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STORYLINE AND THEME IN A BIBLICAL NARRATIVE

1 Samuel 3

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0. Introduction

The following study is a comparison of two approaches to discourse analysis.[1] Robert E. Longacre's approach focuses on (1) discourse profiles based on the surface structure and notional (plot) structure of a text and (2) verb ranking schemes for identifying the main line of development of a text. Robert D. Bergen's approach focuses on statistical measures of unusualness in verbal structures as a means of identifying thematic material. The purpose of this study is to examine the claims, strengths, and weaknesses of both approaches and to demonstrate the contributions of both to an overall discourse analysis.

Both approaches have been applied to biblical Hebrew narrative, particularly in the Pentateuch. The text under study here, 1 Sm 3, is likewise a biblical Hebrew narrative; however, it is found outside the Pentateuch. A favorite of many, it is a story of how the Lord restores his revelation to Israel when he calls the young boy Samuel and establishes him as a prophet.

1. Two approaches to discourse analysis

1.1 Longacre's model. One of the major features of Longacre's model is his discourse profile, a blueprint of the overall structure of

[1]This paper is based on an earlier paper by the author presented in December 1986 to the faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Texas at Arlington in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics.

a text. He proposes two levels of structure: (1) the more universal, underlying notional structure (plot structure) and (2) the specific surface structure manifested by a given text in a given language (Longacre 1983:20–25). Longacre proposes the following features in the notional structure of climactic narrative text: Exposition, Inciting Moment, Developing Conflict, Climax, Denouement, Final Suspense and Conclusion. These features may be realized on the surface as Aperture, Stage, Prepeak Episodes, Peak, Peak' (Peak prime), Postpeak Episodes, Closure, and Finis. (Aperture and Finis are strictly features of surface structure) (Longacre 1983:22).

Longacre and his colleagues have conducted many years of in-depth study on the morphosyntactic devices which are used to mark these structures on the surface. Special attention has been given to Peak, described by Longacre as a zone of turbulence. At Peak the normal grammatical devices of main-line development and participant reference may be suddenly altered. Patterns are broken to draw special attention to the high point of the story. Peak is a surface structure actualization of the Climax or Denouement, the points of highest tension in a story. Many of the world's languages use special devices to highlight the climax of a story. These devices, Longacre's 'bag of tricks', are categorized as follows (1983:26–38): (1) **rhetorical underlining** involving restatement of information in parallelisms, paraphrases, and tautologies; (2) **concentration of participants** on stage; (3) **heightened vividness** obtained by shifting the ratio of nouns to verbs, shifting the verb tense, shifting to a more specific person (3rd to 2nd to 1st person), or by shifting along a parameter of narrative › pseudo-dialogue › dialogue › drama; (4) **change of pace** obtained by shortening or lengthening the units and varying the amount of conjunctions and transitions; (5a) **change of vantage point** as a change in the focal person of the story; (5b) **change in orientation** as change in the agent and patient role as encoded in the subject and object slots; or change such as inanimate participants becoming subject; (6a) **incidence of particles** increasing or decreasing; and (6b) **onomatopoeia** increasing. These highlighting devices may be found throughout a text, but they tend to intensify as tension builds toward the Climax of the story. A tension profile of a typical narrative results in a curve that begins low in the Stage (notional Exposition) and gradually rises until it reaches its highest point at the climax of the story. It may spike again at the Denouement and then drop off as the story closes. (See Appendix 2 and Longacre 1979:95 for examples of profiles.)

According to Longacre's model, texts are also structured by levels of information. Jones and Jones (1979:6) relate these levels to degrees of significance. The backbone level (also referred to as the main line, event line, and more recently, the storyline in narrative) is deemed most significant because it carries the primary events of the story. Other levels of information are considered supportive of the backbone and are assigned in varying degrees toward the background. In many of the world's languages, these levels of information are marked on the surface by a particular verb tense/aspect/mood, an affix, particle, specific word order, or some other morphosyntactic device (Longacre 1983:17). For example, in biblical Hebrew, the preterite (*wāw-* conversive + imperfect) is said to mark the primary storyline in a narrative text. Whereas the perfect marks the secondary storyline, and the participle marks backgrounded activities (Longacre n.d.). Longacre and his colleagues have developed rank schemes for the levels of information found in narratives in several different languages. These levels are presented on a cline from the most dynamic (event-like) information to the most static information. (See Appendix 1 for Longacre's cline for biblical Hebrew.)

Longacre has claimed that by tracing the backbone (or primary storyline), the analyst can derive an abstract of the text. In fact, the backbone carries the abstract from which the narrator generates the text, fleshing it out with background information and details (Longacre n.d.). In the study of abstracts, Longacre has drawn from van Dijk's concept of **macrostructure** (1977, 1980). Van Dijk describes macrostructures as semantic global structures that reflect the intuitive notions of theme, topic, upshot or gist of a text (1980:27). A macrostructure is derived through a series of rules (construction, generalization, deletion) that are applied to the text. These rules reduce the text to a few statements which comprise the global meaning of the text (1980:46–50). Longacre proposes that another way to arrive at the macrostructure of a text is to begin with the backbone constructions (preterite in biblical Hebrew) and then apply the rules above, resulting in a good summary of the text (1979:98–100). In this study I will demonstrate that this methodology does not always produce the desired effect. To begin analysis with the backbone is too limiting. It automatically excludes background information that is often crucial to the general thrust, meaning, or point of a text. The backbone may give an abstract of the action of the story, but it will not always include all the crucial elements of a story summary, such as the purpose for the action or the problem to be solved.

Longacre has long viewed the event line (or storyline) material as something distinct from thematic material or the theme line in a text. Jones and Jones (1979:5) likewise have proposed two structures: the referential content or information structure (which includes events, participants, setting, background, etc., in narrative texts) and the thematic structure. They acknowledge that the two may at times be inextricably intertwined. Longacre and his colleagues have given primary focus to plot structure, delineation of levels of information, and tracking of event line versus background lines of information. The event line has been emphasized because of its structural importance to the text. It carries the sequential, punctiliar, causally related events which characterize a text as narrative (Longacre 1987). With the introduction of macrostructures and the attempts to derive a summary or abstract from the event line, the distinction between event line (or storyline) and thematic line has been blurred. It is uncertain what is meant by macrostructure from Longacre's perspective. Is it a theme, an abstract, or simply a summary of the action of a story? I propose that this problem underlines the need to expand the theory in the area of theme and theme derivation.

1.2. Bergen's statistical model. Robert D. Bergen's approach to discourse analysis is focused on identification of thematic material. His basic premise is that authors highlight the information they deem most important in a text. This highlighting occurs through the manipulation of three basic structural components: (1) the order, (2) the amount, and (3) the kind of information in a text.[2] He refers to these highlighted areas as 'author-intended meaning centers' (Bergen 1984b:ix). Bergen holds that the most prominent information in a text is the thematic information. If an analyst can determine the information the author has highlighted or marked prominent, he can arrive at the theme of the text.

Bergen describes a number of highlighting techniques that are characteristic of Old Testament Hebrew narrative texts. Some of these techniques include: the insertion of God's name at key moments, the insertion of time elements at key moments, the insertion of expository or other nonnarrative material, repetition, lengthened units, increased embedding, and use of unusual verbal structures (Bergen 1985a).

[2]By 'kind of information', Bergen is referring to the types of grammatical structures that occur such as nouns, verbs (their particular tenses and stems), and direct objects. It also includes the type of referent of each verbal structure.

The last technique, unusual verbal structures, has become the focus of Bergen's study in recent years. He has completed an analysis of all the verbal structures that occur in the narrative nonquotational material in the Pentateuch. His analysis combines several of the highlighting techniques above. Bergen (1986) has tentatively defined a verbal structure as follows:

> A grammatico-structural unit of language which (1) contains one verb (whether that verb be finite or nonfinite), or (1a) contains no verb but could nonetheless be construed as a verbless clause, (2) contains at least one word, and (3) includes all grammatically dependent/related words which are not themselves part of another verbal structure.

Bergen identified all the verbal units in the narrative framework of the Pentateuch and analyzed them according to four factors that he deems important in identifying highlighted material in biblical narrative. The first factor is the unit's **verb-structural type,** which includes the type of structures occurring before the verb slot (e.g. subject, conjunction, time word, etc.) and the type of verb word, if any, used in the verb slot (e.g. participle, imperfect, infinitive, etc.). Another factor is the **unit length,** the number of words employed in the unit. The third factor is the type of **verb stem** used, and the last is the **referent type,** the type of being or object that is understood as the subject of each unit, such as human, divine, inanimate, or impersonal (Bergen 1984a:3–4). Collectively, these factors provide a profile of the order, amount, and kind of information present within each area of a narrative text.

After compiling the data on the verbal units, Bergen conducted a statistical analysis based on frequency of occurrence. He measured the frequency of each verb-structural type and referent type occurring in the Pentateuch. He also measured the frequency of each unit length and verb stem in the book of Genesis (a 40 percent sampling of the entire narrative framework of the Pentateuch). On the basis of these statistics, he assigned a numerical value to each verb-structural type, unit length, verb stem, and referent type. He then assigned a composite value to each verbal unit as a whole. The analysis was designed to quantify the verbal units objectively and systematically in order to identify those types of units that occur less frequently and are, therefore, considered uncommon or unusual. The most common verb-structural type in Pentateuch narrative was the preterite (*wāw*-conversive + imperfect) with the Qal stem. The most common unit length was two words, and the most common referent type was human. Bergen's basic assumption is that those verbal units that occur least frequently are highly marked in the surface structure of

the text and serve to highlight special information. Bergen proposes that these highly unusual constructions carry the theme of the text.

Bergen has recently developed a computer program, *Discourse critical text analysis program,* which applies the frequency norms established in the Pentateuch to any narrative (nonquotational) verbal unit found in the Old Testament Hebrew text. Data is entered reflecting the verb-structural type, unit length, verb stem, and referent type of each verbal unit in a given text. The program assigns a discourse critical value (composite value) to each unit and produces a graph displaying the unit values in relation to their location in the text (for the values in 1 Sm 3, see Appendix 6). Those units with markedly high values are considered to be unusual constructions in the text and are, therefore, prominent markers of thematic information.

Bergen's statistical analysis is limited in scope at its present stage of development. It is focused on only one level of text, the verbal unit. Bergen's ultimate goal in the development of the program is to include higher levels of information, such as sentence and paragraph, and other types of information, such as quotation. Bergen's analysis does not provide a comprehensive analysis of a text. It is intended as a tool for quickly sorting out prominent units indicative of theme. The tool must be used in conjunction with a broader, more comprehensive analysis. Despite these limitations, the present study will demonstrate that Bergen's approach is useful in identifying thematic information. His approach will also demonstrate the importance of background information to the theme or abstract of a text.

2. Analysis

2.1 Methodology. To begin a discourse analysis of 1 Sm 3, the text is arranged in a chart according to verbal units in order to facilitate application of Bergen's statistical analysis to the text. The verbal units are basically clause-level units; however, in Bergen's analysis every verb constitutes a separate unit, so constructions that might be considered closely related in verb phrases (in a single clause) are broken apart into separate units, such as (1) *wayyōsep yhwh* 'And did-again the-LORD' and (2) *qĕrō'* 'to-call'.[3]

[3]The charting system used in this study is a modification of the Longacre-Levinsohn chart (1978:111), a tool for analyzing discourse texts. The text was broken down into verbal units and plotted horizontally across columns with each verbal unit on a separate line. The columns reflect the given word order and the grammatical slot each word fills. The verbal units are identified by verse number and an assigned letter.

Next, an analysis is made of the higher-level structure of the text. Boundaries are determined, and the text is divided into its major units, which are, here, Setting, Episodes, Closure, and Summary.[4] An analysis is then made of those units in order to determine the plot structure, the occurrence of the preterite (Longacre's primary storyline), the development of tension, and the highlighted (prominent) points in the story. This analysis yields two profiles of the text. The first profile illustrates the development of tension as the story progresses. The second profile illustrates the prominence of the units in relation to one another in the linear development of the text. Prominence is determined by means of a Longacre-type analysis of observing highlighted features in the surface structure of the text.

Next, as a point of comparison, Bergen's statistical analysis is applied to the text by means of his computer program, *Discourse critical text analysis program.* The program analyzes the verbal units in 1 Sm 3 and assigns a composite value to each one. Those units with high values are considered unusual constructions in the text. A graph of the composite values yields yet another profile of the text.

A comparison is then made of the above profiles to determine the similarities and contrasts in what is determined to be highlighted points in the text. The hypothesis is that Bergen's unusual constructions will occur at prominent points and that these constructions will carry the theme of the text.

2.2 Analysis from Longacre's perspective. The text under study, 1 Sm 3, is divided into eight major units. Each unit is presented below with a discussion of its boundaries and special features.

2.2.1 General setting/exposition (3:1). The narrative begins with an expository paragraph describing the general background of the story. We are told that the story is specifically about Samuel, a character introduced earlier in the larger text. All the major participants—Samuel, the Lord, and Eli—are presented in the very first sentence, *wĕhannaʿar šĕmûʾēl mĕšārēt ʾet-yhwh lipnê ʿēlî* 'Now the child Samuel was ministering to the LORD before Eli.' The next sentences, 3:1b, c, and d, give a general description of the religious situation in Israel, *ûdĕbar-yhwh hāyâ yāqār bayyāmîm hāhēm ʾên ḥāzôn niprāṣ°* 'And the word of the LORD was rare in those days; there was no frequent vision'. Two existential structures are employed here, *hāyâ* 'was' and *ʾên* 'there was no'. The subjects of both of these structures are inanimate and are in reference to the Lord: 'the word

[4]The term *Setting* is employed here rather than Longacre's *Stage.*

of the LORD' and 'vision'.[5] These two sentences form a paraphrase which Longacre labels negated antonym paraphrase (1983:114). The first statement is reinforced by the negation of an opposing statement. This type of construction is a rhetorical-underlining device used here to highlight the scarcity of God's revealed word.

2.2.2 Episode 1 (3:2–5).

2.2.2.1 Specific setting/exposition (3:2–3). A distinct boundary occurs at v. 2 in the text with the typical opening, *wayĕhî* 'And it was', and the time margin, *bayyôm hahû'* 'in that day'. This boundary marks a distinct separation between the General Setting and the Specific Setting of the text. In the present analysis the Specific Setting is viewed as more closely tied to Episode 1 than to the General Setting, resulting in some skewing of expository and action information. Episode 1, usually associated with the beginning of the action of the story, begins with expository material encoded as Specific Setting. The Inciting Moment occurs later in the episode with the onset of the event line.

The Specific Setting presents Eli's location and a description of his condition. The two sentences describing his failing eyesight form another negated antonym paraphrase. It is not certain what is being highlighted in this paraphrase. It may be Eli's poor physical condition or possibly his spiritual condition. This may explain why there was no frequent vision: the spiritual leader of Israel was blind.

The time of the story is set in reference to the burning of the lamp of God. Once again, this description may refer to the time of day, or it may also refer to God's presence, or his revelation in Israel, 'The lamp of God had not yet gone out' (v. 3). Samuel's location is given in reference to the temple and the ark of God. He is sleeping in the place where God reveals himself.

One feature which stands out in this setting paragraph is the repetition of God's name. There are three consecutive references to God: the lamp of God, the temple of the Lord, and the ark of God. Bergen suggests that the Lord's name is inserted to create tension (1985d).

It should be noted that in both the General Setting and the Specific Setting all the subjects are preposed. Longacre explains that the SVO word order is the normal pattern for expository paragraphs (1983:17). Since the event line of the narrative is carried primarily by

[5]The assumption here is that *'ĕn*, though a particle, functions as a verb and thus accepts a subject.

clauses with postposed subjects, it appears that these expository paragraphs stand out in contrast. It is possible that the combination of preposed subjects, concentrated reference to the Lord, and the immediate presentation of all major participants in the first sentence would serve to highlight this story as something special in the overall text. It is interesting that commentators refer to this story as especially significant in the history of Israel (e.g. Keil and Delitzsch 1968:13):

> The call of Samuel to be the prophet and judge of Israel formed a turning point in the history of the Old Testament kingdom of God. As the prophet of Jehovah, Samuel was to lead the people of Israel out of the times of the judges into those of the kings, and lay the foundation for a prosperous development of the monarchy.

2.2.2.2 The first call/inciting moment (3:4–5). In v. 4 we see a distinct shift, indicative of a unit boundary; the background information ends and the event line begins. The subject, the Lord, is postposed. It is the only explicit subject in the remainder of the episode. There is a sudden onset of action and an immediate build-up of tension as the Lord calls to Samuel in the middle of the night. Samuel runs to Eli, but Eli sends him back. The quotations here are simple and brief. Eli tells him what to do and he does it exactly. There is little complexity in this episode. Samuel goes and lies down, a finalizing action which brings him full circle to the place where he started, and the episode is closed.[6]

2.2.3 Episode 2/developing conflict (3:6–7): The second call. In v. 6 we see the construction, *wayyōsep yhwh qĕrō'* 'And the LORD did again to call' or 'And the LORD called again'. This construction introduces a complete repetition of the events in the previous episode. It occurs two other places in the text and seems to function as a boundary marker.

This episode is longer than the first. The added length serves to slow down the pace of events and to gradually build tension as the audience waits to hear what will happen. Verse 7a–b, which is not found in Episode 1, is an interesting addition to this episode:

	S	Adv	V	O
v. 7a	*ûšĕmû'ēl*	*ṭerem*	*yādaʿ*	*'et-yhwh*
	And Samuel	not-yet	knew	0 the-LORD

[6]Longacre notes (1986) that cessation of activity is a typical device used around the world to close an episode in narrative discourse.

