in Aramaic show a perceivable slowing down of narrative (again at the end of episode) starting with the non–sequential wqetal with הוה (the war continues over the next verbal forms) and the ensuing wparticiple forms. Instead of the wqetal in 52c, the Targum prefers the background wparticiple.

wqet	52 והוה קרבא תקיף על פלשתאי כל יומי שאול	1Samuel 14:52 wayyiqtol
wpart	וחזי שאול כל גבר גבר וכל גבר עביד קרב	wqatal
wpart	וכניש ליה לותיה:	wayyiqtol **Episode ends**

The participles in 52bc describe the routine endeavour of Saul to have strong people in his army which takes the shape of a protasis–apodosis construction. In contrast with Harrington and Saldarini, where the wparticiple forms are coordinated (cf p. 128), Staalduine–Sulman translates with a temporal sentence followed by a foreground one ('and when Saul saw any heroic man or any man waging war, he gathered him to himself').[386] As both are background forms in Aramaic, I propose: 'and *whenever* Saul saw any heroic man or any man waging war, he *would gather* him to himself'.

We have seen so far, that the prevalent function of wparticiple is repetition, which occasionally presents routine events in temporal sequence (sequences of events that are repeated in the same order). There is an obvious presence of the temporal junction in this latter type. Durative function at least in 1Samuel, has limited use in sequences of wparticiple; there is more of that in single occurrences of wparticiple.

---

[386] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 319; Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 128.

3.1.4 Wparticiple of hendiadys: אזיל וסגי

A further similarity between wparticiple and wqetal narrative is its use with hendiadys in the sequence (x)participle–wparticiple with the two roots אזל (to go) and סגי (to increase)[387] of 14:16, 19 and 2:26. These two verbs in participle create the meaning of *continuous growth*: physical or spiritual (2:26), or it may refer to a growing destruction (14:16) and or growing number (14:19).

The discussion of the wqetal macro–syntactic (in the section '2.3.5.5 Conclusion on the usage of והוה as MS and the cases of 14:19 and 1:12') argued that sequence xparticiple–wparticiple in 14:19 is part of the protasis introducing the temporal and temporal/causative circumstances of the apodosis. In the case of 14:16a, והא (*behold*) is either (1) predicative and the ensuing xparticiple–wparticiple is its rheme – this is what the watchmen of Saul see, or (2) macro–syntactic with the sequence xparticiple–wparticiple as protasis and apodosis of wqetal in 17a.[388] In either case, the xparticiple–wparticiple sequence refers a durative event in narrative: the growing destruction of the Philistines and their subsequent recovery. The idea of temporal sequence is not given by the participles but by the narrative wqetal forms which are interposed between 16 and 19 (17a 'and Saul said'; 17e 'and they numbered', 18a 'and Saul said').

wqet	¹⁶וחזו סכואיא לשאול בגבעתא דבית בינימין	1Samuel 14:16–19
wMs	והא	
xqet	המון משרית פלשתאי אתבר	xqatal
part	**אזיל תבריה**	wayyiqtol
wpart	**וסגי:**	waw–adverb
wqet [Ncr]	¹⁷ואמר שאול לעמא דעמיה	
vs 17–18: Saul asks who is missing from the camp (Jonathan) and to bring the ark		
MSwqet	¹⁹והוה	
temp	עד דמליל שאול עם כהנא	protasis
xpart (part+inf)	**והמונא דבמשרית פלשתאי אזיל מיזל**	
wpart	**וסגי**	waw–adverb
wqet	ואמר שאול לכהנא	apodosis

---

[387] Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* (London: Luzac&Co., 1903), 953: 'to swell, rise, grow, spread increase, thrive'.
[388] This needs to be determined at the analysis of והא. As this is a comment form, it will not be discussed in this thesis.

As another example, 2:26 works as intermission and/or division within a narrative episode focused exclusively on Eli's sons (2:22–36): the first part looks at how they sin against God (22–25: it states their sins and Eli's reproach). After the intermission recalling Samuel (cf 22:26 as contrast with them), narrative continues with the prophecy of their punishment in 2:27–36 (introduced with wqetal narrative in 27a). The participial combinations in 26ab are both durative.[389]

wxpart	ורביא שמואל אזיל ²⁶	1Samuel 2:26 xpart
wpart	וסגי	wpart
NCwtr	ושמיה טב	NCwtr
NCwrt	תקנן אורחתיה קדם יי	
NCwrt	ותריצין עבדוהי בגו בני אנשא:	

---

[389] Because the wparticiple in 26b continues the xparticiple form in 26a, a comment form, 26b is too a comment form cf about 26a in the section 'Instead of conclusion: the impact of first word order on prelude and end–of–episode xparticiple/xqetal', page 309.

3.2   Single occurrences of wparticiple

Verbal construct forms with single wparticiple are the alternative way of presenting durative or repetitive information. These are very similar in use with the wqetal non–sequential. Both the wparticiple and the wqetal display the non–sequential/incomplete function. In 16:14b, the wparticiple is part of the information following the prelude (in subject–qetal) describing the *remaining* of the evil spirit on Saul.

wsubjqet	ורוח גבורא מן קדם יי דהות עם שאול עדת מניה ¹⁴	1Samuel 16:14–15
wpart	ומבעתא ליה רוח בישא מן קדם יי׃	wqatal
wqet	ואמרו עבדי שאול ליה ¹⁵	wayyiqtol

The durative feature of this wparticiple derives from the persistence of the evil spirit over the entire episode. This is cause for concern for Saul's servants (cf the dialogue in vs 15), which subsequently leads to David being employed as musical performer to sooth Saul. In most cases, wparticiple translates a wqatal form of BH (cf MT 16:14b; 2:13c, 14a,).

The wparticiple may also indicate a single repetitive event, as in 2:19b.

| wxyiqtul | ומעיל זעיר תעביד ליה אמיה ¹⁹ | 1Samuel 2:19 |
| wpart | ומסקא ליה מזמן מועד למועד במסקה עם בעלה לדבחא ית דיבח מועדא׃ | wqatal |

In this case the cadence of the repetition is marked with a specific adverbial construction (למועד מועד מזמן – 'from festival to festival', Staalduine–Sulman's translation, page 188).

From this point the durative and the repetitive single wparticiple forms are analysed separately. It is evident that repetition is preferred to duration in these occurrences of single wparticiple; but we need to see what other elements make them different from each other in single wparticiple.

3.2.1 Repetitive single wparticiple forms

The sequence (of wparticiple or of wqetal) may be interrupted by forms other than non–subordinated constructions – the subordinated sentences are parts of the wparticiple as Setting or Specification. In 1Samuel, the type of wparticiple as single occurrence is limited to six instances (1:3a, 6a, 7c; 5:7c and 18:15c and 16b), grouped under three types:

1. The constructions in 1:3a, 1:6a and 7c are *simple repetitive* wparticiple forms. Both are part of the introductory episode of 1Samuel presenting characters and their routine or habitual activities. One of the habitual activities of Elkanah's family was to go up (wparticiple) to bow down or worship (infinitive) in Shilo. The repetition of this routine is marked with the adverbial מזמן מועד למועד – *from [one] time of festival to [another] festival*; the adverbial is not present in the case of 1:6 – but the repetition stands.

wpart	וסליק גברא ההוא מקרתיה מזמן ³ מועד למועד למסגד ולדבחא קדם יי צבאות בשילו	1Samuel 1:3, 6–7 wqatal
wxpart	ותמן תרין בני עלי חפני ופנחס משמשין קדם יי:	NCwtr no verb
wpart	ומצהבא לה ערתה ⁶	wqatal
cpart	אף מרגזא לה בדיל לאקניותה	
cqet	ארי אתמנע מן קדם יי מנה ולד:	cqatal
wadvyiqtul	וכין יעביד שנא בשנא ⁷	xyiqtol
cpart	בזמן מסקה לבית מקדשא דיי	conjunction infinitive
advpart	כין מרגזא לה	advyiqtol
wpart	ובכיא	wayyiqtol
wlapart	ולא אכלֿא :	wloyiqtol

The entire sequence of forms from 1:1–7 does not present a sequence of events *per se*, as none of the five wqetal forms present are plot advancing: three are non–sequential wqetal forms of הוה (1a; 2d; 4a) and the other two (4bc) are *repetitive* wqetal forms, not by their nature but by the retroactive influence of the repetitive ending of the account in verse 7 with xyiqtul followed by combinations of participle and xparticiple.

The actual narrative starts in 1:8a with the address of Elkanah which starts a *unique* (not repetitive) chain of events. In this non–repetitive chain of events, Elkanah comforts Hanna, she gives up crying (vs 9) and, while at the altar, she makes an oath (vs 10–11: promising the child that she would bear to God). The events of the conversation with Eli the priest (12–18) and the birth of Samuel follow (19–20). In the economy of the verses 1:1–7, the two wparticiple forms in 1:3a, on the one side, and 6a and 7c, on the other, are enclosed into a repetitive frame the apparent non–repetitive wqetal forms of 4bc.

2. The wparticiple form in 5:7c is a *repetitive speech* event. The Aramaic mirrors again in this verse the change from wayyiqtol to weqatal in the Masoretic text, discussed above in the case of 27:8–9. Two common elements of wparticiple and wqetal (non–sequential) are seen in this construction.

wqet	⁶ ותקיפת מחתא דיי על אנש אשדוד	Samuel 5:6–7 wayyiqtol
wqet	ואצדינון	wayyiqtol
wqet	ואלקי יתהון בטחורין ית אשדוד וית תחומהא:	wayyiqtol
wqet	⁷ וחזו אנשי אשדוד	wayyiqtol
cpart	ארי שויא עליהון מחתא	NCr no verb
wpart	ואמרין	wqatal
layiqtul	לא ישרי ארון אלהא דישראל עמנא	
cqet	ארי תקיפת מחתיה עלנא ועל דגון טעותנא:	

First, in the same way as wparticiple, the wqetal forms in 5:6abc are non–sequential: there is no temporal juncture among them as they could occur in any order possible in this verse, with no impact on the sense – it is a non–temporal list of God's punishments. The first sign of that is the wqetal ותקיפת מחתא דיי which is a variation of another wqetal non–sequential of מחתא with the verb *to be* (4:10d; 7:13c; 14:14a). It has the function of summarising the events of 6bc as they are all part of the punishment of God. All three contribute to the Philistine realisation of the catastrophe in 5:7ab (7b durative background form) and the verbalisation of its origin in 7c with a repetitive speech event. This ability of introducing speech events of wparticiple in 7c (reserved for wqetal of אמר) marks the second common feature between wparticiple and wqetal non–sequential.

3. End–of–episode forms are represented by one wparticiple of repetition in 18:16c and one of duration in 18:15c.

wqet	וַחֲזָא שָׁאוּל 15	1Samuel 18:15–16
wcpronpart	דהוא מצלח לחדא	w–c–pron– participle
wpart	ודחיל מן קדמוהי:	wayyiqtol
wxpart	וכל ישראל ויהודה רחמין ית דוד 16	wxparticiple
cpronpart	ארי הוא נפיק	cpronpart
wpart	ועליל ברישהון:	wqatal

The sequence of wqetal to wparticiple in 15a–c produces a slowing down of narrative from the plot to the background of the participle combinations at the end of episode. The durative of 15c shows Saul's fear of David, while the 16c the routine task that David accomplishes as head of the defence. In what specifically is 15c a durative that 16c is not in the example above? Repetition implies a type of specificity which duration does not possess: the event of heading an army (16c) has a specificity in each occurrence (different enemy, different number of soldiers, etc.) deriving from its intermittency. By contrast, the event of 'fear' (15c) cannot be divided into events separable by specific instances. There is a continuity of 'fear', with no moment where its absence is implied.

3.2.2   Durative single wparticiple forms

The occurrences of single wparticiple forms are rare and their value is very much dependent on the syntactical context in which they are found. This section analyses the cases of 17:41c and the exceptional case of wparticiple of 13:21 הוה.

17:41c

The case of the single wparticiple in 17:41 confirms the capacity of participle to perform as a hendiadic pair. After a sequence of wqetal forms in vs 40, showing David's preparations for battle, the plot re–introduces Goliath with wqetal ('the

Philistine came'), followed by an odd participle (it is rare because a waw or x is usually pre–posed) and wparticiple which use the same hendiadic pair of 17:48 (in this latter case the form is wqetal not wparticiple).

wqet	ואזל פלשתאה [41]	1Samuel 17:41 wayyiqtol
part	אזיל	protasis participle wqatal
wpart	וקריב לדוד	
wxpart	וגברא נטיל תריסא אזיל קדמוהי:	apodosis NCtr – אזיל is added by Tg, hence changing to xparticiple

It was pointed out in the description of wqetal hendiadys that hendiadys looks like a protasis/apodosis construction where the information was distributed (for various reasons) over two sentences. Similar to that, the hendiadic wparticiple forms prolong the narrative and are probably looking towards the last sentence of the verse which justifies the entire construction: it is meant to show (in contrast with David) that Goliath had someone bearing his shield. Syntactically, the sequence participle–wparticiple of 41bc acts as protasis (they are together because they share the same theme 'Goliath') for 41d, which is apodosis. Both the translation of Staalduine–Sulman and Harrington–Saldarini, respectively, show the difficulty of the passage:[390]

'*And the Philistine came, nearer and nearer to David, and the man who wore his shield went before him.*'

'*And the Philistine came, coming and drawing near to David; and the man bearing the shield was coming before him*'

Both renditions reflect the continuity or duration of these three participle combinations ('nearer and nearer', 'coming and drawing near', 'the man bearing the shield was coming before him') for 41bcd.[391] Interpreting the passage as a double sentence would justify introducing a hint of subordination of the protasis (41bc) to the apodosis (41d) – cf the addition of '*as*' in my translation: '*The Philistine came; as he was coming and drawing near to David, the man bearing the shield was coming before him*'. It is rather

---

[390] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 368; Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 135.
[391] As a note, in 41d, Staalduine–Sulman prefers the regular narrative foreground simple past tense against the durative background xparticiple of the Targum.

strange for an xparticiple to be apodosis, but this occurs because the xparticiple is an emphatic word order[392] (the normal word order would have had wparticiple) aimed at maximising the effect of the protasis–apodosis construction, i.e. stark contrast between David fragile and alone versus Goliath much stronger and accompanied. If that is the case, the translation needs further amending to account for that: '*as he was coming and drawing near to David, there was a man bearing the shield coming before him*'.[393]

The exception of the wparticiple of הוה 13:21

There are 3 occurrences of the verb הוה as participle in 1Samuel. Two of them are macro–syntactic signs in 16:13 and 13:22 (discussed above).

wpart [NCctr]	²¹ והוי להון שופינא לחרפא ביה פגימת כל מן דברזל לעשפיה ולסכת פדניא ולמצלת קצריא דלה תלת שנין ולכלביא ולאנצא זקת:	1Samuel 13:21

In 13:21, the sense of הוה is that of belonging or possessing; the only other instance where *to be* has the sense of possession in Targum 1Samuel is 1:2d; whereas the latter has a corresponding wayyiqtol in BH (וַיְהִי לִפְנִנָּה יְלָדִים), the former has a wqetal (וְהָיְתָה הַפְּצִירָה). It is evident that the Targum is sensitive to this difference, by translating the 1:2d with wqetal and the 13:21 with wparticiple.

NCwtr	² וליה תרתין נשין	1Samuel 1:2
NCtr	שום חדא חנה	
NCwtr	ושום תנייתא פננה	
wqet (pl)	והוו לפננה בנין	
NCwtr	ולחנה לית בנין:	

In terms of its actual sense, this wparticiple has the same non–sequential sense as its wqetal counterpart. This is probably the only grammatical instance of perfect synonymy in Aramaic (and probably Biblical Hebrew too) where different verbal forms (wparticiple and wqetal) have the exact same meaning.

---

[392] Because the x element גברא נטיל תריסא is context intendent (it is the first time it appears in the passage), we read this xparticiple as having an emphatic word order introducing a new Phenomenon (this is a Pr–sentence: Phenomenon – 'a man'; Transition – 'was coming'; Setting – 'before him'). This is to account why the xparticiple in 17:41d does not have the usual *comment* quality as argued in Chapter 4.

[393] Further discussion of xparticiple will follow in the appropriate section. The translation with the emphatic 'there is' corresponds to how Firbas proposes to render this sort of cases; cf Firbas, 1992, 122.

3.2.3 Prelude single wparticiple

With this section we are nearing the end of our discussion of wparticiple. We are able to introduce one of two labels that Weinrich gave to the French *imparfait*, the introductory imperfect or for us, in the case of Aramaic, the prelude wparticiple (in its referential function).

The single wparticiple of 16:14b is found in the prelude part of the episode, where it is used to present an apparent incomplete event – the action of this wparticiple continues beyond the next wqetal form (the evil spirit remains with Saul from now on). 16:14b follows a prelude construction, already discussed: 14a is a prelude xqetal initiating the intermezzo composed of two episodes, both introducing David:

- the episode 15:35c–16:13 – David is anointed by Samuel as king of Israel;
- the episode 16:14–23 – David becomes Saul's lyre player.

There is a contrast within the sequence of verses 14–15a:

- waw–subject–qetal states in a matter–of–fact way that the spirit of God is gone;[394]
- wparticiple displays the continuous torment of the evil spirit – the zero–degree narrative of the plot starts in background (*lento*);
- wqetal advances narrative (in contrast with both of the previous forms) showing Saul's servants reaction to his new affliction – zero–degree narrative continues in foreground (*presto*).

wsubjqet	ורוח גבורא מן קדם יי דהות עם שאול עדת מניה [14]	1Samuel 16:14–15a xqatal
wpart	ומבעתא ליה רוח בישא מן קדם יי:	wqatal
wqet	ואמרו עבדי שאול ליה [15]	

The wparticiple 16:14b acts as Semitic replica of the introductory *imperfect*, attested by Weinrich – this is used to introduce background information at the beginning of the short story. [395] His examples are from Maupassant's short stories *Le lit 29* and *La*

---

[394] The discussion of 16:14a in Chapter 4 (cf the section 'Instead of conclusion: the impact of first word order on prelude and end–of–episode xparticiple/xqetal', page 309) will argue that this is a comment retrospective form.

[395] Vulgate uses for 14b: 'et exagitabat eum spiritus nequam a Domino'

parapluie, where background information with this type of French *imparfait* changes to *passé simple* when the actual account commences.[396] Applying this to our specific case, it is evident that Targum uses a prelude/introductory wparticiple to register information which is less necessary for the understanding of the plot, and, at the moment when the narrative progression is resumed, wparticiple is changed with wqetal (15a).

---

[396] Weinrich, 1978, 150–152. He refers to Guy de Maupassant, *Contes et nouvelles*, Vol I, 109–113.

3.3 Conclusion on wparticiple

At the end of the analysis of wparticiple (at least of those attestations in 1Samuel, indirect speech), we are now faced with the difficult task of delimiting the meaning of the foreground/background opposition. We have argued repeatedly about the zero degree narrative function of wparticiple (i.e. not implying any retrospect or anticipation) and about its background function. While wqetal as a grammatical form advances the narrative time of the plot, wparticiple contributes to a lesser extent to advancing the plot. It is rather concerned with repetitive or durative situations. As we shall see, these two labels are contractions of larger functions that background aims to stand for in Weinrich's text–linguistics.

We need to assert at this point that the predominance of repetition/duration in the use of wparticiple does not create the sense of background. They are by–products of the fact that the grammatical form of wparticiple is background zero–degree narrative. A proof of that is the fact that wqetal in its non–sequential function may also have the same content, as seen in the cases of non–sequential wqetal forms in 10:23d; 28:20c; 28:5b; 16:21bcd: these also convey a durative extension of the event.

The function of the grammatical form and its impact on narrative are two different things. The grammatical form of wparticiple is responsible for signalling background zero degree narrative, the repetition and duration are the by–product of that signalling. This view is in line with Weinrich's assertion (cf below) that ultimately the author is responsible for distributing some information as background and some as foreground, i.e. it does not matter whether the event is durative, because it is the narrator who decides whether to distribute durative information in wparticiple or in wqetal non–sequential, or background and foreground, respectively.

I intentionally inserted the discussion of prelude/introductory wparticiple in the body of the analysis as a symptom of the disruption that Weinrich creates within the classical ideas of repetition/durative with regards to *imparfait*. As I said in my comment, the prelude wparticiple was not more punctual or durative than the others – it was used to show that temporal sequence of the plot did not start yet, but it certainly does with the next eligible wqetal narrative.

Weinrich touches on the foreground/background in his discussion of *imparfait de rupture* and *introductory imperfect*.[397] He is positive that zero–degree of *passé simple* and *imparfait* are foreground and background, respectively, but when faced with the question of what they are actually accounting for he proceeds to say what they *do* differently: 'They give, indeed, *relievo* [his italics] to a narrative expressing it cyclically in foreground and background. In narrative, *imparfait* is the tense of background and *passé simple* the tense of foreground'.[398] He also asserts that the opposite proposition that the information we consider foreground or background should necessarily be conveyed with *passé simple* and *imparfait*, respectively, is not always verified as 'there are no immutable laws, besides the fact that they are fundamentally mixed with one another'.

I will discuss in the following two assertion of Weinrich in order to clarify the direction which the new interpretation of the wparticiple discussed above will take.

As we have observed with the prelude wparticiple, it is normal for the introduction to contain an *imparfait* (or in Aramaic – wparticiple). Ultimately, this is not something for the language to decide, but for the author: (1) '**Foreground is that which the narrator wants to be understood as foreground**'.[399] Narrator's restrictions for inserting a foreground tense seem vague: the information presented needs to be 'that for which the story is told, that which is registered in summary, that which the title summarises or could summarise, that which by its nature compels people to suspend their work for some time to listen to a story, whose world is not that of the day to day world'. All of them are placed under Wolfgang Goethe's label, the 'unheard–of event'[400], or maybe a shorter the 'inaudible' is a better translation. It is important to note that Weinrich does not tie being foreground (*passé simple*) to the property of being part of the temporal

---

[397] *Imparfait de rupture* is a type of imparfait which occurs in French narrative of the 19th century and after in those places where one would have expected a punctual passé simple. Introductory imperfect is mainly encountered in the introduction of the narrative episode.

[398] Weinrich, 1978, 128

[399] Weinrich, 1978, 129.

[400] The full passage is 'What is a novella but an unheard–of event that has occurred?', the translation belongs to S. R. Guerrero-Strachan, 'Récit, Story, Tale, Novella', in *Romantic Prose Fiction*, ed. G. Gillespie, M. Engel, and B. Dieterle (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2008) from J. W. von Goethe and J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1982).

sequence of the plot. He prefers the word 'summary' because it is more in tune with the 'inaudible', 'the unheard–of event'.[401]

We have asserted at the beginning that the division repetitive/durative event is a contraction and a by–product of the meaning for what background represents. It is evident from Weinrich that background is much more, as it is defined by its opposition with 'the never–heard–of', than foreground aims to be. In this context, background extends to be 'that which is not never–heard–of, that which by itself would not compel people to pay attention, that which nevertheless helps the listener in this act by facilitating his orientation in the narrated world'.[402] Apart from being a sign of orientation, all the other properties of background are negatives of foreground. Orientation is important for prelude and end of episode wparticiple – we've discussed the former, the latter remains to be discussed below.

He closes his statement about the French opposition imparfait/passé simple with the following remark: 'giving prominence with regards to a background and a foreground *is the sole and the unique function* that the opposition imparfait/passé simple has in the narrated world'[403], a definition which is repeated with regards with the English *past continuous*, '[w]ithin the form *he was singing* there is no aspect; especially durative or 'progressive'. […] [the form *he was singing*] may indicate equally either a punctual or a durative event, provided that this event happens in the background of narrative. Consequently, if we want to indicate its function in a comprehensive way we must say about it that it is the English tense of background in the narrative world'.[404]

Weinrich's account of background (concerning mostly the French *imparfait*, the Italian *imperfetto*, and the English *past continuous*) shows a broader understanding than that implied by our own account of the equivalent Aramaic tense, wparticiple. Nevertheless, within our larger discourse of time in narrative, I think it is safe to say, at least with regards to Targum 1Samuel, that, besides that function of creating prominence, the opposition wqetal/wparticiple delimits events that advance the time of narrative from those which do not, respectively.

---

[401] Weinrich, 1978, 129.
[402] Weinrich, 1978, 129.
[403] Weinrich, 1978, 129.
[404] Weinrich, 1978, 168.

His account uses the function of background forms in narrative text as guidance, a guidance aptly derived from a mosaic of narrative literature in four languages, as his discussion proves. My own account narrowed down the number of functions for foreground/background to time, a universally present feature of narrative. This account, like Weinrich's, takes in whichever functions the narrative text under analysis wants to share. In 1Samuel, the ever present temporal juncture in wqetal sequences and lack thereof in wparticiple is a sign of the narrative simplicity that biblical accounts have.

Durative or not, repetitive or not, these wparticiple forms have a temporal function of expanding the time of the narrative, whose time otherwise would be reduced to wqetal in sequence and occasionally a wqetal non–sequential. For the sake of obtaining a clear exposition of the zero degree narrative trait of wparticiple, I have organised wparticiple in repetitive and durative forms, but, if we are true to Weinrich, these two divisions have no relevance for a text–linguistic account. What has relevance is the role that these wparticiple forms assume in episode. Analysing Dino Buzzatti's *La fine del mondo*, Weinrich shows that Italian *imperfetto* of background (our wparticiple) is the fabric of 'descriptions', 'illustrations', 'facts which regard secondary characters', 'further circumstances', 'place indications', 'opinions', and 'reflexions'.[405] This seems to be the purpose of background: to present descriptions, illustration (etc.) within narrative.

This view of background concords with a second assertion of Weinrich which I think makes all the difference for our account: (2) '**The choice of verbal tense relies on the positional value of these phrases in the ensemble of the narrative, only and *on nothing else*'**.[406] I take from the context of this assertion that 'positional value' means two things. First, it means the place in the 'physical' narrative (one could call this the *referential* position): in the introduction and end of episode information, imparfait or wparticiple are used; for narrative development, passé simple or wqetal. The second is the function that the information has in narrative: when advancing the narrative time 1Samuel uses wqetal; when the narrative takes the time to describe, illustrate, add further information, opinion, it turns into narrative background of wparticiple.

Reading our analysis with Weinrich's comments about background *imparfait* takes us from the delimitation of wparticiple as repetitive and durative to that of its function

---

405 Weinrich, 1978, 159.
406 Weinrich, 1978, 151, author's italics.

within the episode. As a result, wparticiple in the examples may be reanalysed according to those roles that Weinrich's delimits for background; and, probably other roles could be supposed.

The wparticiple forms have already been discussed from their durative or routine point of view, but their background function merits further attention. The discussion in conclusion asserted that narrative should display wparticiple background either as a result of position within the narrative or because it conveys a specific type of information. To this, I add the further circumstance specific to 1Samuel, of narrative time passage, which is expanded with wparticiple.

In the light of these three elements, the text–linguistic analysis, while acknowledging the durative or routine/repetitive trait of wparticiple, recasts their dual mode into the newly ascertained functions wparticiple. These new functions are dependent on the narrative/comment or foreground/background qualities of the sentence.

3.3.1   New functions of participle

3.3.1.1   Description

The wparticiple sequences describe events (be it in a certain temporal sequence) on three occasions in our analysis. In 27:9, the sequence of wparticiple describes how David completes his job as plunderer under Achish; 21:14bc describes how he feigns madness in front of him; the wparticiple in 14:16cd described how the Philistine camp withered away in front of Jonathan.

3.3.1.2   Secondary characters

As 'facts which regard secondary characters' (cf Weinrich above) one could single out 14:19bc: המונא דבמשרית פלשתאי – *the multitude which was in the Philistine camp* (Staalduine–Sulman's translation) is presented again as increasing ever more after the description in 14:1cd show them to be broken. In contrast with its passive role in 14:16, the multitude of the Philistine camp becomes a character which reacts to the attack.

3.3.1.3   Further circumstances

Circumstances complete the plot with extra details which put events in context. 1Samuel uses wparticiple for introducing a list of tools in 13:21 to show the complete

lack of weapons in the army of Saul. Other instances of circumstantial information include of 17:41bc – circumstantial sequence which acts as protasis; in 19:23cd – the wparticiple asserts that Saul went praising to Ramah; and the wparticiple in 2:19c recounts that each year Hannah made her son a new coat.

As opinion, I list the speech event in 5:7a (the people of Ashdod refuse to have the ark within their walls) and as reflection 2:26b – the narrator reflects on Samuel's increasingly good name.

3.3.1.4 Prelude and end–of–episode wparticiple

3.3.1.4.1 Prelude

We have already discussed prelude wparticiple with regards to 16:14. After the initial prelude form of w–subject–qetal, the occurrence of the wparticiple in following the prelude 'orients', as Weinrich puts it, the reader within the episode itself. The wparticiple form in 16:14b is no more punctual or durative than the coming wqetal of speech event. It could have easily been a wqetal narrative starting the narrative sequence earlier, but a wparticiple is chosen to re–assert the presence of background prelude.

wsubjqet	¹⁴ ורוח גבורא מן קדם יי דהות עם שאול עדת מניה	1Samuel 16:14–15
wpart	ומבעתא ליה רוח בישא מן קדם יי:	
wqet	¹⁵ ואמרו עבדי שאול ליה	

The same occurs in 1:3a, 6a, and 7d. Had they been in wqetal, the narrative sequence advancing the plot would have been asserted. The fact that the events were routine and the presence of adverbial מזמן מועד למועד (3a) are not the reasons for employing a wparticiple in these sentences. As we have seen, there are instances where wqetal is used along with durative/repetitive adverbial constructions. The reason for using wparticiple is to show that some kind of prelude is still in place.

The narrative wqetal breaks with the prelude 1:8a, and this makes the previous sequence a prelude construction. The dislocations identified within this episode from these participle combinations in prelude to wqetal (8a–9a) and back to wparticiple in 10a display the effort of the narrator to give *relievo* or – in my interpretation – a temporal shape to the narrative.

At the end of this description of wparticiple as prelude/introductory background form, we need to point out that in determining the distribution of foreground and narrative tenses, Weinrich has in mind a 'global structure of narration'[407] which takes into account both the content[408] (foreground or background) and how the narrative proceeds from the beginning to the end, which naturally is of the form background–foreground–background. In terms of content, foreground is represented by the passé simple in

---

[407] Weinrich, 1978, 149.
[408] Background generally contains description, circumstances etc.; foreground contains the plot.

French (or in Aramaic by wqetal) 'because it is the tense of the main event'.[409] The way narrative advances also requires a special attention: while the distribution of foreground/background tenses is up to the narrator, he or she does have constraints as the introduction and the conclusion have a 'special position'.[410]

wpart	וסליק גברא ההוא מקרתיה 1 למסגד ולדבחא קדם יי צבאות בשילו [3]	1Samuel 1:3, 6–7
wxpart	ותמן תרין בני עלי חפני ופנחס משמשין קדם יי:	
wpart	ומצהבא לה ערתה [6]	
xpart	אף מרגזא לה בדיל לאקניותה	
cqet	ארי אתמנע מן קדם יי מנה ולד:	
wadvyiqtul	וכין יעביד שנא בשנא [7]	
xpart	בזמן מסקה לבית מקדשא דיי	
advpart	כין מרגזא לה	
wpart	ובכיא	
wlapart	ולא אכלא :	
wqet	ואמר לה אלקנה בעלה [8]	
Elkanah comforts Hannah		
wqet	וקמת חנה בתר דאכלת בשילו ובתר דשתיאו [9]	1Samuel 1:9–10, 14
wxpart	ועלי כהנא יתיב על כרסיא על מזוזי בסטר ספא דהיכלא דיי:	
wpronpart	והיא מרירא נפש [10]	
wpart	ומצליא קדם יי	
wxpart (x=inf)	ומבכא בכיא:	
vs 11–13: Hannah's prayer; Eli observes and presumes her drunk		
wqet	ואמר לה עלי [14]	
Eli's admonition to Hannah		

In order to determine that 'special position' of introduction/prelude and conclusion, we need to return to what narrative world means: it depicts the 'unheard–of event' or 'one narrates when one knows something of unusual'[411]. For the purpose of granting us access to it, the narrator needs to have an 'exposition' which 'makes known the world

---

[409] Weinrich, 1978, 149.
[410] Weinrich, 1978, 145.
[411] Weinrich, 1978, 163.

that is about to be narrated and invites the reader or the listener to proceed in to this foreign world'[412] – this is done with background forms.

After this introductory exposition, narration proceeds with the narrative nucleus,[413] the 'main event' (cf above), the 'main action'[414] or simply foreground. When the time comes for the story to end, the narrator needs to introduce a type of rupture into the narrative (this is the function of the French *imparfait de rupture*[415]) which 'closes the story by returning us to the real world'.[416] It sometimes has a 'conclusive nuance' (cf Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale*)[417] and achieves 'a decrease of the dramatic tension',[418] which 'slows down the story' (Spanish *imperfecto*).[419] The imparfait/imperfecto/imperfetto or the Aramaic wparticiple[420] have the corresponding function of leading us and the characters from the narrative world: it 'suggests to the reader that the dramatic thread of the story is at the end and that the characters return again to their daily world, constituted of events which are not worthwhile narrating'.[421]

3.3.1.4.2 End–of–episode wparticiple

Weinrich provided us with new meanings for the forms of background occurring at the end of the episode and with a framework which looks at narrative in view of its structure with beginning, plot, and end.

Within the analysis above, there are certain wparticiple forms which correspond to Weinrich's end of the episode imperfectives. The sequences of 16:23 and 7:16 portray a story of their own as we have detected a sort of temporal juncture: the order of events seems to be fixed. My introduction showed them at the time to be signalling a permanent activity in which the two characters are caught (Samuel goes around the country to judge the people; David sings with his lyre to sooth Saul) like in a time–loop.

---

[412] Weinrich, 1978, 127.
[413] Weinrich, 1978, 127.
[414] Weinrich, 1978, 145 and 162.
[415] Weinrich recognises this form in a number of instances in French, Italian, and Spanish literature (cf Weinrich, 1978, 149–166). In English the situation is different as 'in English language background and foreground have a different distribution than in the Romance languages' and hence the tense of 'he is singing' and the English participle occur in a reduced number that their Romance languages counterparts, cf Weinrich, 1978, 168.
[416] Weinrich, 1978, 153
[417] Weinrich, 1978, 152
[418] Weinrich, 1978, 156.
[419] Weinrich, 1978, 161.
[420] I avoid adopting the term 'of rupture' as this 'rupture' does not always come at the end of episode. I will use 'end–of–episode' or 'concluding' wparticiple.
[421] Weinrich, 1978, 171.

Weinrich thinks that this is a natural effect of any sequence of narrative which is not presenting main events or narrative nucleus: if that sequence of events does not advance towards the end, it is natural for this background imperfective to be durative or repetitive. According to him, these imperfectives are not there to tell the reader what narrative is already doing naturally, but to signal that the narrative plot has reached its end and it prepares us to exit the narrative.

Let us see these two examples which accommodate this position. The episode in 16:14–23 narrates the events that follow the anointing of David as new king: after the introduction of the crisis at Saul's court (an evil spirit torments Saul) 16:14 there is a sequence of 13 wqetal forms (starting in 16:15) interrupted by dialogues/comment passages (introduced by wqetal speech events). Up to 16:21a inclusive, the narrative plot advances towards the end detailing the way in which David becomes Saul's lyre player. The wqetal 16:21bcd do not advance the plot, but rather (as we have shown) list the success of David at his Saul's court (he served, he was liked, he becomes his armour bearer) and none of them is bound by temporal juncture: they may be exchanged among themselves. The temporal juncture occurs again in 16:22 where Saul requests Jesse to allow David to remain at the court. 21bcd obviously function as a support for Saul's request (because David has so much success there). No answer is reported, but the wparticiple sequence in 16:23 showing David's work there as lyre player is enough to understand that Saul's order was accepted.

The syntactical question is: how does it come about that the sequence of durative/repetitive events in 21bcd is in wqetal; and in 23 the same kind of events are in wparticiple? This is where Weinrich's argumentation comes to rescue. The former sequence in 21bcd is part of the foreground narrating the main events of the story: Saul needed someone to sooth him, they looked around, and David came and was a good servant. It makes sense now why Weinrich does not add to this 'main event' the idea of time advancement: some events are still needed in the plot even when they are not temporally ordered.

By contrast 23 is no more part of that main event sequence, as it adds further details about David's singing. Because the narrative episode is coming to an end in this verse, the narrator signals this by slowing down the narrative with wparticiple (other events could have been added to this list: that this happened usually before/after having lunch,

etc). They prepare the reader to exit the narrative world showing that there is a resolution to the crisis described in the prelude.

 The second case (7:16) is not so straightforward because of the last verse 7:17, which contrary to what Weinrich says ends with a narrative wqetal – which is part of the main events. Nevertheless, this is not an impediment for considering the sequence in verse 16 an end–of–episode. One of the reasons is that all the other forms in the verse 17 are background, except 17d. This wqetal recounting that Samuel built an altar in Ramah is there to connect this episode with the next one where the elders of Israel come to Ramah to ask Samuel for a king (8:4) – it serves as transition between episodes. If one was to complete a summary as Weinrich suggests, the main events of foreground in the two episodes make sense together with this transition:

- 7:2–14: in a sentence, Samuel and Israel defeat the Philistines (as it results from the sequence of wqetal);
- 7:15: Samuel judged Israel – wqetal;
- 7:17d: Samuel built a altar there (in Ramah) – wqetal;
- 8:1 – Samuel's sons become judges over Israel –wqetal double sentence;
- 8:3bcd – list of his sons' sins (money, bribe, injustice, respectively) – three wqetal forms;
- 8:4 – the elders gathered and came to Ramah – wqetal;
- 8:5 – they ask for a king – wqetal speech event.