	Adv	V	ID	S
v. 7b	*wĕṭerem*	*yiggāleh*	*ʾēlāyw*	*dĕbar-yhwh*
	And-not-yet	had-been-revealed	to-him	the-word-of the-LORD

The constructions in v. 7a–b appear to be highly marked, giving them special prominence in the episode, possibly in the story overall. They are off the event line, the first background information since the event line began. Likewise Samuel, in v. 7a, is the first preposed subject since the event line began. The sentences are inserted almost as an aside, a preview of coming events.[7] The constructions of v. 7 are also marked in that they form an equivalence paraphrase (Longacre 1983:115). Unlike the paraphrases seen earlier, these constructions are both expressed in the negative, *ṭerem* 'not yet'. The negative serves to highlight the foreshadowed events, 'Samuel did not yet know the LORD' (but he will!). There is also an interesting structural relationship between the two parts of the paraphrase. They are formulated so that 'the LORD' is the object in v. 7a, and 'the word of the LORD' is subject in v. 7b; however, in both constructions reference to the Lord is the final element. Both constructions reflect normal Hebrew word order. When the indirect object is pronominalized, the subject normally follows rather than precedes it. It is possible that these constructions were chosen by the author (consciously or unconsciously) to keep reference to the Lord in the final position. The final position may serve as a position of prominence in Hebrew narrative.

2.2.4 Episode 3/developing conflict (3:8–9): The third call. Once more we see the phrase, *wayyōsep yhwh qĕrōʾ* 'And again the LORD called'. It is used to introduce yet another repetition of the previous events. Again the phrase seems to serve as a boundary marker, at least in this story. A specific time element, *baššĕlīšît* 'the third time', serves to reinforce this boundary. It also helps build tension. This is the third time the Lord has called. How many times will it take for Samuel to realize it is the Lord? What will happen when he does? This episode is longer than the previous two. Thus we see a steady increase in both length and tension.

Verse 8h–i marks an important turning point in the story: *wayyāben ʿēlî kî yhwh qōrēʾ lannāʿar* 'And Eli understood that the

[7]Ernst R. Wendland (1984), in his discourse analysis of Genesis 37, describes several instances of previewing. He explains the technique as a device for relieving tension in the story. It may also serve as a common cohesive device in Hebrew narrative.

LORD was calling the child'. From this point the story is able to move forward after circling around in repeating cycles. In the dependent clause, v. 8i, a participle occurs, the only one in the nonquotational structures in the main body of the text. The subject, 'the LORD', is the second preposed subject since the event line began. Also, all the major participants are presented in this sentence. It would appear, then, that this sentence is being highlighted as especially significant. Samuel is not referred to by name here, but as 'boy', drawing attention to his age. It would probably seem unusual to the audience that the Lord would bypass the spiritual leader of Israel and call a young boy.

Also, in this episode, is the first quote of any length. In fact there is a quote within a quote. Eli tells Samuel what he should do **if** one calls to him, again a previewing of upcoming events. He addresses the Lord by name in an imagined dialogue. The tension is greatly heightened at this point. Eli and Samuel finally know what the audience has known all along, the Lord himself is calling Samuel. Eli then sends the boy back to bed, and the episode closes.

2.2.5 Episode 4 (peak)/climax (3:10–14c): The fourth call. With this episode we reach the Climax of the story, clearly marked on the surface as Peak. This is the longest episode in the narrative. The pace is drastically slowed as words and constructions are added to drag out the climactic events. The Lord appears on stage suddenly, but his action is stretched out over three verbal constructions, v. 10a–c, *wayyābō' yhwh wayyityaṣṣab wayyiqrā'* 'And the LORD came, and he stood, and he called'. The time element, *kĕpa'am-bepa'am* 'as time to time', further lengthens this prominent event. Here also for the first time, the Lord addresses Samuel directly, calling his name twice. Samuel's response is an almost exact repetition of Eli's instructions in Episode 3. There is a switch here at the Peak from brief, simple dialogue to a lengthy monologue. The Lord's message to Samuel is the longest, most complex quote in the narrative. It is divided into at least two major parts each introduced with the explicit subject, 'I'. Verse 11b presents a general statement and v. 13b a more specific statement of God's judgment. The constructions within the monologue are characterized by several layers of complex embedding. The monologue is introduced with *hinnēh* 'behold', a prominence marker that is possibly marking it as prophecy. The subject, *'ānōkî* 'I', is explicit and is preposed to the verb. Longacre (1986) describes *'ānōkî* as the emphatic form (in contrast to *'ănî*). The combination of *hinnēh* + *'ānōkî* + the preposed position serves to mark this as a very prominent construction in the text. There is no question who is

in charge here. The Lord is master of his temple. The final statement, another lengthy construction, begins with the word *wĕlākēn* 'and therefore' (v 14b). Longacre (1986) points out that connectives, such as *wĕlākēn,* are rare in biblical Hebrew. It is used here to highlight God's final judgment on Eli, *wĕlākēn nišbaʿtî lĕbêt ʿēlî ʾim-yitkappēr ʿăwôn bêt-ʿēlî bĕzebaḥ ûbĕminḥâ ʿad-ʿôlām* 'and therefore have I sworn to the house of Eli, the iniquity of the house of Eli shall not be atoned for by sacrifice or by offering forever'.

It is interesting to note that this episode presents an intersection of two lines of action, the destruction of Eli and the establishment of Samuel. The lines meet at the peak of God's call to Samuel. The same message that brings destruction on Eli also establishes Samuel as a prophet. This intersection at Peak would support the suggestion made earlier that this story is marked as specially significant to the overall book. It is a pivotal point in 1 Samuel where the spiritual leadership and the future of Israel is dramatically changed. Eli and his sons are destroyed because of their disobedience, and Samuel is established as the spiritual leader (last in the line of judges and first in the line of prophets). He is God's spokesman to Israel at the time of the establishment of the monarchy.

The final boundary of this episode is indistinct. Verse 15a, *wayyiškab šĕmûʾēl ʿad-habbōqer* 'and Samuel lay down until the morning', seems both to close the Peak episode and to open the next. The construction, *wayyiškab* 'and he lay down', closes all the preceding episodes; however the time element of the subject is explicit in v. 15a but is implicit in v. 15b. It seems unlikely that a new episode would begin with an implicit subject. This gray area between boundaries can be viewed from a dynamic perspective, a principle of tagmemic theory which states that units can be viewed as waves (Pike and Pike 1982:5):

> In such a view, two adjacent units may merge, or overlap, leaving indeterminate borders, such that the two units cannot be segmented without doing violence to the data.

2.2.6 Episode 5 (peak')/denouement (3:15a–18). This episode represents the unraveling point of the story, the Denouement. It is marked prominent in the surface structure but less prominent than Peak. It is labeled here as Peak' (Peak prime).

The boundary of this episode, discussed in the preceding section, presents a break in time between the events of the night and morning. It also represents a division between two problems. The first problem, in Episodes 1–3 where Samuel does not know who is

calling him, is solved by Episode 5, but a new one arises (v. 15c and d): *ûšĕmû'ēl yārē' mēhaggîd 'et-hammar'â 'el-'ēlî,* 'But Samuel feared to tell the vision to Eli'. This sentence is highlighted by the use of nouns in the direct and indirect objects and the preposed subject, the only such occurrence in the narrative. It also discloses Samuel's inner feelings, another unique occurrence. It also contains the second reference to 'vision' with the term *hammar'â*. The first reference occurs in v. 1c–d with the term *ḥāzôn.*

The tension builds as Samuel is confronted by Eli. The confrontation is lengthened with the use of two verbs, *wayyiqrā'* 'and he called' and *wayyō'mer* 'and he said', and with the vocative *šĕmû'ēl bĕnî* 'Samuel, my son'. Samuel responds with the formulaic *hinnēnî* 'here I am'. The quote that follows is highlighted by its length, embedded constructions, and chiastic structure.

Another interesting feature in this episode is the use of pronominalized indirect objects. As discussed previously, this type of construction positions the subject after the indirect object in natural Hebrew word order. This construction may be used to draw attention to the elements that occur toward the end of the string. It is interesting to note the final elements in each of the following occurrences:

v. 7b 'And-not-yet had-been-revealed to-him the-word-of-the-LORD'
v. 17e 'Thus may-he-do to-you God' (quotation)
v. 18a 'And he told to him Samuel all the words'

The last example, v. 18a, is part of a paraphrase construction with the next sentence: *wĕlō' kiḥēd mimmennû* 'And he did not hide from him'. This is another negated antonym paraphrase, a rhetorical underlining device possibly highlighting Samuel's obedience. In response, Eli declares the sovereignty of God and quietly accepts his judgment. Samuel's problem of fear is solved, the tension drops off suddenly, and the episode is closed.

2.2.7 Closure/conclusion (3:19–20). At this point in the text, the story gradually draws to a conclusion. Although the tension has dropped off completely, the information given in this unit is very important. There is a definite initial boundary at v. 19 where we see a drastic change in time implied in the verb *wayyigdal* 'and he grew up'. Next, an expository construction is inserted with the existential verb *hāyâ* in 'and the LORD was with him'. The natural word order of expository material is SVO. The switch in genre, then, from narrative to expository draws attention to the preposed subject—here, 'the LORD'.

Next is the occurrence of a negated event, *wĕlō'-hippîl mikkol-dĕbārāyw 'arṣâ* 'and he did not let any of his words fall to the earth'. The use of the negative gives emphasis to the implied positive event, 'the LORD fulfilled all his words'. In his most recent rank scheme for Hebrew verbs (see Appendix 1), Longacre (n.d.) allows for the promotion of a 'momentous negation' from irrealis[8] to the storyline 'by virtue of its implication for the rest of the story which follows it'. In v. 19c, the negated event is considered on the event line because it is critical to the next event in the story (v. 20a–b), *wayyēdaʿ kol-yiśrā'ēl middān wĕʿad-bĕ'ēr šābaʿ kî ne'ĕmān šĕmû'ēl lĕnābî' layhwh* 'And all Israel knew from Dan to Beersheba that Samuel was confirmed as a prophet to the LORD'. This construction in v. 20a–b is also highlighted. It is a lengthy construction; it is the only place where Israel occurs as the subject; it is the first and only reference to the office of prophet; and it carries the main point of the story, that Samuel was confirmed as a prophet.

2.2.8 Summary (3:21). The final verse in the text, v. 21, can be interpreted as the final statement of the Conclusion and, therefore, as simply additional information to the story or, as analyzed here, as a summary statement of the overall story, standing separate from the Conclusion 'And the LORD appeared again in Shiloh, for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the LORD.' The second interpretation has been chosen here because, first of all, the construction *wayyōsep yhwh* 'and the LORD did again' plus infinitive construct, is used at other points in the text to indicate breaks. Here, also, it appears to set off the final sentence as something different from those that precede it. Also, the sentence is highly marked: the construction is lengthy; the Lord's name occurs three times in one sentence; and the location, Shiloh, is presented twice to highlight the location of the tabernacle, the place where God reveals his presence. Also, we know it is not uncommon in the structure of Hebrew narrative to complete the story with a summary statement (Bergen 1985d). Finally, this sentence carries the basic thrust of the overall story, the Lord appeared again and revealed himself to Samuel by 'the word of the LORD'.

It is of interest that the final element, not only of this string but also of the entire narrative, is 'the word of the LORD'. God's revealed word is a motif, running through the entire text, that helps give it cohesion. This thematic strand culminates in the final verse: 'And

[8]Longacre ([1987]:52) defines irrealis clauses as: 'modals, conditionals, and most negatives'. They 'present an alternative world to the world given in the storyline.'

again the LORD appeared . . . for the LORD revealed himself . . . by the word of the LORD.' It is interesting to note that when we apply Bergen's statistical analysis to the text, most of the high-ranking structures carry this motif as well (see pp. 15–16).

2.3 Statistical analysis from Bergen's perspective. The data for each narrative (nonquotational) verbal unit in 1 Samuel 3 was gathered and submitted for analysis through Bergen's *Discourse critical text analysis program* (1985c). The data includes the preverb structure, verb type, unit length, referent, and verb parsing for each unit (see Appendix 5). The program produces a list of the DC (Discourse Critical) values (or composite values) for each unit with a graphic display illustrating the unit values in relation to one another. The higher the DC value, the more unusual the construction (in terms of frequency of occurrence in the Pentateuch). The units with the ten highest DC values are presented in Appendix 6.

It should be noted that the DC value for any given unit is a composite value, a sum of all the factors analyzed in a given unit. Recently the program has been developed so as to list the individual values for each factor in a unit (Bergen 1988). This allows the analyst to determine what factor(s) influence the composite value. It also allows the analyst to focus study on one particular feature of the verbal unit. The composite value combines both surface structure and semantic factors, that is, referent type. With the listing of individual values, the analyst can separate out the semantic factor. A further help to the analyst would be to know the weight given to each factor and the rationale for that weight in determining the unusualness of a verbal structure, such as, should word order carry more weight than unit length? It should also be noted that the statistical analysis focuses primarily on the preverb and verb slots in the verbal unit. Postverbal information is considered in determining unit length and sometimes referent type, but not in determining word order or types of structures occurring after the verb. It is quite possible that the use of certain structures in the postverb position could have special significance in the text (see discussion on pp. 10 and 13).

The verbal units with the top ten DC values in 1 Sm 3 are presented on p. 16 in the order of their occurrence. It is interesting to note that five of the top ten verbal units are irrealis constructions, and three are subordinate clauses.

Appendix 6 illustrates where the most unusual constructions occur in the text. Four of the top ten units occur in expository material in the Setting. The second highest unit in the text is the opening sentence. This would lend support to the suggestion that this

Verse	Rank	
v. 1a	2	'And the child, Samuel, was serving the LORD before Eli'
v. 1c	3	'There was no vision (frequent)'
v. 2c	10	'And his eyes became dim'
v. 3a	5	'And the lamp of God had not yet gone out'
v. 7a	7	'And Samuel did not yet know the LORD'
v. 7b	1	'And the word of the LORD had not yet been revealed to him'
v. 8i	6	'(And Eli understood) that the LORD was calling the child'
v. 19c	8	'And he did not let any of his words fall to the earth'
v. 20b	9	'(And all Israel knew . . .) that Samuel was confirmed as a prophet to the LORD'
v. 21c	4	'For the LORD revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the LORD'

story is marked from the beginning as an important story. Three more of the top ten units occur at the end of the story: two in the Closure and one in the Summary. Two more units, v. 7a and b form the equivalence paraphrase in Episode 2. Verse 7b is rated as the most unusual construction in the text. It should be noted that this construction is an irrealis foreshadowing of the central event, stated here as a comment by the narrator. It would, therefore, be considered very low in Longacre's rank scheme. It is an unusual construction because of the use of *ṭerem* + niphal imperfect, the length, and the inanimate referent. Another of the top ten constructions occurs in Episode 3. It is the subordinate clause in v. 8i: '(And Eli understood) that the LORD was calling the child.' It is a significant statement because it marks a turning point in the story; from here the story is finally able to move forward. It is classified as a secondary storyline in Longacre's scheme. It is unusual by Bergen's statistics because of the preposed *kî* + subject + participle and the divine referent.

A profile of the top ten constructions indicates a concentration in the beginning of the story in both the General and the Specific Setting. There are a few marked constructions in Episodes 2 and 3 and then another concentration at the end in the Conclusion and Summary (see Appendix 4).

It is interesting that there are no constructions with high DC values occurring in Peak or Peak'. One possible explanation for their scarcity at Peak is that Bergen's analysis is limited strictly to nonquotational narrative. Examination of the text reveals that a large part of

the story is dialogue, especially at the Peak where the most prominent element is a long, complex quote, pronouncing God's judgment on Eli. Since there are no established norms for verbal constructions within quotes, there is no way to measure their normalcy in terms of frequency of occurrence. If the statistics were available, it is highly probable that the verbal units in the quote at Peak would be considered unusual constructions. The units there are quite long with complex embedding; the quote may also be specially marked as prophecy. There is also a lot of quotational material in Peak'. Eli's speech is highly structured as was noted in the chiastic structure and embedded clauses. Another possible reason why no unusual constructions occur at Peak and Peak' may be that Peak is marking the height of the action and tension of the story, and the unusual constructions are marking thematic material. If it is true that the thematic line is something separate from the event line (storyline), then it is possible, in some texts, that the thematic line would not surface at Peak. Another possibility is that the event line and the theme line become intertwined at Peak and Peak'. At that point, the central events themselves carry the theme (cf. discussion on p. 20).

It is interesting to note that none of the top ten units are preterite constructions (Longacre's primary storyline). This is not surprising, however, when we consider that the preterite is the structural norm for Hebrew narrative. It would not be considered an unusual construction unless it were marked by length, an unusual verb stem, or an inanimate or divine referent. It should be noted that because the statistical analysis focuses on unusual structures, it does not recognize highlighting techniques that employ common preterite constructions. For example, in the Peak episode in v. 10a, b, and c, God's appearance to Samuel is spread out over three verbs: 'And the LORD came, and he stood, and he called.' All of these structures are preterites in units of one to three words in length. They are quite common structures, but they are highlighted by the use of three consecutive preterites to describe one general event.

The concern at this point in the study is whether or not the constructions considered most unusual by the statistical analysis actually carry the theme of the text. The content of the ten most unusual constructions is given on pp. 15–16. It is clear that these constructions carry the basic thrust of the story. It would seem possible, then, to arrive at the theme through the content of these constructions. A suggested theme statement for 1 Sm 3 is: The Lord restored his revelation in Israel when he called the boy Samuel and established him as a prophet.

3. Discussion

One way we have examined the text is in terms of tension as manifested in the notional (plot) structure of the text. If we plot the points of tension in relation to the linear development of the story, the result is a curve that is similar to a typical Longacre profile of climactic narrative—low in the Setting, rising steadily until it peaks at the Climax, dropping off briefly and rising again at the Denouement, and then dropping low in the Conclusion and Summary (see Appendix 2).

Another way we have examined the text is in terms of highlighted or prominent constructions. If we plot the highlighted structures, the result is a prominence profile (see Appendix 3) that is a modification of Longacre's profile. It does not take into consideration factors of tension; rather, this profile focuses on highlighted features in the surface structure of the text (e.g. rhetorical underlining, increased length, embedding, etc.). The prominence profile and tension profiles are basically the same in the main body of the text where the action occurs; both rise toward Peak and Peak'. The main body is also where Longacre's primary storyline constructions occur. A major point of difference in these profiles, however, is that where tension and storyline preterites are low (Setting, Conclusion, and Summary), prominence is high. The constructions that are highlighted in the Setting, Conclusion, and Summary fall into Longacre's categories of irrealis, setting, backgrounded activities, and secondary storyline. In Bergen's statistical analysis we see that many of these background constructions carry the theme of the text.

We have also analyzed the text in terms of statistical measures of unusualness of constructions. Bergen's DC value profile (see Appendix 4) shows where the units with the highest DC value occur in the text. The DC value profile and the prominence profile yield similar results (especially if the quotational material is included at Peak and Peak'). Both profiles are high at the beginning and end of the text and at Peak and Peak'. They differ, however, in that the DC value profile marks certain background information as highly prominent that the prominence profile does not. It is interesting that both of these profiles are high where the occurrence of preterite constructions is low (Setting, Conclusion, and Summary). The preterites are carrying the main events in the text, and Bergen's marked constructions are carrying primarily thematic background information. This comparison demonstrates that an abstract based on the preterite constructions alone will not include background information that is marked prominent in the text.

If we were to attempt to derive an abstract of the text from the primary storyline (the preterite constructions carrying events and actions in independent clauses), we would have an abstract that would include the basic action of the story, that is, the Lord called Samuel, and Samuel told Eli the Lord's message. It would not include information from the Setting or the Conclusion except that Samuel grew up. The only information from the Summary would be that the Lord appeared again. It would not include the main point of the story, that Samuel was established as a prophet (secondary storyline information). Nor would it include the impetus for the action in the story, often described as the 'problem'.[9] The problem in this text is stated in the Setting and is highlighted in a paraphrase: 'The word of the LORD was rare; there was no frequent vision.' (v. 1b, c, d). I am indebted to my husband, Daniel Hallberg (1986:40–41) for drawing my attention to the role of this background information as the **problem** in the plot structure. He first noticed this missing element when examining Longacre's abstract for the Flood Narrative (1979: 98–100, 1985:172). The abstract, derived from the preterite, included the central events of the flood and the covenant, but it did not include the causal background information that the people were wicked. D. Hallberg identified this information as the problem to be resolved in a problem-resolution schema for narrative text based on Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec's model (1981:37–38, 135).[10]

Linda Jones (1977:2) defines theme as 'minimum generalization':

> A statement of theme is considered to satisfactorily represent a text if it is a broad enough generalization that no important part of the text is omitted, and yet is specific enough to suitably represent its uniqueness.

The fact that God's revelation was restored (implying it needed to be restored) is an important element of this text. It is the purpose for

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[9]Some of the preterites in the text, that is, vv. 8h and 20a, are relegated to secondary storyline in Longacre's rank scheme because they are not events as such but are cognitive events and are, therefore, less dynamic. I am extrapolating here from Longacre's work in English and applying it to Hebrew (a feasible application per Longacre [1986]). He ranks action above motion followed by cognitive events. Evaluation (author intrusion), also not included in the Hebrew cline, is ranked low in English (Band 6) (Longacre n.d.). The subordinate clauses in the perfect and the negated event in v. 19c are also relegated to secondary storyline (per the Hebrew cline).

[10]Jee-Young An (1984:24–27) also notes this missing element in the Flood Narrative abstract. He suggests deriving a submacrostructure of the Stage (Setting) separate from the main body of the text. Since the Stage is a descriptive text, its macrostructure should not be based on preterite constructions (the main line of narrative text).

God's action. It also ties the text to higher themes in the overall book, such as, God blesses the righteous and punishes the disobedient (see 1 Sm 12:14).

Bergen suggests (1986) that a theme statement or abstract based on the preterite may be effective if the text is a highly action-oriented text. In such a text, the theme may be carried entirely in the event line. A preterite abstract would be less effective, however, in less action-oriented narratives. He also points out that his own statistical approach, at least at its present stage of development, would not be effective in texts where the theme is carried in the dialogue. He cites the book of Jonah as an example where the theme statement is presented in a speech by God (Jon 4:11).

I think it is helpful to view the thematic line as something separate from the event line. The event line carries the major punctiliar, sequential, causally related events which move the story forward. It is these events which make the text a story rather than an exposition (Longacre 1987). The theme line carries the basic thrust or meaning of the text. It is often carried in the background material. However, both lines may be intertwined at certain points, such as, at Peak in a narrative where the climactic events dramatize the theme of the text. Larry Jones (1979), in his analysis of the book of John, notes that author comments occur throughout the text relating specific events or speeches to the death and/or resurrection of Christ. These events are considered to be the thematic events of the text. The author comments do not occur, however, in the sections of text where the death and resurrection events are actually narrated. Thematic comments are one of four categories of author comments which Larry Jones describes (1983:80–87). The purpose of thematic comments (1983:81) is to 'summarize or preview the main points of a portion of text, to be sure that the reader has understood or will understand the theme(s) of the discourse'. There are constructions in the text of 1 Sm 3 which might be considered thematic comments. They are stated in reference to the central event of God calling Samuel: 'And Samuel did not yet know the LORD. And the word of the LORD had not yet been revealed to him' (v. 7a, b); 'And Eli understood that the LORD was calling the child' (v. 8h, i); 'And Samuel was afraid to tell the vision to Eli' (v. 15c, d). All of these structures are considered off the **primary storyline.** None of them occur in the Peak episode where God actually delivers his message to Samuel.

Literary scholars, as well, turn to background information when analyzing a text for theme. Scholes, Klaus, Comley, and Silverman (1982:11) suggest the following to analysts:

> *Note carefully characters or events that seem to make no contribution to plot or movement.* This negative advice is a way of moving from the plot to the meaning of a story. Often elements that are not important in the plot have a special thematic importance. (author's italics)

The authors (p. 10) also draw attention to comments in the text, patterns of repetition, ironic juxtaposition, and the tone of the narration as clues to meaning. They suggest that the analyst:

> explore the situation of the major characters (or central character) at the beginning and at the end of the story. The nature of the changes revealed by this exploration should begin to suggest what the story is all about.

In the beginning of 1 Sm 3, Samuel is ministering in the temple under Eli. At the end, he is established as a prophet. If the analysis is expanded to the overall situation in the text, we see that in the beginning, the word of the Lord is rare, and in the end, the Lord has appeared again in Shiloh.

In addition to examining background information, the authors (pp. 10–11) suggest isolating and separating the various lines of action in the narrative, each with its own central character. The purpose is to:

> gain a better sense of those things that connect them. Often these connections will lead us to thematic relations that cast a direct light on the meaning of the whole fiction.

When we examine the larger text of 1 Samuel, we see two different lines of action which meet in the immediate text of chapter 3: the destruction of Eli and the establishment of Samuel. The connection between these two lines is that God is restoring his revelation in Israel. He is taking away Eli and his wicked sons because of their disobedience and is setting up Samuel as his prophet to the people.

Shin Ja Hwang (1984) relates the importance of background, especially causal, information to the cognitive aspects of text comprehension and summarization. She proposes that a cognitive basis is needed for discourse grammar. Linguists must demonstrate the psychological reality of their proposed clines of information importance. The grammatical features on which these clines are based need to be substantiated as the actual processing mechanism employed by the hearer/reader in sorting out kinds of information in discourse. Hwang conducted an experiment in which she presented two Korean

folktales orally to Korean and American subjects and then asked them to summarize each story in five sentences. Hwang found that some of the American subjects had difficulty with the more typically Korean folktale. Their summaries demonstrated that they did not understand some important causal relations in the text. These relations were naturally inferred by the Korean subjects because of their cultural knowledge, values, and assumptions. She also noted (p. 150) that:

> not all actions and events were selected in the summaries and that some states (background and nonevents) occurred in them with high frequency.

Hwang no longer regards the ranking of verb types as a scale of importance to the storyline (cf. Jones and Jones 1979:6); rather it is 'a scale of the dynamicity of information' (Hwang 1984:151). She proposes that semantic and notional features of the text need to be taken into consideration, such as degree of novelty (newness) and counterexpectation. She feels this may explain 'why some non-event information, such as collateral, is so crucial intuitively to a story' (ibid). She claims that an evaluative statement, typically a non-event, 'often relates directly to the theme/gist of a story' (ibid). On the basis of her study, Hwang feels that the event line is too limited to give the gist or an abstract of the text. She proposes 'storyline', a term related to plot, which can (ibid):

> include actions, events, and even states and nonhappenings, like collateral and evaluative information, if these bits of information are crucial for guidance through unexpected sequences of events.

(Note that 'storyline' is used differently by Longacre; his term refers to the event line.) Hwang suggests that different languages may have different marking systems; some may have surface features that mark the backbone, others may mark Peak, and others, such as Sama Bangingi (Gault, forthcoming), mark the storyline or focal content in the narrative.[11]

Van Dijk's model of text analysis focuses on macrostructures that are the semantic global structures of a text. The macrostructures reflect the text's global meaning. When van Dijk reduces a text to its

[11]Jones and Jones (1979:11–18) cite several languages which grammatically mark significant background information in narrative discourse. Totonac, a language of Mexico, marks crucial supportive information with the suffix *-tza'*. It would be interesting to conduct an analysis of Totonac and other languages that mark significant background information in narrative. It is possible that these marked constructions would carry the theme of the text.

macrostructure, he draws not only from the events and actions but also from the entire text. In van Dijk's model, this includes relevant background information. He explains (1980:35) that the importance of the descriptions of individuals and situations in stories is to allow the reader to know the kinds of actions or events possible. One of the purposes of the Introduction of a text (1980:127) is to 'establish the necessary presuppositions for further comprehension of the discourse'. It would appear from the works of Hwang and van Dijk that semantic information that is not directly manifested on the surface can be important to the theme. Admittedly, the focus of the present study is on surface structure manifestations of plot and theme, but it would appear that some semantic information that is not manifested on the surface may be crucial, at least in some cases, in determining the complete theme of a text. Hwang refers to semantic or notional relations which may be important to the storyline. I would like to suggest that in addition to semantic relations and marked surface structure constructions, there are objects, attributes, states, events, etc., which are prominent because of their special significance in a given culture or simply because of the very essence of what they are in the real world. Therefore, regardless of their relations in the text or their grammatical slot or role, they are marked as prominent simply because of what they are.

I believe Bergen touches on this notion in his referent categorization. He proposes that reference to God marks a construction as especially significant. The use of God's name and the essence of who he is automatically gives prominence to whatever is being stated. In other words, it is not just the fact that there is a noun, an explicit subject, or a preposed subject but also that God is involved which gives a statement prominence in the minds of the author and his Jewish audience.

This leads to a basic assumption in discourse analysis. It is generally understood that significant factors in processing the theme of a text are the knowledge, experience, values, attitudes, etc., that the reader/hearer brings to the text. These factors can explain varying interpretations of theme in a given text. These factors also affect the author. He has his own set of experiences and attitudes, and as a communicator, he takes into account those of his audience. These factors, in addition to the occasion of the communication, the social setting, cultural setting, and general historical situation, form the external context of the text. Knowledge of this context can give insights into the author's intent, which is usually closely tied to the theme of the text (cf. Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec 1981:10–12,

140; Jones 1977:106, 114–16; Scholes, Klaus, Comley, and Silverman 1982:13; van Dijk 1980:37, 74, 228).

4. Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the analyses that have been conducted in this study. First of all, it is apparent that Longacre's approach to discourse analysis and Bergen's statistical approach yield different types of information. Longacre's approach focuses on event line and Bergen's approach focuses on theme line which, as my analysis shows, are not always the same. First of all, an analysis based on Longacre's approach gives the overall surface structure and notional (plot) structure of the text. This structure forms the backdrop by which both approaches can be compared. A Longacre-type analysis of the text yields a tension profile, which is related to the notional (plot) structure, and a prominence profile, which is related to the surface structure. Bergen's analysis also yields a prominence profile that is based on the uniqueness or unusualness of the constructions in the text. The most unusual constructions are said to mark the theme of the text. Longacre's primary storyline (the Hebrew preterite) marks the structural backbone of the text, that is, the sequential, punctiliar, causally related events that characterize the text as a narrative. His primary storyline carries the central events of the text. Bergen's marked constructions carry primarily background information and what Longacre ranks as secondary storyline information. These constructions carry the theme of the text, including the initial problem or situation that causes the central event and also the final result of that event. Bergen's marked constructions do not actually include the central event although they refer to it in author comments. At this point (Peak in this text), the event line and theme line may be said to be intertwined. The central event itself is carrying the theme of the text. It is clear, then, that both types of discourse approaches are necessary for a well-rounded analysis of the text. We see the important role of the event line in structurally characterizing the text as a narrative and in carrying the central events of the text. We also see the importance of background information in laying the groundwork of the text, giving cohesion to the text, and often carrying the basic thrust or theme of the narrative. Thus both types of information are important to a complete macrostructure of the text. Indeed, this study has demonstrated that an abstract based on the event line alone is likely to be incomplete.

There is need for more research to determine how theme is communicated in a narrative text both in terms of surface structure

and semantic structure. Discourse analysts can benefit from contributions in other fields, such as literary criticism and cognitive science. The claims for theme should be integrated with recent research in areas such as text generation and text comprehension. These findings may give new insights and direction for expanding Longacre's model of discourse in the area of theme.

This study has demonstrated the effectiveness of Bergen's statistical approach to discourse analysis. Though limited in scope, it is an effective tool in quickly identifying constructions in biblical Hebrew narrative that are likely to carry thematic material. Suggestions for development were made earlier, such as, stating the weight given to any one factor and the rationale behind that weight in determining what structures are marked. As Bergen's statistical analysis is further developed, the inclusion of postverb-structural information and the addition of higher levels of analysis (e.g. sentence, paragraph) and types of information (e.g. quotation) will add greatly to the breadth of the analysis. Finally, the explanatory power of Bergen's analysis will likely increase if it is tied to a more comprehensive model of theme in discourse.[12]

[12]For information regarding purchase of the Discourse critical text analysis program and the database (the narrative framework of the Pentateuch and 1 Samuel), write to: Robert D. Bergen, Assistant Professor in Old Testament, Hannibal-LaGrange College, Hannibal, MO 63401, (314) 221-3675.

Appendix 1

Band 1	1.1 Preterite: Primary	
Storyline	1.2 Perfect: Secondary	
	1.3 N + Perfect: Secondary with noun in focus	
Band 2	2.1 N + Impf.: Implicitly durative/repetitive	
Backgrounded Activities	2.2 *hinnēh* 'behold' + Participle	explicitly durative
	2.3 Participle	
	2.4 N + Participle	
Band 3	3.1 Pret. of *hāyâ* 'be'	
	3.2 Perf. of *hāyâ* 'be'	
Setting	3.3 Nominal clause (verbless)	
	3.4 Existential clause with yēš	
Band 4 Irrealis	4.0 Negation of vb in any band	
Band 5	(-/+ *wayĕhî* + Temp Ph/Cl)	5.1 General reference
Cohesion (back-referential)		5.2 Script-predictable
		5.3 Repetitive

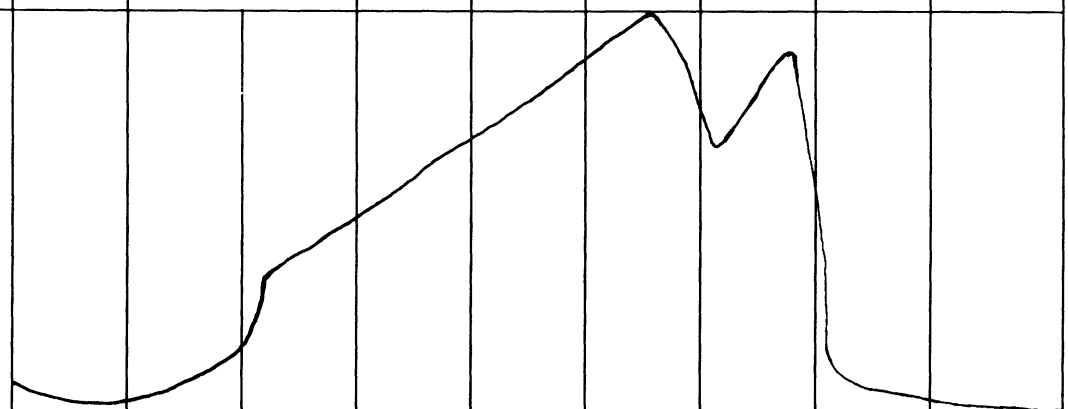
Biblical Hebrew (Longacre n.d.)