The summary makes sense without the information omitted (Samuel's visit to the three cities, Ramah was his house) because it is background. It is indeed, the narrator's choice to put information in foreground or background; and here he chose to give a background information in 17a (the city of residence for Samuel was Ramah) and reiterate it in foreground 17d (Samuel built an altar) having in mind the place of Ramah (8:4), where the idea of kingship was officially proposed by the elders.

13:23

A similar question arises with the last wqetal forms in place of other possible background form in 13:23 (the previous wqetal in 22c is apodosis so they are not in sequence). The answer is the same: it acts as connection. At the end of the episode, 13:22 displays a 'conclusive' trait, which Weinrich brings as argument for imperfective:

with wparticiple of macro–syntactic sign in 13:22 (protasis in w–negation–participle and apodosis in wqetal, normal verbal form for apodosis) the narrator concludes a mixed episode (Saul is rejected as king, Philistines plunder the land) by showing the poor state of equipment of Saul's army. The wqetal in 23 (the Philistines retreat through Michmash) is part of the foreground which connects 13:17 (three companies of Philistines went to raid the land) and the next episode, where Jonathan attacks (cf the wqetal speech event in 14:1) by going through the same location of the Michmash pass, as shown in 14:4–5.

14:52

There is a decrease of dramatic tension from the narrative peak of Saul about to kill his own son, Jonathan (14:44–45) to a list of names (47–48: peoples whom Saul fought; 49–51: the names of men in Saul's royal family) and one wqetal non–sequential 52a. The two wparticiple forms at the end of episode provide an idea (similarly to 16:23) about the daily life of Saul during his many wars against the peoples around Israel. As Weinrich points out about the imperfective forms, wparticiple slows down narration and provides conclusion by the way of taking back the characters (and us) to the daily life events, to their routine:

16:23 – the routine of David as lyre player

7:16 – the routine of Samuel as judge

14:52 – Saul picks up every man able in battle

18:15b – Saul fears David

18:16b– David leads Israel into battle

As these events are not part of the main chain of events, they recede into background and create the slow ending of their respective episodes.

3.4   2:12–17 – a 'background' episode

The episode of 2:12–17 describes the sins of the sons of Eli (2:12–17) in contrast with Samuel's good standing recounted in the next episode (2:18–21). It is peculiar as the

narrative background wparticiple is predominant and the entire episode describes routine events – including the odd wqetal of speech event form (16a) and wqetal with הוה (17a).

We expect that the prelude forms will eventually turn into foreground, but the wqetal appears only once in 2:16a. The aim of the writer is to present a routine succession of events, not to advance the narrative of the plot. If one were to suppose that it is possible for narrative episodes to be divided between foreground/background ones, this episode would be a background one. This time, the summary of the episode is built around the wparticiple forms introduced by the Pr–sentence in 12a.

- 12a nominal clause – the sons of Eli are evil
- 13c – wparticiple repetitive – the servant (of the two priests) would come
- 14a – wparticiple – he would dip (the fork) into the pan…
- 14b – xparticiple – he would take everything that …(emphatic arrangement of the sentence – otherwise this would be a wparticiple too)
- 15bc – two hendiadic wparticiple forms (15c is speech event): he would say that the priest accepts only raw meet (the comment/dialogue is the rheme of the 15c)
- 16a – wqetal narrative – the man bringing up the sacrifice asks him to wait
- 16e – wparticiple speech event – he (the servant) would threaten to take it by force
- 17a – wqetal of הוה as non–sequential/incomplete with הוה – their sin was great

NCwtr	וּבְנֵי עֵלִי גַּבְרִין רַשִׁיעִין 12	1Samuel 2:12–19
laqet	לָא הֲוֹו יָדְעִין לְמִדְחַל מִן קֳדָם יְיָ:	
wCP	וְנִמּוּסָא דְכַהֲנַיָּא מִן עַמָּא 13	
CP	כָּל גְּבַר דְּנָכֵיס נִכְסְתָא	
wpart	וְאָתֵי עוּלֵימָא דְכַהֲנָא	
cpart	כְּמִבְשַׁל בִּסְרָא	
NCwrt	וּמַשִׁילְיָא דְלֵיהּ תְּלָת שִׁנִּין בִּידֵיהּ:	
wpart	וְקָבַע לֵיהּ בְּאֵיוֹרָא אוֹ בְדוּדָא אוֹ בְקִדְרָא אוֹ בְמַלִּיסָא 14	
xqet	כָּל דְּמַסֵּיק מַשִׁילְיָא	relative sentence acting as grammatical subject and thus x for the participle below
xpart	נָסֵיב כַּהֲנָא לְנַפְשֵׁיהּ	

cpart	כדין עבדין לכל ישראל	
cqet	דאתן לדבחא תמן בשילו:	
clayiqtul	¹⁵ אף עד לא יתסקון תרביא למדבחא	
wpart	ואתי עולימא דכהנא	
wpart	ואמר לגברא דנכיס	
Direct speech: the priest only accepts raw meet not cooked		
wqet	¹⁶ ואמר ליה גברא	
Direct speech: they should wait until the time of the sacrifice		
wpart	ואמר ליה	
Direct speech: they refuse to wait and threaten to take it by force		
wqet	¹⁷ והוה חוב עולימיא סגי לחדא קדם יי	
cqet	ארי בזו גבריא ית קרבניא דיי:	

While 17a is a non–narrative or incomplete form because of the assigning quality of הוה, the wqetal form in 16a is the only form which stands out as foreground narrative in background.[422] The only reason I can think of for this odd wqetal is that not all people protested, and this wqetal recounts that exception in foreground wqetal, i.e. this is an event worthy of mentioning or the 'unheard–of event' to use Weinrich's term. This wqetal breaks the routine described in 13c–15bc, but the servant continues his routine, cf the wparticiple in 16e (he would take it by force).

---

[422] The sequence wparticiple–wqetal–wparticiple reflects the MT sequence weqatal–wayyiqtol–weqatal in 1Samuel 2:15–16.

4 Chapter 4: x–verb forms: xqetal, xparticiple, xyiqtul

Wparticiple and wqetal have two important features in common. The first is their narrative trait uncovered by the text–linguistic analysis. A simple reading with the functional sentence perspective (FSP) accounts for their second trait, which is their word order: transition–theme–rheme; transition (at FSP level) or predicate (at grammatical level) always stays at the beginning of the sentence (the verb is always first). This second trait has been briefly discussed in the introduction to the wqetal section.

The wqetal and wparticiple word order supports the relative consistency in terms of distribution of the communicative dynamism (CD) which looked towards the end of the sentence for its rheme. I say 'relative' as, should complement or attribute be absent (or if they are context dependent), the notional content of the transition becomes rheme. The sequence of events *presto* or *lento* in these two waw–verb sentences is not hindered and no grammatical subordination would be implied.

This chapter is divided in four sections. The first two sections lay the methodological groundwork of for the description of the functions of xqetal, xparticiple, and (the few occurrences of) xyiqtul. In the first part (4.1.1), I explain the meaning the word order in Aramaic, drawing on Weinrich's postulate that when the number of tenses is low in language, then the difference in word order becomes a way of conveying either the foreground/background or comment/narrative opposition. The second part (4.1.2) explains the meaning of Weinrich's comment and outlines the tense correspondences among the languages.

The second section (4.2.) presents the two questions this chapter needs to answer. The process of asking these questions helps further clarifying Weinrich's methodology on the matter of the comment/narrative opposition with the aim of demonstrating that comment does mean not direct speech but a specific mode of communication opposed to narrative. The purpose of these two questions is to indicate those potential cases in which an xqetal/xparticiple/xyiqtul could be interpreted as a narrative form, either of foreground or of retrospection.

- (1) The first question is what linguistic structure in TA identifies with narrative retrospection? The solution establishes that xqetal/xparticiple/xyiqtul do not convey it – as the answer to this question supposes analysing subordination, a structure outside the scope of our thesis, it suffices to say what xqetal/xparticiple/xyiqtul do not convey it;
- (2) The second question is: in what circumstances an xqetal/xparticiple/xyiqtul form could be read as narrative form. This prepares the way of introducing one use of xqetal as contrastive/variation of narrative wqetal.

The third section looks at delimiting the functions of each xqetal, xparticiple, and xyiqtul as observed in Targum 1Samuel. There are three types of xqetal, one of xparticiple and one of xyiqtul:

- (i) xqetal of contrast and variation which is considered narrative foreground (section 4.3.1);
- (ii) xqetal of comment retrospective (4.3.3);
- (iii) xqetal of comment zero degree foreground (theoretical section 4.3.5 and discussion of examples 4.3.7);
- (iv) xparticiple of comment zero degree background (4.3.6);
- (v) there are a few other cases of special xparticiple and xyiqtul which are analysed separately in view of their value in MT. The form xyiqtul only has a handful of occurrences in indirect speech, but we can say that its value is very similar to that of xparticiple of comment background.

In 4.3.2, we introduce for the theory behind our proposal of the concept of *trace of comment* and identify the first four of them. The question of retrospection in narrative and comment is discussed in 4.3.4.

The fourth section represents a general conclusion (4.4.). We outline the results of this chapter in terms of tense and correspondence between TA and English in the first few pages. The next four parts are dedicated to: the contrast narrative/comment (4.4.1); the difference that the acknowledgement of comment makes in the understanding of a biblical passage (1Samuel 5:3-6) in 4.4.2; the place of *origo* within the theory of comment/narrative as resulted from the analysis of this chapter (4.4.3 and 4.4.4).

4.1   Word order and comment in Targum Aramaic

4.1.1   Word order

Leaving aside the discussion of the nominal sentence (no verb present), xparticiple, xqetal, and xyiqtul[423] combinations show a different word order, in which the transition/predicate is moved to the second place (or even further in some cases). This is reflective of the word order reality in Targum Aramaic: there are two normal word orders, one represented by verb in first position (wqetal, wparticiple, wyiqtul, wimperative), and one where verb takes the second position (xqetal, xparticiple, xyiqtul, ximperative). Let us call these word orders 'second word order' (waw–verb: wqetal and wparticiple) and 'first word order' (x–verb).[424]

Both of them are normal word orders for Aramaic. The status of 'normal' possessed by this first word order derives from the high number of occurrences in Aramaic. The **reason** for this double word order is the small number of verbal constructs available (in indirect speech – qetal, participle and yiqtul; for direct speech, imperative is added; infinitive is not able to create a self–standing sentence).

In the first word order, a grammatical element (dubbed 'element x'[425]) takes the first place in the sentence – this x is representative of any morphological constituent: a verb (as infinitive), a noun, and a pronoun.[426] In contrast with wqetal and wparticiple, where word order was stable (transition–theme–rheme[427]), because of the wide array of options possible as x, the first word order is much more flexible in the distribution of the CD. The non–emphatic word order is theme–transition–rheme, keeping in with the FSP rule that CD increases towards the end of the sentence.

In this context, the first question is what 'normal' or 'non–emphatic' word order for an x–verb sentence might mean? Theoretically, the emphatic word order is realized with

---

[423] The analysis of nominal sentence and subordination are not discussed in this thesis.

[424] This is because these word orders correspond to comment tenses (Group I) and narrative tenses (Group II), cf Weinrich, 1978, 24.

[425] Niccacci seems to be the first to propose the use of letter 'x' 'to mark the first element' present before the predicate in any sentence (excluding waw); Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, cf 25.

[426] Niccacci would also include the subordinate conjunction as x element (cf the preceding footnote). This thesis only deals with grammatically independent sentences (i.e. not introduced by a subordinate conjunction). However, I am sceptical with regards to viewing the conjunction as x element: the theory of language only looks at three or four elements with regards to word order – verb, subject, and object (maybe also attribute). Hence, we have the combinations VSO, SVO, etc. While the other morphological forms are able to support these syntactical values, the conjunction cannot be subject/object.

[427] I suppose that the other possible combination of transition–rheme–theme could exist and create a sort of emphasis. No examples of this switch were found at this time.

either rheme–transition–theme or rheme–theme–transition. Based on the high number of occurrences I found, the normal word order is subject–predicate–complement/attribute[428] or SVO. This is driven by one constant and one tendency, which are respectively: (1) the verb is always second in the sentence; (2) the subject is the first element in this normal word order – if there is a conjunction – resulting a subordinate sentence (this excludes waw) in which the predicate takes the third position – the sentence still adds to a normal word order.[429]

I am inspired by Weinrich to postulate two types of word orders in Aramaic. He presents the case of the German, a language with two word orders. Because 'in comparison with other languages [Romance languages and English] German displays few or very few tenses', 'the change from the second position in the sentence to the last corresponds to a change in tense that in German has exactly the same function the Italian substitution of a *passato remoto* with an *imperfetto* has'.[430] As a note, neither of the two word orders is considered unusual.

In German, the difference in the position of verb indicates the difference between foreground and background: second position corresponds to foreground, last position background, respectively. As a result 'the true verbal system of German language is obtained by multiplying by two the (few) tenses'. The 'final' position of the verb becomes 'a signal which can accompany every verbal form'. Following the case of German, Weinrich supposes that while some languages use morphology to create the

---

[428] The word–order was established based on the analysis of xparticiple and xqetal. The ratio between subject–qetal and object–qetal is 97 to 70. The ratio between subject–participle and object–participle sentences is 81 to 14 – 'object', in both cases, means any syntactical form other than subject (complement direct and indirect; complement of place, time, etc.). This is a rough count based on the indirect and direct speech texts of 1Samuel. It includes those subordinate items where the subject occurs before the verb, but excludes conjunction–qetal and conjunction–participle sentences, where there is no subject or object before the verb.
The most emphatic word order is that were the verb is demoted to the third position in the sentence – object–subject–participle – there is one occurrence in direct speech (1Samuel 23:9, analysed below) and another two in direct speech (1Samuel 7:3b and 25:28c); variations with qetal are also possible: direct speech shows an object–subject–qetal (1Samuel 9:7c); indirect speech shows a conjunction–subject–object–qetal (26:12g).
[429] This applies only to the **first word order** sentences only. For the sake of clarity, the constants are different in the **second word order** forms: (1) verb is first in the sentence (hence wqetal); (2) subject takes the second place (whenever it is displayed or necessary), hence VSO. If the subject is not expressed, and the complement/attribute occurs, the word order is still normal. Both word orders are in keeping with the FSP normal distribution of CD, in which the element with the most load of CD (which informs us the most) should be posited towards the end of the sentence. Just like in the English language, the subject and the predicate look towards the complement/attribute to complete the sentence, as long as this last element is context independent (bearing new information).
[430] Weinrich, 1978, 201.

necessary tenses, others, like German, play with the position of the verbal forms to achieve the same effect. Also, noteworthy is the parallel that Weinrich seems to draw between languages that achieve change of one tense to another through modification at morphological level (his example is Latin: the morpheme 'bi' marks future tense), and those that achieve the same effect through word order.[431] In this context, I suppose that the low number of tenses in Aramaic is complemented in the creation of tense by word order.

While for German the word order seems to be a factor influencing the foreground/background status of verbal tenses, its role is different in Aramaic. This is because the Aramaic wparticiple form has the word order waw–verb and is a background narrative form – this should exclude the first word order from the narrative opposition (proposed in German by Weinrich). In fact, the second word order of Aramaic signals narrative as both Chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis attest.

In the first chapter we discussed narrative (one of the two linguistic attitudes) with its two linguistic perspectives, foreground and background (represented by wqetal and wparticiple). The second linguistic attitude is comment, as opposed to narrative. The former occurs whenever the latter stops. Both narrative and comment display retrospective and anticipated information, and degree zero degree – this is the third dimension of linguistic perspective. Because the analysis of wqetal and wparticiple (the two agents of second word order) showed them to be conveying narrative (foreground and background), it is natural or expected for the first word order to convey the opposite, which is comment.

What does this mean exactly for Aramaic? It means that in most cases the alternation between an x–verb and waw–verb sentence refers to the difference between comment and narrative, respectively (these are also called group I and II). Three further questions need addressing.

4.1.2 Theoretical discussion of comment

The first question we need to tackle from the methodological standpoint is (**1**) **what is comment?** To the question of what comment means, Weinrich presents several traits of it. The first is that of including the narrator because when commenting, 'the "I" of the

---

[431] Cf Weinrich, 1978, 200–202.

narrator abandons for a moment the narrative attitude to address the readers with some thoughts on the story'.[432] So when commenting, 'it is not about something completed (*perfectum*) but rather about something which belongs to my world in the same way something of present or of future which I comment, because I am concerned about it. It is about a past in which I act, as I shape it with the same words I use to place the acts. And while commenting I shape the past, I move together my present and future: once impressed, all this tension is, thus, far from the serene contemplation of the narrator, which in his narrated world he *leaves it* [the past] *be*'. All the argumentation of Weinrich (and of this thesis) is based on 'not to explain, on principle, any verbal tense on its occasional name'.[433]

Comment tenses show several tendencies. One of the most obvious is the use of the first and second person verbs, deriving from the involved presence of 'I/we' communicating with 'you'.[434] Another trait derives from the lexical value of the verbs which show special implication from the speaker, where the 'stressed character of a direct speech situation is mirrored in the discourses of the interested individuals, i.e. in the expressions like '*declarer, stricte vérité, soutenir, prouver, provoquer*'.[435]

A more technical trait the comment tense displays in the narrative genre is its usage in the *Rahmenerzählung* or the frame of comment tenses which encases (at the beginning and end) the narrative proper. Weinrich observes that this type of composing occurs only in specialist literature of the study of history and in old narrative: he calls them 'the literature of the first centuries' – the effect produced is that of 'a narrative [which is] inserted in a general comment situation'.[436]

In this context we need to talk about retrospective comment and retrospective narrative. In both cases, retrospective refers to a disruption of the linearity of the message in zero degree (a sequence of wqetal for narrative, for example) to introduce an event that happened sometime before the point where text is in the narrative and comment. This is

---

[432] Weinrich, 1978, 24–25.
[433] Weinrich, 1978, 87, his italics. He discusses here the impact of *das Perfekt* on narrative text.
[434] Weinrich, 1978, 25–26: commenting on Luigi Pirandello's *Le tre carrisime*, Weinrich observes that 'the "I" of the narrator abandons for a moment the narrative attitude to address the readers with some thoughts on the story'.
[435] Weinrich, 1978, 46.
[436] Weinrich, 1978, 91. Weinrich supports his discussion with the research of Kaj B. Lindgren, *Über den oberdeutschen Präteritumschwund* (Helsinki: Suomalainen-Tiedeakatemia, 1957) and direct examination of tense sequence in the literature of the historian G. Mann, *Geschichte und Geschichten* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1962) and F. Kafka, *Der Prozess* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1983).

based on the fact that '[e]very linguistic sign [verb, in our case] then has a textual before and after, and either pre–information or post–information contributes to establish it'.[437] As a result, whenever the sequence of zero degree[438] is interrupted to report on an event which happened before the moment of text or communication we are at in the linear disposition of verbal forms, we are dealing with retrospective information; the same thing happens when that anticipated information is introduced in this zero degree linearity. Explaining tenses in this way allows Weinrich to bypass the classical triad of past–present–future.

In syntactic analysis, the names of tenses are misleading, because the function of tense does not depend on their name (i.e. if one uses present tense it does not mean necessarily that the event happens in the present). This is why Weinrich avoids explaining tenses by resorting to their actual name, and turns to what they accomplish: either they are zero degree (advancing the narrative or the comment line: present and past simple) or providing pre–information or post–information (narrative and comment have different tenses for each of the two types of information). In this context, when in a sequence of English present tense a present perfect occurs, it does not meant that this is *past information that is finished* because it is called *perfect* but it is past information because it brings into the comment line a pre–information. This is what he calls not letting 'the occasional name of tense' (here present perfect) to interpret the usage of the morphological form in that particular instance.

Based on the delimitation of retrospect and the opposition between narrative and comment, the difference between narrative retrospective and comment retrospective originates from the involvement of the speaker in the communication. When the narrator is involved (cf the comment tendencies above) he uses a comment retrospective tense (in English, this is present perfect); on the contrary, when he is distant he uses a narrative retrospective (in English this is past perfect). For the sake of clarity, these are retrospective because the event that they contain (narrated or commented) interrupts the linearity of the text as it goes forward towards completion. When that linearity is not interrupted, and we are narrating, past simple is used.

---

[437] Weinrich, 1978, 77.
[438] We are familiar with the Aramaic wqetal and its English equivalent past simple as narrative zero degree; by contrast English simple present tense is zero degree for comment.

(2) **We now can move on to what comment retrospective does**: Weinrich answers that it is a combination of a *report* with retrospective information[439]. This definition indicates instances of comment specific genres which (among others) are 'interrogation', 'declaration', 'accusation', and 'court proceedings'. Their message exhibits a twofold content: a report on past events. Comment is not a relaxed and not involved account of events that does not include the reader or the writer/speaker (this is what *narrative* does) but rather an account of events where someone is addressed.

To avoid any ambiguity, (3) **the third question regards the tense correspondence between the languages discussed by Weinrich (English, German, Italian, French, and Spanish) and Aramaic**. As Weinrich presents in detail only a handful of tenses, it takes a little bit of reasoning to rehearse their distribution in language. On the one hand, there are the narrative tenses which are represented by *past simple* (or *passé simple*, *passato remoto*, *perfecto simple*) – this is the *presto* foreground narrative, and its corresponding background *lento* narrative tense of *imparfait*. In Aramaic, their correspondent is wqetal and wparticiple, respectively. On the other hand, we have the comment tenses – for *retrospective* information, the *present perfect* (or *passé compose*, *passato prossimo*, *perfecto compuesto*) is used. Because we are dealing with comment (so there is a sense of past/present/future), *present tense* and *future tense* complete that picture.[440] Therefore, I suppose that when x–verb happens to be a comment passage (in a sequence of narrative wqetal and wparticiple forms), the x–verb sentence of the form xqetal creates the same effect in Aramaic as the one realised by the French *passé compose* or the English *present perfect* (following Weinrich's exposition); presumably, the xparticiple has as equivalent the *present tense*. This will be clearer at the end of this chapter.

This chapter examines five uses of the first word order: (i) xqetal as narrative, conveying contrast in meaning with the preceding wqetal foreground (and a handful of examples of xqetal as *variation* of wqetal); (ii) xqetal as comment retrospective; (iii) xqetal as comment zero degree (foreground, in contrast with wqetal zero degree); (iv) xparticiple as comment zero degree (background); and (v) xparticiple and xyiqtul as background of comment; the two examples of yiqtul as narrative anticiaption are also

---

[439] Weinrich, 1978, 104–105.
[440] Analysis of those texts of 1Samuel where comment tenses predominate (direct speech) is not the object of this discussion. However, it is important to note that comment and narrative tenses are always mixed, and this is one of the things that Weinrich takes for granted.

included under this point.[441] The presentation continues with further methodological questions with regards to xqetal.

4.2 Question for xqetal/xparticiple

Besides presenting examples to support these ground rules, we will look for an answer to two major questions. I will use them to introduce the relevant theoretical points of Harald Weinrich and Alviero Niccacci.

(1) **The first question regards retrospection**. Before asking the question, we need to outline what Niccacci thinks the word order does for BH. I presume that, at least in the biblical text of 1Samuel, the word order of BH and Aramaic have the same function, regardless of the interpretation of it one may have (mine: the two word orders represent narrative and comment; Niccacci's interpretation is outlined below).

In Alviero Niccacci's text–linguistic interpretation of the BH (which inspired the text–linguistic method for this thesis), narrative foreground is conveyed through wayyiqtol (the equivalent of wqetal), a verb–first sentence, while all the other verbal constructs recede into background.[442] The change in word order in narrative is a sign of background forms. [443] In this interpreation, BH wayyiqtol referst foregound, while BH wqatal and x–verb sentences are background. This relies on the idea that the first element in the sentence bears 'emphasis', and so if that emphasis is on the verb the sentence is a foreground one; however, if it takes first position, the element x receives this emphasis and 'becomes the predicate of the phrase'.[444] In this context, there is only

---

[441] For all tense parallelism supposed in this thesis, we need to keep in mind Weinrich's comments on the matter: 'no tense of one language may be considered equal to a tense from another language. Each tense is part of the temporal system of its language first, and only temporal systems can be compared' Weinrich, 1978, 94.

[442] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §140, p. 175.

[443] 'In general terms we can state that any change in the normal (word) order of the clause, which means every compound nominal clause (CNC [xqatal, xyiqtol sentences]) (§138), in both narrative and discourse, has the linguistic function of marking information as belonging not to the main thrust of communication (degree zero foreground) but to the secondary level (antecedent or background).' Cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §135, p. 167.

[444] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §6, p. 28.

one narrative zero degree form, which is wayyiqtol.[445] The morphological form of qatal is present both in narrative and discourse passages and has two functions: qatal first only occurs in discourse ('never in narrative'); xqatal occurs in narrative with a 'retrospective' trait (following Weinrich).[446]

How does narrative proceed, in Niccacci's view? He answers that '[n]arrative develops by means of a chain of WAYYIQTOLs'. This position is correct, and my own analysis of its correspondent form (wqetal) demonstrated that this is verified for Aramaic also. This line of argumentation continues: 'When this chain is interrupted (that is when a verb form is used which is not a WAYYIQTOL) it shows that the writer wishes to change the level of information from narrating events to his commentary on those same events'. The examples of Genesis of 7:17–18 and 19 analyse the opposition between the wayyiqtol series – as narrative and foreground, and xqatal form, respectively. The latter represents 'comment' and 'background' (the word background does not appear in the argumentation but next to the examples of the 'comment' xqatal). The same opposition is asserted with similar situation of Genesis 4:2–5a and Exodus 1, 1–7.[447]

Nevertheless, a close reading of Weinrich's work reveals a problem with putting the sign of equality between 'background' and 'comment'. This will become evident as this section progresses. For the moment, we repeat that the opposition between foreground and background is of linguistic perspective (*presto* versus *lento* narrative); the opposition between narrative and comment is of linguistic attitude (relaxed versus involved communication; the use of third person forms versus first and second person forms[448]). In the languages Weinrich analyses, the latter opposition creates clusters of Group I (comment) and Group II (narrative) tenses[449] that are in opposition with each other; for example, if the English *present perfect* (a comment tense) appears at the beginning (or end) of a *past simple* (a narrative tense) predominant episode, this does not mean that *present perfect* is background of the narrative but that the author chose to inaugurate (or conclude) the episode in a *comment* linguistic attitude. Background narrative is the second kind of narrating – and because it is narrative, it excludes the

---

[445] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §81, p. 112.
[446] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §8, p. 30: 'second position […] QATAL can be labelled, in Weinrich's terminology, a 'retrospective' verb form'.
[447] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §9, p. 30–31.
[448] Weinrich, 1978, 25–26.
[449] The chapter 'Commented world, narrated world' is focused on describing the difference between the two; cf Weinrich, 1978, 36–73.

idea of comment. Weinrich even suggests that the English (in contrast with the Romance languages) has foreground/background *relievo* in comment passages too (i.e. between simple present and present continuous);[450] this also excludes any equality between comment and background.

The third dimension of linguistic perspective (retrospective, zero degree, and anticipated information) applies to both narrative and comment passages. In this specific grid: BH wayyiqtol is a narrative, zero degree, foreground tense, for example (as is wqetal); in Aramaic wparticiple is a narrative, zero degree, background tense.

The point of this argumentation is to make evident that both narration and comment have retrospection. In narrative this means an interruption of the zero degree line advancing the plot with retrospective information; similarly, in comment, retrospective information interrupts the *present tense* sequence to introduce events which happened before the moment of speech.

We are getting near to our first question. While specific tenses, in English for example, are allocated to retrospective comment and narrative (*present perfect* and *past perfect*, respectively – so the difference is realised based on morphology), in Aramaic this is obviously not possible morphologically – due to the morphologically limited number of tenses (qetal, participle, yiqtul, and, exclusively for comment, imperative). In this context, the question is: **which Aramaic verbal constructs combination (word–order, adverbs, and other traits of narrative) create the retrospective narrative meaning in Aramaic?** In English, this type of information of conveyed through the use of the *past perfect*.

For reasons of clarity, we need to anticipate the results of the analysis with regards to this first question. Our approach to Aramaic verbal constructs was example–led analysis, which read them with Weinrich's and the Prague School's methodologies. With that in mind, we need to assert that this thesis supposes that in Aramaic of 1Samuel, xqetal is not in charge of suggesting narrative retrospect. This assertion does not mean that the Aramaic does *not* have a narrative retrospect but that there is no clear

---

[450] Weinrich, 1978, 176.

evidence for narrative retrospective as being conveyed by xqetal.[451] We proposed that xqetal be in principle reserved for comment.[452] As a result, if we keep to the meaning of the linguistic sign and its precision, xqetal cannot hold both comment retrospective and narrative retrospective, where wqetal, wparticiple and xparticiple combinations are excluded from conveying it (cf the examples throughout the thesis).[453]

(2) The second question regards comment in indirect speech. 1Samuel predominantly contains texts recounting events in temporal sequence, which are occasionally interrupted by direct speech. Our hypothesis about first word order, as signalling comment passages, allows the rise of the following question: **if x–verb is a comment verbal construct mixed with the narrative wqetal/wparticiple, how can one discern between comment xqetal/xparticiple/xyiqtul forms (which may convey theoretically retrospective, zero degree, anticipated information – we do not know yet which combinations correspond to what position in this grid) from those x–verb sentences which are simple variations of wqetal?** This latter item is a possibility, as the examples with narrative contrast x–verb sentences will show. Of course, in light of the first question, one could also expand it to ask: which type of sentence corresponds to narrative retrospection (narrated past) and to comment retrospection (reported past), respectively?

The observation that comment and narrative tenses could also be mixed is not new. This is evident from the multitude of examples present in Weinrich's analysis. For convenience, we shall take the English example of George Orwell's *Nineteen–Eighty–Four*. Weinrich shows the difference between *narrating* and *commenting* tenses by comparing the actual narrative of Orwell with its summary by A. Lass – while narrative

---

[451] Narrative retrospect is conveyed by a combination of the macro–syntactic sign והוה with protasis in כד–qetal, cf 1Samuel 4:5ab; 18:6 cf the end of the section 'Further on retrospection: comment xqetal against wqetal narrative', page 279.

[452] The form (i) xqetal of contrast is only used to create *lexical* contrast with the preceding wqetal or the wider context, and has no influence on the comment/narrative opposition.

[453] The remaining constructs of nominal clause and xyiqtol (not discussed in this thesis) are unlikely candidates for narrative retrospect in Aramaic, in my opinion.

uses *past simple* and *past continuous* (foreground and background zero degree), reporting is done through *present tense* (zero degree comment).[454]

Here we are talking about two different versions of the same events, and we can easily *find* one novel where the author intervenes with *present tense* (or present perfect for retrospective information, or future for anticipation). Looking for a narrative that mixes comment (presente tense) and narrative (past simple) in indirect speech text, I came across the beginning of Harper Lee's *To kill a Mockingbird*:

'When he was nearly thirteen, my brother Jem got his arm badly broken at the elbow. When it healed, and Jem's fears of never being able to play football were assuaged, he was seldom self–conscious about his injury. […] When enough years had gone by to enable us to look back on them, we sometimes discussed the events leading to his accident. *I maintain* that the Ewells started it all, but Jem, who was four years my senior, said it started long before that.'[455]

Within the narrative sequence of the foreground past simple, along with the occasional retrospective narrative 'had gone', the narrator introduces a first person present tense. In Harper's words, the events where long past ('enough years had gone by'), which justifies a detached narration with simple past; this inadvertently changes to an involved opinion over the facts expressed with present tense, as it were, to us the readers. This is despite the fact that the events do not matter anymore, not even for Jem, who had suffered the injury, as he made a full recovery (even his fear of not being able to play football passed).

The reader would be interested to see, in light of the xqetal comment retrospective, a passage from present tense (comment zero degree) to comment retrospective English present perfect:

---

[454] Weinrich, 1978, 61–62; Weinrich uses here George Orwell, *Nineteen–Eighty–Four*, 1950, 5 and A. Lass, *Fifty British Novels*, NY, 1966, 343.

[455] This is the first paragraph of H. Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (London: Folio-Society, 1996). The same type of substitution from narrative past simple to comment present tense and back can be found in J. D. Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye* (New York: Random House, 1951), 205–206: 'Then I started walking very, very slowly back toward old Phoebe's room. I knew that the maid wouldn't hear me because she had only one eardrum. […] She was pretty deaf and all. But my parents, especially my mother, she *has* ears like a goddam bloodhound. So, I took it very, very easy when I went past their door. I even held my breath, for God's sake'. The italics mark the comment tense.

'We find the right grave easily enough; as the book says, it's the only one with a wooden cross instead of a stone. The cross *has been* recently *painted* and the grave is planted with a miniature formal–garden arrangement of moss roses and red begonias; the sweet alyssum intended for a border *hasn't* quite *worked*. I wonder who planned it, surely it wouldn't have been her. The old ladies *have been* here and *have left* a vase, yellowish glassware of the kind once found in cereal boxes, with orange dahlias and spikes of an unknown pink flower. We'*ve brought* nothing and have no ceremonies to perform.'[456]

This is a fragment from Margaret Atwood who seems to use present tense to tell the facts – it does not narrate as that is that is the function of past simple, according to Weinrich; Atwood *comments* the facts by telling them with present (for zero degree: no retrospective or anticipation) and present perfect (retrospective information). It creates the effect of a commented communication which sometimes steers to the comment present perfect (in italics) to introduce retrospective information: first it is used for describing the church painting with passive present perfect; second, it is used to account for the existence of a vase. Each time it returns to comment present.

Three different tenses introducing their own linguistic perspective and relievo combination are mixed in the following passage: the past simple tense (zero degree narrative), the present tense (comment zero degree), the present perfect continuous (retrospective, comment), and future tense (comment anticipation).

'On the dresser there's a crumpled paper bag; inside it is a Welsh cake, a soft white biscuit with currants in it. I *bought* it yesterday near the train station, asking in bakeries crammed with English buns and French pastries, running through the streets in a crazed search for local colour that almost *made us* late for the bus. Actually I *bought* two of them. I *ate* mine yesterday, this one is his, but I don't care; I take it out of the bag and devour it whole.

In the mirror I'm oddly swollen, as though I've been drowned, my eyes are purple–circled, my hair stands out from my head like a second–hand doll's, there's a diagonal scarlike mark across my cheek where I've been sleeping on my face. This is what it

---

[456] Margaret Atwood, *Dancing Girls and Other Stories: The Grave of the Famous Poet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), 90.

does to you. I estimate the weeks, months, it will take me to recuperate. Fresh air, good food and plenty of sun.'[457]

As we have already seen, this is a reported account of facts which shows three changes. The first is from present comment to narrative zero degree, which narrates the provenience of the bun, and returns as soon as that is accomplished ('I *bought* it […]. Actually I *bought* two of them. I *ate* mine') to the present 'this one is his'. The second change is from the same present tense to a type of conditional ('as though I've been drowned') described by Weinrich,[458] again present and a present perfect continuous of comment for retrospective information about the cause of the 'scarlike mark' on her face. The third is from the zero degree comment of present tense to the anticipation (still comment) of future tense.

In Aramaic, these differences (comment/narrative) are not displayed morphologically; however, there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that biblical narrative too could support both narrative and comment constructs in the same apparently indirect speech–only episode, sporadically interrupted by direct speech (introduced with אמר). The mix between comment and narrative is much more evident in direct speech, where any sequence of BH wayyiqtol or Aramaic wqetal would alert the reader that the passage is not a report but that the speaker narrates.

The difference between the worlds, narrated and commented world[459] as Weinrich calls them, is much more obvious in modern languages. Within the tenses of group I

---

[457]Atwood, 1982, 96.

[458] Weinrich comments on the equivalent French conditional II '*il aurait chanté*': 'It is evident that it does not have the function of introducing a change of temporal perspective [i.e. to retrospect or anticipated information], and it is not referring a different situation than that expressed with present […] The sentence has a limited validity: it is not an affirmation, neither a definition, but it should be intended as an impression and it is found to be ingenious'. The example he uses is from A. Gide, *Journal, 1889–1939*, entry of 19 of November 1912: 'Paul Claudet est plus massif, plus large que jamais; on le *croirait* vu dans un miroir déformant; pas du cou, pas de front; il a l'air d'un marteau–pilon…', cf Weinrich, 1978, 258–259.

[459] Commented and narrated world is the way in which comment and narrative as two opposed linguistic attitudes are proposed in the second chapter of Weinrich's '*Tempus*'. The opposition starts from the opposition of persons, between first and second person (I/we and you) as belonging to 'commented world' and that of the third person, which 'indicates the [narrated] world with the exclusion of the speaker and the listener of course as long as he is the object of discourse. The third person is a category of the remnant/remainder'. In this context the syntactic 'world' is 'the set of all possible objects of a communication' where 'the world is generally divided in these types: speaker ('transmitter'), listener ('receiver') and 'all the rest' (remnant category).' In Weinrich's own words, this is a 'very approximate division, which pushes the boundaries of the world by forcing it [to be understood] under one aspect'. This one aspect refers to whether a communication addresses the speaker/listener or someone else, and conversely it is a 'commented' world or a 'narrated world'. This is called the 'principle of the

(comment) and group II (narrative), French shows as comment tenses *passé compose*, *present*, *future* (retrospective, zero degree, and anticipated information, respectively); for narrative, *passé simple/imparfait*, foreground and background respectively (along with the parallel double of retrospective *passé anteriuer/plus–que parfait*; other tenses are used for anticipated information). Each of these tenses has a specific role in the communication irrespective of their occurrence within or outside direct speech. According to Weinrich, while narrative tenses signal the reader that 'this is a narrative passage', the comment tenses indicated that 'this is a comment passage'.[460]

These are linguistic attitudes or manners which the writer/speaker adopts when communicating. The plot of the same movie may be told with a comment tense (cf *passé compose*) or with a narrative one (*passé simple*). In the first case, we *report* on the movie – which, according to Weinrich, means: that 'the facts are not narrated but commented. […] These are similar situations to those in the court of justice, so sometimes they may include the account of circumstances. Effectively, to make a report is not narrating, but commenting'.[461] In the second case, we narrate the movie.

Presumably, when the communication with comment tenses changes to a narrative tense, the attitude changes as well, as the narrative tense that just occurred says, 'this is where the narrative starts'.[462] The difference between the two manners is of tension or of implication: comment is something that regards the speaker/writer directly, there is a pervasive state of tension (for example first and second person predominate in comment); in narrative, that state of tension disappears as the recounting of events is

approximate selection of the world' and represents a 'building block' for syntax. cf Weinrich, 1978, 38–40. I recall the argument of commented/narrated world in this discussion of the first word order (comment xqetal and xparticiple), because it provides the first elements of the syntax of comment, which are first person and second person. Because it talks about the 'remnant' of a third person, narrated world does not involve the agents of communication, i.e. the writer/reader. The writer and reader are only muted witnesses to the events. As a result, narrated world employs time as a universal ordering device of events: first, it tells us that the object of communication is unfamiliar and not directly related to first or second person; second, the communication is temporarily ordered to make it universally intelligible. By contrast, comment world or comment tenses, or just comment *involves* the writer/reader in the communication – someone is addressed directly; in this respect, I suppose, the communication is ordered around exchange of information these involved agents have.

[460] Weinrich, 1978, 37.

[461] Weinrich, 1978, 104. He suggests here that *present perfect*, the English equivalent of *passé compose* is generally used for reporting events.

[462] Weinrich, 1978, 64.

passed through the 'filter of narration' which imposes a distance between the narrator and the events themselves (and, as a result, third person dominates).[463]

---

[463] Weinrich, 1978, 109. He exemplifies this difference in English with the discussion of comment passages (present perfect) and narrative passage in Thornton Wilder, *The Ideas of March*, 1950, 98–105.

4.3   x–verb – between first and second word order

There is a difference between the first word order naturally displaying the x–verb layout, and those cases where second word order (narrative) changes to x–verb layout as a result of the external constraint of contrast. I will use the episode of 1Samuel 6:1–7:1 as an object for discussing (i) the x–verb sentence of contrast and (ii) 'normal' or natural x–verb sentence (cf for text also Annex 3).

4.3.1   (i) Contrast xqetal – variation of second word order

First, the object–qetal forms in 10d and 14e are two occurrences of contrast x–verb, hence still narrative forms (cf the full text in the section of '4.3.3 (ii) xqetal as comment retrospective' below). The episode is divided into two sections (6:1–12: the counsel of the Philistines regarding the Ark; 6:12–7:1: The return of the Ark). From verses 1 to 10 we have a succession of wqetal narratives which introduces direct speech (in 6:2a, 3a, 4a, 4c) followed by a succession of other three wqetal narrative and one object–qetal (10abcd).

wqet	ועבדו גבריא כין ¹⁰	1Samuel 6:10; 14
wqet	ודברו תרתין תורן מינקן	
wqet	ואסרונין בעגלתא	
wobjqet	וית בניהון כלו בביתא:	narrative of contrast
	Verses 11–13	
wsubjqet	ועגלתא אתת לחקל יהושע דמבית *שמש* ¹⁴	comment retrospection
wqet	וקמת תמן	
NCwtr	ותמן אבנא רבתא	
wqet	וצלחו ית אעי עגלתא	
wobjqet	וית תורתא אסיקו עלתא קדם יי:	narrative of contrast

The first section is built around relating advice of the Philistine priest for the return of the Ark; some of his instructions on the cows and the cart (the **cows** should be put to the **cart** and their **calves** should be left at home) are related once as direct speech (verse 7cd with wyiqtul – hence a w–verb sentence) and their application in narrative with the sequence wqetal–object–qetal (10cd). The 'story' of the cows and cart is picked up again in 14de with the same sequence (wqetal–object–qetal) relating their use as burnt–

offerings. In these two cases, the object–qetal is used not to advance the narrative but to present events attached to another theme.

In 10de we can say that the cows are more part of the plot than the calves, as the former are used as means of transportation. This would justify their position in wqetal foreground and object–qetal, respectively. By contrast, in 14de we cannot say that the cart is more prominent than the cows to justify the same reality. Moreover, also we cannot say that there is temporal juncture within the pair (any of the actions could have come first in the pair). So, explaining the contrast in use (qetal first for one, object–qetal for the other) has no valid explanation regarding foreground or temporal passage.

Nevertheless, we can make two observations. On the one hand, the wqetal (14d) is in sequence with the previous wqetal. On the other hand, while it does not contribute to the temporal juncture, the object–qetal sentence only makes sense together with the wqetal 'head', with which it forms a special kind of connection, somewhere between coordination and subordination. One could say that his is another type of double sentence (protasis–apodosis) or that this connection is of *contrast* type. I use 'head' to convey the sense of something which leads the narrative plot forward – i.e. because the wqetal is there to accomplish that.

The function of this type of object–qetal seems no different from a non–sequential wqetal (which is w–verb sentence), which adds information to the body of narrative – the only difference is that with object–qetal the adding of information is done in a contrastive way, the act of reversal suggesting this hint of contrast. From this point of view, these types of object–qetal (10d and 14e) are not x–verb sentences but a variant of the second word order. This also justifies their translation with *past simple* of foreground narrative.

This type of contrast is present also with subject–qetal. If I am permitted generalisations at this stage, most of the ensuing examples (at least the text in the first three tables) have two things in common. First, they are used as end–of–episode forms (or end of panel for those episodes which have two panels) – this may be checked with Annex 1 for the end verse for each episode. Second, when this happens, the sequence of wqetal and subject–qetal leads the reader out from the narrative world of the episode.

The simplest way of leading the reader out is through showing the characters exiting the scene: the first character goes one way, the second goes the other.

wqet	ואקדים דויד הוא וגברוהי למיזל בצפרא למתב לארע פלשתאי[11]	29:11
wsubjqet	ופלשתאי סליקו ליזרעאל:	
wqet	ואזל שאול לביתיה	24:23bc
wsubjqet	ודוד וגברוהי סליקו למצדיא :	
wqet	ויתיב דויד בחורשא	23:18bc
wsubjqet	ויהונתן אזל לביתיה :	Panel ends
wqet (theme: David)	וקם	21:1
wqet	ואזל	
wsubjqet	ויהונתן על לקרתא:	
wqet	ואזל שמואל לרמתא	15:34ab
wsubjqet	ושאול סליק לביתיה לגבעתא דשאול:	
wqet	ואזל דויד לאורחיה	26:25ef
wsubjqet	ושאול תב לאתריה:	empty pair

In most of the cases, this 'formula of exiting' informs us about *where* the characters go. To this end, they use verbs of movement (אזל, סלק, תוב, קדם), sometimes in a hendiadic pair (21:1). The wqetal can bear up to two infinitival constructions (cf 29:11: למיזל בצפרא and למתב לארע פלשתאי). Nevertheless, in 26:25ef, the pair wqetal–subject–qetal is so 'empty' of information, i.e. marking 'exit' of character is all it does in narrative, that the reader is not event told where the characters go ('David went on his way, while Saul returned to his place'). This could be explained by the fact that it does not matter for the narrative as this is last time they interact before Saul's death.

Another way of leading out the reader from the episode is through a short remark on the character (cf 1:24e: 'the boy was a child'; 4:18f: 'and he judged Israel for 40 years'), which has no bearing on aspectual duration or progression of events. Instead, it impacts on the contrast between the characters: the object–qetal never expands in the same way on Samuel's parents (cf 1:24d) or Samuel's death (4:18d) but it reverts the story towards him as being young and towards his activity as judge, respectively.

wqet	ואיתיתיה לבית מקדשא דיי לשילו	1:24de
wsubjqet	ורביא הוה יניק:	
wqet (theme: Samuel)	ומית	4:18gef
crt	ארי סב גברא ויקיר	
wsubjqet	והוא דן ית ישראל ארבעין שנין:	

A more elaborated way of ending the episode is through an elliptical 'Samuel dismissed all the people, each man to his house' (where Samuel goes next is never explained), with the effect of allowing for more than one party to leave the scene. One the one hand, we have Saul going back home (cf 26a: subject–qetal[464]) followed by people who believe in him (26b); on the other, there is a dissenting party of people who do not support Saul introduced with another contrastive subject–qetal (27a).

wqet	ושלח שמואל ית כל עמא גבר לביתיה:	10:25d–27a
wsubjqet	26 ואף שאול אזל לביתיה לגבעתא	
wqet [cqet]	ואזלו עמיה קצת מן עמא גברין דחלי חטאה דאתיהיב דחלא מן קדם יי בלבהון:	
wsubjqet	27 וגברי רשעא אמרו	
Comment: they do not believe in David		
	ושטוהי	
	ולא אתו למשאל בשלמיה	
	והוה כשתיק:	

The contrast xqetal narrative is also used in the corpus of the episode to break an otherwise longer sequence of wqetal 25:13b and 14:41d.

wqet	וסליקו בתר דויד כארבע מאה גברא	25:13ef
wsubjqetal	ומאתן אשתארו למטר מניא:	narrative
wobjqet	14 ולאביגיל אתת נבל חוי עולימא חד	narrative

---

[464] The presence of אף does not affect the analysis of the sentence as wsubjqet as it is only an adverb, not a conjunction.

	מעולימיא למימר	
wqet	ואתאחד יונתן ושאול	14:41cd
wsubjqetal	ועמא נפקו:	narrative

All of the previous examples are narrative, I would say, foreground and equal in *relievo*/prominence with wqetal. Other contrast xqetal forms are:

- 13:2bcd: the divisions of Saul's army 2bc, the rest is sent home 2d;
- 13:3c, 13:4a, 13:5a, 13:6a, 13:7a show a type of temporal juncture as they contribute to the advancement of the plot from the convocation and choosing the people for the army of Saul (2bcd –wqetal–subject–qetal), Jonathan's success (wqetal 3a), Saul's calling to the people (3c), the people hear (4a and wqetal in 4d), etc.;
- 14:15b: there is trace (5) אַף,[465] but none of the other comment traces are present;
- 4:1d seems similar to a prelude xqetal of comment; nevertheless, it has a narrative head in 4:2c, which prevents it from being comment;[466]
- 3:19b xqetal ('And the word of God was with him'), there is a narrative head in wqetal 3:19a; both 19a and 19b point to the common theme of Samuel – these two form a strong connection against possible traces of comment: (2) prominence for the coming episode (because God is with him, he receives visions from him);
- 18:17f (ושאול אמר – subject–qetal): Saul's real intentions with David were not to marry Merab as the wqetal of אמר suggests (17a–e) but to kill him by the hands of Philistines – the xqetal of 17f introduce Saul's inner thoughts;
- 19:10de: despite the comment word order, 10de is in narrative contrast with 19:10a, which acts as its narrative head: 'Saul sought to strike … David […] But David fled and escaped':

---

[465] The discussion of xqetal as comment is based on 'traces' of comment. אף is trace (5) cf the list below in bold letters.
[466] LXX shows present tense in the equivalent sentences 4:1de (LXX has one more than MT and Targum in 4:1b) for MT wayyiqtol–subject–qatal narrative, which mark a change from foreground aorist in 4:1c (καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ισραηλ (aorist) … καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν (present)… καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι παρεμβάλλουσιν (present)).

wqet	¹⁰ובעא שאול לממחי במורניתא בדוד ולמברזה בכתלא	1Samuel 19:10–11a
wqet	ואתפטר מן קדם שאול	
wqet	וקבע ית מורניתא בכתלא	
wsubjqet	ודויד ערק	
wqet	ואשתיזב בליליא הוא:	
wqet	¹¹ושלח שאול אזגדין לבית דוד למטריה ולמקטליה בצפרא	

- 20:36ef: both xqetal forms because they have a narrative head in 20:36a with which they have temporal juncture (not contrast): after Jonathan orders (wqetal of אמר) the servant to run (direct speech), the servant runs (xqetal), and the former shoots the arrows (xqetal); the same model repeats in 20:41ab: after the order to return to the city, the servant goes (xqetal), and David comes out (xqetal).

4.3.2 Traces of comment and subject–qetal in 4:10–11

With the next example, the narrative traits seem to have less presence, leaving space for interpretation as comment. An almost poetic way of closing the episode is that of 4:10–11: after recounting the battle in 10abc ('The Philistines fought, Israel was conquered/broken, and people fled, everyone to his own city'– narrative wqetal forms), there is a sequence describing the impact of the battle. It contains two wqetal forms ('and the blow was very hard, and 30.000 foot soldiers were killed' – non–sequential wqetal forms) and two subject–qetal sentences recounting a further impact of two losses (the Ark and the two sons of Eli).The Ark is a part of the 'great blow'; the other is in line with the numbers of people lost.

wqet	ⁱ⁰ ואגיחו קרבא פלשתאי	1Samuel 4:10–11
wqet	ואתברו ישראל	
wqet	ואפכו גבר לקרווהי	
wqet	והות מחתא רבתא לחדא	
wqet	ואתקטלו מישראל תלתין אלפין גבר רגלי:	
wsubjqet	¹¹ וארונא דיי אשתבי	
wsubjqet	ותרין בני עלי אתקטלו חפני ופינחס:	

The poetry of it resides in arranging the four losses in two pairs with different verbal constructs. Also, in the course of the arrangement, the numbers are not grouped but divided. The blow was great, such number died, the Ark (which is the 'great blow' cf 4:13 – Eli's was worried about the Ark, not his two sons, and this is listed as the reason of his death 4:18), two more died.

These are two 'stubs': one closing Eli's line of descendants (that legally could have challenged Saul and fulfilled the prophecies of 2:37–36); the other opens the story towards this being the cause of Eli's death (cf 14:17a: when he heard about the Ark, he fell) and towards the two narrative episodes in chapter 5 (plagues of Philistines) and chapter 6:1–7:1 (the return of the Ark).

Taking into consideration the signification of this information in 11ab and the 'poetic' contrast of the passage, it is worthwhile returning to the two questions at the beginning:

because this looks like a comment passage, is it possible that the linguistic attitude has changed from narrative to comment?

Anyone looking for hard evidence to support this proposal is at a loss not because this is not possible, but because there are not many verbal constructs to work with in the first place. If the author intends this to be comment, he or she does not have the recourse to specific comment tenses to work with as the English triad of present perfect, present, or future, which are different from the narrative tenses (past perfect, simple past).[467]

At this point, if one permits the narrator also to speak in a narrative (this is what comment does, as we have seen in the case of Harper Lee and Margaret Atwood), then one needs to take into account *traces*[468] of comment–world scattered around the narrative. Two of the traces have been already presented: the apparent poetical arrangement and the prominence of the two stubs for the coming narrative.

A short digression will explicate 'trace'. In his attempt to 'deconstruct the transcendental signified', Derrida indicates that, in Spivak's words, the ''being' of sign' (graphic or sound) is 'half of it always 'not there'' and the other half always 'not that'. Spivak continues with the comment that 'the structure of the sign is determined by the trace or track of the other which is forever absent. The other [sign] is never to be found in its full ~~being~~' (cf *Translator's Preface*, xvii). The French word *trace* suggests 'footprint, imprint' (xv) 'or even the spoor' (cf xvii). In this context, 'The sign must be studied 'under erasure' [an example the erased ~~being~~ of Heidegger] always already inhabited by the trace of another sign which never appears as such'; and here is the moment where the analysis of signs, 'semiology', gives way to 'grammatology' (cf Translator's Preface, xxxix). 'For Derrida, however, a text, as we recall, is a play of presence and absence, a place of the effaced trace' (lvii). Spivak points out that the first proposer of the structuralist project, Ferdinand de Saussure in his *Cours de linguistique générale*, is not a 'grammatologist' as Derrida, as the former 'having launched the binary sign [it includes the signifier which stands for the meaning of the signified], he did not proceed to put it under erasure. The binary opposition within the Saussurian creed is in a sense paradigmatic of the structure of structuralist methodology' (lviii).

---

[467] All are comment and narrative tenses attested as such by Weinrich.

[468] *Trace* is a term borrowed and expanded to account for the existence of the so–called 'arche–writing' by Jacques Derrida from Martin Heidegger, cf *Translator's Preface* of Gayatri C. Spivak to Derrida and Spivak [trans], 1976/1997, xvi–xvii.

This structuralist methodology pervades both methods we use, FSP and text–linguistics. From Spivak's observation about the basic concept of structuralist enterprise – which is the *sign* and the relation implied by its existence between *signifier* and *signified* – it is evident that they are inherently unequipped to offer a view over these *traces*. Neither FSP nor text–linguistics are built to read the erased signs of the 'palimpsest' that is the object of this section: comment passages in Aramaic indirect speech. This is not a criticism of the structuralist approach but the latter could with advantage be opened to the notions of trace and symptom[469] which have been necessary for answering questions of this thesis posed by the cases of Aramaic and Biblical Hebrew.

Coming back to our text, lack of the narrative 'head' of wqetal narrative is a further trace of comment: the wqetal recounting the death of 30.000 soldiers (4:10e) is not really in any temporal connection with the loss of the Ark (11a). The two subject–qetal sentences are practically 'free' from the narrative as in the sequence of events of the section (4:1–11) they are collateral losses rather than events, constitutive to the plot.

If that is not enough for the sceptical reader to consider these two sentences as part of the commented world, let us look at the direct speech of 4:17, where the messenger *reports* to Eli what happened in the war:

wqet	ואתיב דמבסר [17]	1Samuel 4:17
wqet	ואמר	
qet	אפך ישראל מן קדם פלשתאי	
wsubjqet	ואף מחתא רבתא הות בעמא	
wsubjqet	ואף תרין בנך אתקטלו חפני ופינחס	
wsubjqet	וארונא דיי אשתבי:	

---

[469] The term symptom, another concept of Derrida's philosophical discourse, has been briefly introduced in the section of wqetal to account for the idea of explaining grammar through its exceptions, rather than through its normal uses.

After the comment qetal retrospective[470] of 17c, we have the same combination of subject–qetal in three instances. What was before recounted with the proper narrative wqetal form of 4:10d (והות מחתא רבתא לחדא) and with subject–qetal (11ab) is turned into a comment in with subject–qetal including 10d with ואף מחתא רבתא הות בעמא.

Staalduine–Sulman senses that these are comment forms and translates with present perfect the forms of 4:17 ('*Israel has retreated …, and there has also been a great …; your two sons also, have been killed and the ark of the LORD has been captured.*') but with narrative simple past 4:11: '*And the ark of the LORD was captured; and the two sons of Eli were killed*').[471] If the wording and the word order of the 'narrative' 4:11 are the same with the obvious comment 4:17, one can assume that the values of the tense and of the word order are constant, and hence translate 4:11 with the correspoding comment tense: '*And the ark of the Lord has been captured; and the two sons of Eli have been killed*'.

Two realities come to fore at this point: it is very likely that the subject–qetal is a comment form whenever some comment *traces* are in place; second, if it occurs two times in this *report*, the adverb אף should become one of the traces for comment, whenever it is found indirect speech passages. The list of comment traces at this point amounts to five: **(1) poetical disposition of information; (2) prominence of the information for current or next episodes; (3) lack of narrative 'head'; (4) similarity with attested comment passages; (5) and the presence of אף**.[472] The force of the narrative second word order (or verb first sentence) is so overwhelming that none of these five items can turn what we called the variation of xverb into comment verbal

---

[470] This is because Niccacci attests the initial qatal (in BH) as comment past or retrospective, cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §22, p. 41 and on p. 42 other examples. It seems that in these instances second word order (narrative) is used for a comment passage. The contradiction between the postulate of this thesis (first word order indicates comment) and the reality of qatal initial as comment needs discussion in a future analysis of direct speech. In light of the analysis of the texts in this chapter, we are able to assert that the difference between first and second word order is instrumental in delimiting comment from narrative passage in indirect speech. Nevertheless, we are not able to say anything about the impact of word order in direct speech passages. Niccacci's analysis in this situation is as good as any.

[471] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 240 and 238.

[472] Conversely, an analysis of direct speech would need to assert similar traces for narrative, when the form of communication is dialog/direct speech. Narrative and comment are two *modes* of communication which are mixed in direct speech and indirect speech (two *forms* of communication) – the difference mode/form is similar to that of material/shape in considering the properties of an object. While narrative feels more at home in indirect speech, there is nothing to prevent it from being present in indirect speech (cf the narrative wqetal in 12:8b–10b and 11a–12c part of Samuel's address to the people presenting his/God's side of the story of Israel).

construct. They work together (here the four of them) so that the reader can pick up the changed situation in linguistic attitude from narrative to comment.

4.3.3 (ii) xqetal as comment retrospective

The pair of the subject–qetal forms of 4:11 opened the possibility of interpreting these forms as comment verbal constructs. Let us now turn to 1Samuel 6:10–14 commented above to discuss the subject–qetal forms. After the last preparations for returning the Ark (verse 11 – one wqetal), the cows guide the cart to Israel's territory (12a wqetal) and then we are informed about the joy of the people of Beth–shemesh for receiving back the Ark (verse 13: subject–participle and three narrative wqetal). The predominant tense in these verses is wqetal narrative advancing the narrative up to Beth–shemesh.

Once the story gets to this point, there is a change in perspective – while up to here we have a narrative thread following the Ark – once this has reached its destination, the story goes on to *report*, rather than narrate, what separate actors are doing. Four of them are introduced – all with subject–qetal: the cart (14a which stops at a certain place), the Levites (15a they take care of the Ark according to their duty), the people of Bet–shemesh (15c – they offer a sacrifice), and the Philistine captains (16a they witness everything). These subject–qetal act as 'head' for the following wqetal (14b, 15b, 15d, 16b) which is in temporal sequence with its 'head'.

wqet	וֿעבדו גבריא כין ¹⁰	1Samuel 6:10–16
wqet	ודברו תרתין תורן מינקן	
wqet	ואסרונין בעגלתא	
wobjqet	וית בניהון כלו בביתא׃	narrative of contrast
	Verse 11: last preparations	
wqet	ואכוינא תורתא באורחא על אורח בית־שֶׁמֶשׁ ¹²	
xqetal	בכבשא חד אזלן מיזל	
wpart	וגעין	
wlaqet	ולֹא סטאה לימינא ולסמלֹא	
wsubjpart	וטורני פלשתאי אזלין בתריהון עד תחום בית־שֶׁמֶשׁ׃	
wsubjpart	ובית־שֶׁמֶשׁ חצדין חצד חטין במישרא ¹³	
wqet	וזקפו ית עיניהון	

271

wqet	וחזו ית ארונא	
wqet	וחדיאו למחזי:	
wsubjqet	¹⁴ ועגלתא אתת לחקל יהושע דמבית שמש	comment retrospective
wqet	וקמת תמן	
NCwtr	ותמן אבנא רבתא	
wqet	וצלחו ית אעי עגלתא	
wobjqet	וית תורתא אסיקו עלתא קדם יי:	narrative of contrast
wsubjqet [NC]	¹⁵ וליואי אחיתו ית ארונא דיי וית תיבתא דעמיה דביה מני דהבא	Comment retrospective
wqet	ושויאו על אבנא רבתא	it continues comment retrospective
wsubjqet	וגברי בית־שמש אסיקו עלון	Comment retrospective
wqet	ונכיסו נכסת קדשין ביומא ההוא קדם יי:	idem 15b
wsubjqet	¹⁶ וחמשא טורני פלשתאי חזו	Comment retrospective
wqet	ותבו לעקרון ביומא ההוא:	idem 15b

At this point, one can ask: is there a temporal junction between these heads of subject–qetal (14–16)? One could presume from their arrangement that there is a progression of the plot from 14a (the cart came to Joshua's filed) to subject–qetal of Levites taking over to the cart with the Ark (15a) to the second one (15c) where the people offer sacrifice, and ending with (16) the Philistines seeing and returning home. One could suppose that the fact that the Philistine captains witness the previous two events (Levites' action and the sacrifice of Beth–shemesh) could add to creating a narrative plot.

Nevertheless, this interpretation produces a redundancy within the entire episode: if we interpret these subject–qetal–wqetal pairs as part of the plot, there are two sacrifices by the same people of Bet–shemesh (cf 14de and 15cd) for the same event. We established

that the object–qetal forms of 10d and 14e are (contrast) narrative along with their wqetal narrative head which suggests that narrative is present; the redundancy suggests that what we have in the second recounting of 15cd is a comment *report* on the same events.

After the first comment retrospective of 14ab, the narrator decides to introduce a narrative section in 14cde followed by his own commentary in 15ab. This commentary as report on the narrated events is probably intended to instruct the reader about how one should behave around the Ark. It is the Levites who are responsible for its handling (15ab), as the people offer sacrifices in its presence (15cd). The last pair reporting the observation of the Philistine captains appears in this context as a way of ending the story before the lists of the remaining verses (6:17–18) and the little narrative sequence of wqetal bringing the Ark to another residence in Kirjath–jearim (6:19–7:1). A further problem posed by the interpretation of these pairs as narrative would be the fact that in 16a the Philistines see the events within the country of Beth–shemesh, which is in slight discordance with 6:12e, where we are told that they came as far as the border. A narrator *reporting* on the events may share this information outside narrative and avoid the discordant note. As a side note, the subject–participle in 6:12e is a comment zero degree, so in 6:16ab the narrator closes his own comment stub inserted before.

Besides the redundancy, a further argument is the signal conveyed by the 'head' which is not of a narrative wqetal (trace of comment (3)). If one is to suppose a contrast form for wqetal narrative (where the word order is predicate–subject–complement), subject–qetal–complement seems the obvious choice. Because the subject–qetal becomes 'head' in these pairs, point 3 above is modified: (3) lack of narrative 'head' and/or the presence of a comment head (as xqetal) represents one further trace of comment.

None of the other traces of comment is present but we can add another one to the above list: (6) apparent redundancy within the episode.

Consequently, the episode of 6:1 proceeds, after the narrative wqetal forms in 6:14de with three pairs reporting on the events after the arrival of the Ark changing the narrative to comment. The translation proceeds as Staalduine–Sulman has it in verse 14 (comment retrospective) and then passes to present perfect comment: ' (14) The cart <u>has gone</u> to the field of … and <u>has stayed</u> there. And a great stone was there; and they split

up … and sacrificed the cows … (15) And the Levites <u>have taken</u> down the ark of the LORD …, and <u>have put</u> them upon …. And the men of Beth–shemesh <u>have sacrificed</u> … and <u>have slaughtered</u> …. (16) And the five chiefs of the Philistines <u>have seen</u> it, and they <u>have returned</u> that day to Ekron.'

As an important note, the wqetal forms of 15bd and 16b are no longer narratives because their 'head' is comment – in this context, wqetal continues a comment form.

Finding further examples of xqetal as comment should not be difficult given the specific 6 traits of comment listed above. Also, the particle **(7) והא** is a comment introducing particle.[473] To the list of these 7 items, I also think forms of (8) prelude xqetal should be added (or first verbal constructs of the episodes other than wqetal) – this is developed below. I will list the passages where I think *comment retrospective* xqetal is visible with the number of the 'trace' that supports the analysis as such:

- 3:1b: (3), (2) – it shows how rare the vision of Samuel was in those days;
- 5:3b and the sequence in 5:4b–5 introduced is by (7) והא, (2), (3) the state in which the people of Ashdod find the idol is, one of the main 'plagues' which generate the passing of Ark to Gath;
- 5:12a: it has no narrative head (3); and it displays a type of (6) redundancy with 11bc (בכל קרתא קטלא הוא שגוש הות ארי) as the idea of deadly plague is also contained in 12 (דלא מיתו וגבריא); the content of the ensuing wqetal (וסליקת צוחת קרתא לצית שמיא) also contributes as *reporting* on the gravity of the plague, rather than *narrating* hard facts;
- 11:5a with והא (7); 14:20c–22 with והא (7), in 21c there is אף (5): 14:20c–22 is very similar with the sequence of 6:15ab, 6:15cd and 6:16ab, as they describe what three separate sections presumably of Philistines do: the lack of unity between the people in the Philistine camp (20c); the Hebrews that sided with the Philistines at first (21); and the Hebrews on Mount Ephraim (22a);
- 28:3abcd (subject–qetal and 3 wqetal comment) because (3) it has no narrative head, (2) it offers the first justification (Samuel is dead) for Saul's appealing to a diviner; also it has a poetical disposition of information as the lamentation of the

---

[473] והא is a comment form which occurs in indirect speech. Its proper examination requires examination of proper direct speech passages. As we are only looking at indirect speech, the interpretation is to be taken as such.

people is repeated (cf 3b and 3d); LXX interprets 28:3c (only) with present tense 'they bury him in Ramah' as in '[today/now], he is buried in Ramah' – ultimately LXX senses the comment manner of this communication but it allocates it a zero degree (present), instead of retrospective;

- 28:3e: (3); (2) – it offers the second justification (diviners were banned from the country) for Saul's appealing to a diviner to get answers to his questions;

- 17:20f comment retrospective: lack of narrative head (3) – the previous wqetal refers to David getting to his brothers' camp and this results in no contrast with 20f recounting the movement of Saul's troops to the battle line.

4.3.3.1 The xqetal form as narrative variation to wqetal

The examination of the passages in this list brought about another important *trace* of comment **(8) lack of contrast**. More examples of xqetal comment were present in the initial list of xqetal comment retrospective, which qualified as such based on the above mentioned traces (mostly because of lack of narrative head and prominence in the context – points 2 and 3). Nevertheless, a wider interpretation of 'contrast' (not only with the preceding wqetal) resulted in accepting the narrative status for xqetal forms which displayed contrast with the surrounding wqetal narrative. The effect is that these xqetal forms have the same very strong connection with narrative and thus they are a variation of the wqetal narrative:

- 19:1b the subject–qetal of shows Jonathan who is very fond of David which is in contrast with 1a where Saul plots to kill David;

- 30:9c subject–qetal: there is no obvious contrast between 9c and 9b (all men of David went to up to river of Besor) – the contrast occurs with 30:10a, where only 400 out of 600 men pursue the enemy along David;

- 18:25e subject–qetal: the contrast is with the direct speech (cf 25bcd, which is rheme of 18:25a): overtly, Saul offers his daughter's hand in marriage; covertly, he hopes David would be killed in the attempt;

wqet	ואמר שאול	1Samuel 18:25
advyiqtul	כדין תימרון לדוד	
NCrt	לא רעוא למלכא במהרין אלהין	
NCr	במאה ערלת פלשתאי לאתפרעא בסנאי מלכא	
wsubjqet	ושאול חשיב לממסר ית דויד בידא דפלשתאי:	

- 24:8c: subject–qetal of Saul exiting the cave is in connection with narrative head wqetal in 24:8a (David and his men remain in the cave) – these two pieces of information are divided by 8b (David prevents his men from attacking) – the connection is less of contrast but it 8c is still narrative;

- Episode 25:1e–44 contains three xqetal forms in 25:42d, 25:43a and 25:44a, all narrative forms. Their narrative trait derives from the presence of a narrative head in 42c (for 42d), 42f (for 43a) and 43b (for 44a) and from the fact that they share a common theme: 43a and 44a – 'wife of David'; 42d shares the theme of 'Abigail preparations'

wqet	ואוחיאת 42	1Samuel 25:42–44 a
wqet	וקמת אביגיל	b
wqet	ורכיבת על חמרא	c
wsubjqet	וחמיש עולימתהא אזלן לקבלה	d
wqet	ואזלת בתר אזגדי דוד	e
wqet	והות ליה לאתו :	f
wobjqet	וית אחינעם נסיב דויד מיזרעאל 43	a
wqet	והואה אף תרויהון ליה לנשין:	b
wsubjqet	ושאול יהב ית מיכל ברתיה אתת דויד 44 לפלטי בר ליש דמגלים:	a

- 25:37de: the sequence is wqetal and xqetal. There is a discernible narrative head in 37d but no contrast; the 37e xqetal retains the narrative status because it describes, along with its narrative head, the pain of Nabal;

4.3.3.2 Conclusive remarks on xqetal comment retrospective versus wqetal narrative zero degree

Our description of xqetal and wqetal revolved around the two key words of *narrating* and *reporting*, respectively. To put it in the context of the narrative wqetal/wparticiple zero degree of foreground/background, xqetal supposes comment retrospective, which is not zero degree – this being the first difference. Admittedly, both narrative wqetal and xqetal comment retrospective talk about the past information, thus, they are in a certain kind of *competition* to be chosen by the author.[474] That means that the author has a choice, from which his freedom of using one or the other derives.

This choice is influenced, again following Weinrich, by how distant or involved the author wants him and us to be in the communication. If the aim is to create distance and remoteness for a story which does not concern us directly, the narrator uses wqetal, a form which says something of the sort 'this **happened** in the past'. By contrast, if the narrator is looking to create a sort of connection between those interacting with the story (he by writing it and us by reading it), he uses a comment retrospective xqetal, which, consequently, says 'this **has happened** in *my*/*your* past'.

The effect of the involved comment communication is morphologically visible in the modern languages Weinrich analyses but through morphology *and* comment traces in Aramaic. One may reject that this or that xqetal is a comment retrospective; however, the reality of comment retrospective function is there, as our few example showed.

The examples of xqetal as contrast and as 'variation' (both of narrative) demonstrate that, besides a discernible narrative head, there is a further element which prevents them to be comment: a connection or a contrast with the wider context of narrative nature. While the case of the forms in 25:42–44, all xqetal had both a wqetal and a connection with the narrative context (themes of 'wife of David' and 'Abigail's preparations'), for 18:25e the contrast was with narrative head of 18:25a, because 25bcd is the rheme (hence integral part) of the 25a. So 25e is covert contrast with the entire message of 25a. A similar kind of narrative variation was displayed in 25:37e.

---

[474] Past does not refer to the idea that the story is in our or author's objective past, but to the fact that all information when recounted becomes past, not matter if the story takes story in the past, present, future.

As a result, xqetal comment forms need to be tested with the *wider context* to see their narrative aspect and decide after whether they still meet the criteria for comment.

4.3.4   Further on retrospection: comment xqetal against wqetal narrative

So far, our exposition was focused on outlining the comment traces that these xqetal convey in contrast with narrative. We need at this point to discuss *why* these comment forms are retrospective. Our discussion will look at Weinrich's terms of retrospection and anticipation and their application to Targum Aramaic.

Retrospection and anticipation are 'relational concepts', as Weinrich dubs them, because they are the harbingers of a different way of looking at tenses. In short, Weinrich rejects that tense is explainable on the basis of *ordo rerum* proposed by the ancient (Protagoras, Homer, Plato, Augustin) and modern (F. Schiller) sages, who divide time in past, present, future. Its omnipresence in all cultures and times, for Weinrich, induces a sense of triviality: 'A doctrine that was vulgarised becomes trivial'. This is not to say that it is not true (which is not for us to decide) but that 'a linguistic theory of verbal tenses cannot be derived from an always conventional *ordo rerum*'. Instead, he proposes, as basis for the explanation of tense and time, the 'process of communication': it supposes a speaker and a listener and a linear disposition of message. The linguistic signs have linear disposition which impacts on tenses. In the course of the text or oral linear communication, the speaker/writer may also tell what he calls a 'pre–information' or a 'post–information' with regards to the moment where this is introduced.[475] Tense is in charge with conveying this particular information: the sentence is linear, retrieved, or anticipated.

Looking at the message from the perspective of a *relation* between the 'pre–information' or retrospection eliminates non–linguistic questions about tenses: Is this my (the reader) or the author's past? Is that in author's future and my past (as reader) or in *our* future both? In this sense, the idea of tense and time are *trivialised*.

In text–linguistics, the sequence of tenses (as one sign in a linear disposition of signs) amounts to create *text time* (Weinrich); it is roughly equivalent to and widely known as the literary critic term of *sujet*. This linear disposition of signs depicts a reality which is *real time* (Weinrich), better known as the literary term of *fabula*. When it interrupts to introduce a 'pre–information' (or a 'post–information'), text time diverges to retrospect

---

[475] Weinrich, 1978, 77.

(or anticipation) to depict *real time* information.[476] The difference between the two terminologies is that, while *sujet/fabula* still looks at the time[477], for Weinrich, text time and real time refer only to the linearity of events or order of events. For him, *origo*, or the point of reference, belongs within the linear text which contains the relation between post–information or pre–information.

With regards to Aramaic, the situation is more complicated because of the few morphological tenses. Also, one needs to take into account the double word order (of narrative and comment). The low number of tenses limits what one can do with the language without creating ambiguity.

Here, we sadly need to give in to the *trivial* temptation of triad of past–present–future to make this clearer. First, we need to recognise that narrative zero degree and xqetal comment retrospective are two competitors for depicting pre–information (not to count the presumed narrative retrospect cf note below discussion on 4:5a). We can call pre–information that part of our time experience, the speaker/writer, which is before our linear now. The quality of this linear time of the past is dependent on the way in which we posit the *origo* (point of reference) inside or outside the narrative sequence. So with regards to us, narrative zero degree or xqetal comment are *kinds* of describing past. In the following, we shall look at the role of *origo*.

The function of advancing narration forwards belongs to the wqetal form, presumably within narrator's and our time. Hence, the wqetal refers past information which *includes* our *origo* (narrator's and ours), because the story's plot is aligned with our past. The wqetal advances the narrative time both towards the end of the story and towards our point in time, when we, as its future users of the text, read it.

By contrast, xqetal comment is still conveying what for us is past information, with the crucial difference that there is no sequence at all to be going forward to us (from the point of view of past–present–future). To take the example of the comment xqetal of 6:15ab, 6:15cd; and 6:16ab (cf above), what the people, the Levites, and the captains of Philistine are not recounted as a sequence of wqetal (advancing the narrative) but with a

---

[476] Weinrich, 1978, 78.
[477] A classical development of these concepts is Genette's account of their components of order, duration, and frequency within the literary work of Marcel Proust. Cf Genette, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*', in *Aspects of Narrative*, 93–119.

comment xqetal as this is part of *narrator's report or,* strictly referring to this passage, *narrator's teaching* by their example. Temporal juncture is not of interest for the narrator, rather showing that the roles are divided with regards the manipulation of the Ark (people sacrifice, Levites handle it, foreigners are not involved in the process but allowed to look). From this perspective, xqetal comment retrospective has no interest in creating a sense of time passage or advancing the plot as wqetal does.