Notes:
1. (1.1) demotes to (1.3) by preposing a N
2. (1.1) demotes to (4.0) by preposing *lô'* 'not'
3. *'ăšer* relative clauses and *kî* causal clauses are demoted
4. (3.3) promotes to (3.1/3.2) by *hayâ* insertion
5. 'significant negation' promotes (4.0) to (1.2/1.3)

[N = Noun, Ph = Phrase, Cl = Clause]

Appendix 2

A tension profile of 1 Samuel 3

Surface Structure	General Setting	Pre-Peak Episodes				Peak	Peak'	Closure	Summary
		Episode 1		Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5		
		Specific Setting	1st Call	2nd Call	3rd Call	4th Call			
	3:1	3:2–3	3:4–5	3:6–7	3:8–9	3:10–14c	3:15a–18	3:19–20	3:21
									
Notional Structure	Exposition		Inciting Moment	Developing Conflict		Climax	Denoue-ment	Conclu-sion	

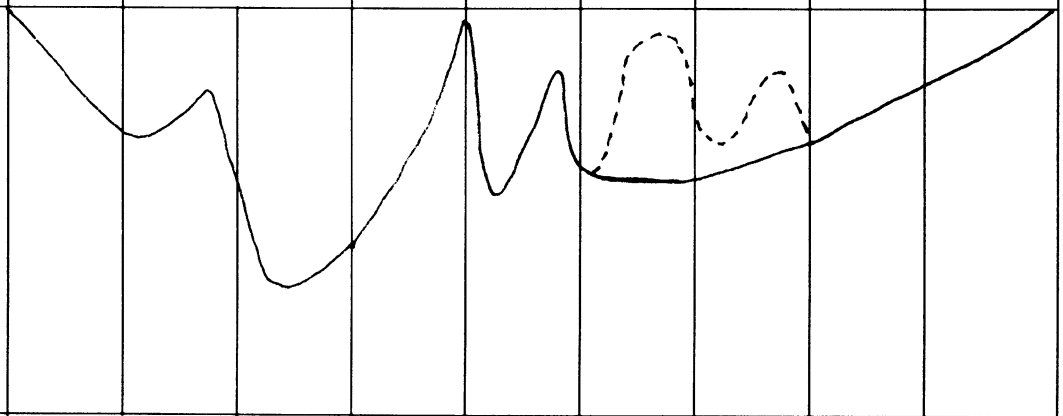
Appendix 3

A prominence profile of 1 Samuel 3

Surface Structure	General Setting	Pre-Peak Episodes				Peak	Peak'	Closure	Summary
		Episode 1		Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5		
		Specific Setting	1st Call	2nd Call	3rd Call	4th Call			
	3:1	3:2–3	3:4–5	3:6–7	3:8–9	3:10–14c	3:15a–18	3:19–20	3:21
									
Notional Structure	Exposition		Inciting Moment	Developing Conflict		Climax	Denoue-ment	Conclu-sion	

Appendix 4

A DC Unit Value profile of 1 Samuel 3

Surface Structure	General Setting	Pre-Peak Episodes				Peak	Peak'	Closure	Summary
		Episode 1		Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5		
		Specific Setting	1st Call	2nd Call	3rd Call	4th Call			
	3:1	3:2–3	3:4–5	3:6–7	3:8–9	3:10–14c	3:15a–18	3:19–20	3:21
									
Notional Structure	Exposition		Inciting Moment	Developing Conflict		Climax	Denoue-ment	Conclu-sion	

The dotted line represents prominent quotational structures (not included in the statistical analysis).

Key to abbreviations in Appendices 5–6

Adv	adverb	O	object
C	common	p	plural
Cs	construct	P	perfect
f	feminine	Pi	piel
Hi	hiphil	Pr	preposition(al)
Ht	hithpael	Pt	participle
I	imperfect	Px	perfect of *hāyâ*
ID	indirect object	Q	qal
If	infinitive	R	*ʾăšer*
Iv	imperfect	s	singular
Ix	imperfect of *hāyâ*	S	subject, Samuel
K	*kî*	Sa	subject appositive
L	prepositional *lāme*	Sf	suffix
m	masculine	Tm	*ṭerem*
M	prepositional *mêm*	V	verb
N	*lōʾ*	wc	*wāw* conversive
Ni	niphal	wj	*wāw* conjunctive
Nx	*ʾēn*	W	conjunction *wāw*

Appendix 5

Narrative verbal structures in 1 Samuel 3

Verse	Pre-verb	Verb length	Unit	Referent	Parsing
SO301a	WSSn	Pt	7	Samuel	P1Ptms
SO301b	WS	Px	6	Word of the LORD	QP3ms
SO301c	—	Nx	2	Vision	—
SO301d	—	Pt	1	—	N1Ptms
SO302a	—	WIx	3	—	wcQI3ms
SO302b	WS	Pt	3	Eli	QPtms
SO302c	WS	P	3	Eyes	HiP3cp
SO302d	N	I	2	Eli	QI3ms
SO302e	—	PrIf	1	—	QIfCs/L
SO303a	WSTm	I	4	Lamp of God	QI3ms
SO303b	WS	Pt	4	Samuel	QPtms
SO303c	RSm	—	4	Ark of God	—
SO304a	—	WI	4	LORD	wcQI3ms
SO304b	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO305a	—	WI	3	Samuel	wcQI3ms

SO305b	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO305c	—	WI	1	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO305i	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcqi3ms
SO305j	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO306a	—	WI	2	LORD	wcHiI3ms
SO306b	—	If	3	—	QIfCs
SO306c	—	WI	2	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO306d	—	WI	3	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO306e	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO306h	—	WI	1	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO307a	WSTm	P	5	Samuel	QP3ms
SO307b	WTm	I	5	Word of the LORD	NiI3ms
SO308a	—	WI	2	LORD	wcHiI3ms
SO308b	—	If	—	QIfCs	
SO308c	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO308d	—	WI	3	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO308e	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO308h	—	WI	2	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO308i	KS	Pt	4	LORD	QPtms
SO309a	—	WI	3	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO309i	—	WI	2	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO309j	—	WI	2	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO310a	—	WI	2	LORD	wcQI3ms
SO310b	—	WI	1	LORD	wcHtI3ms
SO310c	—	WI	3	LORD	wcQI3ms
SO310d	—	WI	2	Samuel	wcqi3ms
SO311a	—	WI	4	LORD	wcQI3ms
SO315a	—	WI	4	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO315b	—	WI	5	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO315c	WS	P	2	Samuel	QP3ms
SO315d	—	PrIf	5	—	HiIfCs/H
SO316a	—	WI	4	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO316b	—	WI	1	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO316c	—	WI	1	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO317a	—	WI	1	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO318a	—	WI	6	Samuel	wcHiI3ms
SO318b	WN	P	3	Samuel	PiP3ms
SO318c	—	WI	1	Eli	wcQI3ms
SO319a	—	WI	2	Samuel	wcQI3ms
SO319b	WS	Px	3	LORD	QP3ms
SO319c	WN	P	5	LORD	HiP3ms
SO320a	—	WI	7	Israel	wcQI3ms

SO320b	K	P	5	Samuel	NiP3ms
SO321a	—	WI	2	LORD	wcHil3ms
SO321b	—	PrIf	2	—	NilfCs/L
SO321c	K	P	8	LORD	NiP3ms

Appendix 6

Discourse critical values of narrative verbal structures in 1 Samuel 3

Verse	DC Value	Top Ten DC Values		
SO301a	14.9533	2	General Setting	Episode 1
SO301b	9.47231			
SO301c	14.2008	3		
SO301d	10.3063			
SO302a	6.63090		(Specific Setting)	
SO302b	7.55824			
SO302c	10.4610	10		
SO302d	9.42718			
SO302e	5.99246			
SO303a	13.0049	5		
SO303b	7.61230			
SO303c	8.31972			
SO304a	4.49355			
SO304b	2.76011			
SO305a	2.74176			
SO305b	2.76011			
SO305c	2.76011			
SO305i	2.76011			
SO305j	2.76011			
SO306a	6.48000			Episode 2
SO306b	9.45755			
SO306c	2.64459			
SO306d	2.74176			
SO306e	2.76011			
SO306h	2.76011			

SO307a	11.3445	7	••	
SO307b	16.8310	1	•••	
SO308a	6.47785		•••••••••••••••••••••••••	Episode 3
SO308b	9.45755		••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO308c	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO308d	2.74176		•••••••••••	
SO308c	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO308h	2.64459		•••••••••••	
SO308i	12.4801	6	•••	
SO309a	2.74176		•••••••••••	
SO309i	2.64459		•••••••••••	
SO309j	2.64000		•••••••••••	
SO310a	4.34232		•••••••••••••••••	Peak
SO310b	8.55218		•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO310c	4.44000		••••••••••••••••••	
SO310d	2.64459		•••••••••••	
SO311a	4.49355		••••••••••••••••••	
SO315a	2.79582		•••••••••••	Peak'
SO315b	3.35794		•••••••••••••••	
SO315c	6.00578		••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO315d	8.72583		•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO316a	2.79582		•••••••••••	
SO316b	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO316c	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO317a	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO318a	6.02410		••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO318b	9.23152		••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO318c	2.76011		•••••••••••	
SO319a	2.64459		•••••••••••	Closure
SO319b	7.80068		••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO319c	11.2353	8	••	
SO320a	4.52109		••••••••••••••••••	
SO320b	10.5102	9	•••	
SO321a	6.47785		•••••••••••••••••••••••••	Summary
SO321b	9.14095		•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	
SO321c	14.0324	4	•••	

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BIBLE POETRY IN TRANSLATION

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0. Introduction[1]

No one will doubt that it is difficult to translate poetry. A poem is embedded into the linguistic forms of a particular language so much that it may seem impossible to render it well in another language. Even with the best effort, one rightly fears that much will be lost.

This poses a problem for Bible translators: a large part of the Old Testament is written in poetic style. To translate it accurately into a modern language is a formidable task. Sometimes translators have been satisfied when they have been able to express the prose contents of the words and sentences of Bible poetry. It is not easy to find translators who, at the same time, know Hebrew sufficiently well to be able to appreciate Bible poetry as poetry, who are gifted poets in their own language, and who, in addition, are courageous enough to present to their readers translations that read as poetry!

In this article, we will examine the nature of poetry in general, and then address in a practical way the possibility of translating Bible poetry as poetry rather than as prose.

The purpose of this article is not to prove that poetry, as distinct from prose, exists in the Bible. Although there are cases where one can argue as to whether a text is poetry or prose, we take it here that the book of Psalms, for example, clearly contains poetry and the

[1]I am grateful to Dr. Philip Stine for many useful comments made on an earlier draft of this article, as well as to Mr. Jelle Cammenga for the stimulating discussions we had on many points raised in it. The original unpublished version of this article was first presented at the 1984 triennial meeting of the United Bible Societies in Stuttgart.

books of Kings clearly contain prose, both poetry and prose taken as they are usually defined in the study of literature.[2]

1. Poetry and prose

The three definitions of poetry cited below were taken from readily available dictionaries, and are probably as helpful as any in trying to define a difficult subject:

> The art of rhythmical composition, written or spoken, for exciting pleasure by beautiful, imaginative, or elevated thoughts. (*The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* 1967, s.v. 'poetry.')

> Writing that formulates a concentrated imaginative awareness of experience in language chosen and arranged to create a specific emotional response through meaning, sound and rhythm. (*Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* 1973, s.v. 'poetry.')

> The term poetry is generally applied to imaginative literature involving language especially heightened by verse, imagery, figures of speech or similar devices to affect the imagination and emotions. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 26th ed., vol. 18, s.v. 'poetry.')

The definitions have in common that they speak of a deliberately contrived language ('rhythmical composition', 'language chosen and arranged', 'especially heightened') that is intended to create a special effect in the reader ('for exciting pleasure', 'to create a specific emotional response', 'to affect the imagination and emotions'). In addition they indicate that poetry is art, that it uses concentrated

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[2]A definition and a description of Hebrew poetry in all its forms would be a major help for translators. It is not altogether certain that the usual definitions of Western poetry can be applied to the poetry in the Bible. For some, like Kugel (1981:85), there even is no real distinction in the Bible between prose and poetry. He does admit, though, that one can distinguish different **styles** in the text:

> If one puts aside the notions of biblical poetry and prose and tries to look afresh at different parts of the Bible to see what it is about them that distinguishes one from another, it will soon be apparent that there are not two modes of utterance but many different elements which elevate style and provide for formality and strictness of organization. Consistently binary sentences, an obvious regard for terseness, and a high degree of semantic parallelism characterize some sections; less consistent (and less consistently semantic) parallelism is found in other parts . . .

But he rejects any clear-cut distinction between prose and poetry in the Bible. For an attempt to **prove** that there is poetry in the Bible, based on several modern insights into the nature of poetry, see Stine 1987.

language, and that it is highly imaginative (the only item the three definitions share).

In these points, poetry is different from prose. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (ibid., s.v. 'prose') describes prose as follows:

> . . . the plain speech of mankind, when written or composed without reference to the rules of verse . . . , comprising all forms of careful literary expression which are not metrically versified, . . . the notion being that it is straight and plain, and is used for stating that which is true in reason or fact.

Poetry and prose have in common the use of the same medium: a language composed of dictionary words that have definite meanings. But they differ in the way they make use of this medium. While prose, so to speak, looks outward to the real (as opposed to poetry's 'imaginative') world, is informative, and therefore values content above form, poetry is self-contained; it deliberately exploits all aspects of the form of the language and has a low level of information content in which quality is stressed above quantity. As Jakobson (1981:89) writes:

> There, where the poetic function dominates over the strictly cognitive function, the latter is more or less dimmed.

Or more succinctly: 'A poem should not mean, but be' (attributed to Archibald MacLeish).

2. Poetic meaning

The point where prose differs from poetry is, therefore, in the relationship between form and content. By form is meant the building blocks of the language: words, sounds, syntax, meaning; by content is meant the information that the text communicates to the reader. Prose and poetry can be distinguished by the way form and content relate in each. In prose, the form of the text is subject to its content. In other words the flow of information is what primes. The outlook of prose is pragmatic: how to communicate information most efficiently. In poetry the content of the text is dependent on the form. It is in the particular structure of the form that a certain message is found. It is less a matter of passing information than of communicating a thought, an insight, or an emotion, the semantic content of which is locked into a linguistic artifact. As Stankiewicz (1960:73) writes:

> Form and content are inseparable in poetry. Formal requirements determine and modify content to a far wider extent than in everyday speech, in which the primary purpose is transmission of information.

> In poetic discourse, in which the transmission of information is secondary to the manner of presentation, content itself is defined and limited by the formal organization of the message.

While the prose writer has the concept of the information he wants to pass as a starting point, for the poet the starting point may be a poetic emotion or insight, finding form in the words of his poem, which shape his inspiration as much as his inspiration shapes the words. The content of his poem is molded by its form. For the prose writer, the form of his text is shaped by the content, that is, by the information he wants to pass along. The outlook of prose is pragmatic as was said earlier; prose forms part of a process. The outlook of poetry is one of simply being there, a give-and-take between form and content, the final result being a kind of monument whose main point of reference is itself.

The features of rhythm, rhyme, word play, figures of speech, parallel sets, sound contrasts evoking meaning through association, and other literary devices link the words of poetry to each other to a very high degree, that is, to the extent that the choice of each word in a line of poetry is deliberate. The interplay of lexical choice, syntax, semantics, and sound patterns of the words that compose a poem produces the particular meaning of that poem. One may have to read a poem several times for its poetic meaning to become clear.[3]

The fact that poetry has a deeper meaning than the one that can be deduced from the sum of its linguistic building blocks can be expressed differently:

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[3]Veronica Forrest-Thomson, in her book *Poetic artifice,* talks about **image-complex** as an essential component of all poetry. When reading her definitions of image-complex I feel there is a similarity between it and what I have called **poetic meaning.** She writes:

> (Image-complex is) a level of coherence which helps us to assimilate features of various kinds, to distinguish the relevant from the irrelevant . . . (p. xii)

and especially:

> The image-complex is the node where we can discover which of the multitude of thematic, semantic, rhythmical, and formal, patterns is important and how it is to be related to the others. For the image-complex alone operates on all the levels of sound, rhythm, theme, and meaning and from it alone, therefore, can be derived a sense of the structure of any particular poem. (p. 16)

More on this in Stine 1987.

> One linguist has suggested that a poem is a long idiom, an idiom being understood to be a sequence of morphemes (or words) the meaning of which is not predictable from the meanings of the individual parts. (Saporta 1960:89)

A logical but important consequence of this is that we should not only accept that poetic language is on a different level and therefore conveys a special meaning as opposed to nonpoetic language, but that the poetic meaning is what constitutes the essence of a poem: without it we have a prose text or some flat versification which may contain the dictionary items of a poem but without any poetic meaning. The poetic meaning, simply, is the meaning of the poem. Without it we have no poem, and because of it the poem was written.

3. Translating poetry

For Bible translators, to accept the distinction between the cognitive meaning of a poem and its poetic meaning is an important step towards a theory and practice of the translation of poetry. The cognitive meaning of a poem, based on the dictionary meanings of the words that compose it, can be rendered in many ways, that is, different ways of saying the same thing, either in the same language or in another. Therefore, the cognitive meaning should be relatively easy to translate accurately into another language. The poetic meaning is linked to the very structure of the poem; it constitutes its very essence, so to speak. It is the result of one particular match of words, grammar, sounds, and meaning that cannot be duplicated or paraphrased in the same language. But this does not mean that it cannot be translated into another language.

What if Richard III, instead of shouting 'A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!' (Shakespeare, *Richard III*, act 5, sc. 4, line 13) in the face of certain defeat, had rambled: 'A horse, please! Who can give me a horse? I am prepared to give my kingdom in exchange for a horse'? We would have to call the first poetry and the second a prosaic paraphrase. We cannot say that both versions of Richard III's words are equivalent because they essentially mean the same thing. Although a description of a certain event could be done in many different ways, with all conveying the same information, a poem cannot be paraphrased in many different ways, with all conveying the meaning of the original. The reason is that the language structure of a poem conveys more than the information that their dictionary content brings along. A paraphrase has lost that extra element and is left with the dictionary content.

Prose can be paraphrased as well as translated, but the point made here is that poetry cannot be paraphrased and remain poetry, but it can be translated. A translator-poet who has understood the poetic meaning of the original can attempt to recreate it in the receptor language. The unique configuration of the words of a poem in the source language, a configuration which cannot be duplicated there, may be matched by an equivalent configuration in the receptor language—not in an unlimited way (we would have the equivalent of so many paraphrases!) but ideally in one unique way, where the structure of the words of the translated poem in the receptor language conveys the same poetic meaning as their original conveyed in the source language.

4. Theory and practice

What is involved in the translation of poetry?

First of all, the translator must have understood the poetic meaning of the poem or the poetic text in the source language. It is not sufficient for him or her to merely understand the dictionary or prosaic meaning, which we have also called the cognitive meaning. He must be able to go more deeply and try to tune in on the level at which the poet was writing. As was said earlier, the real message of a poem does not lie on the informative level but on a level of being where words, sounds, structures, and dictionary meanings take on a new cohesiveness and depth. That is the level of the poetic meaning of a poem which the translator has to bring across in the receptor language.

Next, if the translator has been able to see more deeply into a poetic text than its prosaic surface structure, he will have to think of the appropriate linguistic building blocks in the receptor language in which he will express the poetic meaning of the source text. In some cases, he may not be able to find any equivalents for the simple reason that what the original author expressed poetically in the source language simply cannot be expressed poetically in the receptor language.

Finally, if the translator finds that he can express the meaning of the original poem in the structures of his own language, moving from one poetic meaning level to another, the translation can begin. Not all dictionary items of the source texts will be reflected in the translation. There is bound to be a loss and/or a shift in information content. But if he is successful, his translation will convey the same poetic meaning as the original.

5. Aspects of the translation of poetry

We will try to throw more light on the subject by looking at it from different angles.

5.1 Functional equivalence translation. If the translation of prose demands from the translator a preparedness to distance himself from the forms of the source text in order to better bring out its meaning, this is even more important when translating poetry. The poetic meaning of a poem in the source language is inseparable from its particular linguistic form: one is the expression of the other. One cannot, therefore, isolate the linguistic forms of source language poetry, search for equivalent linguistic forms in the receptor language, and expect to come up with the same poetic meaning. On the contrary, when translating, one has to match the poetic meaning of the source by finding an equally happy match of forms and meanings in the receptor language, one that expresses the same poetic meaning as that expressed by the original poem. Formal-equivalence translation of poetry is a contradiction in terms.

5.2 Common language translation: lexicon. As a matter of definition, *common-language translation* means using a language that people commonly speak, and one they readily understand. Therefore, in common-language translations of the Bible, technical or scientific terms, archaic words, literary phrases—in short, all words or turns of phrases that the average man or woman does not use—are avoided.[4]

But Hebrew poetry uses contrived language and unusual vocabulary. In fact, it is of the essence of all poetry to use contrived language: words are chosen for their happy fit with the words around them. The norm is never the daily speech of people or the easiness with which it can be understood, but its norm is intrinsic: it is the delicate balancing of sound and meaning which conveys the poem's

[4]*Common,* of course, is not meant to have the pejorative sense of 'low level' or 'vulgar'. Rather it is a type of language that is neither the refined or literary one of the educated class, nor does it have the colloquialisms of the lower class, but rather it is composed of the common ground that exists between the two (see Wonderly 1968:13, and Nida and Taber 1969:120ff.). In some cultures, however, such linguistic distinctions do not readily exist. In these one might define *common language* as a medium ground between a purist, who might use an archaic form of the language (often spoken by older people and sometimes in radio and TV broadcasts), and the city dweller's easy speech which contains numerous loans from neighboring languages or from imported prestige languages. In addition, *common* can sometimes be defined in distinction to particular church-oriented forms of the language which are not commonly used outside a certain religious context.

poetic meaning. Composing common language poetry seems, almost by definition, to be impossible.

5.3 Common language translation: grammar. Common language is grammatical; otherwise it would not be readily understood. In fact, the type of language which is commonly spoken will often be the norm that linguists will use when writing a descriptive grammar of a language.

In poetry the grammar of the language is subjected in a special way to the meaning of the poem. All syntax has close links to semantics, but Jakobson (1981:89) ascribes special meaning to the grammatical structures of a poem:

> It is quite evident that grammatical concepts . . . find their widest applications in poetry as the most formalized manifestation of language.

A poet is allowed greater freedom than the writer of prose, therefore, with regard to the common language grammar of his language. Often a poet deliberately distorts accepted rules of grammar— exploiting those rules in the very act of deviating from them. An unusual word order, for example, may be an effective way of handling focus.

> Poetic language is thus not a brand of the standard. This is not to deny the close connection between the two, which consists in the fact that, for poetry, the standard language is the background against which is reflected the esthetically intentional distortion of the linguistic components of the work, in other words, the intentional violation of the norm of the standard. (Mukarovsky 1970:42)

Asking a poet (and his translator) to adhere to the accepted grammar of the language would be the equivalent of asking him to write good prose.

5.4 Can poetry serve a special function? The quality of a poem (and of its poetic translation) should not be measured with reference to norms, events, or purposes that are external to it, but with reference to its inner structure.

> If we view the problem of subject matter from an internal point of view, that is, as it is presented within the work itself (or within a certain tradition), the requirement to relate subject matter to external referents appears to be a side line of literary interpretation. For what matters semantically in literary works is obviously not the selection of an inherently 'poetic' subject but rather the formal and thematic treatment of whatever subject the poet may choose. Thus the problem of subject matter turns out to be one of the semantic relationships within a work, that is, the problem of metalanguage. (Stankiewicz 1960:72)

This means that good poetry, as all art, is extremely abstract: it has a life and existence of its own, not one that finds its true meaning in reference to an outside subject matter. If there is a reference, it is incidental to the art.

Nevertheless, art can be functional: a beautiful building can house a parliament, an artistic painting of a person can be a striking portrait, and a psalm can be a prayer. The danger for a translator arises when he translates poetry with a definite purpose in mind, such as the edification of his readers, or conformity with an established theological or evangelical framework. His only concern should be to reflect the poetic meaning of the original in his translation. In any case, for Bible poetry, if his translation is good, it will not aim at a purely esthetic experience. Because the poetic meaning of the original was spiritual in nature, a faithful translation will have the same quality.

5.5 Readability and understandability, predictability and built-in redundancy. A well-written, common-language text is easy to read and understand, partly because much of the text is lexical-filling, almost entirely predictable from its context. This may be a feature of most well-written prose, but it cannot be made a requirement of good poetry. Poetry is almost by definition unpredictable in its choice of words and structures. Only the poet would be able to supply a missing tenth or fifth word.[5] Are we willing to accept a Bible translation that initially is hard to read and that taxes the reader's intellect and imagination?

We may be heartened by the fact that few things that are easy to appreciate possess a beauty that lasts long. A comparison between pop music and classical music comes to mind. Reading poetry usually means making an effort, initially. This means that we should be ready to experiment with a translation of poetic parts of the Bible, a translation that at first contact is not easy to read and understand. But if the translator-poet has been successful, the reader will be able to reach down to the poetic meaning of the work. And it is in the

[5]Translators' handbooks, such as *The theory and practice of translation* (Nida and Taber 1969) and *From one language to another: Functional equivalence in Bible translation* (de Waard and Nida 1986), speak of the Cloze test: each 10th word of a spoken text is not said but left to the listeners to supply, or each fifth word of a text is deleted and left to the reader to fill in. If a text has a happy quota of redundancy, supplying the missing words will, in general, not be difficult. If the listeners or readers are unable, most of the time, to come up with the missing word, it means that the text is not flowing well and will, therefore, be hard to understand.

nature of all art that it has the capacity to become more meaningful to the beholder with each successive contact.

6. Can it be done?

Here are some suggestions on how to obtain poetic translations of the Bible's poetry:

(1) Translators are needed who are able to read and understand biblical Hebrew very well. But even those who don't know Hebrew, or don't know it sufficiently to understand the poetic meaning of its poetry, should try to tune in as much as possible to that quality of the poetic source text that makes it different from prose. Often it will be a question of recognizing the imagery used or the depth of feeling that the Bible poet expressed in his work. Even some formal features of Hebrew poetry can be recognized without knowing the language: the use of parallelism, the semantic rhythm of the words used, and maybe some others.

(2) A formal, in-depth study should be made of Hebrew poetry by Hebrew language experts. This will help clarify which passages in the Bible are poetic in nature and which are prosaic, and help decide whether there are gradual distinctions between them. It will also help translators to better understand and have a greater appreciation of the nature of the poetry in the Bible and of the different kinds of poetry we find there. The characteristics of each type of poetry in the Bible should be listed.

(3) Translators of poetry should be poets in their own language, and as a first step they should carefully study their own poetry. The norms for establishing what is poetry and what is not vary from culture to culture and from language to language. For example, in many cultures in Africa, there exists a rich corpus of traditional poetry. Often this literary treasure has not been written down. It is oral poetry, preserved in the minds of elders or of griots. This poetry can be classified rather easily into different genres: praise poetry, war songs, funeral poetry, proverbs, love poetry, etc. Many of these same genres are found in the Bible as well. For a translator in a culture where such poetry exists, a priority would be to record on tape and to carefully write down the songs or poems he may come across.[6] Then he should categorize them by genre, if possible. The next step would be to study each genre and try to see what its characteristics

[6]A collection of poetry that is easy to put together and could be a beginning for the apprentice translator-poet is a list of traditional proverbs in his language. Each culture has them, and they represent a vast treasure of popular wisdom and literary genius.

are, that is, what sets it apart from other genres. Once he has found the salient features of each, he can then try to apply these findings to a corresponding piece of poetry in the Bible, one that is of the same or of a similar genre. Often a translator will find that he can tune in naturally to the requirements of each type of poetry. Or, conversely, he will find that for certain genres of Bible poetry, such as the didactic poetry of Ecclesiastes, there exists no equivalent genre in his language. He will then, very probably, have to translate these passages as prose.

(4) No insistence should be made on adherence to common language when translating poetry. The translator-poet should be left free, even if the result is a translation that is not read as easily as a story or is not readily understood and fully appreciated at first contact. We should be willing to let a translation (like any literature of value) gain maturity and progressively reveal its depth with time.

7. Conclusion

Much in this paper centers on the concept of poetic meaning and its difference from prose meaning. While the latter is informative, the first is more impressionistic in nature. This does not mean that poetic meaning is merely some shallow, fleeting emotion attached to the words of a poem, but rather that it communicates itself through the poem as a whole and through the cohesion of its composing elements. The last point is important: the appreciation of poetic meaning is not a subjective matter. It is rooted in the linguistic structures of the poem, put there either intuitively or more or less deliberately or consciously by the poet.

A second key point of this article is the assertion that the poetic meaning of a poem is its real meaning, the one that is to be translated. Having translated the dictionary meaning of a poem is not nearly enough. In fact, such a translation's only merit is to present to the reader in the receptor language a prosaic equivalent of the linguistic structures that underlie the poetic meaning in the source language. But since that poetic meaning does not come across, the poem is not translated.

Finally, it may take some courage. There have been cases of translators who clearly knew how to translate the Psalms, for example, so that they would read as poetry in their own language. But, fearing the reaction that such a translation would certainly evoke from their readers, they did not make the step. Rather, they stayed within the traditional format of rendering the source texts line by

line, translating mainly the prose meaning, albeit with some special care as to style.

The world's great poetry has been translated as poetry in other languages, sometimes with success. One can only hope that a similar effort will be made in the field of Bible translation, out of respect for the text, so that the message of the Bible's poetry will be available, to those who wish to read it, as poetry in translation.

Appendix

In the United Bible Societies, some deliberate efforts have been made to translate Bible poetry as poetry. In Die Gute Nachricht we often find rhyme and alliteration, both accepted forms of German poetry. In Ecclesiastes 6.4–5, for example, we read about the aborted foetus:

Als ein Nichts kommt sie,
in die Nacht geht sie,
namenlos und vergessen.
Das Sonnenlicht sieht sie nicht,
was Leben ist, weist sie nicht;
doch Ruhe hat sie gefunden.

Freely rendered:

It is like something which is nothing
and goes into the night,
without name and soon forgotten.
Sunlight it will never see
and life it will never know,
but what it did find is peace.

More audacious, even, are passages in rhyme, such as Isaiah 5.1b–6, and Micah 2.4b. Other lines are less formally marked as poetry, but one cannot help being struck by their simple rhythm and beauty as, for example, Proverbs 9.1:

Frau Weisheit has sich ein Haus gebaut
mit sieben prächtigen Säulen.

Or:

Wisdom built herself a house—
with seven beautiful pillars.

There is another recent translation that, in my view, has made a deliberate effort to obtain poetic language in the receptor language. It is the Dutch Groot Nieuws Bijbel. The translation of most of the poetry of the Old Testament is arranged in short

lines, which are effective in their conciseness and expressiveness. In the following excerpt, Isaiah 18.7, the grammatical structure is not prosaic. The structure with the two time clauses 'when this people; when this land . . . ' finding their complement at the very end of the verse: ' . . . will bring . . . '), is poetically contrived. Neither is the vocabulary particularly simple, with the words *rijzig* (literally 'statuesque'), and *tiranniek* 'tyrannical'. There is no rhyme, nor is there a regular meter, but the words are striking in their vividness and their economy, which seem to reflect well the conciseness of Hebrew poetry:

Er komt een tijd
dat dit volk,
rijzig en glanzend,
wijd en zijd gevreesd,
gespierd en tiranniek,
dat dit land,
met rivieren doorsneden,
geschenken zal brengen aan de
almachtige Heer.

Or:

There will be a time
when this people,
tall and splendid,
fearful to behold,
strong-willed and athletic;
when this land,
ploughed by rivers,
will bring its gifts
to the almighty Lord.

It is my feeling that the German Groot Nieuws Bijbel translators often made a deliberate choice of the right-sounding word over the common language equivalent. For example Isaiah 11.1:

Een loot ontspruit aan de stronk van Isai
een scheut bloeit op uit zijn wortels.

which, very literally, means:

A twig sprouts up from the (tree) trunk of Jesse,
a shoot blossoms out from its roots.

Or Job 11.12:

Een leeghoofd spreekt geen zinnig woord,
een ezel blijft een ezel.

An egghead speaks no word of sense,
an ass remains an ass.

The above is striking in its well-sounding rhythm (which in this case translates very well). So is the following, Proverbs 16.18:

Trots gaat vooraf aan ellende,
hoogmoed aan de val.

Pride goes before misery,
conceit before the fall.

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THE USE OF 'BEHOLD' IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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Introduction

When we translated the book of Genesis for the Bassa people of Liberia, we were confused on how to best translate the Hebrew words for 'behold' (*hinnēh/hēn*—137 occurrences in Genesis alone), since the English translations varied a lot in their approach to them. The more literal translations almost always use the word *behold,* whereas the more dynamic translations use a variety of solutions. At first we tended to follow the literal translations in order to be consistent, but at times it did not sound natural. So then we tried to follow the dynamic translations, but that resulted in over thirty different renderings for *hinnēh/hēn* in the book of Genesis. It became clear that we needed to study how these words were being used in each context in order to be more consistent in Bassa.

The purpose of this article is to provide an analysis of the discourse functions of the Hebrew particles *hinnēh* and *hēn* with a view to application for Bible translation. What follows is just a preliminary analysis since only the books of Genesis, Leviticus, 1 Samuel and Amos are included in this study. Two hundred sixty-five instances of *hinnēh/ hēn* occur in these books, which is about 20 percent of the total Old Testament occurrences; in the Appendix, each of the 265 occurrences is analyzed briefly as an aid to translators. Each major section of this article will have subtitles of analysis (how *hinnēh/hēn* is used in Hebrew discourse) surface structure (complete list of occurrences along with formal considerations), and application (how it is translated into Bassa).

Basically, *hinnēh/hēn* is used to **highlight** the noun/proposition(s) that follows it. It **raises the relative prominence** of the information after it, so that the information has an **impact** on the reader/listener. Usually it calls upon the reader/listener to **pay attention.**[1] (The first four functions for *hinnēh/hēn* within this article could be listed under

[1]Note that Roger Van Otterloo (1988:34) comes to the same basic conclusion concerning the use of 'ἰδού/ἴδε' in the New Testament.

the heading of 'paying attention'). Often it carries the element of **surprise.**

1.0 Discourse functions of hinnēh/hēn

1.1 To highlight off-the-event-line material within narrative text

1.1.1 Analysis. Within narrative text *hinnēh* (*hēn* not used) tells the reader to pay special attention to particular information that is off-the-event line.[2] In Hebrew narrative the event line is carried by the preterite, *wāw-* 'consecutive'. *Hinnēh* can never introduce event-line information, but it does raise the relative prominence of off-the-line information. For example, in Gn 24:30 the reader is told concerning Abraham's servant, 'and **behold,** he was standing by the camels at the spring'[3] (*hinnēh* plus a participle, Brown, Driver, and Briggs 1907:244). In Gn 18:8 the same participle without *hinnēh* is used, 'and he stood by them under the tree.' Both propositions indicate a background activity, but the proposition in 24:30 is more prominent than the one in 18:8 because of the use of *hinnēh*. Another good comparison is Gn 1:4, 'and God saw that the light was good,' with Gn 1:31, 'and God saw everything that he had made, and **behold,** it was very good.' In both, the reader is told what God saw, but the content of God's perception is more prominent in 1:31 because of *hinnēh*. Compare also Gn 6:5 with 6:12.

So *hinnēh* highlights off-the-event-line material in Hebrew narrative, **but why?** There are three reasons for its use in narrative. Brown, Driver and Briggs (1907) in their Hebrew lexicon list two of the three reasons. They state that it is done:

(1) 'to make the narrative graphic and vivid,'
(2) 'to enable the reader to enter into the surprise or satisfaction of the speaker or actor concerned' (1907:244).

Usually both of these factors are true at the same time. For example, 1 Sm 30:3 relates, 'And when David and his men came to the city, **they found** it burned with fire, and their wives and sons and

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[2]Dr. Robert Longacre (1979a:90) describes material that is on the event line as the backbone of the narrative. It gives the main line of the discourse 'as opposed to subsidiary and supportive material'.

[3]Biblical quotations are from the Revised standard version (RSV) unless indicated otherwise. The way in which the RSV translates *hinnēh/hēn* will be in bold. When *hinnēh/hēn* occurs but is not translated as such in the RSV, its translation will be given in parentheses. Hebrew citations are from Kittel. Other versions referred to are the King James version (KJV) and the Today's English version (TEV).

daughters taken captive.' The reader already knows from the first two verses that Ziklag had been burned and the people taken captive. However, the writer repeats these ideas in v. 3, bringing the reader into the surprise of David and his men when they first see it (vividness + surprise). Another example like this is Gn 29:25. Already in v. 23 the reader knows that Laban gave Leah instead of Rachel to Jacob. Then in v. 25 it is seen through the surprise of Jacob's eyes, **'behold,** it was Leah' (vividness + surprise). An example of vividness plus satisfaction is Gn 6:12. In this verse it is actually dissatisfaction on the part of God which is being expressed, 'And God saw the earth, and **behold,** it was corrupt.' Already in vv. 5 and 11, God saw the corruption of the earth. Through the use of *hinnēh* in v. 12, the reader experiences God's dissatisfaction concerning the sin of mankind. Another example like this is Gn 1:31, 'and God saw everything that he had made, and **behold,** it was very good.' In the creation story it is stated often that God saw how good his work was (1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, and 31), but *hinnēh* is not used until the end of the story in v. 31. Its use helps the reader to experience God's satisfaction with his creation.