Returning with the limits of text time and real time of Weinrich, the difference between wqetal and xqetal comment retrospect derives from the point of view (*origo*) that the narrator chooses when presenting information. If he intends to produce a non–involved passage, he uses narrative wqetal, where *origo* remains within the text, determining the zero degree linearity. The information of 6:15–16ab would have taken the trait of *list* observed on few occasions (cf the examples in the section 'Non–sequential wqetal' on page 161[478]); by contrast, if he comments, this involves the narrator – an involvement which impacts on the disposition of *origo*. This *origo* shifts from being within the text (with wqetal) to taking into account the first person of the author who is addressing us as second person. In that sense, it becomes retrospect as referring to *no time at all*. The linear communication of comment does show a comment retrospection/anticipation (when two people converse, as their *origo* is there with them) but when it occurs in indirect speech, comment is not interested in positioning the event in time (at least in Aramaic).

Let us look at 25:14a to see this more closely. With the succession of wqetal forms in 13cde (ended with the xqetal (13f) of narrative contrast), the narrative of David advances forward until the moment of gathering the troops to punish Nabal; this stops when the narrator intervenes with comment xqetal reporting retrospective information (25:14a) but not from the point of view of time.

wqet	¹³ ואמר דויד לגברוהי	1Samuel 25:15–21
Direct speech: 13b		
wqet	וזריזו גבר ית חרביה	c
wqet	וזריז אף דויד ית חרביה	d

---

[478] I associated them with the idea of constancy (cf feelings 28:20c ('David was afraid'), physical traits 10:23d (Saul 'was taller than all the people')), but also observing their *listing* abilities cd 28:5bc (Saul 'was afraid and his heart trembled inside him').

wqet	וסליקו בתר דויד כארבע מאה גברא	e
wsubjqetal	ומאתן אשתארו למטר מניא:	f narrative of contrast
wobjqet direct speech follows	[14] ולאביגיל אתת נבל חוי חד עולימא מעולימיא למימר	**comment retrospective**
Direct speech: 14b–17	
wqet	[18] ואוחיאת אביגיל	
wqet	ונסיבת מאתן גריצן דלחים …	
18c–20: it shows the movements of Abigail and David	
wqet theme Abigail	וערעת יתהון:	
wsubjqet direct speech follow	[21] ודויד אמר	**comment retrospective**

Let us see why. From the context of the direct speech (14b–17) there is no way to assert whether Abigail finds out about Nabal's abuse before or after David gathers his men. The servant only talks about events from Nabal's house side of the story. As neither the indirect or direct speech in 25:14–19 recounts anything happening on the opposite side, there is no temporal correlation (comment trace (3) lack of narrative head) between David's and Abigail's story before verse 20, where they meet. Consequently, after the xqetal contrast (narrative) in 13f, narrator's comment takes over the communication to *report* the event of Abigail finding out about Nabal's mistake. This is prominent information (comment trace (2)) for the episode because Abigail finds out and pleads with David to spare their life. As there is no temporal correlation, 14a is reporting/commenting the events on the sides implicated in the plot – the narrator starts commenting on the gravity of the events in 14a and introduces the direct speech to make it more veridical. After the direct speech introduced 14a, narrative time resumes in 18a.

Again the same lack of temporal juncture occurs in 21a, as the subject–qetal is not interested in time but in reporting who spoke first when they meet. It is obvious that they need to be face to face before they can talk to each other.

4.3.4.1 Narrative retrospect – the opposite equivalent of comment retrospect

Subordination is not part of our discussion in this thesis. Nevertheless, in order to confirmed that xqetal of comment retrospect cannot be confused with narrative retrospect, we need to make the point that the latter is conveyed with a type of subordinate sentence introduced by כד (*when*), cf the example in 4:5a:[479]

MSwqet	והוה ⁵	1Samuel 4:5
cqet	כד אתא ארון קימא דיי למשריתא	
wqet	וִיביבו כל ישראל יבבא רבא	

'And it happened when the Ark had come into the camp that all Israel sounded a mighty alarm signal'. If one does not consider conjunction an x element, כד אתא ארון קימא דיי למשריתא is a *narrative* sentence (second word order) which takes the place of retrospect narrative (cf also 18:6b; 8:1a; and 30:1b in the section 'והוה as macro–syntactic sign' above).[480] והוה seems to be an integrant part of creating narrative retrospect. This type of examples leads to the possible conclusion that xqetal is not concerned with narrative retrospective, there seem to be a standard way of creating it.

Still, there is the problem of ambiguity, as xqetal receives too many functions for us to decode correctly each time. Within the overall context of this section, the trace should lead us from the affirmative answer to the question of comment, to that of discerning between comment xqetal as retrospect and zero degree. While in the former case there was little room for ambiguity (as narrative and comment provide sufficient traces for differentiating between them), when the question passes into comment, the difference becomes opaque, especially within the indirect speech. To put this into perspective, the answer to this question is similar to finding a way to discern the conditions in which the grammatical form of xqetal is acting as equivalent of the English present perfect (comment retrospect) or as simple present tense (comment zero degree). Ultimately, we need to find a specialised comment trace for either retrospect or zero degree to overcome the ambiguity.

---

[479] English has the form for narrative background 'he had laid'.

[480] In view of these examples, it seems that a positive answer to the Aramaic narrative retrospect comes from subordination.

4.3.5 (iii) xqetal as comment zero degree (first part)

The previous section on comment retrospective xqetal outlined the cases where this verbal construct is set aside from the narrative contrast xqetal, through a number of comment traces. This first part of the discussion aims to provide a short discussion of the context in which one advances from the already elaborated xqetal forms of (i) narrative (contrast) and (ii) comment retrospective to (iii) xqetal as comment zero degree. These three forms are in a different kind of opposition with each other:

- in meaning: wqetal narrative (one character goes this way) with (i) xqetal narrative (the other character that way); there is no text–linguistic distinction between them – the opposition is only at lexical level;
- with the other two types of xqetal there is a text–linguistic difference:
    - o in the way information is disseminated: while wqetal narrates in zero degree, (ii) xqetal comment retrospective reports information; text–linguistically, they differ in linguistic attitude (narrative/comment, respectively) and in linguistic perspective (zero degree versus retrospective information, respectively);
    - o wqetal narrates in zero degree and (iii) xqetal comments in zero degree, hence there is an opposition of linguistic attitude (narrative versus comment). The change in Aramaic is similar to the substitution of English past simple/past continuous with present tenses.

The third item on the above list – (iii) xqetal comments in zero degree – will be discussed with examples after the discussion of xparticiple. This is because xparticiple seems to have one single function in Aramaic which needs to be clarified before xqetal comment zero degree.

In this section, we lay the ground work for understanding of the way in which comment zero degree (i.e. actual use of present tenses: present and present perfect) could be read into indirect speech, which in Aramaic has been mostly considered only a narrative field. To this end, we evaluate ancient and modern translation, from MT to LXX and New English Translation of Septuagint (NETS)[481] with the purpose of establishing whether they use comment tenses in indirect speech. It will look specifically in

---

[481] B. G. Wright and A. Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

comparison to the way in which LXX translates MT and how the former has been translated into English.

The first point of this discussion regards the decisions that the translator(s) of the two translations had to take (regarding tense correspondence) in the course of their work. The second point of our discussion will regard not how it is possible for xqetal to be read as comment foreground zero degree,[482] but on whether there are changes of linguistic perspective (narrative to comment) or prominence (foreground–background) attested in translations. To this end, I will look at the precedent set by LXX for these two changes, and at their objective morphological/methodological grounds for them.

To clarify the situation of comment tenses in English, we need to assert that Italian and English zero degree have two tenses for narrative (passato remoto and imperfetto; past simple and past continuous); however, Italian has only one comment tense (presente) where English displays two tenses for comment (present and present continuous). Because Weinrich does not clearly state this, one needs assert that the situation of *relievo* in English past tenses is mirrored in present tenses: present is a foreground form and present continuous is background, (cf discussion below in the section '(iv) subject/object–participle' on page 295).[483]

---

[482] If one accepts that narrative is interrupted by comment verbal constructs (cf the previous section), then it stands to reason that comment zero degree is also possible, besides retrospective. Anticipating, yiqtul occurs only 5 times (1:7a – adverb–yiqtul; 1:12d – cyiqtul; 2:15a – clayiqtul; 2:19a –object–yiqtul; 19:24d – adverb–yiqtul) in Tg 1Samuel (we only look at indirect speech) – their function is anticipation (1:12c and 2:15a) and comment zero degree **background** (routine, the rest of the examples) cf analysis in '(v) Aramaic xparticiple and xyiqtul as background events in comment', page 315.
Nominal clause also does not fit the profile as I believe it imitates the quality of the surrounding verbal forms (with wqetal – narrative foreground, with wparticiple – narrative background, etc.) because of its lack of a verb. We are left with xparticiple and the same xqetal as eligible first word order combinations for comment zero degree.

[483] English present continuous does not have an exact morphological correspondent in Romance languages. For example, 'she's reading' roughly has as Italian equivalent 'sta leggendo', cf M. Maiden and C. Robustelli, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Italian* (London: Hodder-Arnold, 2007), 304–306. As a result, the background effect of present continuous is more difficult to establish in Italian comment tenses. Discussing Italian tenses of imperfetto versus passato remoto and passato prossimo, Robustelli (she is 'principally responsible' (cf Introduction) for the section we are discussing in this note) seems to be aware of the foreground/background opposition as she use it to describe the difference between the two pairs: imperfetto is background in both combinations, leaving foreground for the other two tenses (cf pp. 297–300).
The analysis of passato prossimo as foreground narrative is obviously against Weinrich's proposal – passato prossimo is retrospective comment. The foreground/background *relievo* inherently assumes a zero degree exclusion of anticipation or retrospection. To be clear, Weinrich assigns to passato prossimo an involved (comment) trait, distinctly different from the distant (narrative) passato remoto.
When Robustelli comes to the difference between passato remoto and passato prossimo, she resorts to the way Weinrich describes the opposition comment/narrative: 'if the event, whenever it occurred – one/a hundred/ten thousand year(s) ago – is felt by the speaker/writer to be linked to his/her present time, even

Regarding the first point of our discussion, the examples are LXX 13 and LXX 17. These show that there is not one type of translation for tenses but two (cf Annex 3 for the analysis of the parallel analysis of these two sections in MT, Targum, and LXX). Let us look at the first type of translation. In the LXX 1Samuel 13:1–7, MT **wayyiqtol** foreground narrative forms are translated in Greek with present tense (2a, 3b, 5bc, this is a comment zero degree), imperfect tense (2b, this is narrative background), aorist (3a, 4d, 6d, aorist is equivalent of wayyiqtol in Greek) – this analysis was limited to 1–7.

Moreover, in 13:1–16, there are ten examples of MT **subject–qatal** forms (the form in 10b could be read as subject-participle also) translated in Greek as follows:

- aorist: in 2d; 4a; 6a; 7a and 7c (foreground, narrative, zero degree);
- imperfect: 2c (background narrative, zero degree);
- present 3c, 5a and 10b (with passive) (foreground, comment, zero degree);
- pluperfect 16b (retrospection, narrative).

Apart from the present in 3c and 5a, all the others are narrative: foreground (aorist), background (imperfect) or narrative retrospective 16b. As the movement of Philistines to Michmash was already recounted in 13:5, its reminding in 13:16 could justify rendering it afterwards as retrospect information and substantiate the occurrence of a pluperfect retrospect narrative.

The translation in English, following the LXX 1Samuel 13:2–7 is:[484]

²And Saoul **chooses** [NETS: chose] for himself three thousand men from the men of Israel,

and two thousand were with Saoul in Machemas and in thehill country of Baithel,

and a thousand were with Ionathan in Gabee of Beniamin,

and the rest of the people he sent home each to his covert.

---

for a merely psychological reason (the speaker/writer is still feeling the consequences of what happened, he/she vividly remembers the fact, he/she is somehow still involved in it, etc.), the passato prossimo will be used. On the other hand, if the action is felt as unrelated to the present time, the passato remoto will be chosen'. This is correct with regards to comment/narrative traits assignment, with the amendment that passato prossimo is retrospective (while passato remoto is zero degree narrative) – i.e. the reader not only feels the connection/that is involved but also thinks of it as being part of his/her past. No mention of Weinrich's theory is made in these pages (or in the book).

[484] The translation follows the wording of B. A. Taylor, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: 1Samuel* ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright(Oxford: OUP, 2007), 257 – bold letters mark where I had to change it to correspond the present tense of LXX.

³And Ionathan smote Nasib the allophyle who was in the hill,

and the allophyles **hear** [NETS heard].

And Saoul **blows** [NETS: blew] with a trumpet in all the land, saying, [direct speech]

⁴And all Israel heard say, [direct speech]

 And the people went up after Saoul at Galgala.

⁵ And the allophyles **gather** [NETS: gathered] for battle against Israel,

and thirty thousand chariots and six thousand horsemen and a people like the sand that

is by the sea in multitude **come up** [NETS came up] against Israel,

and they **come up** [NETS came up]

and **encamp** [NETS: encamped] at Machemas over against Baithon, southward.

⁶And a man of Israel saw that he was in distress so that he could not proceed,

and the people hid in caves and in dens and in rocks and in holes and in pits.

⁷And those who crossed over crossed the Jordan to the land of

Gad and Galaad.

And Saoul was still at Galgala,

and all the people were confounded behind him.

Excluding 2d (Saul sends people home) and 7c (Saul's location), each time Saul or the Philistines are in action there is a present tense in LXX. The other actors (Israel, the Hebrews/Jews, the people) invariably receive a narrative aorist. The present of the former passages in create a sense of immediacy, alertness and is in contrast with the narrative, presentative features and dialogues of the rest of the episode. None of them reflects the input of the Hebrew original as xqatal/xqetal (MT/Tg) forms of this passage are narrative, each with a discernible narrative head:

- 2cd have the wayyiqtol/wqetal forms 2ab
- 3c and 4a have 3ab
- 5c has the in 4d
- 6a has 5c
- 7a has 6d
- 7c has a nominal clause presentative

This analysis shows that the Biblical Hebrew original has no change in linguistic attitude. It stays on the same narrative line marking the progression of plot – the sense is that there is an organised Philistine side against a disorderly band of Saul and his men.

These men are divided, they run, they stay in one place for no particular reason, a reason uncovered in 8a – they are waiting for Samuel to come for the offering of the sacrifice. At this point, the people have scattered already. Except for the moment when Samuel comes in 10b, referred with a subject–qatal (MT or subject–participle?) and present tense in LXX (16b does not count for narration/comment opposition as it is retrospective narrative), there is no further subject–qatal in this episode.[485]

LXX thus increases the tension of the episode up to verse 7. Verse 8 prolongs this tension (3 narrative wqetal forms, and one negative–qetal), preparing for Saul's transgression (verse 9). The episode reaches its climax in verse 10b with a present tense: Samuel arrives/comes. The tension in LXX is produced by the use of the present – it is associated with the actors that are active (Saul and the Philistines). The translators use multiple changes (cf Annex 3 for the analysis) from narrative to comment tenses (cf aorist to present: 3a to 3bc) and back (5d to 6a) or from foreground to background (aorist to imperfect of εἰμί[486]: 2bc to 2d; 7a to 7b; 17a to 19a[487]) and back (2c to 2d, 7b to 7c; also 19–21 to 22a).

As shown by our analysis of MT (only narrative forms in verse 1–7), there is no objective ground for this variation (Greek present instead of aorist) in translation. We do not know exactly why these changes are happening, and I suppose that the translators were motivated to render the MT as they did because the original offers a seemingly random alternation of wqetal and subject–qatal or because they wanted to introduce a type of *relievo* into narrative (or a background/foreground distinction). Nobody likes to read a narrative sequence without *relievo* (he did this, he did that, cf MT 13:1–7, and NETS version of LXX 17:1–3 below, with a tedious sequence of past simple) or without a comment.

In contrast with this delicate distribution of tenses in translation of LXX 13, LXX 1Samuel 17:1–3 (cf Annex 3 for analysis) renders with present tense the variety of verbal constructs of the *Vorlage/Targum* (5 wayyiqtol/wqetal, one subject–qatal/qetal, and two subject–participle, again following NETS, 260):

---

[485] As an explanation, 10b marks the rupture between Samuel and Saul, leading up to the latter's demise.
[486] εἰμί has no morphological aorist and, thus, no foreground form. As a result, when introducing themes in narrative with the verb 'to be', LXX 13:1–23 uses always background. The only other imperfect forms are 13:19a and 20.
[487] The sentences 17b–18ab are connected with 17a as its participles.

[1]And the allophyles **gather** [NETS: gathered] their armies for battle,

and they **gather** [NETS: were gathered] at Sokchoth of Judea,

and they **encamp** [NETS: encamped] between Sokchoth and between Azeka, in Ephermem.

[2]And Saoul and the men of Israel **gather** [NETS: were gathered]

and **encamp** [NETS: encamped] in the valley;

they **form** [NETS: formed] ranks for battle opposite the allophyles.

[3]And the allophyles **stay** [NETS: stood] on the mountain here,

and Israel **stay** [NETS: stood] on the mountain there,

and the valley was between them.

How are these two samples of LXX translation comparable? LXX 17:1–3 displays 3 verbal constructs in 8 sentences (wayyiqtol, subject–qatal, subject–participle). For LXX 13, it takes 16 (15 for Tg because of the infinitive of 5a does not count) sentences (2–7b) to produce the same number of verbal constructs with the nominal clause or imperfect in 7b. The translation of LXX 17:1–3 makes xqatal, wayyiqtol, and xparticiple equal to each other, under the umbrella of present tense. Again, while one can suppose a reason for this distribution of tenses, there is no objective reason to support it.

These two examples testify to the diversity of translation types LXX employs: on the one hand, it displays a purposeful disposition and aims to create an effective climax within the episode of LXX 13 and avoid tedious reading; on the other hand, in LXX 17:1–3, the translation brings comment uniformity in front of a narrative which has a distorted sequence introduced by the subject–qatal of 2a. The distortion derives from the fact that one would expect a wayyiqtol/wqetal in MT/Tg of 2a (as in 1a) and to preserve the smoothness of the passages towards the inner syntactical parallelism of subject–participle in 3ab. In fact, MT/Targum 17:2a is a *contrast* narrative xqetal: 1abc presents the preparation for the battle of the Philistines; 2a is the narrative contrast – 'on the other hand, Saul and the men of Israel gathered'.

We are now looking to lay the ground for the next section on xparticiple and search for an explanation of this distortion. There is a parallelism as comment trace ((1) poetical disposition of information) in 3ab subject–participle of MT. If in fact, MT 17:3ab is comment in this disposition, it begs the question of what kind of comment is this. It

cannot certainly compete for retrospective comment (because of the xqetal), and there is no hint of anticipation. The only remaining option is zero degree comment, in concordance with the present tense used to render both of them in LXX 3ab. From this new perspective, 3ab act as a retroactive translation key of LXX for verse 1–2: before they get to that zero degree present/present continuous, Israel and Philistines alike need to pass through the same zero degree comment of present tense.

My proposals is that **Targum** (as the MT) prefers here the narrative (wqetal/wayyiqtol and a contrast subject–qetal/qatal) passing in 3a to comment present tenses: 'and the Philistines stand/are standing on the one side of the mountain and Israel stands/are standing on the other side of mountain, and the valley [is] between them'. Subject–participle is the topic of the next section of this chapter.

4.3.5.2 *Comment zero degree as 'historic present'?*

Before continuing our discussion on xqetal as comment zero degree, one clarification arises from reading Bernard Taylor's introduction to the English translation of LXX 1Samuel. He refers to LXX present tense as 'historic', following Henry St. John Thackeray.[488] The latter's remarks on present tense are surprisingly similar to Weinrich's on the topic of comment in general (cf the idea of tension that comment tenses suppose) but we need to clarify why the comment present tense we are describing is not the same thing as 'historic present'.

Thackeray believes that present tense of these biblical books ('The books of Reigns' or Kings) is 'historic'. He describes the *involved* effect that it produces: '[b]y substituting the present for a past tense in narrative the narrator, according to the usual view, vividly depicts a bygone incident as taking place at the moment of speech. The tense is commonly described by the vague epithet 'dramatic'. In our own language the practice has been wellnigh relegated to the vernacular. We associate a liberal use of 'Says he' or 'He comes and says to me' with persons of the social status of Mrs. Gamp [a less educated character of *Martin Chuzzlewit* by Ch. Dickens]. In the Greek of the classical age the use was shared by the literary language with the vernacular'. Then he continues with the *content* conveyed with present tense: 'it serves to introduce new scenes in the

---

[488] Taylor, 2007, 245.

drama. It heralds the arrival of a new character or a change of locality or marks a turning–point in the march of events' or 'to introduce a date, a new scene, a new character, occasionally a new speaker; in other words a fresh paragraph in the narrative' or 'date registering'.[489] Thackeray's description of this present tense are of content (what it conveys) and of impact ('dramatic', 'vividly'), both in view of a 'moment of speech'.

The clarification that we need is that only the concepts of impact and content are used by Weinrich to describe tenses in narrative genre and he never uses 'historic present'. In fact, Weinrich refuses to be associated with it, as this label implies the idea that tense signals actual time: (cf above in St. John Thackeray: it 'depicts a bygone incident as taking place at the moment of speech'). Weinrich's whole project is to prove that past, present, or future tense have nothing to do with describing real time [of the speaker/listener] or imitate it: 'tempus [time, with regards to tense value] will be for me … a word with an unknown etymology'.[490]

---

[489] cf H. St John Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London: British Academy, 1921), 21 cf the same concepts in Weinrich, 1978, 58: refers to the so–called 'scenic present' as a comment situation which conveys information on the new items (characters, things) and the present tense of the 'summary' section in narratives (p 59–60).
[490] Cf Weinrich, 1978, 10–11.

4.3.5.3 On xqetal comment zero degree

In LXX, the same syntactical verbal forms (mainly in a narrative linguistic attitude foreground) are rendered with a multitude of solutions ranging from pluperfect narrative retrospect to foreground/background narrative and comment zero degree – we provided some solutions on a case by case basis. Now, the question at the beginning remains: how is a comment zero degree form of the Aramaic xqetal different from the narrative zero tenses wqetal/wparticiple?

The analysis of LXX 1Samuel 13 and 17 indicates that the translators exercised a kind of freedom in respect of the morphological signs of their Hebrew Vorlage verbal constructs by translating verbs according to their own interest. Observing verbal constructs in *Vorlage* and Targum, I suppose that they have the same freedom showed by LXX.

Weinrich recognises this freedom of the author in the narratives he analysed. With regards to narrative foreground/background distribution of tenses, he argues that 'the author is fundamentally free', so there is nothing to prevent him or her from arranging the information in narrative in the background or foreground (*lento* or *presto* arrangement of the plot).[491] The same can be said about the linguistic perspective: 'the retrospection (for example, the act of 'reproducing' previous events) and the prevision (for example, that of anticipating the end of the story) show at the same time [with the linguistic attitude of the omniscient narrator] that the narrator knows so many things and is free'.[492] I did not find any quote of him saying the same thing about narrative and comment; nevertheless, I suppose that it is equally true.

The point of this is to say that the author is in charge of the way in which the information is distributed on these three dimensions. For some scholars interpreting xqetal as comment retrospect (equivalent with the English present perfect) may seem a matter of taste, community affiliation, or a matter of interpretative choice. My proposal of xqetal as comment retrospect may seem a matter of interpretive choice logically deduced; however, it comes from the realisation that Aramaic and Hebrew have different linguistic signs not all morphologically visible as it happens with tenses in

---

[491] Weinrich, 1978, 163
[492] Weinrich, 1978, 29. Weinrich follows Wolfgang Keyser's 'epic law'; cf Wolfgang Keyser, *Das sprachliche Kunstwerk* [*The linguistic work of art*], 1959, 349.

many modern languages. Despite that, these linguistic signs of Aramaic and Hebrew (the combination of tense and word order) operate in the same way as any other morphological tense in modern languages.

The *Vorlage* has a very long tradition of interpretation and translation which today adds to a kind of pressure to conform to a standard for modern translations.[493] Semitic philology, however, does not associate with that pressure or not in the same way. In this context, I suppose that the cause for ignoring comment verbal constructs in indirect speech (MT and Targum) is double. The underlying one is the lack of awareness about the role of word order in these two languages as a morphological sign: second word order denotes narrative tenses; first word order comment tenses. If one does not acknowledge it, the freedom of the biblical narrator to narrate and comment (in indirect speech) is reduced to narrating, only.

The second cause is overlooking the way people tell stories. As Weinrich's and my examples show (Atwood, Harper, Salinger), the narrator rarely uses narrative tenses only (past simple and past continuous). It is a reality that indirect speech contains both of these tense 'lungs' that every language has. The right narrative tense–lung has a massive presence advancing the narrative towards the end; left comment tense–lung is smaller, and together they provide a natural 'full breath'. One can breathe with only one lung (of narrative) but the impact on the understanding of the final literary product results in artificiality and, as the Weinrich's notes about narrative tenses, distance and non–involvement of the reader.

If one only uses narrative tenses, the distance and dis–engagement of the reader from the text occur. What the examples of LXX 1Samuel 13 and 17 do is to show that LXX takes the liberty to both narrate and comment. This ancient translation recognises the artificiality and dis–engagement (which could result from lack of awareness about the function of MT word order) that the *Vorlage* seems to have, and takes steps to remediate it with introducing its comment, which is natural to any narrative. This is

---

[493] One could say that this is a 'political' pressure which has nothing to do with an impartial linguistic analysis. For example the policy of NETS translation from Ancient Greek to English is to follow closely the translation of NRSV, not the actual tenses found in LXX; cf Taylor, 2007, 245: 'Throughout, the NRSV and NETS were placed in parallel columns, and a synoptic relationship was maintained with the two texts aligned not only by chapter and verse, but by clause, phrase, and even word.' When it comes to the passage of LXX 1Samuel 17:1–3, the seven present tense forms are not translated as such in English but NRSV sequence of tenses is followed: 'In accord with standard translation methods, this construction is not represented in NETS.'

why, I think, besides the aorist/imperfect narrative, the occasional comment present tense occurs in both chapters. Again in the case of LXX, the suppression of comment would impinge on the same freedom of the translator has to produce a naturally sounding translation in the target language.

So far, we have seen that enough traces of comment are found with xqetal to show when this can convey comment retrospective (reporting). The question of what traces are there for xqetal zero degree is deferred until after the analysis of xparticiple, which also refers zero degree comment information.

4.3.6　(iv) subject/object–participle

The xparticiple form represents a first word order combination of comment. The discussion of comment tenses by Weinrich is mainly limited to English *present perfect* and its equivalents in other modern languages; a previous section showed that it corresponds to the natural xqetal sentences of comment retrospection. If we were to find an equivalent tense for xparticiple from the pool of English comment tenses, I suppose that there are two possible candidates. I determined them by eliminating *past simple* and *past continuous* (already ascribed to narrative foreground and background, respectively), *present perfect* (the equivalent of the natural xqetal) and *present perfect continuous*.[494] This process also excludes future tenses conveying anticipated information (not the case of Targum Aramaic xparticiple) and *past perfect*.[495] *Present* and *present continuous* remain as viable options.

I do not suppose that this is a mechanical correspondence. Weinrich discusses only in passing English present tense either as one of the comment tenses (cf the argumentation of the next paragraph) or just mentioned as comment when discussing particular languages.[496] As a result, our description of comment zero degree becomes more challenging as we have a less clear support than for comment retrospective (developed in separate sections for each language).

The general outline of 'commented world' argues that the main purpose of comment tenses (group I tense, in English present tenses, present perfect and future tenses) is to comment – it sounds cyclical but it is not. The section on 'commented world' of Weinrich starts from asserting, based on Käte Hamburger, that 'we narrate a story, a novel, a short–story with Präteritum (in Italian with imperfetto and passato remoto), but we always summarise the content in present tense'.[497] Against those who connect present tense and content with the positive value of truth, Weinrich states that present tense has nothing to do with conveying truth, again because it occurs in summaries.

---

[494] Present perfect continuous is a *lento* kind of comment retrospective, if one accepts that English reporting tenses (or comment retrospective) may have a foreground/background distinction – *present perfect* – foreground, and *present perfect continuous* background.

[495] Weinrich, 1978, 103 asserts that the form 'we had laid down' is 'tense of group II' which means narrative (retrospective).

[496] An example is the discussion of the German *Perfekt*, where the German *Präsens* is mentioned as being used to comment a narrative passage, cf Weinrich, 1978, 91.

[497] Weinrich, 1978, 57; cf K. Hamburger, 'Das epische Präteritum', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 27, No. 3 (1953), 352

Nevertheless, further use of present in screenplays, titles of paintings or statues, in newspapers shows that 'the problem of present, and consequently of all tenses in group I, cannot be solved based on the isolated case of summary of a novel'. Summary (whenever included) is an integrant part of the literary work and hence it needs to be interpreted from text–linguistic view: 'a text like the summary of a novel in the living language does not appear isolated' but it serves 'unless one uses it with the modest aim of refreshing the memory, as basis for *comment* of a literary work; the one who has composed it cannot surely aspire to tell badly and in two words a story which has been already told well and in all its details. […] Rather, the one who writes it [the summary] wants to comment the literary work or to offer other people the opportunity to comment […]. Then, the following context identifies the summary as part of a comment situation.'.[498] Weinrich operates a change the way Hamburger interprets the pair summary–present tense. I suppose that idea the 'present tense occurs because it contains a summary' (Hamburger) changes into 'summary is one of the ways in which the author or other people comments with present'. The instances where present tense appears are not determined by genre (titles, newspapers) or by the section in the literary work (summary) where it arises. It occurs because of its comment function.[499]

I rely on the analysis of the other verbal constructs of this genre of the text and the existent usage of xparticiple in Targum 1Samuel.

The correspondence between xparticiple and comment zero degree tenses of present and present continuous (stated at the beginning of this section) is needed as to justify two items. One the one side, it supports the English translations of the text for the coming Aramaic examples; on the other side, it states the purpose of our argumentation: to prove that xparticiple is a comment zero degree. To which of them is xparticiple equivalent will become clear by looking at its place within the comment/narrative opposition.

As we have little theory to rely on in Weinrich, we turn to what our argumentation has established so far about Aramaic, the rapport between wqetal and wparticiple. The issue of the sequence has been very important for that argumentation as the sequence is used

---

[498] Weinrich, 1978, 59, his italics.
[499] Later, in the section on linguistic perspective (which discusses narrative and comment in a kind of contrast), Weinrich lists the comment tenses in Italian: passato prossimo, presente, futuro (group I comment); trapassato prossimo and remoto, imperfetto, passato remoto, condizionale presente and passato (group II narrative), cf Weinrich, 1978, 79.

to advance narrative towards the end or expand it. The narrative (*presto* or *lento*) marked the difference between the two. The sequence bearing temporal juncture is an essential part of narrative, though not always wqetal and wparticiple would exhibit it. While wqetal sequences contain this juncture in most cases, wparticiple presents it only to a limited extent. Let us see an example of that again of 21:14–15a:

wqet	ושוי דויד ית פתגמיא האלין בלבה [13]	1Samuel 21:13–15a wayyiqtol
wqet	ודחיל לחדא מן קדם אכיש מלכא דגת:	wayyiqtol
wqet	ושני ית מדעיה בעיניהון [14]	wayyiqtol
wqet	ואשתמם בידהון	wayyiqtol
wpart	ומסריט על דשי תרעא	wayyiqtol
wpart	ומחית ריריה על דקניה:	wayyiqtol
wqet	ואמר אכיש לעבדוהי [15]	wayyiqtol

The wparticiple sequences of 16:23 (David takes the instrument, plays, Saul feels refreshed, feels better, and the evil spirit leaves him) and 14:52 (Saul sees a man of valour and takes him in his army) contain temporal juncture. By constrast, the sequence of 21:14cd does not. While for in the first two sequences one can suppose an order of events (and its change would induce a different meaning of the sequence), in the second we cannot say whether the scribbling on doors or the act of saliva running down David's beard come first (we have the same meaning in both variants).

The same contrast between wqetal forms with temporal juncture and those without is visible in 17:52–53 (Israel and Judah raise and follow/fight the Philistines, the Philistines fall, and the sons of Israel return to spoil their camp) and 21:13ab: which of the two comes first: the idiomatic 'taking these words to heart' or the fear of David? Again we are not able to say which comes first.

With these examples in mind, three clarifications are in order for xparticiple, introducing two further comment traces and one correspondence. First, in both cases, the same forms of wparticiple and wqetal are used for both temporally sequenced events and for lists of events (where temporal juncture disappears). This is not to say that there is no difference between wqetal and wparticiple (which is not true: temporal juncture is

much more present in wqetal forms than wparticiple, hence their substantial difference) but to introduce another trace of comment. As shown in the coming examples, temporal juncture, as an essential narrative trait, is never present in sequences of xparticiple[500] – this gives us a further trace of comment, **(9) lack of temporal juncture in all occurrences**. Let us see examples with three xparticiple in sequence:

wqet	וכנשו פלשתאי ית כל משריתהון לאפק [1]	1Samuel 29:1–3 wayyiqtol
wsubjpart	וישראל שרן בעין דביזרעאל:	wsubjpart
wsubjpart	וטורני פלשתאי עברין למאון ולאלפין [2]	wsubjpart
wsubjpart	ודויד וגברוהי עברין בבתריתא עם אכיש:	wsubjpart
wqet	ואמרו רברבי פלשתאי [3]	wayyiqtol
wqet	ונפק מחבלא ממשרית פלשתאי תלת משרין [17]	1Samuel 13:17–18 wayyiqtol
subjpart	משריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח עפרה לארע דרומא :	wsubjyiqtol
subjpart	ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח בית־חורון [18]	wsubjyiqtol
subjpart [cpart]	ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח תחומא דמסתכי לחלת מישר אפעיא למדברא:	wsubjyiqtol
wqet	ואתא דויד ואבישי לות עמא בליליא [7]	1Samuel 26:7–8a wayyiqtol
wMS	והא	wMS
subjpart	שאול שכיב דמוך בכרקומא	wsubjpart
wsubjpart	ומורניתיה נעיצא בארעא איסדוהי	wsubjpart
wsubjpart	ואבנר ועמא שרן סחרנוהי:	wsubjpart
wqet	ואמר אבישי לדויד [8]	wayyiqtol

---

[500] The same lack of temporal junction verifies for xqetal: (1) 'contrast' xqetal forms, though assimilated to wqetal because of their strong narrative connection with their narrative form, never exhibit a temporal juncture between themselves or with their narrative head (cf the examples in the section 'Contrast xqetal – variation of second word order', page 260; (2) being comment r*etrospective*, natural xqetal sequences are also not concerned with temporal juncture, even though they may display it – this is how we are able to say that there is difference of substance between wqetal and xqetal. Comment does not narrate, and even if it reports temporally sequenced events, temporal juncture is only a by–product of it reporting not its aim.

In the case of 29:1b–2, subject–participle has no temporal sequence – any of the three forms could have come first in the list of three geographical positions (Israel, Philistines and David). The same is valid for the sequence of 13:17b–18ab which describes in no particular order the places where the 'destroyer' (as Staalduine–Sulman translates) spreads in three directions. The list adduced in 26:7–8a as a description of what David sees (Saul sleeping, his spear, and Abner and the people around him) also has no temporal arrangement.

Second, it is obvious from the tables of analysis in the previous chapter on wparticiple that whenever BH presents a wayyiqtol or a wqatal (see the right column), Aramaic displays with little variance the narrative wqetal and wparticiple, respectively.[501] Subject–participle, as the examples of 29:1–3, 13:17b–18ab and 26:7–8a show, translates both BH subject–participle and subject–yiqtol forms. Aramaic subject–participle is the most used equivalent for MT xyiqtol and xparticiple; there are only few examples of Aramaic xparticiple translating MT xyiqtol in 1Samuel: 14:47c; 18:5b; 1:7bc and (cf above) 13:17c–18ab.[502]

In light of these parallels between Targum and BH, I suppose that by looking at the Aramaic text alone one could still hold that there is no morphological difference between Aramaic wparticiple and xparticiple. However, in this situation, one would need to give a proper explanation for the visible morphological difference that Aramaic xparticiple *hides*: in BH, its peers are xparticiple and xyiqtol, in a language which presents as equivalent for Aramaic wparticiple the wqatal. This, in fact, amounts to another comment trace **(10) the morphological opposition of BH wqatal and forms of BH xparticiple and xyiqtol.** Trace (10) is the basis of the difference in Targum Aramaic between wparticiple and xparticiple.

The distinction between BH wqatal, on the one side, and xparticiple/xyiqtol, on the other, attests a morphological difference between narrative (in BH, wqatal is the

---

[501] For convenience, these are the observed verbal construct parallelism between MT and Targum in the chapter of wparticiple:
wayyiqtol–wqetal: 1Samuel 21:13–15a; 27:8ab; 19:23ab; 14:52a; 5:6–7a; 1:14a; 7:14ac, 15a, 17d;
wqatal – wparticiple: 1Samuel 2:15; 14:52b; 2:19b; 16:23bcd and23f; 7:16abc;
wayyiqtol – wparticiple (less present): 1Samuel 19:23cd; 14:52c; 1:10b – the impact of this deviation which converts BH narrative foreground (wayyiqtol) to Targum Aramaic background (wparticiple) in is to create a more *lento* narrative.
[502] These are discussed below along with the 5 forms of xyiqtul in Targum 1Samuel (indirect speech). The fact that xyiqtul is comment form is also shown by the high number of occurrences in direct speech.

background) and comment (BH xparticiple/xyiqtol). In Aramaic, this morphological reality is hidden within the value that the Aramaic wparticiple acquires,[503] which is in line with the narrative BH wqatal. While the trace 9 discussed in this section applies to xqetal, the trace 10, marking the *morphological* difference revealed by BH, belongs exclusively to Aramaic xparticiple.