In narrative the writer/speaker often repeats information with *hinnēh* to let the reader/listener enter into the surprise or satisfaction of the actor (see also Gn 24:30; 37:29; 42:35; 1 Sm 14:17, 26; 19:16; and 26:7). However, in most cases of surprise or satisfaction on the part of the actor, the reader experiences it for the first time through the eyes of the actor. For example, in Gn 8:11 the reader is surprised along with Noah about the fresh olive leaf, 'and **lo,** in her mouth a freshly picked olive leaf.' In Gn 22:13 he sees the ram along with Abraham, 'and **behold,** behind him was a ram.' Other examples are Gn 18:2; 24:15; 29:2; 37:25; 40:6; Lv 10:16; 1 Sm 5:3; 25:36; and 30:16.

Under this heading of surprise and vividness, special note is made of dreams and visions. In almost every dream or vision that is recounted, *hinnēh* is used at least once. It is used much more often than in other narrative. For the Hebrew people, dreams/visions were very important, and their nature is surprising, so *hinnēh* is used often within them. The reader/listener is brought into the wonder of a dream/vision. When Joseph recounted his first dream to his brothers, he used *hinnēh* three times:

> **Behold,** we were binding sheaves in the field, and **lo,** my sheaf arose and stood upright; and **behold,** your sheaves gathered round it, and bowed down to my sheaf (Gn 37:7).

In every vision of Amos, *hinnēh* is used, such as, 'Thus the Lord GOD showed me: **behold,** a basket of summer fruit' (Am 8:1). The

other examples of its use in dreams/visions in the books under consideration are Gn 15:4; 28:12, 13; 31:10; 37:9; 40:9, 16; 41:1–6, 17–23; Am 7:1, 4 and 7. Whenever there is embedded narrative in these dreams/visions, *hinnēh* always highlights off-the-event-line material that introduces the characters and props, such as, **'behold** a ladder', **'behold** the angels', and **'behold,** the LORD', (Gn 28:12–13, KJV). The event line is carried by the preterite as usual. If the dream/vision does not have an embedded narrative, but simply describes the characters or props within it, it will also use *hinnēh,* (e.g. Gn 37:9 and 40:16). However, if characters and props are not introduced in the dream, *hinnēh* is not used, (e.g. Gn 31:24). One passage that does not fit neatly under the above analysis is Gn 15:4, 'And **behold,** the word of the LORD came to him.' *Hinnēh* in this case seems to introduce an event that is on the main line, that is, God's continued conversation with Abraham. On the whole, *hinnēh* begins the content of every dream/vision where something is seen but not where there is only speech, such as no *hinnēh* to begin Gn 15:1 and 31:24. This suggests that the first *hinnēh* also has a verb function 'to see' in addition to surprise and vividness: 'in the dream **he saw.**' So it is part of the formula for dreams/visions where something is seen:

he dreamed + *hinnēh* + the dream content

Hinnēh is used also for vividness and surprise when twins are mentioned within narrative (only two twin stories in the whole Old Testament—Gn 25:24 and 38:27). In Gn 25:24 the story begins, **'behold,** there were twins in her womb' (Esau and Jacob). The story concerning the twins of Tamar begins the same way, '(behold), there were twins in her womb' (Gn 38:27). In these cases of twins, the surprise is only for the reader since no actor experiencing the wonder is in view (unless implied for the mother and the midwives).

So far it has been demonstrated how *hinnēh* highlights off-the-line-narrative material in order for the reader/listener to enter into the surprise or satisfaction of the speaker/actor. Almost every use of *hinnēh* within narrative is for this purpose. However, there are several cases where it is used to highlight off-the-event-line material in order to (last reason for its use in narrative, see p. 3):

(3) reintroduce a major participant along with vividness and sometimes surprise.

For example, in 1 Sm 4:13, Eli is reintroduced in the following way: '(behold), Eli was sitting upon his seat by the road watching . . . ' In 1 Sm 11:5, Saul comes back on the scene with these words, **'Now**

Saul was coming from the field behind the oxen . . . ' Usually when a major participant is reintroduced in Hebrew narrative, *hinnēh* is used to bring him back on the set, with the exception of Gn 24:62 for the reintroduction of Isaac. Other examples of this are Gn 33:1; 1 Sm 9:14; 13:10; 17:23; and 25:20. These last examples could also be analyzed as highlighting to indicate surprise.

Note that these uses of *hinnēh* in Hebrew narrative **differ from how** *ἰδού* **'behold' is used in Greek narrative.** Roger Van Otterloo states that *ἰδού* in Greek narrative primarily introduces 'a major thematic participant onto the event line of an episode' (p. 40). In Greek narrative *ἰδού* tells the reader/listener to pay attention because a major character is being introduced, but in Hebrew narrative, *hinnēh* tells the reader/listener to pay attention for surprise or satisfaction along with vividness or for the reintroduction of a major character along with vividness and sometimes surprise. At times *hinnēh* can occur when a major participant is introduced, but it occurs in these places because of vividness and surprise. For example, in Gn 24:15 Rebekah is brought on the stage in the following way:

> **Behold,** Rebekah, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, came out with her water jar upon her shoulder.

Here *hinnēh* is used to bring the reader into the surprise of Abraham's servant. As a major character, Rebekah is introduced by the use of off-the-event-line clauses, as is usual in Hebrew narrative (compare with Gn 1:1, 2; 3:1; 4:2; and 24:29 which do not use *hinnēh* to introduce a major character). Some other examples of the major participant coming on the scene with *hinnēh* are Gn 18:2, 25:24, and 38:27.

Hinnēh also can occur when minor participants or props that have relatively high local prominence are introduced, but as with major characters, it is there to let the reader experience the surprise of the actor, not to introduce the minor character/prop (with the exception of dreams/visions mentioned above where the introduction of characters/props also seems to play a part). For example, in Gn 22:13, when the ram which took Isaac's place is introduced, *hinnēh* is used to bring the reader into the surprise of Abraham, 'and **behold,** behind him was a ram, caught in a thicket by his horns.' The use of an off-the-event-line clause (nominal clause here) is what introduces the locally prominent ram. Other examples are Gn 29:2; 37:25; and 1 Sm 10:10. (Compare these examples with locally more prominent

minor characters/props that are introduced without the use of *hinnēh* in Gn 14:10 and 23:10.)

1.1.2 Surface Structure. There are seventy-eight occurrences of *hinnēh* within the narrative texts of Genesis, Leviticus, 1 Samuel, and Amos. The full list is as follows: Gn 1:31; 6:12; 8:11, 13; 15:4, 12, 17; 16:14; 18:2; 19:28; 22:13; 24:15, 30, 45, 63; 25:24; 26:8; 28:12a, b, 13; 29:2a, b, 25; 31:2, 10; 33:1; 37:7a, b, c, 9, 15, 25, 29; 38:27, 29; 40:6, 9, 16; 41:1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23; 42:27, 35; 43:21; Lv 10:16; 1 Sm 4:13; 5:3, 4; 9:14; 10:10, 11; 11:5; 13:10; 14:16, 17, 20, 26; 15:12; 17:23; 19:16; 25:20, 36; 26:7; 30:3, 16; Am 7:1a, b, 4, 7; and 8:1.

Within the narrative texts of these books, the form of *hēn* is never used, only *hinnēh*. Twice *hinnēh* occurs with a suffix (a pronominal suffix in Gn 40:6 and 41:17). Except for two occurrences, Gn 16:14 and 41:17, *hinnēh* always has *wāw-* 'and' as a prefix. Gn 16:14 is a parenthetical comment which says, '(behold), it lies between Kadesh and Bered.' This exception also does not fit neatly into the analysis given above for *hinnēh* within Hebrew narrative. In this case *hinnēh* is highlighting, but not for vividness, surprise or the reintroduction of a major character. It may be highlighting to act as a pointer, **note that** 'it lies between Kadesh and Bered.' It is relatively more prominent than other parenthetical comments within Hebrew narrative (compare Gn 14:2, 7, and 17 which do not use *hinnēh).*

The clause types which can follow *hinnēh* in narrative are:

(1) Nominal clauses (25 occurrences: Gn 1:31; 8:11; 15:4; etc.)
(2) Participial clauses (43 occurrences, especially within dreams/visions: Gn 41:1–6; 1 Sm 13:10; Am 7:4; etc.)
(3) Clauses with suffixed verbs (9 occurrences: Gn 6:12; 8:13; 1 Sm 14:16; etc.)
(4) Clauses with a prefixed verb (1 occurrence—in Gn 37:7c. Prefixed verbs occur rarely after *hinnēh* in any place.)

Often *hinnēh* in narrative will follow a preterite form of *rā'âh* 'to see' (17 occurrences). For example, in Gn 18:2 the text states, 'He lifted up his eyes and looked, and **behold,** three men stood in front of him.' Other examples are Gn 1:31; 6:12; 8:13; and 19:28. When *hinnēh* follows *rā'âh,* it is not used simply to introduce the content of what is seen. Primarily, it is used to get the reader to experience the surprise or satisfaction of the actor. Compare vv. 2 and 5 of Gn 31. In v. 2 where *hinnēh* is used, the text reads, 'And Jacob saw that (behold) Laban did not regard him with favor as before.'

In v. 5, *kî* 'that' is used instead to introduce the same content: 'I see that your father does not regard me with favor as he did before.'

So, in v. 2 the surprise on Jacob's part is noted, but he did not express this surprise to his wives in v. 5.

Note that *hinnēh* is not a verb that can take an object or have its own content. Brown, Driver, and Briggs classify it as a demonstrative particle (1907:243). Unlike *rā'âh* 'to see', it never is followed by the direct object marker *'ēt* or by *kî* 'that' (used to introduce a content clause).

1.1.3 Application. So, within Hebrew narrative, *hinnēh* is used to highlight material that is off-the-event line. It does this to bring the reader/listener into the surprise or satisfaction of the actor/speaker and/or to reintroduce a major participant. What difference should this analysis make for our translation of *hinnēh* into Bassa? *Hinnēh* is translated into Bassa in several ways. Below is a list:

(1) In Bassa there is a narrative connector *pu'eh* 'zap!' which indicates a surprising development to the reader along with marking vividness. It fits perfectly in Gn 24:15 when Rebekah comes into the story. Often *pu'eh* can be used with the action of seeing (i.e. *pu'eh* 'he saw that') to show surprise on the part of the actor at the same time (e.g. in Gn 29:25 when Jacob first recognized Leah).

(2) If the element of satisfaction is in view, *pu'eh* would not be appropriate (as in Gn 1:31 and 6:12). The pleasure or displeasure of the actor can be indicated by using a verb to express it (e.g. Gn 1:31, 'When the LORD saw that everything he had made was very good, **it pleased him very much**').

(3) When a major participant is reintroduced in Bassa, a time phrase or a time clause should be used to translate *hinnēh*. For example, in 1 Sm 11:5, '**at this time**' is used when Saul comes back on the scene.

(4) If there is surprise in addition to reintroduction of a major character, then it is best to use *pu'eh* also after the time phrase/clause as in 1 Sm 17:23.

(5) In the context of dreams and visions for Bassa, *hinnēh* only needs to be signified by beginning with a verb of dreaming (for dreams) or seeing (for visions), even if the dream/vision uses *hinnēh* more than once (as in Gn 37:7). For example, in Gn 37:9 it is expressed by *in this dream*. The element of surprise is taken care of by the context of a dream/vision. Usually the element of surprise should be expressed in Bassa except in this situation. It should not simply be dropped as is done often in English trans-

lations (e.g. Gn 37:29, 'and **saw that** Joseph was not in the pit'). To drop it will mean a loss of impact.

1.2 To call special attention to a statement(s) that is contrary to the listener's expectation

1.2.1 Analysis. *Hinnēh* also is used **to highlight a statement(s) which is against the listener's expectation.**[4] The speaker wants the hearer to pay special attention because the hearer will be inclined to doubt what he says next. For example, in Gn 20:3 God said to Abimelech, **'Behold,** you are a dead man, because of the woman whom you have taken; for she is a man's wife.' Abimelech was not expecting to die since he had taken Abraham's wife out of innocence. So God used *behold* to call his attention to his impending death which would take place if he kept Sarah. Later in the story Abimelech used *behold* in the same way when he spoke to Sarah, saying:

> **Behold,** I have given your brother a thousand pieces of silver; **behold,** it is your vindication in the eyes of all who are with you; and before every one you are righted. (Gn 20:16).

The last thing Sarah would be expecting at this point is a gift from Abimelech to her husband since Abraham had deceived him. So Abimelech used *behold* twice to impress upon her that it was true. Another example is Gn 18:10 where God said to Abraham, 'I will surely return to you in the spring, and (behold) Sarah your wife shall have a son.' Sarah and Abraham were beyond childbearing age, so God used *hinnēh* to counteract their doubt when he mentioned they would have a son. Note that when he repeated the message in v. 14, *hinnēh* was not used since there was no longer the element of surprise.

Sometimes a **conclusion** can be preceded by *hinnēh* since it is **surprising to the listener.** One example is Gn 42:22 when Reuben drew a conclusion after Joseph's harsh treatment. He said to his brothers, 'Did I not tell you not to sin against the lad? But you would not listen. So **now** there comes a reckoning for his blood.' His conclusion, that the Egyptian ruler (Joseph) was mistreating them because of their treachery against Joseph, was not expected by his brothers. They would be inclined to doubt it, so he used *hinnēh.* Another example is Gn 44:16 where Judah said to Joseph's servant,

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[4]Van Otterloo has the same category for 'ἰδού/ἴδε' within Greek discourse. See pp. 46–48.

'What shall we say to my lord? What shall we speak? Or how can we clear ourselves? God has found out the guilt of your servants; **behold,** we are my lord's slaves, both we and he also in whose hand the cup has been found.' Judah's conclusion contradicted what the servant demanded in v. 10 of the guilty culprit. (Only the guilty person was to be a slave.) It was surprising to the servant that all of them offered to be slaves. Judah called attention to his unexpected conclusion by the use of *hinnēh.*

One environment in which *hinnēh* often occurs to call the listener's attention to the unexpected is **at the beginning of predictive discourse.** This is especially true in **prophecy.** Amos used it in this way nine times (2:13; 4:2; 6:11, 14; 7:8; 8:11; 9:8, 9, and 13). In Am 4:2 the Lord said to the wealthy women in Samaria, **'Behold,** the days are coming upon you, when they shall take you away with hooks, even the last of you with fishhooks.' This prophecy was not expected by these women since they were wealthy and no enemy was threatening them. The expression, **'behold,** the days are coming,' often occurs in prophecy to begin a new section of predictive discourse (e.g. Is 13:9 and 39:6, Jer 7:32 and 9:25, Am 8:11 and 9:13). In Genesis *hinnēh* often occurs before predictive discourse when God makes **promises** (Gn 9:9; 16:11; 17:4, 20; 28:15; and 48:4). For example, in Gn 9:9–12 God promised Noah and his sons not to destroy the earth with a flood again. He began by saying, **'Behold,** I establish my covenant with you and your descendants after you.' After experiencing a flood that destroyed the whole earth, Noah and his family could envision it happening again, so God went against this expectation by beginning with *hinnēh. Hinnēh* occurs one time before predictive discourse that is a **blessing.** In Gn 27:39 Isaac blessed Esau by beginning: **'Behold,** away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling be, and away from the dew of heaven on high.' The whole blessing sounded more like a curse. Isaac used *hinnēh* because of its startling content.

1.2.2 Surface Structure. Note that there are alternatives to *hinnēh* for highlighting material that is unexpected to the listener. In Gn 45:26 when Joseph's brothers first told their father that Joseph was still alive, the quote, 'Joseph is still alive, and he is ruler over all the land of Egypt,' begins with the use of *kî.* This certainly was unexpected news for him! At times the imperative form (or infinitive absolute plus imperfect) of a cognitive or perceptual orienter can highlight unexpected material for the hearer (e.g. *listen,* Gn 4:23; *know,* Gn 15:13; and *see,* Gn 39:14). In Gn 15:13 the Lord foretold to Abraham a surprising thing which would happen to his descendants (i.e. becoming slaves), so he began, 'Know of a surety.' Whenever

hinnēh is used within quotes, there always is dialogue. It is not used in quotes if a person is speaking to himself. To highlight something surprising to the speaker within monologue requires a word other than *hinnēh.* In Gn 28:16 the word *'ākēn* 'surely' is used when Jacob said, 'Surely the LORD is in this place; and I did not know it.' Jacob was surprised that God was present there.[5]

Within the books under study, there are thirty-three uses of *hinnēh* which call special attention to a statement(s) that is contrary to the listener's expectation. They occur in Gn 9:9; 15:3; 16:11; 17:4, 20; 18:10; 20:3, 16a and b; 22:20; 27:39; 28:15; 29:6; 32:18, 20; 37:9; 42:22, 28; 44:16; 48:4, 11; 1 Sm 2:31; 3:11; Am 2:13; 4:2, 13; 6:11, 14; 7:8; 8:11; 9:8, 9 and 13.

Only the form *hinnēh* is used in this context. *Hēn* is never used, as is true also for narrative text. *Hinnēh* takes a pronominal suffix seven times (Gn.9:9, 16:11, 20:3, 44:16, and 48:4, Am 6:14, and 7:8). It can take *wāw-* 'and' as a prefix (seven times), but usually there is no prefix. Several times *hinnēh* is not the first word in the clause of which it is a part. (It is always the first word in the clause within narrative text.) An independent pronoun can precede it (*ănî* 'I' in Gn 9:9 and 17:4), or the inclusive word *gam* 'even' (Gn 42:28). The clause types which follow it are nominal clauses (eleven times), participial clauses (fifteen times), clauses with suffixed verbs (six times), and one occurrence of a clause with a prefixed verb (Gn 27:39).

1.2.3 Application. *Hinnēh* that calls the listener's attention to an unexpected statement(s) is translated in several different ways in Bassa. Below is the list:

(1) Most often an imperative calling for the listener's attention should be used (e.g. *look here, listen,* or *see*).
(2) At times the vocative can be used to gain the listener's attention (especially in the context where *hinnēh* introduces a long predictive text).
(3) Or the vocative in conjunction with an imperative can be used.
(4) When an unexpected conclusion is highlighted, neither an imperative nor the vocative can be used because a conjunction comes before the conclusion **therefore.** In this context a suffix on the verb giving the sense of **now** fits well.

1.3 To call special attention to a ground(s) that leads to an exhortation

[5]This use of *'ākēn* is supported by William Holladay in his lexicon, p. 15.

1.3.1 Analysis. *Hinnēh/hēn* is used most frequently **to highlight the ground(s) of an exhortation.** It highlights material that is off-the-main line for hortatory discourse (main line carried by the imperative). The basic reason for this highlighting is **to point out the grounds to the listener** (demonstrative use). It calls upon the listener to pay special attention to a ground(s) that requires action.[6] The speaker wants the listener to note a situation which will demand action. For example, in Gn 11:6 and 7, God said:

> **Behold,** they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language.

God called attention to the single language along with its possible consequences. Then he commanded, because of it, that the language be confused. Another example is Gn 12:11–13 where Abraham spoke to his wife, saying, '(Behold), I know that you are a woman beautiful to behold; . . . Say you are my sister.' Because of Sarah's beauty, Abraham was afraid he would be killed, so he asked to be called her brother. He accented her beauty before making the exhortation. Other examples are Gn 16:2, 19:8, and 24:13; 1 Sm 8:5, 9:6, and 20:5.

When the highlighted ground(s) to an exhortation points to a nominal clause, it often has the sense of presenting a person or thing (here, there). *Behold* used as a demonstrative is clear in this context. One example is Gn 12:19 where Abimelech gave back Abraham's wife and told them to leave, 'Now then, **here** is your wife, take her, and be gone.' Sarah was presented to Abraham so they would leave. In Gn 16:6 Abraham presented Hagar to Sarah to treat her as she wanted, **'Behold,** your maid is in your power; do to her as you please.' Other examples are Gn 20:15 and 24:51, and 1 Sm 9:24 and 12:3.

Sometimes the ground(s) to an exhortation is marked by *hinnēh/hēn* not just to point it out to the listener but also (second reason for highlighting this type of material) **to call the attention of the listener to something unexpected.** For example, when God told Noah to build the ark, he began with the unexpected news that he would destroy the earth, **'behold,** I will destroy them with the earth' (Gn 6:13). Another example is 1 Sm 9:12 where Saul was told to hurry because Samuel was just in front of him, **'behold,** he is just ahead of you.'

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[6]Van Otterloo also has this category for 'ἰδού/ἴδε' within Greek discourse, pp. 48–53.

In many cases of highlighted grounds to an exhortation, the exhortation is left implicit. In Gn 38:13 Tamar was told, **'Behold,** your father-in-law is going up to Timnah to shear his sheep.' No exhortation was given, but she was told this so that she would approach her father-in-law, Judah, about another husband. She responded by acting like a prostitute before Judah. In Gn 48:1 Joseph was told that his father was sick so that he would visit him, **'Behold,** your father is ill.' He responded by going with his two sons. A more complicated example is Gn 18:27 where Abraham pleaded for Sodom and Gomorrah and said, **'Behold,** I have taken upon myself to speak to the LORD, I who am but dust and ashes.' The command left implied is, 'let me speak.' The request may come in this form to make it more polite (see also Gn 18:31 and 19:2). Other examples of implied exhortation after marked grounds are Gn 48:2, 1 Sm 16:18, 23:1, and 24:1.

Sometimes an answer to a question or a reply to a proposal will begin with *hinnēh/hēn*. In all these cases, *hinnēh/hēn* is being used as a demonstrative to highlight a ground(s) to an exhortation. The exhortation may be explicit as in 1 Sm 9:7b–8:

> 'What have we?' The servant answered Saul again, **'Here,** I have with me the fourth part of a shekel of silver, and I will give it to the man of God, to tell us our way.'

And Gn 19:20b–22:

> 'Let me escape there—is it not a little one?—and my life will be saved!' He said to him, **'Behold,** I grant you this favor also . . . Make haste, escape there.'

Or the exhortation may be implicit, as in 1 Sm 10:22:

> So they inquired again of the LORD, 'Did the man come hither?' and the LORD said, **'Behold,** he has hidden himself among the baggage' (implied is the command to get Saul).

Also in 1 Sm 19:22:

> Then he himself went to Ramah, and came to the great well that is in Secu; and he asked, 'Where are Samuel and David?' And one said, **'Behold,** they are at Nai'oth in Ramah' (implied is the command to go there).

Note that when a person answers a call in Hebrew, *hinnēh usually is* used (one exception is 1 Sm 3:10). The person responds by saying, 'Here I am' (Gn 22:1, 7; 22:7; 27:1, 8; 31:11; 37:13; 46:2; 1 Sm 3:4–8, 16; and 22:12). Since it is used almost consistently in answer to a call, it may be true that hinnēh is not highlighting in this situation. How-

ever, it is true that the person called is expecting a response when he uses hinnēh (implied exhortation—tell me what you want).

1.3.2 Surface Structure. The ground(s) to an exhortation can occur without highlighting in several ways:

(1) Sometimes the grounds(s) comes before the exhortation with no conjunction used (e.g. Gn 18:20, 19:31, and 23:4). In Gn 19:31–32 Lot's older daughter gave the command that she and her sister have sex with their father. The grounds come first without any highlighting ('Our father is old . . . Come, let us . . . '). In v. 34 the same basic command is preceded by a ground that is highlighted by *hinnēh*: **'Behold,** I lay last night with my father.'

(2) Nonhighlighted grounds within hortatory discourse also occur with the use of subordinating conjunctions:
   a. *kî* 'because/for' which is used to tie in the ground(s) after the exhortation (e.g. Gn 7:1, 4; 13:15, 17; 19:13, 14, 22; 21:10; 22:12; and 26:16).
   b. *wāw-*, often along with *'attâ*, before the exhortation, meaning 'therefore' (Gn 20:7 and 34:21), or *wāw-* before the grounds, meaning 'because' (Gn 24:31). Within Gn 34:21, there is a nonhighlighted ground followed by *wāw-*, 'These men are friendly with us; let them dwell,' and one highlighted by *hinnēh* after *wāw-*, 'for **behold,** the land is large enough for them.' Both grounds are for the same command to dwell and trade in the land, but the second ground has more relative prominence (note that *wāw-* as a subordinating conjunction for grounds within hortatory discourse can be used with or without *hinnēh*).
   c. One used before unmarked grounds in exhortation is *pen* 'lest' (Gn 32:11, 38:23). Gn 38:23 has one unmarked ground using *pen*, **'lest** we be laughed at', and one using *hinnēh*, 'you **see,** I sent this kid, and you could not find her', for the same command, 'Let her keep the things as her own'.

There are other ways to highlight the ground(s) to an exhortation besides the use of *hinnēh/hēn.* (1) Often the ground(s) is expressed as a rhetorical question to raise its relative prominence (Gn 13:9; 17:7; 18:14; and 21:17). (2) Another device is the use of an orienter in the imperative to introduce the ground(s) *listen,* (Gn 23:6, 15), and *see,* (Gn 39:14, and 41:41).

In the books under study, there are one hundred and six occurrences of *hinnen/hēn* as a highlighter of grounds within hortatory

discourse. The complete list is as follows: Gn 1:29; 3:22; 6:13, 17; 11:6; 12:11, 19; 16:2,6; 18:9, 27, 31; 19:2, 8, 19, 20, 21, 34; 20:15; 22:1, 7a, and b; 24:13, 43, 51; 27:1, 2, 6, 18, 42; 29:7; 30:3, 34; 31:11, 51a and b; 34:21; 37:13, 19; 38:13, 23, 24; 41:19; 42:2; 45:12; 46:2; 47:1,23; 48:1, 2; 50:5, 18; 1 Sm 3:4, 5, 6, 8, 16; 8:5; 9:6, 8, 12, 17, 24; 10:2, 8, 22; 12:1, 2a and b, 3, 13a and b; 14:7, 8, 11, 33, 43; 16:15, 18; 18:17, 22; 19:19, 22; 20:5, 21a and b, 22, 23; 21:9, 14; 22:12; 23:1; 24:1, 4a and b, 9, 10, 20; 25:14, 19; 26:21, 22; 28:7, 9, 21; and 30:26.

Both *hinnēh* and *hēn* are used for *behold* in this environment, but *hēn* does not occur often (6 times—Gn 3:22, 11:6, 19:34, 29:7, 30:34, and 47:23). There is a pronominal suffix on *hinnēh* twenty-two times (usually when a person responds to a call, **'here** I am'). *Wāw-* 'and' as a prefix on *hinnēh* occurs only eight times (Gn 6:13, 31:51b, 45:12, 47:1, 1 Sm 10:2 and 8, 12:13b, and 20:21a—usually in these cases with the grounds after the exhortation). Sometimes *hinnēh* is not the first word in the clause but is preceded by a pronoun (Gn 6:17), or by *gam* (Gn 38:24), or by a noun as subject (Gn 34:21, 1 Sm 12:2b), or by *ʿattâ* (1 Sm 12:2a, 13, and 24:20).

The clause types that can follow *hinnēh/hēn* in this environment are:

(1) nominal clauses (53 times—Gn 11:6; 12:19; 16:6; etc.)
(2) participial clauses (24 times—Gn 24:13; 27:42; 38:13; etc.)
(3) clauses with suffixed verbs (29 times—Gn 1:29; 3:22; 16:2; etc.)
(4) clauses with a prefixed verb (1 occurrence—1 Sm 20:21)

Usually the highlighted ground(s) to an exhortation takes place before the command, but it can occur after it. For example, in 1 Sm 14:7 Jonathan's armor-bearer said, 'Do all that your mind inclines to (the exhortation); **behold,** I am with you, as is your mind so is mine' (the ground). Other examples are Gn 34:21, 1 Sm 10:8, 20:21, 24:10, 25:19, and 26:21.

Often there is something in the surface grammar that will make the relation explicit between the marked ground(s) and the exhortation. Sometimes:

(1) *ʿattâ* 'now' is used before an exhortation that follows ground(s) (1 Sm 8:5 and 9:6).
(2) *ʿattâ* plus *wāw-* 'and now' can be used in the same position (Gn 3:22 and 27:6–8).
(3) *wāw-* by itself can introduce an exhortation after the grounds (Gn 11:6 and 45:13).
(4) it can introduce the grounds if they occur after the exhortation (Gn 34:21).

(5) *nā'* 'please' can occur right after *hinnēh* and the imperative (Gn 12:11–13; 19:8; and 27:2, this last example also has *'attâ* plus *wāw-* before the command).

1.3.3 Application. *Hinnēh/hēn* within hortatory discourse is translated into Bassa by several different expressions:

(1) If the quotation begins with a highlighted ground(s) that is followed by an explicit exhortation, usually the use of the vocative fits well.
(2) The imperative of an orienter (*look, see, hear*) or a rhetorical question is acceptable also in this situation.
(3) If the marked ground(s) is presenting a person or thing, then it is best to use the demonstrative *keha' keh'* 'here' or the verb *za' xwa'dha'a'n* 'to present'.
(4) In the cases where the highlighted ground(s) follows an explicit exhortation or where the marked grounds come in the middle of a quotation, a rhetorical question often fits well.
(5) Sometimes a high tone, a suffix on the verb *now,* is suitable in this environment.
(6) In the cases of implied exhortation where the ground(s) is not an answer to a question or a reply to a proposal, the adverb *ka'u"n* 'now' or a clause final *"o"* 'a sweetener' often fits best.
(7) In cases where an answer is given to a question, *noh^* 'here' or *dhe'* 'there' can be used as pointers to answer content questions, and *n'dye* 'yes' can be used to answer a yes/no question.
(8) In cases where a reply is given to a proposal, the idea of *woh—'* 'agreement' fits well.
(9) When a person responds to a call, the best solution is *dyo'o.*

1.4 To call special attention to a ground(s) that leads to a conclusion

1.4.1 Analysis. Just as the ground(s) of an exhortation can be **highlighted by** *hinnēh/hēn,* so can the **ground(s) of a conclusion.**[7] In both cases the speaker is highlighting to make special note of a ground(s) that leads to a response. In the case of marked grounds to a conclusion (expository discourse), *hinnēh/hēn* calls the listener's attention to a ground from which a conclusion is drawn. An example is Gn 26:9a where Abimelech said to Isaac, **'Behold,** she is your wife; how then could you say, "She is my sister?" ' Abimelech drew the

[7]This same category applies for ἰδού/ἴδε, Van Otterloo, pp. 48–53.

conclusion that Isaac should not have called Rebekah his sister since she was his wife. In Gn 27:37 Isaac said to Esau:

> **'Behold,** I have made him your lord, and all his brothers I have given to him for servants, and with grain and wine I have sustained him. What then can I do for you, my son?'

Isaac drew the conclusion that he could not bless Esau since he blessed Jacob already. Other examples of conclusions that have marked grounds are: Gn 39:8, 44:8, Lv 10:19, and 1 Sm 20:2.

Within this category, two examples of a **highlighted condition to a consequence** are included since the condition/consequence relationship is a logical one like the grounds/conclusion relationship. The two passages are: 'What shall we eat in the seventh year, **if** we may not sow or gather in our crop?' (Lv 25:20) and 'But **if** we go, what can we bring the man?' (1 Sm 9:7a). In both of these cases, *hinnēh/hēn* means more than simply '**if**'. The speaker wants the listener to pay special attention to the condition. It acts as a pointer on the protasis (in these cases, pointing to what was referred to earlier).

1.4.2 Surface structure. The highlighting in the above cases raises their relative prominence. The usual unmarked form for grounds to a conclusion is the use of *kî* 'because' before the grounds (e.g. Gn 2:23, 3:5, 6:7, 9:6, and 16:11). The usual unmarked form for a condition to a consequence is the use of *'im* 'if' before the condition (e.g. Gn 18:26, 27:46, 31:50, and 32:8).

Within the books under study, there are nineteen occurrences of highlighted grounds within expository discourse and two occurrences of highlighted conditions. The complete list is: Gn 4:4; 15:3; 22:7; 25:32; 26:9; 27:11, 36, 37; 39:8; 42:13; 44:8; 48:21; Lv 10:18, 19; 25:20; 1 Sm 9:7; 15:22; 16:11; 20:2; 23:3; and 25:41.

Unlike the previous cases, the form of **behold** in these cases is usually *hēn* (Gen 4:14; 15:3; 27:11, 37; 39:8; 44:8; Lv 10:18, 19; and 25:20). When *hinnēh* is used it can be prefixed with *wāw-* 'and' (Gn 27:36, 48:21, 1 Sm 9:7, and 16:11). In one situation it is not the first word in the clause (preceded by *'ak* 'surely' in Gn 26:9). The clause types which follow *hinnēh/hēn* are nominal clauses (8 times), participial clauses (3 times), and clauses with a prefixed verb (10 times).

The *behold* clauses in these cases usually occur before the conclusion or consequence with the relationship often marked overtly by *wāw-* (Gn 4:14, 27:11, and 1 Sm 9:7). The conclusion (Gn 27:36) or consequence (Lv 25:20) can come first. The conclusion (like an exhortation) can be left implied. For example, in 1 Sm 25:41 Abigail

implied that she wanted to become David's wife by saying, **'Behold,** your handmaid is a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord.' The other examples of an implied conclusion are Gn 22:7, 42:13, and 1 Sm 16:11.

Note that most of the conclusions/consequences in these cases also are highlighted but by the use of a rhetorical question (Gen 25:32; 26:9; 27:36, 37; 39:8; 44:8; Lv 10:19; 25:20; 1 Sm 9:7; 20:2 and 23:3). In one case the conclusion is marked by doubling the verb (Lv 10:18, infinitive absolute plus imperfect). Compare 1 Sm 9:7 (where the protasis is highlighted with *hinnēh* and the apodosis is a rhetorical question) with Gn 27:46 (where the apodosis also is a rhetorical question but the protasis is unmarked).

1.4.3 Application. *Hinnēh/hēn* in this environment is translated into Bassa by several different expressions:

(1) Often the highlighted ground(s) to a conclusion can be put in the form of a rhetorical question.
(2) As in many other cases, an imperative orienter (*see, look, listen*) also is suitable.
(3) In the case of a highlighted condition, using *oh ju" ke'* 'if' and putting it before the consequence is enough to mark it ('if . . . , then . . . '). Highlighted grounds also can be placed first to mark them, but the subordinating conjunction will differ *(ka' bheh'* 'since' or *je'eheh* 'because').

1.5 To express a high degree of certainty for a situation within procedural discourse

1.5.1 Analysis. In the procedural discourse of Leviticus, *hinnēh* (*hēn* is not used) is often used to introduce the content of what is seen (25 times). However, most translations consider it as introducing a condition to a consequence ('if'). For example, in Lv 13:5 the text states:

> and the priest shall examine him on the seventh day, and **if in his eyes** the disease is checked and the disease has not spread in the skin, then the priest shall shut him up seven days more.

Another example is Lv 13:13 which states:

> Then the priest shall make an examination, and **if** the leprosy has covered all his body, he shall pronounce him clean of the disease; it has all turned white and he is clean.

Brown, Driver and Briggs in their lexicon also observe that *hinnēh* is equal to **'if'** in much of Leviticus (1907:244).

In these places where *hinnēh* is translated as '**if**', it is preceded by a *wāw-* consecutive-perfect form or an imperfect form of *rā'âh* 'to see'. (There is one exception of the perfect form only in Lv 13:56.) Whenever *hinnēh* follows a form of *rā'âh* in narrative discourse, most translations take it as introducing the content of the sight orienter (e.g. Gn 29:2 and 37:25). There seems to be no reason to treat it differently within procedural discourse. Instead of beginning the condition with *hinnēh*, it is better to begin it with *rā'âh*. Lv 13:13 would read as follows:

> if the priest sees **in fact that** the leprosy has covered all his body, he shall pronounce him clean; it has all turned white and he is clean.