These two traces are signs of the opposition between narrative and comment. The lack of temporal juncture (9) in all occurrences of xparticiple is trace of a non–narrative passage, which points towards comment (outside the narrative genre this may not be applicable). As the second trace rests on the morphological difference between xparticiple and attested narrative forms of wqatal (we have attested it in the analysis of its equivalent wparticiple), we are guided towards ascertaining a non–narrative status of the former.

Moreover, the comment status ascertained indirectly through the concept of 'trace' is discernible based on the fact that there are only so many narrative and comment verbal constructs (in all languages). Given that limitation, we can safely proceed with the process of **elimination** of possible English tenses as equivalents candidates (cf the introduction of this section). Once the value of one verbal construct and its correspondence(s) in English are found, we can pass to the process of **differentiation** between possible candidates (cf the next paragraph).

Third, in light of this opposition, we need to record a **correspondence** that Targum Aramaic wparticiple and xparticiple implies. Though it is not evident in BH because it opposes wqatal (a qatal based form) to xparticiple/yiqtol (participle/yiqtol based forms, respectively), this correspondence is derived from the Targum Aramaic use of the same

---

[503] The narrative BH wayyiqtol (a waw–yiqtol) is not translated in Targum Aramaic with *waw–yiqtul (which morphologically corresponds to waw–yiqtol) but with a wqetal (a waw–qatal). As a result, this wayyiqtol to wqetal translation occupies the slot that would have been reserved for the translation of BH wqatal. This is how wparticiple becomes the equivalent of BH wqatal. Targum Aramaic seems more coherent than BH as for narrative (of presumably a passed events) it displays a qetal (suggesting past) and participle (suggesting present) based forms, respectively in contrast with BH which displays a yiqtol (waw–yiqtol – suggesting future) and qatal (suggesting past) based forms, respectively. The reasoning in this note and the use of the formulation 'the Aramaic wparticiple acquires…' does not imply causality, it only explains the correspondence between a Targum Aramaic wparticiple and BH wqatal – I suppose that the Aramaic Targum uses verbal constructs already established at the time of translation.

morphological base of participle. If wparticiple is a narrative background form, the xparticiple[504] as comment form should have the same background feature in comment.

We are not able to say with certainty, at this stage, whether there is a background comment form in Aramaic, nor on what grounds.[505] For English, Weinrich proposes the idea of 'being serious' as a way of differentiating between comment foreground (a student that takes his task seriously answers 'I have written a good part of the paper' when prompted about the progress of his is paper) and background ('I have been writing …' – the way a less serious student would replied to the same question).[506] From Niccacci's research we can deduce that foreground/background opposition is present in comment of BH, though there is no clear delimitation by what means one might be able to divide them as such.[507]

In this theoretical context marked by the absence of enough research, we may suppose from the notional content of the xparticiple forms in 1Samuel that they (as background comment) present incidental information, i.e. a kind of information which the narrator decides for some reason to insert in the text but with no temporal connection or any other type of connection with the plot, besides offering details.[508] More often than not, these xparticiple forms are adding necessary information for the understanding of the plot, which can be inserted in parenthesis as an explanation, clarification, or just stating a fact.

To state the **correspondence** to which this theoretical discussion leads, if one accepts the possibility that xparticiple is a background comment verbal construct in Targum Aramaic, then it corresponds to an English background comment tense which is present continuous. As I found no instances where the English present continuous or its equivalents in other languages are properly discussed in Weinrich's writings consulted (cf Bibliography), I suppose it is a comment background form in opposition with an

---

[504] The comment quality of xparticiple has been made evident with trace 9 and 10. The examples below confirm the presence of other comment traces, especially (2) prominence of the information for other narratives and (3) lack of narrative 'head'.

[505] This requires a separate analysis of comment passages in 1Samuel.

[506] Weinrich, 'Tense and Time', 1970, 39.

[507] Niccacci's analysis of direct speech (he calls it 'Discourse') contains only a delimitation of the verbal constructs as foreground/background and examples, but no separate theoretical discussion of BH comment, cf Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §51, p. 73.

[508] Comment foreground would have as a result a 'non–incidental' property.

Aramaic equivalent of English present tense of foreground.[509] This is to answer the question of which of the two comment English tenses of zero degree (present and present continuous) correlates with Targum Aramaic xparticiple.[510]

Let us see this incidental trait of xparticiple at work in narrative starting from 24:4–5. In the sequence of events focused on Saul (verse 1–3 recount the story from his perspective), there is no place to insert the crucial fact that David was already in the cave at the time when the Saul came in. In 4a, the narrator inserts this information as comment background in xparticiple – there is the incidence of David's presence in the cave which puts Saul in danger. The narrator diverges from narrating (with wqetal) to introduce addressing us directly: 'And David and his men are dwelling in the innermost parts of the cave'.[511]

wqet	⁴ ואתא לחטרי ענא דעל אורחא	1Samuel 24:4–5a
NCwtr	ותמן מערתא	
wqet	ועל שאול למעבד צורכיה	
wsubjpart	ודויד וגברוהי בסיפי מערתא יתבין:	wsubjectparticiple
wqet	⁵ ואמרו גברי דויד ליה	

This xparticiple has nothing to do with the text time or narrative time – it is important *for us* to know about David before the narrator goes on with outlining the plot. Saul is the theme of the narrative sequence so far in a story where David occurs as incidental presence. Likewise to David's presence which justifies the danger posited to Saul, we as readers justify the existence of the story – the narrative exists because the narrator is interested in communicating to us – so s/he addresses us with this incidental comment. The sequence of verbal constructs aims to bring the narrator 'I' (first person) and 'you' of the reader (second person) in a *narrative* communication (with wqetal) about Saul (third person) and then in a *comment* communication about David (again third person). In the first case, the 'I' and 'you' are outside as spectators and the sequence of wqetal

---

[509] In English, the well–known foreground/background narrative opposition of simple past and past continuous has a replica in comment with present and present continuous.

[510] Supposedly, there is no perfect correlation between verbal constructs, hence other circumstances may influence it.

[511] Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 430 translates with 'while David and his men were dwelling in the innermost parts of the cave' with past continuous which would require a wparticiple instead of xparticiple.

could have continued undisturbed if there had had been a previous communication to lead David to where he is. In the second case, the 'I' and 'you' are involved in communication about David's presence, hence the 'I' comments with xparticiple.[512] This communication returns to narrative to talk about them, David and his men (and later Saul and his men).

This variation is what comment does, as Weinrich argues: in comment '[t]he narrator abandons for a moment the comment [linguistic] attitude to address the readers with some remarks *on* narrative. [...] we understand that narrative is interrupted with an interpolation and the I of this text takes the opportunity to comment the circumstances of the 'case''. He goes on to suggest that comment has a preference for first and second person communication.[513]

Other incidental facts are presented in the following examples:

wqet	²⁰ושלח שאול אזגדין למדבר ית דויד	1Samuel 19:20
wqet	וחזו ית סיעת ספריא משבחין	
wsubjpart	ושמואל קאים מליף עלויהון	subject–participle
wqet	ושרת על אזגדי שאול רוח נבואה מן קדם יי	
wqet	ושבחו אף אנון:	
wqet	⁹ואתיב דאג אדומאה	1Samuel 22:9
wsubjpart	והוא ממנא על עבדי שאול	subject–participle
wqet	ואמר	
Direct speech: Doeg tells about David's visit to Nob		

These xparticiple forms introduce incidental information too: the messengers of Saul see the band of scribes (19:20c) but there is no mark of accusative (ית) to suppose that they see Samuel leading them too. This is a comment by the narrator: 'and Samuel is standing as a teacher over them'[514] with the intention of adding the weight of Samuel to a manifestation of the spirit. This manifestation was scarce before the time of Samuel –

---

[512] Discerning clearly the presence of 'I' and 'you' or first and second persons is paramount for determining the comment trait of a passage cf Weinrich, 1978, 27–26 and 37–39.
[513] Weinrich, 1978, 26–27.
[514] Staalduine–Sulman's translation suggests accusative: 'And when they saw the company of scribes praising, and Samuel standing as teacher over them' cf Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 399.

one needs a reason for understanding why before Samuel the visions were rare occurrences (3:1) and now there is this abundance of (prophetic) praising over several people. This praising is not a form of prayer but a vision–like praising because the spirit provokes them (cf 19:20d).

In a predominantly third person narrative of the indirect speech in 1Samuel, receiving these comments in first or second person ('We/You know, David and his men are dwelling in the innermost parts of the cave') is not part of the literary form that the text takes. Nevertheless, the comment traces and especially the morphological opposition of the underlying MT (BH wqatal narrative foreground against BH xparticiple comment) does not allow for reading these Aramaic xparticiple forms as background narrative like 'were dwelling' in 24:4d.

In 22:9, the incidental trait of xparticiple (9b) is most visible as it is present within a hendiadic wqetal pair of 9ac (ואתיב and ואמר): 'Then answered Doeg the Edomite (he *is appointed* over the servants of Saul) and he said'.[515]

In these three examples, the narrator feels he should intervene in narrative with a comment xparticiple introducing characters or circumstances which aid the understanding of the plot. They all display at least four out of ten comment traces we already outlined: (10) morphological opposition of narrative and comment; (9) lack of temporal juncture with the surrounding wqetal forms; (3) lack of narrative 'head'; and (2) prominence of the information for their respective episode.

Returning to chapter 26, we see that a sequence of two xparticiple forms in 5fg precedes the sequence of three xparticiple forms in verse 7 (discussed above).

wqet	וחזא דויד ית אתרא	26:5d–8b
cqet	דשכיב תמן שאול ואבנר בר נר רב־חיליה	
wsubjpart	ושאול שכיב בכרקומא	wsubjpart
wsubjpart	ועמא שרן סחרנוהי:	wsubjpart
wqet	ואתיב דויד ⁶	

---

[515] The translation modifies Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 420 wording; the parentheses belong to me. The English translation does not support in this instance the present continuous (background) supposed by xparticiple; present (foreground) is used instead.

wqet	ואמר לאחימלך חתאה ולאבישי בר צרויה אחוהי דיואב למימר	
Direct speech		
wqet	ואמר אבישי	
Direct speech		
wqet	⁷ ואתא דויד ואבישי לות עמא בליליא	
wMS	והא	
subjpart	שאול שכיב דמוך בכרקומא	subjpart
wsubjpart	ומורניתיה נעיצא בארעא איסדוהי	subjpart
wsubjpart	ואבנר ועמא שרן סחרנוהי:	wsubjpart
wqet	⁸ ואמר אבישי לדויד	

Following the content of these verbal constructs, the wqetal forms in 5de convey the idea that David sees the places where **Saul** and **Abner** lay. The next two xparticiple forms (5fg) add to the theme of **Saul** the same root 'to lay' (שׁכב) followed by a complement (בכרקומא – on the **ground**) and the **camping** (שׁרי – to camp) of the **people** around him. The narrative progresses to an incursion at night of David (verse 7) where again we are presented with **Saul** laying on the **ground**, his spear, and **Abner** along with the **people camp** around Saul. This is to show the redundancy effect (trace comment 6) that the repetitions produce, especially in 26:7bd.

On the one side, there is the narrative thread (wqetal) of David seeing the place (of Saul's camp), answering, and saying (requesting voluntary help). Abishai answers (positively) and as a result they go together (7a). On the other side, xparticiple is associated with another two of comment traces: (6) redundancy of information and (7) the presence of comment particle והא (26:7b). These five xparticiple forms have no temporal juncture with the wqetal forms around them as they show a so–called simultaneity with wqetal forms which introduce them. The point of the xparticiple is not to show simultaneity as it already present from the distribution of information (there is no way of interpreting them as non–simultaneous) but to facilitate the comment (in background prominence) of the narrator (again modifying Staalduine–Sulman's translation):

'(5) And David saw the place where Saul and Abner the son of Ner, the commander of his army, lay. Saul *is* lying within the bulwarks, while the people *are encamping* around him. (6) Then David said in reaction to Ahimelech […] And Abishai said, […] (7) So David and Abishai went to the people by night. And behold, Saul *is* sleeping within the bulwarks, and [Staalduine–Sulman: with] his spear [*is*] stuck in the ground at his head, and Abner and the people *are encamping* around him. (8) Then said Abishai to David'

The reading with present continuous does not suppose an eye–witness or a real time account of the details but an intervention of the narration getting closer to the reader, involving us into the plot – the effect of the xparticiple along with its content is to increase the tension of the passage towards the words of Abishai, who instigates David to allow him to kill Saul. The analysis of these four texts (24:4–5a; 19:20; 22:9; 26:5d–8b) leads us to suppose that the **(11) incidental feature is trace of comment**, which probably is applicable exclusively to xparticiple.

Besides the prelude xparticiple of 29:1b–2 (after the prelude wqetal of 1a), the xparticiple forms analysed so far were found within the episode. The same traces of comment are found in xparticiple examples within episode:

- 4:15b: 'and his eyes *are* setting': (2) because he is blind and can't walk freely, Eli asks what is the noise; (3) lack of narrative head, (9) lack of temporal juncture, (10) the morphological opposition between narrative (BH wqatal) and comment (BH participle/yiqtol) is not present as MT 4:15b shows a subject–qatal in this instance; (11);
- 22:6df 'Saul *is* sitting at Gibeah […] and all his servants [*are*] standing about him': (2) it presents Saul's location; (3), (9), (10), (11);
- 18:10d and 19:9bd (Saul's first and third attempt to kill David): (2) 10d and 9d: it introduces David in the episode (Staalduine–Sulman's wording): 'And David *is* playing [the lyre] with his hand …'; 9b: it introduces with comment xparticiple (cf the wqetal in 18:10c: בגו ביתא) the place where this takes place: 'and he *is sitting* in his house'; these xparticiple forms contain the following comment traces: (3), (9), (10), (11);

MSwqet	והוה ¹⁰	18:10–11
temp	ביומא דבתרוהי	
wqet	ושרת רוח בישא מן קדם יי על שאול	
wqet	ואשתטי בגו ביתא	
wsubjpart	ודויד מנגין בידיה כיום ביום	subjpart
NCwtr	ומוריתא בידא דשאול׃	
wqet	וארים שאול ית מורניתא ¹¹	
wqet	ושרת רוח בישא מן קדם יי על שאול ⁹	19:9
wsubjpart	והוא בביתיה יתיב	subjpart
NCwtr	ומורניתיה בידיה	
wsubjpart	ודויד מנגין ביד׃	subjpart

- 17:2: (2) it indicates the position of the Israel and the Philistines (cf Staalduine–
  Sulman wording: she uses past simple, Harrington–Saldarini, past continuous):
  'And the Philistines *are staying* on the mountain on the one side, and Israel *are
  standing* on the mountain on the other side'; this xparticiple is comment of the
  presence traces (3), (9), (10), (11).

Before continuing with the analysis of prelude/end–of–episode xparticiple, we need to
answer the question of whether xparticiple displays a similar use as contrast xqetal (cf
above) with wparticiple. The only example in 1Samuel of the sequence wparticiple–
subject/object–participle[516] is that of 17:41d. This xparticiple does exhibit the first word
order of comment but it is narrative.

wqet	ואזל פלשתאה	1Samuel 17:41
part	אזיל	protasis
wpart	וקריב לדוד	
wsubjpart	וגברא נטיל תריסא אזיל קדמוהי׃	apodosis

I analysed 41bcd as a protasis–apodosis construction (41bc–41d, cf page 225), where
xparticiple (41d) displays an emphatic word order of wparticiple. As its meaning is of

---

[516] Presumably, this type of xparticiple of 'contrast' would replicate its qetal model of narrative head
wqetal followed by subject/object–qetal of contrast.

background narrative, I proposed a translation which takes into consideration both the protasis–apodosis and the emphasis on וגברא נטיל תריסא: 'as he was coming and drawing near to David, there was a man bearing the shield coming before him'. In FSP framework, this is a 'telescopic' sentence oriented towards the existence of a new phenomenon.[517]

---

[517] There are two possible types of sentences: Presentation–sentence (Phenomenon–Transition–Setting) and Quality–sentence (Theme–Transition–Rheme); the combined scale is Setting–Phenomenon–Transition–Rheme Firbas, 1992, 67.

In Aramaic, the position of a verbal form in the episode is important. Wqetal prelude shows that the respective episode is in temporal sequence with the previous one. Besides nominal sentences,[518] the analysis of 1Samuel presents in prelude first word order sentences of subject–qetal (2:22a; 5:1; 14:24; 15:35c; 16:14) and subject–participle (2:18; 3:1; 31:1). They display a morphological difference from their qetal and participle basis. Qetal in first word order supposes either a contrast xqetal or a natural xqetal, which correlates to an English narrative simple past or to a comment present perfect (retrospective), respectively (a third zero degree function is also in possible cf the section 'xqetal as comment zero degree', pages 284 and 319). For subject–participle, the situation is simpler as the only revealed value was that of comment zero degree background, which corresponds to present continuous.

Do these forms display other traces of comment besides being in prelude position (trace 8)? In addition to the remarks in the chapter on wqetal in '2.2.3 Other forms of prelude', I believe they show enough evidence to be considered comment forms because of the presence of traces (2), (3), (9): (2) they all provide the initial information of the episode so their prominence is obvious; (3) they all lack a narrative head (of wqetal), and (9) they show no temporal juncture with the previous verbal form.

We supposed at the time that these forms were narrative background prelude forms based on Niccacci's analysis of *antefatto* as background form 'which describes the prior situation in which the account [about to be narrated] takes place, or provides information which the reader/the listener needs to know in order to understand the account which is about to be narrated'.[519] In the course of our research, it became clear that background refers to a type of *lento* movement of narrative, and not to the content of the narrative itself. One is a category of text–linguistics (as developed by Weinrich), the other (described by Niccacci) refers to providing enough information at the beginning so that the episode is understood. This clarifies why the prelude forms of these five xqetal forms (here of subject–qetal) are not background but comment

---

[518] Their discussion is limited to the three NC forms of prelude (2:12a; 17:12; 13:1) under examination in the section 'Nominal Clause – waw–Pr–scale: Phenomenon–Transition–Setting' (Chapter 1).

[519] Niccacci, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', 1992, 97.

retrospective. The author intervenes with a report (hence comment, not narrative) in the temporal course of wqetal introduced episodes for the reasons I outlined in my remarks.

With retrospective comment, the narrator changes argument to an earlier moment: from the death of Eli's daughter–in–law to restoring the argument of ark taken by the Philistines (5:1); from Jonathan's incursion to the curse of Saul to his men not to eat before a win in the battle (14:24a[520]), etc.

The subject–participle forms of 2:18 and 3:1 repeat the same wording about Samuel, the young man (2:11b; 2:21d, respectively), who is משמיש קדם יי, servant of the Lord. The effect is of reminding the righteous presence of Samuel in contrast with the evil one of Eli's sons. The subject–participle forms are *judgments* of the narrator about Samuel's character which amount to a comment communication: 2:18: 'Samuel *is serving* before the Lord'; 3:1 'and the young man Samuel *is serving* before the Lord during Eli's life'.[521] In the case of 31:1 the comment only reminds that there is a war: 'And the Philistines *are fighting* against Israel'. Their comment quality is proven by the morphological opposition of trace (10) (the MT shows comment xparticiple against a narrative wqatal) and some of the other traces: (2), (3) and (9).

Other instances of xparticiple prelude are 29:1b–2 (cf above), 4:19a (beginning a new panel within the episode of 4:1–22), and 6:13a (beginning a new panel within 6:1–7:1).

6:1–7:1

In this last episode, on the one hand, there is the panel of 6:1–12 (cf analysis in Annex 3) describing the counsel of the Philistines to return the Ark and the accomplishment of this counsel in panel 6:13–7:1. They form together one single episode, as reading, for example, this latter panel as a self–standing episode would leave us with unanswered questions. These unanswered question would have had an impact on the viability of a

---

[520] 24a is xqetal retrospective: it announces that Israel is distressed and after that, with wqetal 24b, it starts the actual narration of the oath that enforces the fast until the battle is won. xqetal of narrative retrospective is generally recognised based on context as there is no morphologically specialised verbal construct for it.

[521] Cf a similar repetition in 18:10 and 19:9 analysed above – a different contrast: Saul aiming with a spear at David who is singing. It is worth nothing that whereas the contrast supposed by the 'contrast xqetal' was between that and its narrative head – an overt type of contrast, in these two cases, the xparticiple aims at creating a more sophisticated covertly contrast between the evil–doer or the attacker (wqetal forms: Eli's sons for chapters 2–3 and Saul in 18–19) and the righteous one or victim (Samuel and David respectively).

communication as text[522]: what the generic 'jewels of gold' in 6:15 were (they were brought as gift cf 6:4); about the chiefs of Philistines in 6:16 who return to their cities: they are not mentioned anywhere between 6:13–15 but they occur at the end of the first section in 6:12. Most importantly, if we consider the former section as a separate episode of the latter, we lose the answer to the major question of 'what happened next?' that is launched in 6:9: were these plagues over the Philistines because of the Ark or not?

The transfer from one panel to another is realised through two w–subject–participle forms in sequence in 12e–13a, which obviously have an end–of–episode and prelude quality, respectively. At this point, one needs to ask the basic question whether the sentences in 12e–13a contain information that could be narrative material.

They certainly contain it but there is also the way the grammatical form in which this information is packed. As with regards to narrative foreground/background distribution of tenses, Weinrich asserts that 'the author is fundamentally free',[523] we should allow for the same liberty of the narrator to distribute these events as comment or narrative.

Following Staalduine–Sulman's wording, the translation should display comment present continuous: 'and the chiefs of the Philistines *are going* after them as far as the border of Bet–shemesh (13) and Bet–shemesh *are harvesting* the wheat harvest in the valley'.

What is changed in the new shape of the episode? For one we are able to observe, besides the *relievo* of the foreground/background opposition (wqetal–wparticiple), the change from simply narrating to *commenting* the passage. Though these events could have been narrative material, the presence of the Philistines in the convoy and the harvesting in Bet–shemesh are not inserted as foreground with wqetal (equivalent to past simple) but as more involved xparticiple (equivalent to present continuous).

Are they still narrative (background) just because subject–participle is a morphological participle, based on the narrative background wparticiple? 12e and 13a fit the 'positional value' of physical position (at the end and prelude of their respective passages) and presents further information about the plot, both traits for a background

---

[522] Cf the discussion of the 8 traits (in Chapter 1, page 90) that a communication should have for it to be considered a text of de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981, 3–7.
[523] Weinrich, 1978, 163

narrative in Weinrich's description[524] and ascertained by our own description of wparticiple. But they also display the two traces of comment outlined at the beginning of this section. Are there any other comment traces that we can find to confirm our observation?

The two subject–participle forms in 6:12e–13a show no poetical disposition, no אַף, no וְהִא, no redundancy within the episode or similarity with attested comment passage; nevertheless, we are able to confirm that:

- they (2) have a prominence of information as they introduce two characters which are going to feature in the second part of the episode: the people of Bet–shemesh[525] and the Philistine captains (cf 6:16a);
- 12e does have a narrative head in 12a (the cows turn towards the border with Israel, and the Philistine chiefs follow); 13a lacks the narrative head (3);
- 13a has a prelude trait already ascertained (8); 12e has end–of–episode quality, as it closes the first part of the episode – and now we are able to identify, by contrast with the feature of prelude another **comment trace that of (12) end of the episode position**.

This is not a historical present but a comment present continuous, where we see the narrator making the necessary adjustments for us to understand the narrative.

The discussion of the end–of–episode 6:12e subject–participle leads to supposing a further trace (end–of–episode position), which complements trace 8. It is equally possible for the narrator to introduce and end episodes with a wqetal narrative and with comment xqetal/participle forms. Of this end–of–episode xparticiple, there is one other example, in 3:15c: the episode relating Samuel's call to be the prophet of Israel ends here with a waw–subject–participle relating the simple fact of his fearing to tell God's ominous words to Eli.

---

[524] Weinrich, 1978, 151.

[525] As a note: this subject–participle has a 'telescopic' form: it both introduces the new Phenomenon (the people of Bet–shemesh) and gives rhematic information about their activity – in FSP the sentence for is Phenomenon–Transition–Rheme – with two elements bearing high communicative dynamism (as opposed to Theme–Transition– Rheme – with one element). From this, we are able to suppose that FSP telescopic sentences may be prelude forms in text–linguistics.

wqet	ושכיב שמואל עד צפרא ¹⁵	1Samuel 3:15
wqet	ופתח ית דשי בית מקדשא דיי	
wsubjpart	ושמואל דחיל מלחואה ית חיזו נבואתא לעלי:	subject–participle

It is interesting to note that the subject did not need to be repeated as it stays the same from 3:15ab – so *grammatically* there is a kind of redundancy (trace (6)). Traces (9), (10), (11) and (3) are also present, along with trace (2) – this comment ('And Samuel *is fearing* to tell the prophetic vision to Eli') sets the ground for Eli's pressured discourse of 3:17 urging him to disclose it.

An example of xqetal end–of–episode is 14:23b. We have seen above the comment retrospective trait of the preceding xqetal forms in 14:20–22 (similar to 6:15–16b). Being end–of–episode xqetal, its comment side is more obvious because of the idea of summary. Hamburger offers sufficient explanation for the use of present tense in narrative summaries. While Weinrich accepts this view, he also asserts that this does not derive from its quality of being summary but from being comment: the narrator already explained what happened (in the course of narrative), and if he or she chooses to give a summary it is with the purpose of allowing a comment on the events either of him or of someone else.[526] In 14:23b, the subject–qetal contains a short sentence of summary: In light of this position of xqetal, the end–of–episode position provides a comment retrospective summary. The discussion of Weinrich brings out the fact that the summary does not provide *new* information, so from this point of view summary xqetal has an inherent indication of comment trace (6), redundancy.

The first 8 comment traces ascertained or declared in the discussion of xqetal are:

(1) Poetical disposition of information;
(2) Prominence of the information for other narratives;
(3) Lack of narrative 'head' and/or the presence of a comment head (as xqetal) represent further trace of comment;
(4) Similarity with attested comment passages (i.e. direct speech);
(5) The presence of אף;
(6) Apparent redundancy within the episode;
(7) The presence of והא;

---

[526] Cf the discussion above on the place of the summary in Hamburger and Weinrich.

(8) Prelude position;

To these, we can add the last four of this section:

(9) Lack of temporal juncture;

(10) Morphological opposition of narrative and comment – only for xparticiple

(11) It conveys incidental information

(12) End–of–episode position.

4.3.7   (v) Aramaic xparticiple and xyiqtul as background events in comment

Aramaic xparticiple featured as being an equivalent for BH forms of xparticiple and xyiqtol. Based on this equivalence we identified trace **(10) the morphological opposition of BH wqatal and forms of BH xparticiple and xyiqtol** which makes evident the morphological difference between Aramaic wparticiple (BH wqatal – a qatal form) and xparticiple (BH xparticiple and xyiqtol – participle and yiqtol forms). Because BH wqatal corresponds to Aramaic wparticiple, then Aramaic xparticiple is not a 'reversed' word order of wparticiple but an independent form, if I may venture to suggest it, from a *morphological* point of view. If the Aramaic xparticiple would have been a reversed form of wparticiple, then in BH wqatal should have been opposed by xqatal.

The discussion above did no pursue further the cases where Aramaic xparticiple has as underlying BH form a yiqtol (all of them occur in the middle of the episode):

- two combinations with common x element (ובכל אתר) 14:47c[527] and 18:5b;
- one double sentence with correlated verbs 1:7bc where x is בזמן and כין;
- three subject–participle in 13:17b–18ab.

In parallel with these we can also read the only five occurrences with yiqtul in Targum 1Samuel:

- 19:24d with the adverb על כין – xyiqtul;
- 1:7a with the adverb כין – xyiqtul;
- 2:19a object–yiqtul – xyiqtul;
- 1:12d conjunction–yiqtul (the conjunction is עד ד) – simple yiqtul;
- 2:15a negated yiqtul sentence preceded by the conjunction אף עד – simple xyiqtul.[528]

These examples suggest two main things: routine events and anticipation each conveyed both through xparticiple and xyiqtul.

---

[527] Cf full analysis of 14:47–48 in '(iii) xqetal as comment zero degree (second part)', page 319.
[528] Negation is not an x element.

Routine events

14:47c and 18:5b: the two constructions seem to be part of a schema of ובכל אתר (almost like a casus pendens), with relative sentence (with participle) introduced by the conjunction ד (BH אֲשֶׁר), which is continues with a participle. The effect is introducing a commentary about the theme in the previous sentence:

- Saul 'in wherever [place] he *is* turning, he *is* making the place tributary' (14:47; this follows Staalduine–Sulman's wording);
- David 'in wherever place Saul *is* sending him, he is being successful' (cf Staalduine–Sulman: 'And David went out in every place that Saul sent him, successfully').

13:17b–18ab lists the directions that the spoilers coming from the Philistine into Israel took. There was nothing to prevent the narrator to introduce them as wparticiple forms as the sense of routine is part of it (as we observed in wparticiple analysis). The change to first word order leads us to a comment intention in background: the narrator adds them as incidental (trace (11)), they display the opposition with xparticiple (cf trace (10)); one could say that they display a temporal juncture (against comment trace (9)) because each company goes out (cf 13:17a wqetal) but among themselves (17b–18ab) they do not show it. This last temporal juncture is only by chance (because it is after wqetal), so it cannot be taken into account. The translation in English should use present continuous to give the sense of comment background implied by xparticiple.

The double sentence of xparticiple in 1:7bc and the two xyiqtul sentence of 19:24d along with 1:7a contain the adverb כין as x element. These sentences and the object–yiqtul of 2:19a also displays a routine event. Given their first word order disposition of the sentence, these are comment background forms; xyiqtul seems to make no difference from xparticiple if one compares 1:7a and 1:7c, respectively, as they contain the same adverb כין and the meaning of routine. Again, these should be translated as comment background present continuous.

4.3.7.1 *yiqtul as narrative anticipation*[529]

The remaining two cases of xyiqtul exhibit anticipation when one looks at the before and after sentence of each case. In 1:12a there is a wqetal narrative as macro–syntactic sign which introduces the event of Eli waiting. While MT continues with a comment casus pendens and a subject–participle (13a), Targum adds an end point for Eli's waiting with conjunction–yiqtul (1:12c: עד דתפסוק). We have had no discussion of the word order in subordinated sentence.

Niccacci interprets any conjunction (except waw) as x element[530] (both subordinate and coordinate conjunctions). However, in view of the delicate situation of word order in Aramaic, as a supposition, no conjunction should be considered x element. For one, this would not be in keeping with Niccacci's own rules, as if conjunction waw is not an x element, it is not clear what is different about it from the others to refuse the x status. Moreover, the inclusion of conjunctions as x element obstructs the simple discussion of word order which, as a general rule in all languages, evaluates the position of subject, verb and complement. The classic question about Biblical Hebrew has always been: is BH a VSO or a SVO language?[531] If the conjunction is not an x element, both these examples are narrative anticipation.

To explain what anticipation is, Weinrich supposes that each linguistic sign has a position in text and their sequence amounts to a linearity of sentence (literary studies call this 'sujet'). Each sentence is a moment of the text which describes in sequence a moment in reality (which corresponds with 'fabula'). When the linearity of the text and that of the story coincide, there is no anticipation or retrospection (the order of events in *sujet* coincides with that of *fabula*). If that linearity is disturbed it occurs a meaning, of retrospective or of anticipation with regard to the moment where this disruption. These mean that the linearity is broken to offer a 'post–information' or anticipation (we already talked about retrospect at length – that is also called 'pre–information').[532]

---

[529] Cf Annex 4 for analysis of passages in Targum and MT.
[530] Niccacci and Watson [tr], 1990, §6, p. 25.
[531] Talmy Givón supposes that BH changes word order from VSO to SVO in the course of time cf T. Givón, 'The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew', in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, ed. Charles N. Li (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977). If he is right, BH moves from a narrative to a comment state in the course of time.
[532] Weinrich, 1978, 77. Our time at the time of the reading has no bearing on this discussion. What is important is the linearity of the text, in the case of narrative; in comment, the point of view of the author

In our first case, information 'until she [Hannah] would finish' (12e) is stated before the moment of her actual finish of weeping in the story (presumably in 1:14 when Eli addresses her directly or even after when she goes home) as in 13a she is still bitter and weeping. In the second example, the sentence 'even before the meat would be brought to the altar' (15a) is included in the text before the coming of the servant to ask for the meat and the ensuing conversation (15bc–16). However, the bringing of the meat in this context is not a future event, as it never happens in the story (presumably, the meat is taken by the priest's servant before that).

Retrospection and anticipation are 'relational concepts' with regards to the sequence of sentences they occur in, not with their content of future information. So instead of saying that yiqtol is future because it happens in the future (in most cases this future never arrives, cf 2:16: the servant takes the meat before that), we say it is anticipated with regards to the events in 2:15b and 1:13a. Because the sentences display a second word order, these conjunction–yiqtul and negation–yiqtul are narrative anticipation.

---

may come into discussion as he chooses to use present tenses or present perfect (in English) for past events with the aim of declaring his involved in the past event in the course of telling a story.

4.3.8 (iii) xqetal as comment zero degree (second part)

In the first introductive part on xqetal as zero degree, we have argued that there is a natural need for comment zero degree in indirect speech based on the fact that most narratives display it (our examples were from English modern literature and LXX). This need is met in Targum Aramaic by the distribution of narrative and comment according to word order: second word order (wqetal and wparticiple)[533] means narrative; first word order (x–verb) comment. Moreover, looking at Aramaic on its own, the existence of comment xqetal retrospect and xparticiple of zero degree background prompts the question of the zero degree comment foreground and anticipation, respectively, to balance them. The xparticiple form supports half of the zero degree comment responsibility by conveying background; nevertheless, we still need the foreground function.

Regarding anticipation, we have seen that yiqtul is a narrative anticipation, while the xyiqtul forms tend to convey information closer to a xparticiple comment foreground (as routine events: 19:24d; 1:7a and 2:19a), rather than comment anticipation. There are only three xyiqtul (i.e. first word order sentences), so we are unable to say if comment anticipation does occur in indirect speech.

I chose to speak about xparticiple comment first (in the previous section), as I recognised that (1) it displays a zero–degree feature, which does not contain information prior or subsequent to the narrative. Moreover, (2) in all instances, xparticiple has a single function, that of comment zero degree background, which derives from its morphological parallelism with wparticiple of zero degree narrative. By point (2), we need to say that in specific conditions, wqetal narrative foreground and a comment xqetal should show the same type of parallelism, both presenting zero degree forms opposite to each other.

The fact that the forms we are going to look at are xqetal of comment zero degree does not mean that it recounts information in temporal sequence but that it does not distort the linearity of text time of events in the episode by presenting retrospect or anticipation. Positively, this means that the sequence of wqetal narrative containing a

---

[533] This includes the yiqtul narrative sentences of 1:12d conjunction–yiqtul (simple yiqtul) and 2:15a (simple yiqtul). More research is needed, but אַף עַד, as conjunction, should not be considered element x.

temporal sequence is briefly exchanged with a still zero degree of xqetal to state an event as comment. After this information occurs, the narrative wqetal resumes.

We have been able to propose only one trace of comment specific to one verbal construct. This trace applies to xparticiple forms: (10) morphological opposition of narrative and comment – in BH, **narrative** background wqatal is opposed by **comment** xparticiple and xyiqtol, not by xqatal – it displays the fact that Aramaic xparticiple is opposed morphologically to wparticiple.[534]

This section has four parts. The first part explains trace (13): the presence of xparticiple along xqetal and its impact on the reading xqetal as comment zero degree. Second, it explains the role of o*rigo*, or reference point, in narrative and comment with a reading of the comment forms in 5:3–6. Third, the proposal of trace (13) is used to clarify ambiguous cases of xqetal comment. Fourth, trace (13) has its limitations in influencing the status of xqetal, and we need to see what they are. The xqetal of zero degree occurs in only 5 chapters of Targum 1Samuel.

4.3.8.1   Trace 13 – mark of xqetal zero degree comment

For the purpose of this section, we need to introduce one more trace which states that **(13) the juxtaposition of xparticiple before/after xqetal is a trace of xqetal zero degree**. We shall look now at both these combination in 4:13bd and 5:4bc.

wqet	³ואקדימו אנשי אשדוד ביומא דבתרוהי		1Samuel 5:3–6
wMS subjqet	והא דגון רמי על אפוהי על ארעא קדם ארונא דיי		comment retrospective
wqet	ונסיבו ית דגון		
wqet	ואתיבו יתיה לאתריה:		
wqet	⁴ואקדימו בצפרא ביומא דבתרוהי	a	
wMS	והא	b	

subjqet	דגון רמי על אפוהי על ארעא קדם ארונא דיי		comment zero degree
wsubjpart [pass]	וריש דגון ותרתין פסת ידוהי קציצן מחתן על סקופתא	c	comment zero degree
subjqet	לחוד גופיה אשתאר עלוהי:	d	
advlapart	על כין לא דרכין כמרי דגון וכל דעלין לבית דגון על סקופת דגון באשדוד עד יומא הדין: ⁵		
wqet	ותקיפת מחתא דיי על אנש אשדוד ⁶		
wsubjqet	וארונא דיי אשתבי ¹¹		1Samuel 4:11–13 comment retrospective
wsubjqet	ותרין בני עלי אתקטלו חפני ופינחס:		comment retrospective
wqet	ורהט גברא משבטא דבית בנימין מסדרא ¹²		
wqet	ואתא לשילו ביומא ההוא		
wsubjpart	ולבושוהי מבזעין		
wsubjpart	ועפרא רמי בריֹשיה :		
wqet	ואתא ¹³	a	
MS subjpart	והא עלי יתיב על כרסיא על כיבֹש אורח תרעא מסכי	b	comment zero degree
cqet	ארי הוה לביה זע על ארונא דיי	c	
wsubjqet	וגברא אתא לחואה בקרתא	d	comment zero degree
wqet	ואשתגיֹשת כל קרתא:	e	

The episode of 4:1–22 begins with Samuel's call of Israel to battle the Philistines and narrates their defeat. There are three comment passages here:

- 4:11ab represents a retrospective xqetal comment,[535] which comments in retrospect two further results which are going to shape the following account (the loss of the Ark and the death of Eli's sons). This continues with two wqetal narrative (12ab);

---

[535] Cf above 'Traces of comment and subject–qetal in 4:10–11', page 266.

- two subject–participle, this time, zero degree ('And his clothes are torn and dust is mounted on his head'). 13a wqetal has an obvious ellipsis here as we do not know where it comes into (the city, a house in the city?);
- 13bd: it contains the xparticiple–xqetal sequence (with 13c as subordinated to 13b).

4:13bd contains more than one trace of comment (cf Annex 6 for their description): (2) prominence of information, (3) the lack of narrative head; (7) והא; (6) redundancy of verb in 13d (repeats it from 13a). These four traces alone show the comment quality of the two sentences. While for the 13b, we can assert that it is a zero degree background 'Behold, Eli is sitting …', for 13d xqetal, we have the option of interpreting it as retrospect ('the man has entered…') or zero degree ('the man enters…').

The same possibility verifies with the xqetal comment in 5:4b. To establish its comment quality, it displays the traces: (3), (7) this והא extends over 4bcd, (6) redundancy with itself (3b and 4b have the same wording). 5:4b subject–qetal communicates the state in which the Philistines find Dagon, the second time adds 5:4c (subject–participle) and 5:4d (another subject–qetal).

5:4b xqetal does retain the ambiguity of comment zero degree or retrospect. Does it still continue the *text time* or resorts to retrospection? The verse is not narrative because of the presence of the comment traces and the first word order. In the context of the following xparticiple zero degree 5:4c (all xparticiple are zero degree background), 5:4b xqetal is similarly a zero degree – foreground. This is because it does not make sense to describe the same object (Dagon) on different temporal perspectives (retrospective and zero degree); instead, describing it with *relievo* (foreground/background) is even recommendable as it avoids tediousness (following Staalduine–Sulman's wording):

'Behold, Dagon *is thrown*[536] [had fallen] down on his face to the ground before the Ark of the LORD. And the head of Dagon and the two palms of his hands *are* [were] lying cut off upon the threshold; only his body *is* [was] left to him.'

Presumably, the same effect is verified in 4:13bd, as the change in linguistic perspective from the comment zero degree background of 13b (xparticiple) to 13d xqetal

---

[536] This word follows Harrington–Saldarini's translation, cf Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 111.

retrospective does not make sense. The text does not focus on the same object (like in the case of Dagon). Nevertheless, there is no disturbance in the text time – xqetal comment comes after another xparticiple zero degree with which it is in close contact (both are comment). It does not render it as retrospective because we cannot say that xqetal (13d) reports something that happened before xparticiple (13b). As a result, 13d retains a zero degree, and being morphologically different, it is foreground. The foreground extends over the next xqetal in 5:4c.

The point of this discussion is to prove that there is no difference between xqetal–xparticiple and xparticiple–xqetal sequences. When they occur together, they form a zero degree sequence. Moreover, because the sequences are morphologically different, we can safely suppose that they have an inner opposition of foreground/background. Each of the xparticiple and xqetal forms perform opposing functions not only with one another but also with their respective parallel in narrative: wqetal zero degree narrative – xqetal has the same value but in comment; the same applies for wparticiple and xparticiple (in background).

The discussion leads us to propose a comment trace which belongs only to xqetal zero degree which is the presence of a xparticiple zero degree. In a sentence, this means that (13) whenever it is in conjuction with comment xparticiple, xqetal comment becomes zero degree too. We can say that xparticiple background zero degree acts as validation or attracts this xqetal comment to be zero degree foreground rather than retrospective.

As a note on the importance of xparticiple for determining the zero degree value, we have literally the same wording in the xqetal of 5:3b. It displays the same comment traces of 5:4b and we can ask the same question about its retrospective/zero degree quality. The lack of trace (13), I would say, leads us to judge it to be retrospective.

4.3.8.2   Other cases of zero degree in 1 Samuel: 17:14c–15a; 13:16ab; and the narrative of 9:1–27

17:14c–15ab: sequence of subject–qetal followed by subject–participle[537]

7:14c–15a sequence is comment because of trace: (2) and (3); cf Annex 6 for analysis of comment traces. The xqetal in 14c shows (6) redundancy with 13ab. Because it displays trace (13), xqetal becomes zero degree. In fact, 14c–15a acts as a summary inserted

---

[537] 17:14c–15a and 5:4bc seem to be the only two subject–qetal–subject–participle sequences in Targum 1Samuel.

before the narrative of the battle of Goliath and David: it introduces David and his brothers as two characters (following Staalduine–Sulman's translation): '(14) the three eldest *go* [went] after Saul. (15) And David *is going and returning* (or simply: *is going*) [used to go] back and forth from Saul to tend his father's sheep at Bethlehem.' The wparticiple in 15b is a comment form continuing the xparticiple in 15c.[538]

13:16ab: sequence of subject–participle followed by subject–qetal

Verse 13:16 is comment as some traces are present ((2) (3)), besides the first word order. The case of 13:16 is special because 16b xqetal repeats information stated in 13:5d – the act of camping of the Philistines in Michmash. Nevertheless, it is not redundancy but a willful repetition of information because the whole verse is incidental: the narrative stops between verses 15 and 17 with a comment which brings together the new position of Saul (in Gibeah, cf 15) to that of the Philistnes. The presence of xparticiple (trace (13)) in 16a allows the interpretation of xqetal as zero degree[539] (following Staalduine–Sulman's wording). 'And Saul, and Jonathan his son, and the people who were found with them, *are staying* [stayed] in The Hill of the House of Benjamin, but the Philistines *encamp* [encamped] in Michmas'. The distribtuion of the two sides on background (Saul and his men, xparticiple) and foregound (the Philitenes, xqetal) are in line with the wqetal narrative zero degree of 13:17a – 'And the destroyer came out of the camp of the Philistines'.

9:1–27[540]

Episode 9:1–10:16 is a lengthy description of the circumstances which lead to Saul's official election as king in 10:17–27 (cf Annex 5 and 6 for analysis and traces for the x–verb forms). The episode begins with the names of Saul's ancestors (1–2) followed by the start of narrative recounting on Saul and his servant looking for his father's lost

---

[538] Other examples of wparticiple continuing xparticiple: 1:10b; 2:26b; 14:19c; 18:16c. There are 118 occurrences of xparticiple (both in direct and indirect speech, subordinated sentence included) in Targum 1Samuel and only 5 occurrences of a wparticiple continuative as comment (including 17:15). We can deduce that wparticiple presents comment information only in exceptional cases. The exceptional cases are explained by hendiadys: 2:26ab, 14:19ab; 17:15cd; 18:16bc (16c continues a subordinate xparticiple).

[539] Both Harrington–Saldarini and Staalduine–Sulman display the translation with English narrative foreground past tense – 'the Philistines (en)camped in Michmash'.

[540] Cf Analysis of the section in and the list of traces for 9:11ab and 9:9a in Annex 6.

donkeys (3–8). The subsequent narrative sequence is interrupted in several places with the following content:[541]

9:5ab: comment retrospect with xqetal–xqetal:

'When they *have come* [came] to the land in which there was a prophet, Saul *has said* [said] to his young man, who was with him'

9:9a–d: comment retrospect in adverb–qetal (9a) and (after the direct speech of 9bc) narrative conjunction–object–participle of 9d. This last form is narrative because the word order is emphatic, oriented towards the technical term לנביא, cf my rendering in 9:9d: 'Formerly in Israel, when a man goes[542] [went] to seek instruction from before the LORD, he says [said] it like this, 'Come and let us meet the seer.' *For it was*[543] *the prophet today that formerly was called a seer*'

9:11ab comment zero degree with xparticiple–xqetal

'As they *are going* [went] up by the ascent of the city, they *meet* [met] young women coming out to draw water, and said to them'

9:14bc: comment zero degree with xparticiple– xparticiple; 14a is narrative

'So they went up to the city. As they *are* [were] entering the city, behold, Samuel *is coming* [was coming] out toward them on his way up to the banqueting hall.'

9:15: comment retrospect: one object–qetal

'And from before the LORD it *has been* [was said] said to Samuel, one day before Saul's coming'

9:17ab: comment zero degree with xqetal–xqetal. 17a is still zero degree, despite the lack of trace (13) because 9:15a shows the comment trace (11) of incidental information. In that capacity, 9:15a does not sever the connection between 14bc zero degree and 17a.

'When Samuel *sees* [saw] Saul, from before the LORD it *is* [was] said to him'

---

[541] The translations follow Staalduine–Sulman, 2002, 266–275; italics letters mark my translation.
[542] The form in 9a is comment retrospective, but English does not allow present perfect retrospective in these types of sentences.
[543] I translate with the narrative *was* as I analyse the conjunction–object–participle in 9d as narrative despite the fact that it displays a first word order (comment). 9d is narrative xparticiple of the emphatic sort (thus, not a comment xparticiple) that aims to introduce a new Phenomenon (the prophet) in a sentence with Pr–scale.

9:27ab comment zero degree with xparticiple–xqetal:

'As they *are* [were] going down to the outskirts of the city, Samuel *says* [said] to Saul,'

4.3.8.3 Displacements of origo induced by xqetal comment[544] in indirect speech

As we are working with a linear disposition of information in a written text, one needs to be careful how the *origo* or point of reference changes. It seems that the *origo* changes with linguistic attitude:

- The dispalcement of narrative to comment means that the *origo* of the commenter who comments substitutes the linear *origo* of narrative – in our case, the narrator becomes commenter and addresses the reader;
- The displacement of *origo* from comment to narrative marks the action of the narrator taking the place of the commenter and following the narrative plot.

These two modes of communication create the text time, as Weinrich calls it. The *origo* is *indifferent* to other changes of linguistic perspective and prominence because it refers only to a linear narrative or to comment linearity. Consequently, linguistic perspective (retrospect, zero degree, anticipation) depends on the type of *origo*, narrative or comment.

In the passage of 5:3–6, the first change occurs from 5:3a wqetal narrative to 3b xqetal comment, which shows (the inverse process occurs in 5:3b xqetal to 5:3c wqetal – second change):

- an overt displacement of *origo* because the forms are morphologically different, cf wqetal and xqetal;

---

[544] The argument of this section on *origo* aims to be a replica of Weinrich's the discussion on Tempus–Metaphorik, which evaluates the changes dimension induced, for example, from the change from past simple to present perfect: 1. narrative to comment; 2 zero degree to retrospective. Nevertheless, one of the key points of the thesis relies on a homonymous term of temporal metaphor: two subsequent wqetal forms advance together (because they form one unity of meaning which is) the time of narrative (based on Julia Kristeva's temporal metaphor). This homonymy derives from the common meaning of the term *metaphor* as one entity composed of *two elements*, whose juxtaposition amounts to *one new meaning*. Consequently, I had to suppress the use of the term metaphor in my discussion to avoid confusion between this part and the previous discussion on wqetal.

Also, I use the term *displacement* for movements of *origo* between narrative and comment, and *change* for all other modifications (of linguistic perspective and prominence).

- one covert change of perspective, because xqetal is a retrospective form (wqetal is zero degree) – this covert change is of the *text time* linearity which is no longer referred to the wqetal (so inside the text) but to the conversation between narrator and reader; this change is of linguistic perspective (zero degree wqetal to xqetal comment retrospective).

The third change is that of 5:4a wqetal (zero degree narrative) to 5:4b xqetal zero degree comment:

- overt displacement of narrative to comment, so a change in *origo*;
- no change in terms of linguistic perspective (xqetal displays trace (13) of xparticiple, so it has the same zero degree).

The fourth change is 5:4b xqetal foreground to 5:4c xparticiple background (no change in *origo*):

- overt change of prominence from foreground to background, because of their different morphological forms (qetal versus participle); there is no displacement.

The fifth change is 5:4c xparticiple to 5:4d xqetal (this is also a zero degree because of xparticiple), so the type of change occurs inversely from background (participle) to foreground (qetal). No change in *origo* as this is still comment

The sixth change is 5:4d xqetal to 5:5 xparticiple, still comment but background. The presence of the *origo* of comment status (supposing a first person speaking and second listening) is reflected (not caused *per se*) by the adverbial construction עד יומא הדין (*to this day*).[545]

The seventh displacement is from comment (5:5) back to narrative wqetal in 5:6a verifying the same displacement of origo of 5:3b xqetal to 5:3c wqetal overtly from comment to narrative. Also a further change occurs from zero background (xparticiple) to zero degree (wqetal). This is where the comment stops and the origo is displaced back to narrative.

---

[545] I suppose that the element x here is the adverb. The status of the negation has not been established; however, the fact remains that this is an xqetal form.

The point of this discussion is to argue that, within the linear text, the *origo* moves places when there is a modification of linguistic attitude from narrative to comment and back, as explained by these examples.

Let see how these displacements between comment and narrative apply to the translation of Targum 1 Samuel 5:3–6 (following mainly Staalduine–Sulman's wording):

'(3) And [when] the people of Ashdod rose early the next day, behold, Dagon *has* [had] fallen on his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD. So they took Dagon and put him back in his place. (4) When they rose early in the morning the next day, Behold, Dagon *is thrown*[546] [had fallen] down on his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD. And the head of Dagon and the two palms of his hands *are* [were] lying cut off upon the threshold; only his body *is* [was] left to him. (5) Therefore the idol priests of Dagon and all who enter the house of Dagon *are* [do] not [tread] *stepping*[547] on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod to this day. (6) And the stroke of the LORD was heavily upon the people of Ashdod, and He terrified and afflicted them with haemorrhoids, both Ashdod and its territory'.

4.3.8.4 Direct speech uses of xqetal zero degree

The argument of first word order is probably more at home in direct speech passages or dialogues. Let us look at 12:1–2, and especially 2bc combination (cf Annex 5 for the analysis of texts in this section):

wqet wayyiqtol	ואמר שמואל לכל ישראל[1]	a	Samuel 12:1–2
MS	הא	b	narrative
qetal qatal	קבילית למימרכון לכל		
[cqet]/qatal	דאמרתון לי		
wqet wayyiqtol	ואמליכית עליכון מלכא:	c	narrative

---

[546] This follows Harrington–Saldarini's translation.
[547] Again, after Harrington–Saldarini.

	וכען ^{2}	a	
MS	הא	b	comment zero degree
subjpart subjpart	מלכא מדבר ברישכון		
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	ואנא קשׁית	c	comment zero degree
wqet wqatal	וסיבית	d	comment zero degree
wCP	ובני		
MS	הא		
NCtr	אינון עימכון		
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	ואנא הליכית קדמיכון מזעורי עד יומא הדין:		retrospective

Samuel's discourse in direct speech begins with a comment הא but followed by a qetal narrative (1b): this is narrative in contrast with the comment word order found in ואנא קשׁית (2c).[548] There is nothing to prevent Samuel to say אנא at the beginning of his speech in 1b, in fact he starts with narrating the actions he has taken to fulfil Israel's request for a king. His speech proceeds with a wqetal narrative (wayyiqtol in BH). Verse 2 contains two comment particles וכען and הא, followed by the comment combination of xparticiple–xqetal which continues with wqetal (wqatal in BH[549]). Consequently, I render the beginning of his discourse as (following Staalduine–Sulman, italics indicate my changes):

'(1) … Behold, I *accepted* [have accepted] your speech, all that you said [have said] to me, and appointed [have made] a king over you. (2) And now, behold, the king *is leading* [leads] you at your head; and I am old and grey.'

---

[548] The use of the pronoun אנא is emphatic as the verb form קשׁית would have been enough to convey the first person singular. The involvement and hence the comment quality of 2c is all the more evident and in stark contrast with the qetal *narrative* of 1b.

[549] We cannot assert with certainty the reason why this change occurred in MT. We noted the difference as the continuation forms of BH qatal based verbal constructs may become (once the necessary research on BH is completed) a trace of delimiting comment use of Aramaic qetal (continued with wqatal in BH) from the narrative (continued with wayyiqtol) – in our instance between qetal forms of 12:1b (narrative) and 12:2a (comment).

It is important note the use of the wqetal of 1c and 2d. In the first case it is a *narrative* wqetal as it continues a narrative form in 1b; conversly in 2d, wqetal is comment as it follows a comment form, an xqetal zero degree comment – wqetal takes not only the comment quality of this xqetal but also its zero degree foreground mark. We can assume from this that should a wqetal follow an xqetal of retrospect comment its value would be also of retrospect comment.

There are two other items of consequence deriving from the analysis of these texts. The first is to assert that the uses of xparticiple–xqetal combinations in direct speech confirm trace (13) that whenever xqetal comment occurs with xparticiple, the xqetal acquires zero degree. Similar xparticiple–xqetal of zero degree is found in (following Harrington–Saldarini, italics are my translation) direct speech:[550]

- 16:1bc – 'How long are you grieving over Saul and I *remove* [have removed] him being the king' (cf analysis in Annex 5);
- 28:15ef – Saul to Samuel (when summoned by the wizard of Endor): 'the Philistines are waging battle against me and the Memra of the Lord is far from me'. This is equal with 28:16bc: Samuel's answer mirrors the same syntactical arrangement (xparticiple-xqetal) – 'And why are you asking me? And the Memra of the Lord is far from you'; in both cases Harrington–Saldarini translate xparticiple–xqetal as zero degree background and foreground respective, (present continuous – present simple), in accord with our interpretation.

Second, the use of the reverse combination (xqetal–xparticiple) is less used in both direct and indirect speech. There is only one example of it in 28:9b–e (9cd are subordinate to 9b), again following Harrington–Saldarini – they translate 9b–e with English zero degree: 'Behold you know what Saul did[551] [has done] that he put an end to lying oracles and necromantic apparitions from the land. And why are you attacking my soul so as to kill me?'. The translation follows the distribution of foreground/background supposed by xqatal and xparticiple sequence.[552]

Looking to interpret the impact of trace (13) – the juxtaposition of xparticiple before/after xqetal is trace of xqetal zero degree, we can say that in combination with

---

[550] Cf Annex 5 for analysis of these texts.
[551] I suppose that 9cd are both narrative simple past (second word order), not comment present perfect.
[552] Harrington and Saldarini, 1987, 155.

xparticiple, xqetal comment touches the 'upper limit' of what xqetal can do in comment spectrum. It covers comment retrospect and only in combination with xparticiple it becomes zero degree.

4.3.8.5 Ambiguous subject–qetal resolved as comment retrospect

Based on trace (13) we can now proceed to reject the comment zero degree trait for the following xqetal forms, whose status was not certain before: [553]

- 14:16b displays comment traces of (2) (3) (7) והא. Is this a zero degree 'Behold, the multitude of the Philistine camp *is* [was] broken' or comment retrospective 'Behold, the multitude of the Philistine camp *has been* broken'? The lack of trace (13) allows us to interpret it with the latter. The text reverts to narrative participle (second word order);

wqet	וחזו סכואיא לשאול בגבעתא דבית בינימין ¹⁶	1Samuel 14:16
wMs subjqet	והא המון משרית פלשתאי אתבר	
part	אזיל תבריה	
wpart	וסגי:	

- 14:47a xqetal (LXX shows present tense: καὶ Σαουλ κατακληροῦται…). After 47:46ab which is a classic wqetal–xqetal contrast (narrative) closing the preceding session (cf Annex 4 for analysis), the episode continues with another xqetal, similar to a prelude form for the coming section, a summary of Saul's kingship (before the two episodes in 15:1–9 and 15:10–35: the reasons for Saul's rejection as king).

So, 14:47a comment xqetal: (7) prelude of this last section in the episode, it contains traces (2) prominence and (3) lacks a narrative head. It could be a zero degree ('And Saul *prospers* [prospered] in the kingship') or retrospective ('and Saul *has prospered* [prospered] in the kingship'). The lack of trace (13) leads us again to the latter interpretation. Verse 47 is a comment only verse: 47b (wqetal) is comment

---

[553] I used Staalduine–Sulman's wording throughout these coming examples, her tense interpretation in square parenthesis.

because it continues 47a; 14:47c (xparticiple)[554] is comment zero degree: 'Saul *has prospered… has waged* battle. In wherever [place] he *is turning*, he *is making* the place tributary'. In 48a narrative resumes with wqetal foreground.

- 14:25ab is comment because 25a shows first word order and traces: (6) redundant information with 14:26ab (the people go into the wood, there is honey); (3) (cf Annex 6 for further analysis of traces). Because of the redundancy the entire verse could also have been skipped but the narrator[555] pre–introduces the information as comment in zero degree or retrospect. The translation is: 'And all the inhabitants of the land *enter* [entered] the forest, and there *is* [was] honey on the surface of the field' or 'And all the inhabitants of the land *have entered* [entered] the forest, and there was[556] honey on the surface of the field'. It lacks trace (13) hence xqetal–wqetal are retrospect.

wsubjqet	וכל דירי ארעא עלו בחרשא 25	1Samuel 14:25–26
wqet	והוה דבשא על אפי חקלא:	
wqet	ואתא עמא לחרשא 26	
wMS NCr	והא בריז דבשא	
NCwr	ולית דמתיב ידיה לפומיה	

[554] Cf above discussion of 47c in '(v) Aramaic xparticiple and xyiqtul comment as background events' page 315.
[555] This could be a sign of redaction, as this is either of the original narrator or of the final redactor of 1Samuel.
[556] English *to be* prevents the present perfect.

4.3.8.6 The limits of trace (13) in analysing the xparticiple–xqetal sequence

The analysis of the xparticiple and xqetal forms in 4:13bd and 5:4bc revealed that their combination may lead, when xqetal is comment, to representing zero degree in Targumic Aramaic. Nevertheless, it is important to note also that there are four instances in which xqetal and xpartiticple do not function together.

First, the two forms should be part of the same episode/panel for trace (13), i.e. they should not be one in end–of–episode/panel position, while the other is in prelude/initial position of the next episode/panel. This type of instance is the passage of 4:18f–19a.[557]

wqet (theme: Samuel)	ומית	1Samuel 4:18gef–19ab
crt	ארי סב גברא ויקיר	
wsubjqet	והוא דן ית ישראל ארבעין שנין:	Panel ends
wsubjpart	וכלתיה אתת פינחס מעדיא למילד [19]	initial form of a panel
wqet	ושמעת ית שמועתא דאשתבי ארונא דיי	

The second panel of this episode[558] ends with counting the time Samuel judged Israel. With the beginning of the third panel in the episode, there is a change in theme (19a: the daughter–in–law of Eli) and place (from where Samuel has just died to where his daughter–in–law gives birth). The end–of–panel and the initial sentences do not work together to establish a xqetal–xparticiple zero degree sequence but they work separate within the sequences of sentences in their respective panels.

Second, the quality of the xqetal alone should be of comment before considering it as joined with an xparticiple form. In the same example of 4:18, the xqetal in 18f is narrative having as head the wqetal 18g. Instead of continuing with providing details about Samuel's death, the narraor counts his years as judge: 'He [Samuel] died … but he judged Israel for 40 years'. As a result we suppose that the xqetal alone needs to show 'some traces of comment before it can be coupled with the preceding or the ensuing xparticiple'.

---

[557] 18f xqetal was analysed as narrative, being another way of ending the episode, similar to the classical model of 'he went this way, he went that way' – 26:25ef: 'David went on his way, while Saul returned to his place' Cf analysis in 'Contrast xqetal – variation of second word order', page 260.

[558] The first panel is 4:1–11.

Third, in the analysis of 9:15ab xparticiple–xqetal (cf Annex 5 for analysis), we rejected the zero degree status for xqetal in 9:15a because its content provides pre–information on one event of the previous day. The plot had already advanced until 9:14a, where Saul and his servant go up in the city. 9:15a does not follow the narrative thread from this point but it continues with stating that Samuel was informed the day *before* about Saul's coming. Consequetly, xqetal should not to contain a pre–information or a retrospect event, if is to be read together with a xparticiple.

The last instance in which the xqetal and xparticiple do not work together is in the protasis–apodosis constructions with the MS והוה. The combination xqetal with xparticiple is found these types of constructions in 7:10, 3:2–4a, and 23:26cd–27a[559] (cf Annex 5 for analysis). Because of the strong indication of narrative supposed by the narrative head והוה, the xparticiple–xqetal sequence reverts to narrative whenever they are part of a longer protasis.

However, we need an explanation of the use of first word order sentence in this narrative context. The xqetal and xparticiple forms are a variant of their respective counterpart in narrative, wqetal and wparticiple, because it is less likely (if not impossible) for the second word order to occur in protasis. This is certified by the corpus of examples analysed in the section 'והוה as macro–syntactic sign' where protasis is always of the form with an x element: either a simple x (adverb of time/place), conjunction–verb, or x–verb construction. Inserting a continuative form (wqetal or wparticiple) may create confusion with regards to the difference between protasis apodosis.

As a result, the xparticiple–xqetal sequence in double sentences with והוה is narrative, each of them corresponding to their narrative counterparts, wparticiple and wqetal, respectively. They should be read and translated according to their narrative counterparts.

Consequently, trace of comment for xqetal**: (13) the juxtaposition of xparticiple before/after xqetal is trace of xqetal zero degree provided that: xqetal alone has traces of comment; the xqetal does not report pre–information with regards to comment/narrative zero degree line; both forms are part of the same**

---

[559] These passages are discussed in the sections 'והוה as macro–syntactic sign' and 'When והוה with participle becomes protasis' in Chapter 2 of this thesis, pages 178 and 197.

episode/panel; and, finally, the construction is not part of a double sentence introduce by וְהוּה.

4.4 General conclusion for xqetal, xparticiple, and xyiqtol

The introduction of this chapter proposed that the first word order (x–verb) signals comment in the indirect speech of 1Samuel. Given the novelty of this proposition, we needed to provide an answer to three questions:

- What is comment? It is a mode of communicating which has as formal traits: the implied presence of a first person talking and a second person listening about a third party; 'stressed character' of communication; and it is more common in narrative frames (prelude and end–of–episode) and summaries. All these elements are in contrast with narrative. Narrative uses third person forms, is less involved in communication and advances the plot;
- What is the purpose of comment retrospective? Comment retrospective is a *report* on past events which represents a break in the line of narrative (in the case of 1Samuel) to provide pre–information;
- What English tenses correspond to xqetal and xparticiple? The analysis set out in this chapters established the following correspondences:
    - o xqetal comment retrospective represents present perfect;
    - o only in combination with xparticiple (trace (13)) xqetal comment has zero degree status and refers to present (foreground);
    - o xqetal 'contrast' (seldom only a 'variation') is a narrative form corresponding to wqetal, so it relates foreground narrative in past simple;
    - o xparticiple has one meaning of comment zero degree background of present continuous;
    - o there is no definitive answer to the question of yiqtul because Targum 1Samuel indirect speech contains fewer occurrences (5): xyiqtul is similar to xparticiple, so comment background (19:24d; 1:7a; 2:19a); the simple yiqtul (1:12d; 2:15a) may signal narrative anticipation;

This chapter explained that narrative retrospective and comment retrospective are two different things. While we were able to determine that the latter corresponds to specific cases of xqetal showing some traces of comment, the analysis also showed that xqetal does not provide narrative retrospect. In turn, narrative retrospect is probably conveyed through the use of double sentence introduced by והוה as macro–syntactic sign, where the protasis is of the form כד and qetal (a second word order narrative, if one accepts

that כד is not x element, cf 4:5a; cf also 18:6b; 8:1a; and 30:1b). Both types of retrospection convey a disruption of the comment and narrative lines: for comment retrospection regards a report on past events to which the narrator intends to draw attention; for narrative, this retrospection means interrupting the narrative of wqetal to bring in a non–consecutive event.

4.4.1 Narrative versus comment forms

A further question we had to answer was that of the difference between narrative wqetal and xqetal of comment retrospect, as both have as a common domain, the past. Their difference resides in the fact that narrative and comment, in general, have different perspectives with regards to *origo* (point of reference). In narrative, the *origo* stays within the text. In Targum Aramaic, retrospect has the form והוה followed by כד–qetal (second word order narrative), which obviously does not interrupt the והוה (they are together part of the same double sentence) but the preceding one. The construction כד–qetal refers to an origo within the text provided by the line of preceding wqetal forms.

By contrast, in comment, the origo is detached from the linear disposition of wqetal and rests between the narrator and the reader. In this respect, there is no actual line of previous comment verbal constructs. Instead, we have a line of narrative wqetal which the narrator with the intention or (in some cases) incidentally changes to comment forms to *report* with the xqetal retrospective.

Alternatively, comment continues on events in zero degree foreground/background. These zero degree forms, always a combination of xqetal and xparticiple (with preference for xparticiple–xqetal), displace the flow of communication from narrative to comment mode, as we have seen in 9:1–27 (the narrative changes to comment and back after the following forms: 9:11ab; 9:14bc, 9:17ab; 9:27ab) and 5:3–6 (cf analysis of impact on narrative below in the next section).

Supposing that the narrative line of wqetal/wparticiple is interrupted by comment verbal constructs of retrospect and zero degree admittedly produces a new outlook on the Targum Aramaic syntax and proposes an alternative interpretation of its verbal constructs.

Given the homonymy that xqetal displays, i.e. one identic morphological sign for multiple meanings (narrative contrast, comment retrospect and comment zero degree), we ascertained the existence of objective marks or traces that help determine: (1) xqetal narrative of contrast; (2) xqetal comment retrospective; and (3) xqetal as zero degree comment (it is preceded or followed by xparticiple – trace (13).

As a result of the analysis, we ascertained that:

- xqetal contrast of contrast and variation with wqetal were determined based on their opposition with their narrative head (one character does this, the other that) or with the general meaning of their surrounding context (cf 29:11; 24:23bc; 23:18bc; 21:1; 15:34ab; 26:25ef);
- One other modality of discerning xqetal narrative from comment was employed later, once specific instances of xqetal comment were identified. At that point, we had the possibility of comparing ambiguous cases of xqetal (which seemed to fit both categories) against attested xqetal comment and decide on their narrative or comment status. At the end of the list of xqetal comment retrospective, we presented further cases of xqetal narrative which did not show a type of contrast with narrative but they still are narrative of **contrast** because:
  - Some still have a narrative head with which they are connected: 24:8c; 25:37de; 25:42d, 25:43a and 25:44a; 18:25e is contrasted with direct speech of 25bcd – the latter acts as rheme for the speech event wqetal in 25a. Consequently, 25a functions as a proper narrative head for 25e;
  - Others have a less visible type of contrast, such as 19:1b (Jonathan is very fond of David but 1a shows his father's bad intention towards David); also 30:9c.
- for xqetal retrospective, we supposed the existence of traces of comment which look at various comment signals within the text. Only trace 10 and 13 are specialised for xparticiple and xqetal, respectively. The traces are catalogued as follows:

(1) Poetical disposition of information;

(2) Prominence of the information for other narratives/episodes/or within the episode;

(3) Lack of narrative 'head' and/or the presence of a comment head (as xqetal) represent further trace of comment;

(4) Similarity with attested comment passages (i.e. direct speech);

(5) The presence of אַף;

(6) Apparent redundancy within the episode;

(7) The presence of וְהִא;

(8) Prelude position;

(9) Lack of temporal juncture;

(10) Morphological opposition of narrative and comment – only for xparticiple;

(11) The conveying of incidental information;

(12) End–of–episode/panel position.

(13) the juxtaposition of xparticiple before/after xqetal is trace of xqetal zero degree provided that: xqetal alone has traces of comment; the xqetal does not report pre–information with regards to comment/narrative zero degree line; both forms are part of the same episode/panel; and, finally, the construction is not part of a double sentence introduce by והוה.

4.4.2   The impact of comment on narrative: 5:3–6

The analysis of *origo* displacements in 5:3–6 (cf the section 'Displacements of origo induced by xqetal comment in indirect speech' on page 326) produced a translation and an outline of the technical changes that occur in this process. Here, we look at the impact of the displacement on understading of the text. On the left side, we have the narrative advancement and narrator's comment, on the right side:

Narrative: wqetal	Comment: xparticiple and xqetal
(3a) And the people of Ashdod rose early the next day,	
	(3b) and behold, Dagon has fallen on his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD.
(4) So they took Dagon and put him back in his place. They rose early in the morning the next day,	
	and behold, Dagon is thrown down on his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD. And the head of Dagon and the two palms of his hands are lying cut off upon the threshold; only his body is left to him. (5) Therefore the idol priests of Dagon and all who enter the house of Dagon are [do] not [tread] stepping[560] on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod to this day.
(6) And the stroke of the LORD was heavily upon the people of Ashdod, and He terrified and afflicted them with haemorrhoids, both Ashdod and its territory'	

The content of the narrative wqetal relates the temporal advancing of the plot towards the end. It provides the narrative skeleton for the composition:

(3a) And the people of Ashdod rose early the next day, [observing Dagon]

(4) So they took Dagon

and put him back in his place.

They rose early in the morning the next day, [observing Dagon]

6) And the stroke of the LORD was heavily upon the people of Ashdod,

and He terrified,

---

[560] Again, after Harrington–Saldarini.

and afflicted them with haemorrhoids …

By contrast, the comment passage is not concerned with the temporal advancement but describes the state in which the people of Ashdod found the idol and provides a vivid description of the scene. The apparent temporal juncture of the whole passage is not due to the xparticiple/xqetal combination but to the narrative thread of the wqetal forms.

Comment has a disposition according to linguistic perspective (retrospect) and *relievo*:
- the cause of Dagon's poor state is recounted impersonally with comment retrospect xqetal in 5:3b as it does not show trace (13), the presence of xparticiple;
- at the second occurrence of the event in 4a, the narrator passes to comment in order to refer the state of the idol using *relievo*:
  - foreground (xqetal) explaining the state of the idol: 'and behold, Dagon is thrown down on his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD.'
  - background (xparticiple) describing: 'And the head of Dagon and the two palms of his hands are lying cut off upon the threshold';
  - foreground (xqetal), again explaining the physical state of the idol: 'only his body is left to him'
  - background (xparticiple) describing a fact: 'Therefore the idol priests of Dagon and all who enter the house of Dagon are not stepping on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod to this day'

It is important to note that the added content of foreground which tells (Dagon is down, 'the body is left to him') contrasts the background which describes (description: his hands are cut off). Nevertheless, it is not the content which influences the distribution of *relievo* but *relievo* shapes the content. The overall feeling of the narrative is of naturalness as we both have the ordering of the plot and the moments of pause to contemplate the states of characters and further details. Ultimately, we observed in the analysis of 5:3–6 that, each time the narrative changes to comment, the *origo* changes from narrative to comment, and vice versa.

4.4.3 The natural movement of origo between comment and narrative

Modern languages (English or Italian) facilitate the change of *origo* from narrative to comment morphologically. In Aramaic, that does not happen through morphology but through word order: second word order (wqetal/wparticiple) is narrative; first word order is comment.

With regards to the xqetal and xparticiple forms of comment, we have put forth the idea that they represent 'natural' forms. This derives from the observation that two word orders express the difference between comment and narrative naurally. 'Natural' means that the x–verb forms do not need a 'comment head'; by contrast, in almost all narrative cases, xqetal needs a 'narrative head' for it to become narrative, or with which is temporal sequence. Thus, xqetal is the exception (caused by practical reasons) from x–verb comment, not the other way around.

A further reason for considering xqetal narrative as non–natural derives from the fact that, in a temporal sequence, narrative may express contrast between characters or situations. While modern languages use lexical items: 'by contrast, instead' for that, these type of adverbs and prepositions seem to be absent in 1Samuel Targum Aramaic. The language or the narrator resorts, as a result, to a change in word order from wqetal to xqetal. Contrast is not part of xqetal as word order but it is derived from the logical connection with the contrastive wqetal head or context.

With regards to sequence, narrative is either changed by the interruption of retrospection or anticipation (where we return or advance over the flow), or displaced to comment and back.

The displacement of comment over narrative is present in modern literature (of Atwood, Lee, Salinger) and in the biblical translation of 1Samuel LXX 13 and 17 as we have shown. We concluded that it is normal for the narrative genre (as communication) to display both narrative and comment verbal forms.

Our discussion presented proof of the existence of comment in the indirect speech of 1Samuel. There seems to be very limited awareness among students of ancient Semitic literature about this possibility, which I think is caused by factors which include not taking into account that the natural way of telling stories (in writing or orally) assumes comment. The impact on the biblical narrative is twofold: limiting the use of tenses in

biblical accounts only to narrative tenses (and consequently, excluding the comment ones) disqualifies the narrator from offering comment. Second, the lack of comment produces a distanced and dis–engaging narrative in the translation and in the way the is interpreted in modern languages (cf NETS/NRSV tense sequence in contrast with LXX in the passages of 1Samuel 13 and 17).

4.4.4   Tense and origo, not time

One could argue that the change of *origo* from narrative to comment might be interpreted as returning to the trivialised scale of past–present–future. Oral communication could suppose an actual past–present– future. Nevertheless, the point of Weinrich's discussion is that the use of the morphological forms of future or present tense does not mean present or future time. Indeed, tense indicates the connection of the current event as continuing the line of communication (narrative or comment) or diverging to retrospect or anticipation.

Ultimately, the people engaging with the ideas of Weinrich need to choose between rejecting or accepting the connection tense/time as he himself pointed out to Gerold Hilty (who proposed a theory supporting the link between tense and time):

'A critical reader needs to decide: either it is as I suppose that there is a sharp structural limit [Strukturgrenze] which runs through the tense system of language (or at least in very many languages), which divides between the 'commented world' and the 'narrated world'. Or, it is as Gerold Hilty supposes, that the tense system is to be constructed homogeneously from a single Origo of the experienced time. At this point, the decision needs to be taken not only based on both Hilty's source, the philosopher [Wilhelm Keller], as well as on especially my source, the author [Thomas Mann].[561] Neither of them [Keller or Mann] operates from the linguistic phenomenon of tense but from the 'experienced time' (Keller) or the 'time of man' (Thomas Mann). Nevertheless, these two theories cross the border into the triad Past–Present–Future to a dichotomy that reaches the experienced world and experienced time, which in some traits is amazingly

---

[561] Thomas Mann showed the disconnection between the time of objective reality (WW1 in this case) and the time–novel (within the novel) in his, *Der Zauberberg*. Nevertheless, Mann still believes in the connection between tense–time (cf the next quote from Weinrich). On his part, Weinrich argues that this disconnection of reality depicted in the novel and reality itself, theorized by Mann, belongs also in language as tense does not convey time, the cornerstone of Weinrich's theory of tenses.

analogous to the tense dichotomy of the commented and narrated world. There is nothing more to expect from this difference in basic assumptions.'[562]

The end of this quotation, Weinrich suggests that even though Mann and Keller developed a dichotomy like comment/narrative, they are still within the classic triad of past–present–future (i.e. they still connect that experience of text with solar time). If so, Weinrich cannot offer more comments on this because the basis of discussion is not the same.

Earlier in the article, Weinrich points out that Mann himself asserted his support for the idea that tense supposes time, 'I can no longer rely on Thomas Mann. He [Mann] is convinced along with all of his generation that tenses are temporal forms.'. Weinrich continues: 'But within the limits of this conviction, he develops some views that are of the highest interest also for a new tense theory. […] he mentions the Imperfeckt, that he chose as tense of the novel, the temporal form of 'the deepest past', as being adequate to a story that took place 'long ago''. Weinrich's argumentation shifts to the German Imperfekt, which transmits 'another quality of the understanding of the world, which is accessible only through narrative.' The passage transmits that each tense is 'adequate to' something, as Imperfekt is 'adequate to [a] story' or, in fact, to create a narrative. It follows that tenses do not translate time into the text but they are linguistic signs in the language adequate to story/narrative, as *Imperfekt*, or to comment, like present tense.

---

[562] Weinrich, 'Tempus, Zeit, und der Zauberberg', 1967, 198–199.

5 Conclusion: looking at syntax in a functional-text-perspective way

This thesis has brought together two complementary schools of linguistics. The Functional Sentence Perspective looks at the distribution of communicative dynamism within the sentence and at the way in which context influences that process. Contextual readings of sentence syntax have developed in schools of text–linguistic approaches (cf 'Generalities on text linguistics', on page 39). Harald Weinrich's text–linguistics, the main approach adopted in this thesis, is unique in making evident *together* the two main oppositions that language displays, those between narrative/comment and foreground/background.

Within the limited extent of the indirect speech of Targum 1Samuel, the values of each verbal form analysed (wqetal, wparticiple, xqetal, xparticiple, and xyiqtul) are generally explained throughout this thesis. We will discuss, instead, a particular imbalance I picked up in the course of this research. The opposition foreground/background received far more attention than that of narrative/comment. It is enough to look at the impact that the research of Paul Hopper, Hellen Dry, and Tanya Reinhart to understand the state of research with regards to this opposition. However, there is insufficient theoretical development of the opposition narrative/comment; comment as mode of communication is especially lacking in this respect. This conclusion suggests a way forward on this front.

The opposition narrative/comment, I believe, is connected with the quality of the event represented in the literary work. The research of Ilai Rowner on the *literary* event seems to be a viable way of expanding the theoretical discussion of the opposition narrative/comment. In the introduction of his *The Event: Literature and Theory*, he catalogues events under three main types: (1) historical event; (2) narrative event; and (3) the literary event. The **narrative** linguistic attitude corresponds to those texts that display '[t]he common narrative structure of the plot [which] can be defined either as a narrative unit of one or more events or as the succession of events that composes a narrative relation'.[563] This inevitably has an inner temporal passage which follows its own linearity from the beginning of the end. They represent the succession of zero

---

[563] Rowner, 2015, 14.

degree sequences of events, which sometimes is incised to include a linguistic perspective (from zero degree to retrospection or anticipation and back).

The other two types of events are part of comment. Comment is represented by texts which contain the historical event or 'not only what happens but precisely what could be told, what may assume order in spite of its relative disorder'.[564] This is the development of the mode of writing history. It uses predominantly comment tenses to depict realities by telling them in comment. Weinrich confirms this historical side of comment in his comments on Golo Mann's writings: 'the science of history, a science which has the mission to give account of the history along with that of commenting it'.[565] These types of events are represented in Targum 1Samuel by the use of xqetal comment of retrospection.

Rowner starts his discourse on literary event from a quote of Jorge Borges which supports excluding time from comment. In Borges' words, 'The most solemn of events are outside time – whether because in the most solemn of events the immediate past is severed, as it were, from the future or because the elements that compose those events seem not to be consecutive'.[566] Rowner turns to the 'philosophical perspective' (Martin Heidegger's phenomenology and post–structuralisms) for general comment on literary event which is 'the process by which Being *gives* itself to beings, manifests itself before eyes, and speaks itself through language'.[567] From Rowner–Borges' account, the literary event is not concerned with the consecutive time but with the 'being' that is present through language in the literary art. These are two points also made by Weinrich: 'we comment in the majority of instances things that are directly connected to the speaker and the listener, then these already are current or known things. Situating them in time is not therefore that necessary'.[568] The other comment forms of zero degree (the xparticiple and the *combination* of xparticiple and xqetal) offer the possibility of being in charge with these kinds of literary events. A discussion of indirect speech passages is not likely to present certainty for the question of comment in Targum Aramaic but to provide a theoretical basis and model for future work on direct speech passages.

---

[564] Rowner, 2015, 6.
[565] Weinrich, 1978, 91; cf Mann, 1962, .
[566] Rowner, 2015, 26; Rowner quotes from J. L. Borges, *The Aleph and Other Stories: Emma Zunz* (London: NY: Penguin Classics, 1998), 47.
[567] Rowner, 2015, 28; Rowner's italics.
[568] Weinrich, 1978,

We began this conclusion with comment/narrative as we need to make clear that this opposition receives less attention in linguistic studies than that of foreground/background. Our introduction has outlined many voices from Linguistics interacting with the latter opposition when it is a question of the analysis of tense, but there are very few of them interacting with the former. Weinrich is, I think, the only one, who interacts with the opposition comment/narrative among them.[569]

This imbalance probably exists because comment tenses are not really an accepted reality, and their significance is difficult to defend in view of the influence that indirect speech has on narrative genre. Moreover, there is a major source of confusion among the three types of labels which apply to the same text:

- Weinrich's **narrative** which refers the *substance* of the communication (it prefers aorist, imperfect, and past perfect tenses with a view to a third person); comment is its opposite;
- **indirect speech** is a *form* of communication, which excludes dialogue between characters in the literary work; **direct speech** does the opposite by containing that interaction;
- the **narrative genre** which is the literary label that a text containing a plot receives; probably, the opposite of narrative genre is roughly the **poetry or any genre where the concern of the author is not that of presenting a plot in time**.

In relation to the value of tense in language, Weinrich established that tenses, both **comment and narrative**, are mixed in the **indirect speech** and that comment is usually embedded in **narrative genre**. Weinrich's example is that of Golo Mann's writings where 'a comment frame *contains* the story'.[570] Our own account of prelude showed that certain episodes of 1 Samuel (those in xqetal and xparticiple cf the section 'Instead

---

[569] Probably the earliest treatment of the verb on the opposition narrative/comment is that of Émile Benveniste (Benveniste and Meek [tr], 'The Correlations of Tense in the French Verb', in *Problems in General Linguistics*, 206–207 and 211). He proposes a division of tenses in two systems: of history and of discourse. Weinrich discusses at length his contribution, cf Weinrich, 1978, 292–294. Robert I. Binnick acknowledges the existence of this type of reading of tense in language calling it the *textual function*. It is meant to 'create and maintain coherence of discourse'. Though this is a rather simplistic interpretation, he associates narrative tenses with narrative genre and discourse tenses with the 'genres of discourse' (referring here to Benveniste) and 'commentary' of Weinrich, cf Binnick, 'Aspect and Aspectuality', in *The Handbook of English Linguistics*, 259. Though the association is not entirely inexact, the aim of Weinrich and of this thesis was to establish direct connections between *individual tenses* and their text–linguistic functions.
[570] Weinrich, 1978, 91.

of conclusion: the impact of first word order on prelude' on page 309) contain, though to a lesser extent, the same frame of prelude forms whenever the episode in question is not in a sequence with the previous one.

The same attitude of giving less attention to comment is reflected in the discipline of Biblical studies. Alviero Niccacci, it seems to me, limits **comment** to **direct speech**, leaving the **indirect speech** (almost entirely) to **narrative**. In this context, wayyiqtol is foreground, while all the other verbal constructs are background. If I can make a comment, this seems to be a rather disproportionate opposition. Moreover, indirect and direct speech is not the same as narrative and comment. The former duo represents a **formal division** of communication in which the characters do not or do speak for themselves, respectively. The latter stands for a difference of **substance** between modes of communications which is evident in the use of certain tenses and persons (narrative prefers third person; comment, first and second person).

Our analysis maintains that the opposition of comment/narrative of linguistic perspective is not the same as that of direct and indirect speech. Moreover, it aimed to recuperate wherever possible the occurrences of comment in indirect speech, by supposing that both wqetal and xqetal are natural word orders in their own right, representing the narrative/comment opposition, respectively.

On this, a future possibility of expanding this research is to ascertain more clearly what comment is. We've explained that Weinrich's terminology is vague in this respect because he needs to juggle not with one opposition but with two (the ones outlined above), so one is restricted in his or her use of the same words as one can be easily confounded with the other. Admittedly, by Weinrich's account not all languages display foreground/background opposition in comment. So when one needs to discern the foreground of comment from that of narrative, one uses a rather loose vocabulary in the hope that we get the gist of it, or at least acknowledge the *trace* of the difference.

Weinrich named one possibility of considering foreground comment those situations which are 'serious' in contrast with those 'less serious'. While he had as basis for that possibility an actual exchange of messages, if one were to develop this idea within the study of Semitic Languages, analysis of direct speech situation or dialogues would need to be undertaken. Future research has this task of ascertaining whether (1) foreground/background exists in comment, and (2) if there is another dividing line

between comment and narrative besides the formal one of direct/indirect speech. There is obvious applicability to Biblical Hebrew, and my first question to myself and others in the event is: what is the status of BH yiqtol in indirect speech, given the fact that in Targum Aramaic participle seems to have replaced almost all its occurrences? I only found 7 forms (5 xyiqtol and 2 yiqtol) in Targum 1Samuel (cf the section '(v) Aramaic xparticiple and xyiqtul comment as background events', on page 315).

As to the question of 'Where to' with the study of comment, Rowner says after looking at the literary event from a theoretical perspective (Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida and, especially, Gilles Deleuze) and from a literary one (Marcel Proust, Louis–Ferdinand Céline, and T.S. Eliot), that 'The theory of the literary event is only at its beginnings'.[571] One probably ought to start there in determining the question of comment. For certain, there will be more than one answer.

This leads to the second and last point of this conclusion. We need to observe that Weinrich's text time (as sequence of signs) is connected to what he calls the Hippocratic time.[572] This time is regulated in its passage towards one's death by the pulse of the beating heart. This pulse is reflected in his theory of tenses by the so–called 'tempo indications' which could be not of time but of *cadence*. From this perspective, the opposition between wqetal (*presto*) and wparticiple (*lento*) is not of speed, but of rhythm. In this new context, we are not supposed to look at the internal advancing or stalling the narrative, but impose on ourselves a slower pace of reading before it is finished following the ever slowing verbal constructs. The narrative background form of wparticiple invites attention to details, weighing possibilities and ambiguities, and ultimately, reflection. In line with this, the change from narrative to comment in indirect speech (with xqetal comment retrospective/zero degree and xparticiple) means an even slower cadence indication for us to react or listen to the comments of the narrator.

---

[571] Rowner, 2015, 239.
[572] Cf our longer discussion in the section 'The limits of Weinrich's vocabulary versus narrative descriptions in the American strand' of Chapter 1, page 76.

6 Annexes

6.1 Annex 1: Division of episodes

The annex exhibits the length of the episodes and of their respective panels (if the episode can be divided in two or more panels). For each episode, I recorded each the prelude forms employed. והוה is counted as wqetal form. The focus of this annex is the division in episodes, not that in panels, so the latter is not always recorded.

1. 1:1-19 - **Promise of a child**

Panel 1:   1:1-11 wqetal (והוה): general information about Samuel

Panel 2:   1:12-19 wqetal (והוה): Hannah's meeting with Eli and the oath

2. 1:20- 2:11 wqetal (והוה): **Fulfilment of promise: birth of Samuel**

3. 2:12-17 Nominal Clause wtheme-rheme: sins of sons of Eli

4. 2:18-21 wsubject-participle: Samuel's childhood, Hanna bears other children

5. 2:22-37 wxqetal: Eli's sons, their fathers rebuke, God's promised punishment addressed to Eli through a prophet; 2:26 acts as reminder of Samuel early faithfulness before the prophecy of doom for the sons of Eli in 2:27-36

6. 3:1-15 wsubject-participle: **Samuel vision about his prophetic calling**

7. 3:16-21wqetal: **Samuel recounts the vision to Eli**

8. 4:1-22 wqetal (והוה)

Panel 1:   4:1-11: Battle with Philistines at Rock of Help and Afek,

Panel 2:   4:12-18 wqetal: the messenger announces the defeat of Israel and death of Eli

Panel 3:   4:19-22 subject-participle: birth of Ichabod and dead of his mother

9. 5:1-12 wsubject-qetal: **Philistines take the Ark from Israel**

10. 6:1-7:1 wqetal (והוה): **Philistines return the Ark to Israel**

Panel 1:   6:1-12: the counsel of the Philistines regarding the Ark

Panel 2:   6:13-7:1 wsubject-participle: Israel receives the Ark

11. 7:2-17 wqetal (והוה): Samuel and the war with Philistines

   Saul the king of Israel (episodes from 8:1 to 12:25)

12. 8:1-22 wqetal (והוה): People's request for a king

13. 9:1-10:16 wqetal (והוה): Presentation of Saul and his anointment as king

Panel 1:   9:1-26a: Presentation of Saul

Panel 2:   9:26b-10:16 wqetal (והוה): Saul is anointed king

14. 10:17-27 wqetal: The official appointment of Saul as king

15. 11:1-12:25 wqetal: Saul becomes proper king with the victory against Amon

Panel 1:   11:1-4: The threat of Nahash the king of Amon against Jabeshgilead

Panel 2:   11:5-10 (wMS הא): Saul introduced and the promise to Gilead

Panel 3:   11:11- 12:25 –The battle with the Ammonites; Discussion of Saul's contesters, the renewal of the kingship (introduced with wqet). Because 12 starts with Saul being skilled enough to be king (the unofficial recognition from the people of his kingship), we put them together with Samuel's discourse in Gilgal about the history of Israel (12:1-25)

Restart of the narrative from a temporal moment sometimes after 11:1-12:25

16. 13:1-23 Nominal Clause (rheme-theme): political changes: Saul disobeys the first time and is rejected as king

17. 14:1-23 wqetal (והוה): Jonathan and his armour bearer take on the Philistines

18. 14:24-52: wsubject-qetal:

Panel 1:   14:24-46 wsubject-qetal: Jonathan and Saul's oath

Panel 2:   14:47-52 wsubject-qetal: Saul, his battles and his family

19. 15:1-9 wqetal: (subject: Samuel) Samuel orders the destruction of Amalekites. The episode introduces a **command;** cf next episode.

20. 15:10-35b wqetal (והוה): Rejection of Saul for disobedience: the confrontation between Saul and Samuel, the latter regrets having chosen the former as king. This episode is strongly connected with the previous as it indicates **disobedience of that command**.

Intermezzo introduces David

21. 15:35c - 16:13: wsubjqet Samuel is sent to anoint another king in Bethlehem

Panel 1:   15:35c-16:5: Samuel is sent to Bethlehem

Panel 2:   16:6-13: wqet (והוה): Election of David (David appears first time into the narrative thread)

22. 16:14-23 wsubject-qetal: Saul is tormented by the evil spirit; David comforts him (second appearance of David in the narrative thread as musician at Saul's court)

Restart of narrative with wqet in 17:1 continuing 15:35b

23. 17:1-11: wqetal: Philistines attack, description and words of Goliath and reaction of Saul and his army

24. 17:12-18:5

Panel 1: 17:12-17:54 Nominal Clause (w-theme-rheme): David introduce the second time – people do not know him again narrative is used to introduce him second time) David kills Goliath

Panel 2: 17:55-58 wxqetal: Reactions to killing Goliath: 17:55 is used beginning of frame is 17:55: Dialog before the battle and 17:57 (dialog after the battle; in 17:55 Goliath is called the Philistine rendering this apparent episode into a simple part of the episode starting in 17:12 as there is no way of reading this 17:55 as a separate episode without asking 'who is the Philistine'; there is not enough context to form an episode.

Panel 3: 18:1-5 wqet והוה: Jonathan and David become friends right after the battle) the apparent MS והוה (18:1a) cannot be prelude as there is not independent subject in protasis (David is presupposed from 17:58)

Saul chasing David

25. 18:6-9 wqetal (והוה): High praises for David trigger Saul's anger;

26. 18:10-16 wqetal (והוה): **First attempt of Saul to kill the David**

27. 18:17-30 wqetal: David marries Michal – **Second attempt to kill David**

28. 19:1-24 wqetal: Saul speaks about killing David; Jonathan reconciles them; **Third attempt to kill David** in his house

29. 20:1-20:24a wqetal: David and Jonathan are friends

Panel 1: 20:1-24a

Panel 2: 20:24b-34 wqetal (והוה): not as MS but as simple wqet

Panel 3: 20:35-21:1 wqetal (והוה): Jonathan averts David of Saul's intention

30. 21:2-16 wqetal: David is helped by Ahimelech of Nob and runs to Achish

31. 22:1-23 wqetal: David's followers and Saul kills the priests from Nob

32. 23:1-24:1 wqetal: David running from Saul

33. 24:2-23 wqetal (והוה) David spares Saul

34. 25:1a-d wqetal: Death of Samuel

35. 25:1e-44 wqetal: David and Nabal

Panel 1:   25:1e-37 wqetal: David and Nabal; Abigail saves her house from David

Panel 2:   25:38-44: wqet (והוה): Marriage of Abigail with David after Nabal's death

36. 26:1-25: wqetal David spares Saul's life again

37. 27:1-12 wqetal David lives in Gath in Ziklag

Saul's last war with Philistines

38. 28:1-25 wqetal: (והוה): Under Philistine threat and after the death of Samuel, Saul turns to a wizard in Endor

39. 29:1-11 wqetal: David leaves the camp of the Philistines

40. 30:1-31 wqetal: (והוה) David in Ziklag

41. 31:1-7 wsubject-participle: Death of Saul

42. 31:8-13 wqetal (והוה): Events following the death of Saul

6.2 Annex 2: Report on the significant variations of the critical text of 1Samuel

The analysis of the texts presented in this thesis may be extended to the critical apparatus presented by Alexander Sperber. The focus of this thesis was the indirect speech passage of 1Samuel, excluding all the direct speech/dialogue passages and the poetical fragment in 1:1-10. Thus, the analysis of the apparatus will only look at wqetal, wparticiple, xparticiple, xqetal, xyiqtul forms in indirect speech. As they are not part of our analysis, negation, nominal clauses (verbless sentences), and subordinate sentences are not discussed.

All in all, the differences between the critical text and those of the manuscripts do not influence the results of the thesis. This analysis lists these deviations and indicates what they mean suggest differently from the perspective of text-linguistics:

- **from wqetal to wparticiple**. This means change from foreground to background narrative and is recorded in: 2:16a; 2:20b; 2:22b; 25:42d;
- **from wparticiple to wqetal**, which means change from background to foreground narrative: 2:16e (אמר); 3:3b; 5:7c (אמר); 14:37a; 14:52b; 17:14b; 19:23cd;
- **omission of wqetal**: in 1:15 (ואתיבת חנה) is not of consequence as it is followed by ואמרת supposing Hannah as answering to Eli's interpellation; 10:25 it is preceded and followed by a wqetal forms – no change; 30:1c (ומחו ית ציקלג);
- **omission of qetal**: 3:3c (it turns into a nominal clause);
- **xqetal instead of xparticiple** in 1:10a (narrative contrast); 3:15c (narrative contrast);
- **xparticiple instead of xqetal**: 6:12b (comment zero degree);
- **cqetal to wqetal**: 4:7d (narrative foreground); 4:19d (this wqetal continues 19c in cqet so it keeps on the same line); 10:26c (the explanation is presented with narrative foreground instead of cqetal subordination);
- **והוה sg (regular) instead of pl** in 13:2c in fragments from Targum Genizah;
- **והוה sg (regular) instead of wparticiple** in 13:21a and 22a; 16:23.

Other types of changes:

- 1:7: the change from xyiqtul to xparticiple – there is no change, cf discussion on page 316;

- 1:12a: The translation of BH wqatal with TA wyiqtul (ויהא) proposed by the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (in Sperber this is version 'o') is peculiar for *indirect speech*. In the 16 cases where the original BH shows wqatal, TA translates with ויהי **only** in direct speech (10 cases: 2:36; 3:9; 10:7; 16:16; 17:25, 36; 23:23; 24:16; 25:30: 27:12); the rest of occurrences are in indirect speech with wparticiple (13:22; 16:23), and the remaining 4 with wqetal (1:12 ;10:9; 17:48; 25:20).

- 2:15b wpart to wyiqtul – 2:15a contains an adv-yiqtul continued by a wparticiple of 2:15b- the change from wpart to wyiqtul in 2:15b does not make a difference; however, this is based on the few examples discussed on pages 315-316;

- omission of והוה (MS) and protasis in 5:10b - wqetal in 10a continues with wqetal 10c;

- 14:16b omission of the qetal אתבר (in Ms. Or of British Museum: 1471 and 2371): the subject-qetal form is reduced to the subject, which acts as nominal predicate for the macro-syntactic form והא;

- 14:19b: the xparticiple והמונא דבמשרית פלשתאי אזיל מיזל becomes והמונא דבמשרית פלשתאי ואזל מיזל – a casus pendens with wparticiple;

- omission of תבו – the wadvsubjqet becomes a NCtr;

- replacement of the participle מחייב in xpart in14:47c with the yiqtul יחייב – there are few occurrences of yiqtul in Targum 1Samuel indirect speech to say the impact of this change;

- addition of wqetal sentence ואגח קרבא in 15:5 – no change as this is a sequence of wqetal foreground;

- replacement of the wqetal והוה with the macro-syntactic sign הא in 20:25d – הא was not discussed in this thesis;

- the wparticiple forms ונסיב לבושין or ומני are inserted in after 27:9c – this is a series of wparticiple with no change;

- wqetal of ואכל is turned into infinitive 30:11d – it becomes part of the preceding wqetal.

6.3 Annex 3: x-verb forms

6.3.1 1Samuel 6:1-7:1

wqet	וַהֲוָה אֲרוֹנָא דַיְיָ בְּקִרְוֵי פְלִשְׁתָּאֵי שַׁבְעָה יַרְחִין: ¹	**1 Samuel 6:1-7:1**
wqet	וּקְרוֹ פְלִשְׁתָּאֵי לְכַהֲנַיָּא וּלְקָסְמַיָּא לְמֵימַר: ²	
Direct speech: they request counsel about the ark		
wqet	וַאֲמַרוּ ³	
Direct speech: the return of the ark requires an offering		
wqet	וַאֲמַרוּ ⁴	
Direct speech: they ask what offer is suitable		
wqet	וַאֲמַרוּ	verse 4c-9
Direct speech: they list the preparation for travel (two cows and one cart); as offerings gold jewels		
wqet	וַעֲבַדוּ גֻּבְרַיָּא כֵּין ¹⁰	
wqet	וּדְבַרוּ תַּרְתֵּין תּוֹרָן מֵינְקָן	
wqet	וַאֲסַרוּנִין בַּעֲגַלְתָּא	
wobjqet	וְיָת בְּנֵיהוֹן כְּלוֹ בְּבֵיתָא:	
wqet	וְשַׁוִּיו יָת אֲרוֹנָא דַיְיָ בַּעֲגַלְתָּא וְיָת תֵּיבְתָא וְיָת עַכְבְּרֵי דַהֲבָא וְיָת צַלְמֵי טְחוֹרֵיהוֹן: ¹¹	
wqet	וַאֲכַוִּינָא תוֹרָתָא בְּאוֹרְחָא עַל אוֹרַח בֵּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ ¹²	wayyiqtol
cxpart	בִּכְבָשָׁא חַד אָזְלָן מֵיזַל	cxqatal
wpart	וּגְעָיִן	infinitive
wlaqet	וְלָא סְטָאָה לִימִינָא וְלִסְמָלָא	wloqatal
wsubjpart	וְטוּרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתָּאֵי אָזְלִין בַּתְרֵיהוֹן עַד תְּחוּם בֵּית־שֶׁמֶשׁ:	subjpart
wsubjpart	וּבֵית־שֶׁמֶשׁ חַצְדִין חֲצַד חִטִּין בְּמֵישְׁרָא ¹³	subjpart
wqet	וּזְקַפוּ יָת עֵינֵיהוֹן	

357

wqet	וחזו ית ארונא	
wqet	וחדיאו למחזי:	
wsubjqet	וֹעגלתא אתת לחקל יהושע דמבית שֶׁמֶשׁ [14]	
wqet	וקמת תמן	
NCwtr	ותמן אבנא רבתא	
wqet	וצלחו ית אעי עגלתא	
wobjqet	וית תורתא אסיקו עלתא קדם יי:	
wsubjqet	וליואי אחיתו ית ארונא דיי וית תיבתא דעמיה [15] דביה מני דהבא	
wqet	וֹשוֹיאו על אבנא רבתא	
wsubjqet	וגברי בית־שֶׁמֶשׁ אסיקו עלון	
wqet	ונכיסו נכסת קדֹשׁין ביומא ההוא קדם יי:	
wsubjqet	וחמֹשׁא טורני פלֹשתאי חזו [16]	
wqet	ותבו לעקרון ביומא ההוא:	
NCwrt	ואלין טחורי דהבא [17] דאתיבו פלֹשתאי קרבן אֹשמא קדם יי דאֹשדוד חד דעזה חד דאֹשקלון חד דגת חד דעקרון חד:	
NCwrt	ועכברי דהבא מנין כל קרוי פלֹשתאי לחמֹשׁא טורניא [18] מקרוין כריכן ועד קרוי פצחיא ועד אבנא רבתא דאחיתו עלה ית ארונא דיי	
[cq]	עד יומא הדין הא היא בחקל יהושע דמבית ֹשמֹשׁ:	
wqet	וקטל בגברי בית ֹשֶׁמֶֹשׁ [19]	
cqet	על דחדיאו דחזו ארונא דיי כד גלי	
wqet	וקטל בסבי עמא ֹשבעין גברא ובקהלֹא חמֹשׁין אלפין גברא	

wqet	ואתאבלו עמא	
cqet	ארי מחא יי בעמא מחא סגיאה:	
wqet	[20] ואמרו גברי בית־שֶׁמֶשׁ	
Direct speech: Bet-shemesh looks for another city to take on the responsibility of the ark		
wqet	[21] ושלחו אזגדין לות יתבי קרית יערים למימר	
Direct speech: Bet-shemesh asks the city of Kirjath-jearim to take the ark		
wqet	[1] ואתו גברי קרית יערים	
wqet	ואסיקו ית ארונא דיי	
wqet	ואעילו יתיה לבית אבינדב בגבעתא	
wobjqet	וית אלעזר בריה זמינו למטר ית ארונא דיי:	

6.3.2 1Samuel 13

Tg analysis MT analysis	Targum	LXX translates with:[573]	LXX
NCcrt cqet	כבר שנא דלית ביה חובין שאול כד מלך		verse 1 omitted
wtempqet	ותרתין שנין מלך על ישראל׃		
wqet **wayyiqtol**	²ובחר ליה שאול תלתה אלפין מישראל	**present middle**	² καὶ ἐκλέγεται Σαουλ ἑαυτῷ τρεῖς χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ισραηλ
wqet **wayyiqtol**	והוו עם שאול תרין אלפין במכמש ובטור ביתאל	**imperfect TO BE**	καὶ ἦσαν μετὰ Σαουλ δισχίλιοι ἐν Μαχεμας καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Βαιθηλ
wsubjqet **wsubjqatal**	ואלפא הוו עם יונתן בגבעתא דבית בנימין	**imperfect TO BE**	χίλιοι ἦσαν μετὰ Ιωναθαν ἐν Γαβεε τοῦ Βενιαμιν
wsubjqet **wsubjqatal**	ושאר עמא שלח גבר לקרוהי :	**aorist**	καὶ τὸ κατάλοιπον τοῦ λαοῦ ἐξαπέστειλεν ἕκαστον εἰς τὸ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ
wqet [NCcr] **wayyiqtol**	³ומחא יונתן ית אסטרטיג פלשתאי דבגבעתא	aorist	³ καὶ ἐπάταξεν Ιωναθαν τὸν Νασιβ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον τὸν ἐν τῷ βουνῷ
wqet **wayyiqtol**	ושמעו פלשתאי	**present**	καὶ ἀκούουσιν οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι
wsubjqet **wsubjqatal**	ושאול תקע בשופרא בכל ארעא למימר	**present**	καὶ Σαουλ σάλπιγγι σαλπίζει εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν λέγων
Direct speech: Hebrews need to hear			ἠθετήκασιν οἱ δοῦλοι
wsubjqet **wsubjqatal**	⁴וכל ישראל שמעו למימר	aorist	⁴ καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ ἤκουσεν λεγόντων
Direct speech: Saul and Israel had attacked the Philistine			πέπαικεν Σαουλ τὸν Νασιβ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον καὶ ᾐσχύνθησαν Ισραηλ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις

---

[573] Dependent sentences and comment excluded.

wqet	ואתכנישו עמא בתר שאול לגלגלא:	aorist	καὶ ἀνεβόησαν ὁ λαὸς ὀπίσω Σαουλ ἐν Γαλγαλοις
wsubjqet wsubjqatal infinitive	וּפלשׁתאי אתכנישׁו⁵ לאגחא קרבא עם ישׂראל תלתין אלפין רתכין ושׁתא אלפין פרשׁין ועמא כחלא דעל כיף ימא לסגי	**present passive** **present indicative**	⁵ καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι συνάγονται εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ισραηλ καὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ Ισραηλ τριάκοντα χιλιάδες ἁρμάτων καὶ ἓξ χιλιάδες ἱππέων καὶ λαὸς ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ πλήθει
wqet wayyiqtol	וסליקו	**present**	καὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν
wqet wayyiqtol	ושׁרו במכמשׁ מדנח בית־און:	**present**	καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν ἐν Μαχεμας ἐξ ἐναντίας Βαιθων κατὰ νότου
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	ואנשׁ ישׂראל חזו⁶	**aorist**	⁶ καὶ ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ εἶδεν
cqet	ארי עקת להון	-	ὅτι στενῶς αὐτῷ μὴ προσάγειν αὐτόν
cqet	ארי אדחיק עמא	-	
wqet wsubjqatal	ואטמרו עמא במערתא ובמצדתא ובשׁקיפי כיפיא ובמערת טנריא ובגוביא:	aorist passive	καὶ ἐκρύβη ὁ λαὸς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς μάνδραις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πέτραις καὶ ἐν τοῖς βόθροις καὶ ἐν τοῖς λάκκοις
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	ויהודאי עברו ית ירדנא לארע גד וגלעד⁷	**aorist**	⁷ καὶ οἱ διαβαίνοντες διέβησαν τὸν Ιορδάνην εἰς γῆν Γαδ καὶ Γαλααδ
wNCtr	ושׁאול עד כען בגלגלא	imperfect	καὶ Σαουλ ἔτι ἦν ἐν Γαλγαλοις
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	וכל עמא אתכנישׁו בתרוהי:	**aorist**	καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐξέστη ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ
wqet [cqet]	ואוריך שׁבעה יומין לזמנא⁸ דאמר ליה שׁמואל	aorist	⁸ καὶ διέλιπεν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τῷ μαρτυρίῳ ὡς εἶπεν Σαμουηλ
wlaqet	ולא אתא שׁמואל לגלגלא	aorist middle	καὶ οὐ παρεγένετο Σαμουηλ εἰς Γαλγαλα
wqet	ואתבדר עמא מעלוהי:	aorist passive	καὶ διεσπάρη ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
wqet	ואמר שׁאול⁹	aorist	⁹ καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ
Direct speech: Saul orders for the preparation to be made for him to bring the sacrifice			προσαγάγετε ὅπως ποιήσω ὁλοκαύτωσιν καὶ εἰρηνικάς
wqet	ואסיק עלתא:	aorist	καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν

MSwqet cqet	<div dir="rtl">10 והוה כשיציותיה לאסקא עלתא</div>	aorist	¹⁰καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς συνετέλεσεν ἀναφέρων τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν
wMS **subjqet** **MT: subject-part or qatal**	<div dir="rtl">והא שמואל אתא</div>	ἰδού omitted **present middle**	καὶ Σαμουηλ παραγίνεται
wqet	<div dir="rtl">ונפק שאול לקדמותיה למשאל בשלמיה:</div>	aorist	καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Σαουλ εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτόν
wqet	<div dir="rtl">11 ואמר שמואל</div>	aorist verse 11-12	¹¹καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ
	Direct speech: Samuel asks what he had done		τί πεποίηκας
wqet	<div dir="rtl">ואמר שאול</div>	aorist	καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ
	Direct speech: Saul explains why he had decided to sacrifice without Samuel		ὅτι εἶδον ὡς διεσπάρη ὁ λαὸς ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ σὺ οὐ παρεγένου ὡς διετάξω ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι συνήχθησαν εἰς Μαχεμας ¹²καὶ εἶπα νῦν καταβήσονται οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι πρός με εἰς Γαλγαλα καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου οὐκ ἐδεήθην καὶ ἐνεκρατευσάμην καὶ ἀνήνεγκα τὴν ὁλοκαύτωσιν
wqet	<div dir="rtl">13 ואמר שמואל לשאול</div>	aorist	¹³καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ πρὸς Σαουλ
	Direct speech: Saul's kingdom and would not continue		μεματαίωταί σοι ὅτι οὐκ ἐφύλαξας τὴν ἐντολήν μου ἣν ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος ὡς νῦν ἡτοίμασεν κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἕως αἰῶνος ἐπὶ Ισραηλ ¹⁴καὶ νῦν ἡ βασιλεία σου οὐ στήσεται καὶ ζητήσει κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐντελεῖται κύριος αὐτῷ εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐφύλαξας ὅσα ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος
wqet	<div dir="rtl">15 וקם שמואל</div>	aorist	¹⁵καὶ ἀνέστη Σαμουηλ
wqet	<div dir="rtl">וסליק מן גלגלא לגבעתא דבית בנימין</div>	aorist	καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ Γαλγαλων εἰς ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ
wqet [cqet]	<div dir="rtl">ומנא שאול ית עמא דאשתכחו עמיה כשית מאה גברא:</div>	LXX shows an expansion	καὶ τὸ κατάλειμμα τοῦ λαοῦ ἀνέβη ὀπίσω Σαουλ εἰς ἀπάντησιν ὀπίσω τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ πολεμιστοῦ αὐτῶν παραγενομένων ἐκ

362

			Γαλγαλων εἰς Γαβαα Βενιαμιν καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο Σαουλ τὸν λαὸν τὸν εὑρεθέντα μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας
CP [cqet] =wsubjpart	¹⁶ ושאול ויונתן בריה ועמא דאשתכח עמהון יתבין בגבעתא דבית בנימין	aorist	¹⁶ καὶ Σαουλ καὶ Ιωναθαν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λαὸς οἱ εὑρεθέντες μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκάθισαν ἐν Γαβεε Βενιαμιν καὶ ἔκλαιον
wsubjqet wsubjqatal	ופלשתאי שרו במכמס:	**pluperfect**	καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι παρεμβεβλήκεισαν εἰς Μαχεμας
wqet	¹⁷ ונפק מחבלא ממשרית פלשתאי תלת משרין	aorist	¹⁷ καὶ ἐξῆλθεν διαφθείρων ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀλλοφύλων τρισὶν ἀρχαῖς
subjpart	משריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח עפרה לארע דרומא :	participle	ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ μία ἐπιβλέπουσα ὁδὸν Γοφερα ἐπὶ γῆν Σωγαλ
subjpart	¹⁸ ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח בית־חורון	participle	¹⁸ καὶ ἡ μία ἀρχὴ ἐπιβλέπουσα ὁδὸν Βαιθωρων
subjpart [cpart]	ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח תחומא דמסתכי לחלת מישר אפעיא למדברא:	participle	καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ μία ἐπιβλέπουσα ὁδὸν Γαβεε τὴν εἰσκύπτουσαν ἐπὶ Γαι τὴν Σαβιν
wsubjpart	¹⁹ ואומן עביד זין לא משתכח בכל תחום ארעא דישראל	imperfect passive	¹⁹ καὶ τέκτων σιδήρου οὐχ εὑρίσκετο ἐν πάσῃ γῇ Ισραηλ
cqet	ארי אמרו פלשתאי		ὅτι εἶπον οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι
Direct speech: Israel should not have swords (for defense)			μὴ ποιήσωσιν οἱ Εβραῖοι ῥομφαίαν καὶ δόρυ
wqet wayyiqtol	²⁰ ונחתו כל ישראל לארע פלשתאי לחרפא גבר ית פרשיה וית סכת פדניה וית כלביה וית עשפיה:	**imperfect**	²⁰ καὶ κατέβαινον πᾶς Ισραηλ εἰς γῆν ἀλλοφύλων χαλκεύειν ἕκαστος τὸ θέριστρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σκεῦος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕκαστος τὴν ἀξίνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ δρέπανον αὐτοῦ
wpart [NCctr]	²¹ והוי להון שופינא לחרפא ביה פגימת כל מן דברזל לעשפיה ולסכת פדניא ולמצלת קצריא דלה תלת שנין ולכלביא ולאנצא זקת:	imperfect TO BE	²¹ καὶ ἦν ὁ τρυγητὸς ἕτοιμος τοῦ θερίζειν τὰ δὲ σκεύη ἦν τρεῖς σίκλοι εἰς τὸν ὀδόντα καὶ τῇ ἀξίνῃ καὶ τῷ δρεπάνῳ ὑπόστασις ἦν ἡ αὐτή
MSwpart	²² והוי	aorist passive	²² καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ πολέμου Μαχεμας

temp	ביומא דקרבא		
wlapart	ולא משתכחא חרבא ומורניתא בידא דכל עמא דעם שאול ועם יונתן	aorist passive	καὶ οὐχ εὑρέθη ῥομφαία καὶ δόρυ ἐν χειρὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Σαουλ
wqet	ואשתכחא לשאול וליונתן בריה:	aorist passive	καὶ μετὰ Ιωναθαν καὶ εὑρέθη τῷ Σαουλ καὶ τῷ Ιωναθαν υἱῷ αὐτοῦ
wqet	ונפק אסטרטיג פלשתאי למגזת מכמס:[23]	aorist	[23]καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐξ ὑποστάσεως τῶν ἀλλοφύλων τὴν ἐν τῷ πέραν Μαχεμας

6.3.3 1Samuel 17:1-11

Tg analysis MT analysis	Targum	LXX translates with:[574]	LXX
wqet **wayyiqtol**	וכנשו פלשתאי ית משריתהון לאגחא קרבא [1]	**present**	[1] καὶ συνάγουσιν ἀλλόφυλοι τὰς παρεμβολὰς αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον
wqet **wayyiqtol**	ואתכנישו לסוכו דלשיבט יהודה	**present passive**	καὶ συνάγονται εἰς Σοκχωθ τῆς Ιουδαίας
wqet **wayyiqtol**	ושרו בין סוכו ובין עזקה באפס דמים:	**present active**	καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον Σοκχωθ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Αζηκα ἐν Εφερμεμ
wsubjqet **wsubjqatal**	ושאול ואנש ישראל אתכנשו [2]	**present passive**	[2] καὶ Σαουλ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες Ισραηλ συνάγονται
wqet **wayyiqtol**	ושרו במישר בטמא	**present active**	καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι αὐτοὶ
wqet **wayyiqtol**	וסדרו קרבא לקדמות פלשתאי:	**present middle**	παρατάσσονται εἰς πόλεμον ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀλλοφύλων
wsubjpart **wsubjpart**	ופלשתאי קימין על טורא מכא [3]	**present middle**	[3] καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἵστανται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνταῦθα
wsubjpart **wsubjpart**	וישראל קימין על טורא מכא	**present middle**	καὶ Ισραηλ ἵσταται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐνταῦθα
NCwtr	וחלתא ביניהון:		καὶ ὁ αὐλὼν ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτῶν
wqet	ונפק גברא מביניהון ממשרית פלשתאי [4]	aorist	[4] καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν ἀλλοφύλων
NCrt	גלית שמיה מגת		Γολιαθ ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἐκ Γεθ
NCtr	רומיה שית אמין וזרתא:		ὕψος αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων πήχεων καὶ σπιθαμῆς
NCwrt	וקולס דנחש על רישיה [5]		[5] καὶ περικεφαλαία ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ
NCwrt	ושרין גלבין הוא לביש		καὶ θώρακα ἀλυσιδωτὸν αὐτὸς ἐνδεδυκώς
NCwrt	ומתקל שרינא חמשא אלפין תקלי נחשא:	participle perfect	καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακος αὐτοῦ πέντε χιλιάδες σίκλων χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου
NCwrt	וטרקלינין דנחש על רגלוהי [6]		[6] καὶ κνημῖδες χαλκαῖ ἐπάνω τῶν σκελῶν αὐτοῦ

---

[574] Dependent sentences and comment excluded.

wsubjpart	ומסחפא דנחשא נפיק מן קולסא מטל בין כתפוהי:		καὶ ἀσπὶς χαλκῆ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ
NCwrt	ואעא דמורניתיה כאכסן דגרדיאין [7]		[7] καὶ ὁ κοντὸς τοῦ δόρατος αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ μέσακλον ὑφαινόντων
wsubjpart	ושננא דמורניתיה מתקל שית מאה תקלי ברזלא		καὶ ἡ λόγχη αὐτοῦ ἑξακοσίων σίκλων σιδήρου
wsubjpart	ונטיל תריסא אזיל קדמוהי:	imperfect	καὶ ὁ αἴρων τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ προεπορεύετο αὐτοῦ
wqet	וקם [8]	aorist	[8] καὶ ἔστη
wqet	ואכלי על סדרי ישראל	aorist	καὶ ἀνεβόησεν εἰς τὴν παράταξιν Ισραηλ
wqet	ואמר להון	aorist verses 8c-9	καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς
Direct speech: Goliath provokes Israel			τί ἐκπορεύεσθε παρατάξασθαι πολέμῳ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγώ εἰμι ἀλλόφυλος καὶ ὑμεῖς Εβραῖοι τοῦ Σαουλ ἐκλέξασθε ἑαυτοῖς ἄνδρα καὶ καταβήτω πρός με [9] καὶ ἐὰν δυνηθῇ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολεμῆσαι καὶ ἐὰν πατάξῃ με καὶ ἐσόμεθα ὑμῖν εἰς δούλους ἐὰν δὲ ἐγὼ δυνηθῶ καὶ πατάξω αὐτόν ἔσεσθε ἡμῖν εἰς δούλους καὶ δουλεύσετε ἡμῖν
wqet	ואמר פלשתאה [10]	aorist	[10] καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀλλόφυλος
Direct speech: further provocation from Goliath			ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὠνείδισα τὴν παράταξιν Ισραηλ σήμερον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ δότε μοι ἄνδρα καὶ μονομαχήσομεν ἀμφότεροι
wqet	ושמע שאול וכל ישראל ית פתגמי פלשתאה האלין [11]	aorist	[11] καὶ ἤκουσεν Σαουλ
wqet	ואתברו	aorist	καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου ταῦτα
wqet	ודחילו לחדא:	aorist	καὶ ἐξέστησαν καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα

6.4 Annex 4: xparticiple/yiqtol (comment background) and yiqtol narrative anticipation

6.4.1 xparticiple

wqet	וסליק שאול מבתר פלשתאי ⁴⁶	1Samuel 14:46-48a
wsubjqet	ופלשתאי אזלו לאתרהון:	narrative
wsubjqet	⁴⁷ ושאול אצלח במלכותא על ישראל	comment
wqet	ואגיח קרבא סחור סחור בכל בעלי דבבוהי במואב ובבני עמון ובאדום ובמלכי צובה ובפלשתאי	comment comment comment
wadvpart [cpart]	ובכל אתר דמתפני מחייב :	advyiqtol אֲשֶׁר-yiqtol yiqtol
wqet	⁴⁸ וכנש משרין	narrative

wqet	⁵ ונפק דוד	18:5ab
advpart cpart part	בכל אתר דשלח ליה שאול מצלח	advyiqtol אֲשֶׁר-yiqtol yiqtol
wqet	ומנייה שאול על גברי עבדי קרבא	

wadvyiqtul	⁷ וכין יעביד שנא בשנא	1Samuel 1:7
advpart	בזמן מסקה לבית מקדשא דיי	advyiqtol infinitival sentence
advpart	כין מרגזא לה	advyiqtol
wpart	ובכיא	wayyiqtol
wlapart	ולא אכלא :	wloyiqtol

wqet	¹⁷ ונפק מחבלא ממשרית פלשתאי תלת משרין	1Samuel 13:17-18 wayyiqtol
subjpart	משריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח עפרה לארע דרומא :	wsubjyiqtol
subjpart	¹⁸ ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח בית־חורון	wsubjyiqtol
subjpart [cpart]	ומשריתא חדא מתפניא לאורח תחומא דמסתכי לחלת מישר אפעיא למדברא:	wsubjyiqtol

6.4.2 xyiqtul

wqet	וְשְׁלַח אַף הוּא יָת לְבוּשׁוֹהִי ²⁴	1Samuel 19:24
wqet	וְשַׁבַּח אַף הוּא קֳדָם שְׁמוּאֵל	
wqet	וּנְפַל בְּרִשָּׁן כָּל יוֹמָא הַהוּא וְכָל לֵילְיָא	
advyiqtul	עַל כֵּין יֵימְרוּן	advyiqtol end of episode

wadvyiqtul	וְכֵין יַעֲבֵיד שַׁנָּא בְשַׁנָּא ⁷	1Samuel 1:7
advpart	בְּזְמַן מִסְקַהּ לְבֵית מַקְדְּשָׁא דַיְיָ	advyiqtol infinitival sentence
advpart	כֵּין מַרְגְּזָא לַהּ	advyiqtol
wpart	וּבָכְיָא	wayyiqtol
wlapart	וְלָא אָכְלָא :	wloyiqtol

wobjyiqtul	וּמְעִיל זְעֵיר תַּעֲבֵיד לֵיהּ אִמֵּיהּ ¹⁹	1Samuel 2:19 wobjyqtol
wpart	וּמַסְּקָא לֵיהּ מִזְּמַן מוֹעֵד לְמוֹעֵד בְּמִסְקַהּ עִם בַּעְלַהּ לְדַבָּחָא יָת דִּיבַח מוֹעֲדָא:	wqatal

MSwqet	וַהֲוָה ¹²	1Samuel 1:12 wqatal
cqet	מְדַאַסְגִּיאַת לְצַלָּאָה קֳדָם יְיָ	xqatal
wsubjpart	וְעֵלִי מוֹרֵיךְ לַהּ	wsubjpart
cyiqtul	עַד דְּתִפְסוֹק:	<u>no MT</u>
wCP	וְחַנָּה ¹³	wCP
subjpart	הִיא מְצַלְּיָא בְלִבַּהּ	subjpart

clayiqtul	אַף עַד לָא יַתְּסְקוּן תַּרְבַּיָּא לְמַדְבְּחָא ¹⁵	1Samuel 2:15 advyiqtol
wpart	וְאָתֵי עוּלֵימָא דְכַהֲנָא	wqatal
wpart	וְאָמַר לְגַבְרָא דְנָכֵיס	wqatal

368

6.5.1 1Samuel 5:3-6 and 4:11-13

wqet	³ואקדימו אנשי אשדוד ביומא דבתרוהי	1Samuel 5:3-6
wMS subjqet	והא דגון רמי על אפוהי על ארעא קדם ארונא דיי	
wqet	ונסיבו ית דגון	
wqet	ואתיבו יתיה לאתריה:	
wqet	⁴ואקדימו בצפרא ביומא דבתרוהי	
wMS subjqet	והא דגון רמי על אפוהי על ארעא קדם ארונא דיי	
wsubjpart [pass]	ורישׁ דגון ותרתין פסת ידוהי קציצן מחתן על סקופתא	
subjqet	לחוד גופיה אשתאר עלוהי:	
advlapart	⁵על כין לא דרכין כמרי דגון וכל דעלין לבית דגון על סקופת דגון באשׁדוד עד יומא הדין:	
wqet	⁶ותקיפת מחתא דיי על אנשׁ אשדוד	
wsubjqet	¹¹וארונא דיי אשׁתבי	1Samuel 4:11-13
wsubjqet	ותרין בני עלי אתקטלו חפני ופינחס:	
wqet	¹²ורהט גברא משׁבטא דבית בנימין מסדרא	
wqet	ואתא לשׁילו ביומא ההוא	
wsubjpart	ולבושׁוהי מבזעין	
wsubjpart	ועפרא רמי ברישׁיה :	
wqet	¹³ואתא	
MS subjpart	והא עלי יתיב על כרסיא על כיבשׁ אורח תרעא מסכי	
cqet	ארי הוה לביה זע על ארונא דיי	
wsubjqet	וגברא אתא לחואה בקרתא	
wqet	ואשׁתגישׁת כל קרתא:	

6.5.2 1Samuel 16:1

wqet	וַאֲמַר יי לִשְׁמוּאֵל ¹	1 Samuel 16:1
interogsubjpart	עד אמתי את מתאבל על שאול	
wsubjqet	ואנא רחיקתיה מלמהוי מלכא על ישראל	

6.5.3 1Samuel 28:9-10a; 15-16

wqet	וַאֲמַרַת אתתא ליה ⁹	1Samuel 28:9-10a; 15-16
MS	הא	
subjqet	את ידעת	
cqet	ית דעבד שאול	
cqet	דשיצי ית בדין וית זכורו מן ארעא	
intsubjpart	ולמא את מתגרי בנפשי למקטליֽ:	
wqet	וקיים לה שאול במימרא דיי למימר ¹⁰	
wqet	ואמר שמואל לשאול ¹⁵	
intqet afel	למא אזעתני לאסקא יתי	
wqet	ואמר שאול	
qet	עקת לי לחדא	
wsubjpart	ופלשתאי מגיחין קרבא בי	
wsubjqet	ומימרא דיי רחיק יתי	
wlaqet pael	ולא קביל צלותי עוד אף ביד ספריא אף בחלמיא	
wqet	וקרית לך להודעותני	
intyiqtul	מא אעביד:	
wqet	ואמר שמואל ¹⁶	
wintsubjpart	ולמא את שאיל יתי	
wsubjqet	ומימרא דיי רחיק יתך	

6.5.4   1Samuel 17:12-16a

NCwtr	¹²וְדָוִד בֶּן אִישׁ אֶפְרָתִי הַזֶּה מִבֵּית־לֶחֶם יְהוּדָה	1Samuel 17:12-16a
NCwtr	וּשְׁמֵיהּ יִשַׁי	
NCwtr	וְלֵיהּ תַּמְנְיָא בְּנִין	
wsubjobjqet	וְגַבְרָא בְּיוֹמֵי שָׁאוּל סִיב מְנִי בְּבַחִירַיָּא:	
wqet	¹³וַאֲזַלוּ תְּלָתָה בְּנֵי יִשַׁי רַבְרְבַיָּא	
wqet	וַאֲזַלוּ בָּתַר שָׁאוּל לְאַגָּחָא לִקְרָבָא	
wCP [cq]	וְשׁוֹם תְּלָתָה בְּנוֹהִי דַּאֲזַלוּ לִקְרָבָא	
NCrt	אֱלִיאָב בּוּכְרָא	
NCwtr	וְתִנְיָנֵיהּ אֲבִינָדָב	
NCwtr	וּתְלִיתָאָה שַׁמָּה:	
wCP	¹⁴וְדָוִד	
NCtr	הוּא זְעֵירָא	
wsubjqet	וּתְלָתָה רַבְרְבַיָּא אֲזַלוּ בָּתַר שָׁאוּל:	
wsubjpart	¹⁵וְדָוִד אָזֵיל	
wpart	וְתָאֵיב מִלְּוָת שָׁאוּל לְמִרְעֵי יָת עָנָא דַּאֲבוּהִי בֵּית לֶחֶם:	
wqet	¹⁶וְקָרֵיב פְּלִשְׁתָּאָה מַקְדֵּים וּמַחְשִׁיךְ	

6.5.5 1Samuel 7:10, 3:2-4a, and 23:26cd-27a

MSwqet	והוה ²	1Samuel 3:2-4a
temp	ביומא ההוא	
wsubjpart	ועלי שכיב באתריה	
wsubjqet	ועינוהי שריאה למכהי	
lapart	לא יכיל למחזי:	protasis
wsubjqet	³ ובוצין בית מקדשא דיי עד לא טפא	
wsubjqet	ושמואל שכיב בעזרת ליואי	
wsubjqet	וקלא אשתמע מהיכלא דיי	
NCctr	דתמן ארונא דיי:	
wqet	⁴ וקרא יי לשמואל	apodosis
wqet	ואמר	
MSwqet	והוה ¹⁰	1Samuel 7:10ab
subjpart	שמואל מסיק עלתא	protasis
wsubjqet	ופלשתאי אתקרבו לאגחא קרבא בישראל	
wqet	ואכלי יי בקל רב ביומא ההוא על פלשתאי	apodosis
wqet	²⁶ ואזל שאול מסטר טורא מכא	1Samuel 23:26-27a
wtr	ודויד וגברוהי מסטר טורא מכא	
MSwqet	והוה	
subjpart	דוד מתבעית למיזל מן קדם שאול	protasis
wsubjpart	ושאול וגברוהי כמנין על דויד ועל גברוהי למיחדהון:	
wsubjqet	²⁷ ואזגדא אתא לות שאול למימר	apodosis

6.5.6   1Samuel 9:1-27

wqet	והוה גברא חד משבטא דבית בנימין **1 Samuel 9:1** ^{TAR}	
NCwtr	ושמיה קיש בר אביאל בר צרור בר בכורת בר אפיח בר גברא משבטא דבית בנימין גבר חילא:	
wobjqet	² וליה הוה בר	
NCwtr	ושמיה שאול	
NCr	עולים	
NCwr	ושפיר	
NCwtr	ולית גברא מבני ישראל דשפיר מניה מכתפיה ולעילא רם מכל עמא:	
wqet	³ ואבדא אתניא לקיש אבוהי דשאול	
wqet	ואמר קיש לשאול בריה	
	Direct speech	
wqet	⁴ ועבר בטורא דבית אפרים	
wqet	ועבר בארע דרומא	
wlaqet	ולא אשכחו	
wqet	ועברו בארע מתיברא	
wlaqet	ולית	
wqet	ועבר בארע שיבט בנימין	
wlaqet	ולא אשכחו:	
subjqet	⁵ אנון אתו בארעא דבה נביא	comment retrospect
wsubjqet [NCcr]	ושאול אמר לעולימיה דעמיה	comment retrospect
	Direct speech	
wqet	⁶ ואמר ליה	
	Direct speech	
wqet	⁷ ואמר שאול לעולימיה	
	Direct speech	
wqet	⁸ ואוסיף עולימא למעני ית שאול	
wqet	ואמר	
	Direct speech	
temp	⁹ בקדמין בישראל	a comment retrospect
advqet	כדנן אמר גברא במיזליה למתבע אלפן מן קדם יי	
	איתו	b
	ונתמטי עד חזויא	c
cobjpart	ארי לנביא יומא דין מתקרי מלקדמין חזויא:	d narrative
wqet	¹⁰ ואמר שאול לעולימיה	
	Direct speech	
wqet [NCctr]	ואזלו לקרתא דתמן נביא דיי:	
subjpart	¹¹ אנון סלקין במסקנא דקרתא	comment zero degree

wsubjqet	ואנון אשכחו עולימן נפקן לממלי מיא	comment zero degree
wqet	ואמרו להון	
	Direct speech	
wqet	¹²ואתיבא יתהון	
wqet	ואמרא	
	Direct speech	
wqet	¹⁴וסליקו לקרתא	
subjpart	האנון עלין בגו קרתא	comment zero degree
wMS subjpart	והא שמואל נפיק לקדמותהון למסק לבית אסחרותא:	comment zero degree
wobjqet	¹⁵ומן קדם יי אתאמר לשמואל יומא חד קדם מיתי שאול למימר:	comment retrospect
temp	¹⁶כעדנא הדין מחר	
yiqtul	אשלח לותך גברא מארע שיבט בנימין	
wyiqtul	ותמשחניה למהוי מלכא על עמי ישראל	Direct speech
wyiqtul	ויפרוק ית עמי מידא דפלשתאי	
cpart/qet	ארי גלי קדמי דחקא דעמי	
cqet	ארי עלת קבילתהון לקדמי:	
wsubjqet	¹⁷ושמואל חזא ית שאול	comment zero degree
wobjqet	ומן קדם יי אתאמר ליה	comment zero degree
	Direct speech	
wqet	¹⁸וערע שאול ית שמואל בגו תרעא	
wqet	ואמר	
impv	חוי כען לי	
NCrt	אידין בית חזויא:	
wqet	¹⁹ואתיב שמואל ית שאול	
wqet	ואמר	
	Direct speech	
wqet	²¹ואתיב שאול	
wqet	ואמר	
	Direct speech	
wqet	²²ודבר שמואל ית שאול וית עולימיה	
wqet	ואעילנון לאסחרותא	
wqet	ויהב להון אתרא בריש זמינא	
NCwtr	ואנון כתלתין גברא:	
wqet	²³ואמר שמואל לטבחא	
wqet	²⁴וארים טבחא ית שקא וירכיה	
wqet	ושוי קדם שאול	
wqet	ואמר	
	Direct speech	
wqet	ואכל שאול עם שמואל ביומא ההוא:	

wqet	²⁵ונחתו מבית אסחרותא לקרתא		
wqet	ומליל עם שאול על אגרא:		
wqet	²⁶ואקדימו	a	
MSwqet temp cpart	והוה כמסק צפרא	b	
wqet	וקרא שמואל לשאול לאגרא למימר	b	
impv	קום	d	Direct
wyiqtul	ואשלחנך	e	speech
wqet	וקם שאול	f	
wqet	ונפקו תרויהון הוא ושמואל לברא:	g	
subjpart	²⁷אנון נחתין בסטר קרתא	comment zero degree	
wsubjqet	ושמואל אמר לשאול	comment zero degree	
impv	אימר לעולימא		Direct speech
wyiqtul	ויעבר קדמנא		
wqet	ועבר		

6.6 Annex 6: List of comment traces for Chapter 4

14:25ab is comment because 25a shows first word order and (6) redundant information with 14:26ab (the people go into the wood, there is honey). Also, there is (3) no narrative head.

23:27a as xqetal exhibits the following comment traces: (2) prominence of information (his coming saves them from fighting); (3) lack of narrative head (there is 26ab) but they are divided; (11) this is an incidental information which draws Saul's attention to more pressing matters. The presence of the previous xparticiple is trace (13) changing its quality from retrospective to zero narrative.

19:10de - besides comment word-order, 10d shows (2) prominence (he is indeed saved), (3) lack of narrative head (10c refers to the spear), and (6) redundancy of information - (10b: he already escaped)

9:26ab: The comment traces of the two forms are: (2) prominence – 27b contains as rheme a direct speech in which Samuel requires that the servant should leave them; (3) xqetal has no narrative head (it could be considered 26g but xparticiple intervenes); as equivalent of BH xparticiple and xyiqtol, the Targum Aramaic xparticiple displays trace (10) Morphological opposition of narrative (wqatal) and comment (xparticiple and xyiqtol) in BH. Because xqatal has also the presence of xparticiple (trace (13)), they are both zero degree.

14:16b displays comment features of (2) prominence for the episode (the observation of Philistines' breaking leads to Saul's realisation that there is someone fighting them, besides himself), (3) lack of narrative head replaced by (7) והא

4:13bd contains more than one trace of comment. It shows (2) prominence of information (13b the position of Eli, before he dies – he sits outside to hear immediately (13c) because his worried about the ark; 13d the entrance of the messenger to tell about the battle); (3) lack of narrative head; (7) The presence of (והא; 6) redundancy of verb in 13d (repeats it from 13a).

17:14c-15a sequence is comment because of trace: (2) they contain prominent information for the episode (the elder brotehrs went to fight, David stays home and goes back and forth between his duties to Saul and Jesse); (3) there is no narrative head. The (6) xqetal in 14c shows a redundancy with 13ab.

13:16 is a comment as some traces are present ((2) prominence of information (the positions of Saul and Philistines); (3) lack of narrative head; 16a xparticiple repeats the location of Saul just stated in 15b) but it is not a redundancy.

9:11ab are: (2) prominence of information; there is a narrative head in 10e (wqetal) and an apparent temporal juncture between 11ab and 10e. Nevertheless, first word-order with xparticiple-xqetal signal that wqetal narrative continues with a comment zero degree form (no retrospect and no anticipation are present).

9:9a: (2) prominence of information (it answers the question that a reader would ask: 'what is a seer?'); (3) lack of narrative head (there is no contrast or variation with the previous wqetal in 8b); (11) it conveys incidental information; (9) lack of temporal juncture.

Bibliography

Abraham W., 'Preface: Traces of Bühler's Semiotic Legacy in Modern Linguistics' in *Theory of Language*, edited by D. F. Goodwin and A. Eschbach (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2011).

Atwood Margaret, *Dancing Girls and Other Stories: Polarities* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982).

———, *Dancing Girls and Other Stories: The Grave of the Famous Poet* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982).

Bar–Hillel Y., *Language and Information* (London: Addison–Wesley, 1973).

Barthes R., *Le degré zéro de l'écriture* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972).

Benveniste É., and M. E. Meek [tr], 'The Correlations of Tense in the French Verb' in *Problems in General Linguistics* (Florida: University of Miami Press, 1959/1971).

Binnick R. I., *Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect* (New York/Oxford: OUP, 1991).

———, 'Aspect and Aspectuality' in *The Handbook of English Linguistics*, edited by B. Aarts and A. M. S. McMahon (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006).

Bloomfield L., *Language* (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1933).

Bolinger D. L., 'Linear Modification', *PMLA* 67, No. 7 (1952), 1117–44.

Borges J. L., *The Aleph and Other Stories: Emma Zunz* (London: NY: Penguin Classics, 1998).

Bronzwaer W. J. M., 'Review: Harald Weinrich, *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Second Edition, 1971)', *Poetics* 2, No. 4 (1973), 109–13.

Bühler K., D. F. Goodwin, and A. Eschbach [tr], *Theory of Language* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1934/2011).

Daneš F., 'A Three–Level Approach to Syntax' in *Travaux linguistique de Prague 1*, edited by F. Daneš, K. Horálek, V. Skalička, P. Trost and J. Vacheck (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1966).

———, 'Prague School Functionalism as a Precursor of Text Linguistics' in *L'Ecole de Prague: l'apport epistemologique*, edited by M. Mahmoudian and P. Sériot (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1994).

de Beaugrande R., 'The Heritage of Functional Sentence Perspective from the Standpoint of Text Linguistics', *Linguistica Pragensia* 34/1–2, (1992), 2–26 and 55–86. I had access to the online version hence, the inside numbering of references: http://www.beaugrande.com/LinguisticaPragiensa.htm.

———, 'Text Linguistics' in *Discursive Pragmatics*, edited by Jan Zienkowski, Jan–Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2011).

de Beaugrande R., and W. U. Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1981).

Derrida J., and A. Bass [tr], 'Implications' in *Positions* (Chicago: Chicago U.P, 1967/1981).

Derrida J., and G. C. Spivak [trans], *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore/London: JHUP, 1976/1997).

Dry H., 'Sentence Aspect and the Movement of Narrative Time', *Text* 1, No. 3 (1981), 233–40.

———, 'The Movement of Narrative Time', *Journal of Literary Semantics* 12, No. 2 (1983), 19–53.

———, 'Foregrounding: An Assessment' in *Language in Context*, edited by S. J. J. Hwang, W. R. Merrifield and R. E. Longacre (Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington, 1992).

Eskhult M., *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Uppsala/Stockholm: Uppsala University, 1990).

Esser J., *Introduction to English Text–linguistics* (Frankfurt/New York: Peter Lang, 2009).

Firbas J., 'Some Thoughts on the Function of Word Order in Old English and Modern English', *SMFPUB* A5, (1957), 72–100.

———, 'From Comparative Word–order Studies', *BSE* 4, (1964), 111–28.

———, 'On the Interplay of Prosodic and Non–Prosodic Means of FSP' in *The Prague school of Linguistics and Language Teaching*, edited by V. Fried (London: OUP, 1972).

———, 'A Functional View of 'Ordo Naturalis'', *BSE* 13, (1979), 29–59.

———, *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992).

Fludernik M., 'Narrative Schemata and Temporal Anchoring' [In English], *Journal of Literary Semantics* 21, (1992), 118–53.

———, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1993).

———, 'Narratology and Literary Linguistics' in *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, edited by R. I. Binnick (Oxford, New York: OUP, 2012).

Fowlie W., 'Review: 'Proust and the Sense of Time' by Julia Kristeva', *The Sewanee Review* 102, No. 1 (1994), xix–xxi.

Geiger Gregor, *Hebrew A+B: Academic Year 2012–2013* (2012 [academic course]).

Genette G., *Figures II* (Paris: Seuil, 1969).

———, 'Time and Narrative in *A la recherche du temps perdu*' in *Aspects of Narrative*, edited by J. H. Miller (NY: Columbia University Press, 1971).

Genette G., and J. E. Lewin [tr], *Narrative Discourse Revisited* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1983/1988).

Genette G., and Jane E. Lewin [tr], *Narrative Discourse (Figures III: Discours du récit)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972/1983).

Givón T., 'The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew' in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, edited by Charles N. Li (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

Goethe J. W. von, and J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1982).

Goethe Johann Wolfgang von, Johann Peter Eckermann, John Oxenford, and J. K. Moorhead, *Conversations with Goethe* (Da Capo Press, reprint of the 1930 London edition, 1998).

Griffiths P., *An Introduction to English Semantics and Pragmatics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

Guerrero-Strachan S. R., 'Récit, Story, Tale, Novella' in *Romantic Prose Fiction*, edited by G. Gillespie, M. Engel and B. Dieterle (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 2008).

Hamburger K., 'Das epische Präteritum', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 27, No. 3 (1953), 329-57.

Hamburger K., and M. J. Rose [tr], *The Logic of Literature* (Bloomington: IUP, 1971/1993).

Harrington D. J., and A. J. Saldarini, *The Aramaic Bible 10: Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1987).

Hodge Joanna, *Derrida on Time* (London/New York: Routledge, 2007).

Hopper P. J., 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse' in *Discourse and Syntax*, edited by J. M. Sadock and T. Givón (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

———, *Tense–aspect: Between Semantics & Pragmatics* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1982).

———, 'Dispersed Verbal Predicates in Vernacular Written Narrative' in *Directions in Functional Linguistics*, edited by A. Kamio and D. Dokkyō (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1991/1997).

———, 'Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English' in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse*, edited by J. L. Bybee, M. Noonan and S. A. Thompson (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub. Co, 2002).

Hopper P. J., and S. A. Thompson, 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', *Language* 56, No. 2 (1980), 251–99.

Jakobson R., 'Zero Sign' in *Russian and Slavic Grammar: Studies, 1931–1981*, edited by L. R. Waugh and M. Halle (Berlin: Mouton Publishers, 1939/1984).

———, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translations' in *Selected Writings II: Word and Lanugage*, edited by R. Jakobson (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1971).

Jastrow Marcus, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* (London: Luzac&Co., 1903).

Kafka F., *Der Prozess* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1983).

Karcevski S., *Système du verbe russe* (Prague: Legiografie, 1927).

———, 'Remarques sur la psychologie du russe' in *Inédits et introuvables*, edited by I. Fougeron and G. Fougeron (Leuven: Peeters, 1938/2000).

Klein W., *Time in language* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994).

Kristeva J., *Time and Sense: Proust and the Experience of Literature* (New–York, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Kristeva J., and S. Bann [trans], *Proust and the Sense of Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Kustár P., *Aspekt in Hebräischen* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Kommissionsverlag, 1972).

Kuty R. J., *Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

Labov W., *Language in the Inner City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972/1986).

Labov W., and J. Waletzky, 'Narrative analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience', *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, No. 7 (1967/1997), 3–38.

Lee H., *To Kill a Mockingbird* (London: Folio-Society, 1996).

Licht J., *Storytelling in the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1978).

Lindgren Kaj B., *Über den oberdeutschen Präteritumschwund* (Helsinki: Suomalainen-Tiedeakatemia, 1957).

Longacre R. E., and A. C. Bowling, *Understanding Biblical Hebrew Verb Forms: Distribution and Function Across Genres* (Dallas, TX: SIL–International–Publications, 2015).

Lyons J., *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: University Press, 1969).

Maiden M., and C. Robustelli, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Italian* (London: Hodder-Arnold, 2007).

Mann G., *Geschichte und Geschichten* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1962).

McFall Leslie, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982).

Meister J. C. 'Narratology.' In *The Living Handbook of Narratology,* edited by Peter Hühn and et al Hamburg: Hamburg University; URL: http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/narratology [consulted 26/03/2016], 2011, revised 2014.

Messina P., 'Il sistema verbale dell'Aramaico Biblico: Un approccio linguistico–testuale' in *Ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ*, edited by G. Geiger and M. Pazzini (Milano/Jerusalem: Edizioni Terra Santa, Franciscan Printing Press, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum–Analecta 78, 2011).

Müller G., 'Erzählzeit und erzählte Zeit' in *Festschrift fur Paul Kluckhohn und Hermann Schneider* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1948; reprint in *Morphologische Poetik* (Tübingen: 1968)).

Niccacci A., *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum–Analecta 23, 1986).

———, *Lettura sintattica della prosa ebraico–biblica* (Jerusalem: FPP, 1991).

———, 'Dall'aoristo all'imperfetto o dal primo piano allo sfondo', *Liber Annuus* 42, (1992), 85–108.

———, 'Marked Syntactical Structures in Biblical Greek in comparison with Biblical Hebrew', *Liber Annuus* 43, (1993), 9–69.

———, 'Diluvio, Sintassi e Metodo', *Liber Annuus* 44, (1994), 9–69.

———, 'Syntactic Analysis of Rut', *Liber Annuus* 45, (1995), 69–106.

———, *Sintassi del verbo ebraico nella prosa biblica classica* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press [SBF course support], 2011).

Niccacci A., and W. G. E. Watson [tr], *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, JSOTSS 86, 1990).

Oxford–Paravia, *Italian Dictionary* (Milano/Oxford: Paravia–OUP, 2010).

Radford A., *Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge/New York: CUP, 2009).

Reichenbach H., *Elements of Symbolic Logic* (New York: Macmillan, 1948).

Reid W., 'The Quantitative Validation of a Grammatical Hypothesis: the Passé Simple and the Imparfait' in *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society*, edited by J. A. Kegl, D. Nash and A. Zaenen (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1977).

Reinhart T., 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in the Temporal Organization of Narrative Texts', *Linguistics* 22, (1984), 779–809.

Rowner Ilai, *The Event: Literature and Theory* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015).

Salinger J. D., *The Catcher in the Rye* (New York: Random House, 1951).

Sanders T., and J. Sanders, 'Text and Text Analysis' in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)*, edited by Keith Brown (Oxford: Elsevier, 2006).

Schneider W. J., *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (München: Claudius–Verlag, 1974).

Schoenke Eva, 'Textlinguistik im deutschsprachigen Raum' in *Text– und Gesprächslinguistik: Linguistics of Text and Conversation*, edited by Klaus Brinker, Gerd Antos, Wolfgang Heinemann and Sven F. Sager (Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 2000).

Sgall P., E. Hajičová, and J. Panevová, *The Meaning of the Sentence in its Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects* (Prague: Academia, 1986).

Shepherd M. B., *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic: a Distributional Approach* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2008).

Sinclair J., and Collins COBUILD, *CoBuild English Language Dictionary* (London: Collins COBUILD, 1987/1995).

Sperber Alexander, *The Bible in Aramaic: Volume II - The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959).

Staalduine–Sulman Eveline van, *The Targum of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Steiner P., 'The Roots of Structuralist Estetics' in *The Prague School: Selected writings, 1929–1946*, edited by P. Steiner (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982).

Sternberg M., *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore: Indiana University Press, 1978).

Svoboda A., *Diatheme* (Brno: Masaryk University, 1981).

Talstra E., 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible I: Elements of a Theory', *Biblica et Orientalia* 35 (1978), 169–74.

———, 'Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible II: Syntax and Semantics', *Biblica et Orientalia* 39 (1982), 26–38.

Tarsee L., *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: An Explanation in the Context of Grammaticalization* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Taylor B. A., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: 1Samuel* ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright(Oxford: OUP, 2007).

Thackeray H. St John, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London: British Academy, 1921).

Thompson S. A., ''Subordination' and Narrative Event Structure' in *Grounding and Coherence in Discourse*, edited by R. S. Tomlin (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1987).

Uhlírová L., 'The relationship between the semantics of adverbials and functional sentence perspective (in Czech)', *Slovo a slovesnost* 35, (1974), 99–106.

Unseld S., *Goethe and his Publishers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Weil H., and A. D. Scaglione[tr], *The Order of Words in the Ancient Languages Compared with that of the Modern Languages* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1844/1978).

Weinrich H., *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964/1985).

———, 'Syntax als Dialektik', *Poetica* 1, (1967), 109–26.

———, 'Tempus, Zeit, und der Zauberberg', *Vox Romanica* 26, (1967), 31-41.

———, 'Tense and Time', *Archivium Linguisticum* 1, (1970), 31–41.

———, *Sprache in Texten* (Koln: Klett–Cotta, 1976).

———, *Tempus. Le funzioni dei tempi nel testo* (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1978).

———, *On Borrowed Time* (Chicago/London: Universtiy of Chicago Press, 2008).

Wellek R., and E. A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949).

Werlich E., *A Text Grammar of English* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1976/1982).

Wright B. G., and A. Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).

Wunderlich H., and H. Reis, *Der deutsche Satzbau* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1924).