To begin the protasis with *rā'âh* is supported by those passages that use the imperfect form of *rā'âh* before *hinnēh* (Lv 13:21, 26, 31 and 53). In these cases *rā'âh* is preceded by a word for 'if' (either *'im* or *kî*). English translations do not try to represent *hinnēh* by '**if**' at these points, such as:

> But if the priest examines it, and (**behold,**) the hair on it is not white and it is not deeper than the skin, but is dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days. (Lv 13:21)

As for all the other cases that use a *wāw-* consecutive-perfect form of *rā'âh*, a protasis in Hebrew procedural discourse can use the *wāw-* consecutive perfect (e.g. Lev 4:22 and 27).

Whether *hinnēh* after *rā'âh* within procedural discourse is analyzed as introducing a condition to a consequence or introducing a content to an orienter, the material which follows it is off-the-main line for Hebrew procedural discourse. (The main line is carried by the *wāw-* consecutive perfect.) The type of off-the-main-line information after *hinnēh* depicts situations. For example, in Lv 13:13 the Lord gave a command as to when the priest could declare that a person does not have an infectious skin disease,(**'if** the leprosy has covered all his body'). Primarily *hinnēh* highlights the situation that follows it. The situations that it highlights are relatively more prominent than those that follow *rā'âh* connected only by *wāw-* 'and' (Lv 13:3) or by *kî* 'that' (Lv 13:51). In narrative discourse the highlighting after *rā'âh* is done so that the reader can enter into the surprise or satisfaction of the actor. However, **in procedural discourse** *hinnēh* highlights after *rā'âh* in order **to express a high degree of certainty for the situation that follows it.** The actor (in Leviticus: the priest) must be sure the situation exists before he moves on to the next step. (In the book of Leviticus it could mean the expulsion of an Israelite from the community or the destruction

of a garment or house.) In English this high degree of certainty can be expressed by 'in fact', 'truly', or 'for sure'. Lv 13:8 could be translated thus:

> if the priest sees **in fact that** the scab has spread on the skin, then the priest shall pronounce him unclean; it is leprosy.

1.5.2 Surface structure. The use of *hinnēh* within the procedural discourse of Leviticus as a highlighter of situations only occurs in chapters 13 and 14. The chapters concern the inspection to be carried out by the priests for infectious skin diseases (Lv.13:1–46; 14:1–32), mildew in clothing (Lv 13:47–59), and mildew in houses (Lv 14:33–53). The verses with *hinnēh* are as follows: Lv 13:5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 53. 55, 56; 14:3, 37, 39, 44 and 48. In almost every instance where *rā'âh* is used in these two chapters, *hinnēh* follows it. In only three places where a situation follows *rā'âh* is *hinnēh* omitted (Lv 13:3, 27, and 51). Lv 13:3 and 51 are in the beginning of new sections (infectious skin diseases and mildew in clothing). However, *hinnēh* is used in the beginning of the section on mildew in houses (Lv 14:37). In Lv 13:27, *rā'âh* is followed by the two possible situations that the priest could encounter (a spreading disease vs. one that is nonspreading). Both possibilities are preceded by *'im* 'if'. The protasis in the first case begins with an infinitive absolute followed by the finite form of the same verb *spreading.* This is another way to highlight a situation within Hebrew procedural discourse in order to give it a high degree of certainty.

Within the books under consideration, there is one occurrence outside of Leviticus where *hinnēh* is used to express a high degree of certainty for a situation within procedural discourse. In 1 Sm 20:12, Jonathan spoke to David saying:

> The LORD, the God of Israel, be witness! When I have sounded my father, about this time tomorrow, or the third day, **behold, if** he is well disposed toward David, shall I not then send and disclose it to you?

Jonathan outlined for David the procedure he would follow concerning his father's attitude toward David. If it was certain that his father liked David, he would let David know. In this case it is easier to analyze *hinnēh* as highlighting a protasis rather than the content of an orienter, since no orienter is given in the text. Whatever the case, if the speaker (Jonathan) was sure that Saul liked David, he would let David know.

Within the procedural discourse texts under study, *hinnēh* is the only form used, never *hēn.* It never takes a suffix, but it always occurs with *wāw-* 'and' as a prefix. No word ever comes before it in

the clause of which it is a part. The clause types that follow it are nominal clauses (9 times) and clauses with suffixed verbs (17 times). These clause types are off-the-main line for Hebrew procedural discourse.

1.5.3 Application. When *hinnēh* within procedural discourse is translated into Bassa, a good solution is the use of the word *ja"a'* 'truly'. For example, Lv 13:43 would be translated thus: 'if the priest sees **truly** that there is a reddish-white sore . . . ' For Bassa, it is better not to represent *hinnēh* in this environment only by **'if'** as is often done in English translations (e.g. 'the priest shall go and look. **If** it has spread . . . ' [Lv 14:44]). The translator must be careful to retain the high degree of certainty expressed by *hinnēh* in procedural discourse.

2.0 Residue

The use of *hinnēh* within Gn 16:14 was mentioned as difficult to analyze (possibly acting as a pointer/demonstrative). More examples of *hinnēh* before parenthetical comments within narrative are needed. One other passage that does not fit into the above analysis is 1 Sm 26:24. (It even uses a prefixed verb, which is unusual after *hinnēh*.) A study that includes all of the Old Testament may help in understanding why such exceptions occur.

3.0 Conclusion

Hinnēh/hēn, therefore, has the following uses within Hebrew discourse:

(1) Within narrative text to:
   a. let the reader/listener experience the surprise or satisfaction of the actor/speaker (includes vividness)
   b. reintroduce a major character
(2) To call the listener's attention to:
   a. something he does not expect
   b. the ground(s) of an exhortation (hortatory)
   c. the ground/condition of a conclusion/consequence (expository)
(3) Within procedural discourse to: express a high degree of certainty for a situation

In all of the above functions, *hinnēh/hēn* highlights the material following it. It raises the relative prominence of this material. It often marks material which is off-the-main line. This highlighting

helps to make the text more lively. The translator must be careful to convey **both the meaning and the impact of *hinnēh/hēn*** so that there is functional equivalence with the Hebrew text. It is more common for its impact to be missing, whether it be a literal or a dynamic translation (see the RSV on Gn 18:9 and 29:2 and the TEV on Gn 6:12 and 22:13), so the translator should be especially careful in this area.

Appendix

This appendix presents a brief analysis of each use of *hinnēh/hēn* within Genesis, Leviticus, 1 Samuel, and Amos as an aid in actual translation. On the following pages is a chart listing:

(1) the reference
(2) how *behold* is used
(3) the RSV translation of *behold*
(4) the TEV translation of it
(5) my suggested translation for it

For the sake of brevity the second column will use the following symbols for the functions of *behold:*

C = Condition that is highlighted leading to a consequence
D = Definiteness (high degree of certainty) within procedural text
G = Grounds that are highlighted leading to a conclusion
I = Implied exhortation or conclusion with highlighted grounds
M = Motivation (grounds) that is highlighted leading to an exhortation
P = Pleasure (satisfaction) within narrative text
R = Reintroduction of major characters within narrative text
S = Surprise within narrative text
U = The Unexpected called to the attention of the listener
V = Vividness within narrative text
? = Uncertainty about the classification (will always follow another symbol)
?? = Residue

Note that in some cases *behold* can have more than one use. Therefore, in the function column, more than one symbol may occur.

In the translation columns (RSV, TEV, and my own), parentheses will often be used. The symbols within these parentheses represent the following:

dc = dream context (This means that the context of the dream takes care of translating *hinnēh.*)
pc = previously covered (This means that *hinnēh/hēn* is conveyed by the translation of another *hinnēh/hēn* just before it. This often happens in dreams where more than one *hinnēh* occurs.)

pp = prominent position (A *behold* clause can be placed in a prominent position to convey the meaning/impact of *hinnēh/hēn*.)

rq = rhetorical question. (A rhetorical question can convey *hinnēh/hēn.)*

( ) = no representation. (It means that *hinnēh/hēn* is not represented by anything in the text.)

Reference	Use	RSV Text	TEV Text	My Text
Gn 1:29	MI	behold	( )	listen
1:31	VP	behold	he was very pleased	saw to his satisfaction
3:22	M	behold	now	now
4:14	G	behold	(pp)	(pp)
6:12	VP	behold	saw that	saw to his dissatisfaction
6:13	MU	behold	(destroy) completely	indeed
6:17	MU	behold	(pp)	(pp)
8:11	VS	lo	( )	there (in its mouth)
8:13	VS	behold	saw that	saw to his surprise
9:9	U	behold	now	listen
11:6	M	behold	now then	look
12:11	M	(pp)	(pp)	Sarai (vocative)
12:19	M	here	here	here
15:3a	G	behold	( )	(pp—since)
15:3b	U	(pc)	only (heir)	only (Eliezer)
15:4	VS	behold	he heard	(pc—by surprise of vision scene)
15:12	VS	lo	( )	suddenly
15:17	VS	behold	suddenly	suddenly
16:2	M	behold	(pp)	Abram (vocative)
16:6	M	behold	very well	Sarai (vocative)
16:11	U	behold	( )	listen
16:14	??	( )	( )	note that
17:4	U	behold	( )	Abram (vocative)
17:20	U	behold	( )	also (I will)
18:2	VS	behold	( )	(saw) to his surprise
18:9	MI	( )	there	there

Gn 18:10	U	( )	( )	by then
18:27	MI	behold	LORD (vocative)	LORD (vocative)
18:31	MI	behold	LORD (vocative)	LORD (vocative)
19:2	M?	my lords (vocative)	sirs (vocative)	sirs (vocative)
19:8	M	behold	look	look
19:19	M	behold	(pp)	(pp)
19:20	M	behold	(rq plus you see)	look
19:21	M	behold	all right	all right
19:28	VS	lo	( )	from there (he saw)
19:34	M	behold	(pp)	listen
20:3	U	behold	( )	Abimelech (vocative)
20:15	M	behold	here	here
20:16a	U	behold	( )	Sarah (vocative)
20:16b	U	(pc)	( )	(pc)
22:1	MI	here am I	yes, here I am	yes
22:7a	MI	here am I	yes	yes
22:7b	GI?	behold	I see that you have	father, we have (vocative)
22:11	MI	here am I	yes, here I am	yes
22:13 (behind)	VS	behold	( )	(saw) just
22:20	U	behold	( )	Abraham (vocative)
24:13	M	behold	here	here
24:15	VS	behold	( )	suddenly
24:30	VS	behold	( )	he saw to his surprise
24:43	M	behold	here	here
24:45	VS	behold	( )	suddenly
24:51	M	behold	here	here
24:63	VS	behold	( )	(saw) off in the distance
25:24	VS	behold	( )	to everyone's surprise (she)
25:32	MI	( )	all right	look
26:8	VS	( )	( )	from there (he saw)

Gn 26:9	G	behold	so . . . !	so . . . !
27:1	MI	here I am	yes	yes
27:2	M	behold	you see that	look
27:6	MU	(pp)	just (heard)	my son (vocative)
27:11	G	behold	you know that	you know that
27:18	MI?	here I am	yes	yes
27:36	G	behold	( )	even (now)
27:37	G	behold	(I have) already	(I have) already
27:39	U	behold	( )	listen
27:42	MU	behold	listen	listen
28:12a	VS	(dreamed that) there	(dreamed that) he saw	In his dream he saw
28:12b	VS	behold	(pc)	(pc)
28:13	VS	behold	there	(pc)
28:15	U?	behold	remember	remember
29:2a	VS	he saw	suddenly	suddenly
29:2b	VS	lo	(pc)	(pc)
29:6	U	see	look, here	look here
29:7	M	behold	(pp)	listen
29:25	VS	behold	did Jacob discover that	Jacob discovered to his surprise
30:3	M	here	here	here
30:34	M	good	agreed	okay
31:2	VS	( )	(saw) also	(saw that) even
31:10	VS	(dc)	(dc)	(dc)
31:11	MI	here I am	yes	yes
31:51a	M	see	here	here
31:51b	M	(pc)	here	(pc)
32:18	U	moreover	right (behind us)	right (behind us)
32:20	U	moreover	right (behind us)	right (behind us)
33:1	VSR	behold	( )	there (was Esau)
34:21	U	behold	also	even (the land)
37:7a	VS	behold	(dc)	in my dream
37:7b	VS	lo	(pc)	(pc)
37:7c	VS	behold	(pc)	(pc)
37:9a	U	behold	( )	listen
37:9b	VS	behold	in which I saw	in my dream
37:13	MI	here I am	I am ready	okay

Gn 37:15	VS	( )	(pp)	(pp)
37:19	M	here	here	here
37:25	VS	( )	suddenly	suddenly
37:29	VS	saw that	found that	discovered to his surprise
38:13	MIU	( )	( )	Tamar (vocative)
38:23	M	you see	( )	after all, (I)
38:24	MIU	moreover	now	now
38:27	VS	there (were)	it was discovered	amazingly
38:29	VS	behold	( )	suddenly
39:8	G	lo	look	look
40:6	VS	( )	( )	(saw) to his surprise
40:9	VS	(dc)	(dc)	(dc)
40:16	VS	(dc)	(dc)	(dc)
41:1	VS	(dc)	(dc)	(dc)
41:2	VS	behold	(pc)	(pc)
41:3	VS	behold	(pc)	(pc)
41:5	VS	behold	(dc)	in this dream
41:6	VS	behold	(pc)	(pc)
41:7	VS	behold	realized that	realized to his surprise
41:17	VS	behold	(dc)	(dc)
41:18	VS	(pc)	(pc)	(pc)
41:19	VS	(pc)	(pc)	(pc)
41:22	VS	(dc)	(dreamed that) I saw	in this dream
41:23	VS	(pc)	(pc)	(pc)
41:29	M	(pp)	(pp)	(pp)
42:2	MU	behold	(pp)	my sons (vocative)
42:13	GI?	behold	now	now
42:22	U	now	now	now
42:27	VS	( )	( )	(discovered) to his surprise
42:28	U	here . . . !	here . . . !	here . . . !
42:35	VS	behold	found	found to his surprise
43:21	VS	there (was)	each man found	found to his surprise

Gn 44:8	G	behold	you know that	(rq)
44:16	U	behold	now	now
45:12	M	now	now	now
46:2	MI	here am I	yes, here I am	yes
47:1	MI	now	now	now
47:23	M	behold	you see	listen
48:1	MIU	behold	( )	Joseph (vocative)
48:2	MIU	( )	( )	Jacob (vocative)
48:4	U	behold	( )	listen
48:11	U	lo . . . also	now (God has) even	now (God has) even
48:21	G	behold	as you see	my son (vocative)
50:5	M	(pp)	( )	now
50:18	MIU	behold	here (we are)	here (we are)
Lv 10:16	VS	behold	( )	found to his surprise
10:18	G	behold	(pp)	(rq)
10:19	G	behold	( )	listen
13:5	D	if in his eyes	if in his opinion	(if he sees) . . . actually
13:6	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:8	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:10	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:13	D	if	if . . . actually	(if) . . . actually
13:17	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:20	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:21	D	( )	and finds	(if) . . . actually
13:25	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:26	D	( )	( )	(if) . . . actually
13:30	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:31	D	( )	( )	(if) . . . actually
13:32	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:34	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:36	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:39	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:43	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
13:53	D	( )	(the priest) finds	(if) . . . actually
13:55	D	( )	( )	(if) . . . actually

Lv 13:56	D	( )	( )	(if) . . . actually
14:3	D	then, if	if	(if) . . . actually
14:37	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
14:39	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
14:44	D	if	if	(if) . . . actually
14:48	D	( )	( )	(if) . . . actually
25:20	C	if	when	if + (pp)
1 Sm 2:31	U	behold	listen	watch out
3:4	MI	here I am	yes, sir	yes
3:5	MI	here I am	here I am	here I am
3:6	MI	here I am	here I am	here I am
3:8	MI	here I am	here I am	here I am
3:11	U	behold	someday	listen
3:16	MI	here I am	yes, sir	yes
4:13	VR	(progressive tense)	(progressive tense)	at that time (progressive)
5:3	VS	behold	saw that	saw to their surprise
5:4	VS	behold	saw that	saw to their surprise
8:5	M	behold	look	Samuel (vocative)
9:6	MU	behold	wait	listen
9:7	C	if + (pp)	if + (pp)	if + (pp)
9:8	MU	here	( )	here
9:12	MU	behold, (he is) just	in fact (he is) just	in fact, (he is) just
9:14	VSR	they saw	they saw	just as . . . they saw
9:17	MI	here (is)	this (is)	this (is)
9:24	MI	see	look, here	here
10:2	MIU	now	( )	now
10:8	M	behold	( )	there (I)
10:10	VS	behold	suddenly	suddenly
10:11	VS	( )	( )	(saw) to their surprise
10:22	MI	behold	(is) over there	(hiding) over there
11:5	VR	now	just then	just then
12:1	M	behold	(pp)	listen

1 Sm 12:2a	M	behold	(pp)	(pc)
12:2b	M	behold	(pp)	(pc)
12:3	M	here I am	here I am	here I am
12:13a	M	behold	here	here
12:13b	M	behold	now	(pc)
13:10	VSR	behold	just (as he was)	just (as he was)
14:7	M	behold	(pp)	okay (I am with)
14:8	M	behold	all right	listen
14:11	MIU	look	look	look
14:16	VS	behold	( )	(saw) to their surprise
14:17	VS	behold	found that	discovered to their surprise
14:20	VS	behold	( )	saw to their surprise
14:26	VS	behold	( )	saw to their surprise
14:33	MIU	behold	look	look
14:43	M	here I am	here I am	here I am
15:12	VS	behold	( )	there (he)
15:22	G?	behold	(pp)	(pp)
16:11	GI?	behold	( )	(but) right now
16:15	MU	behold	we know	Saul (vocative)
16:18	MI	behold	( )	listen
17:23	VSR	behold	( )	just (as he talked)
18:17	M	here	here	here
18:22	MU	behold	(pp)	listen
19:16	VS	behold	found	found to their surprise
19:19	MIU	behold	( )	Saul (vocative)
19:22	MI	behold	( )	over there (at)
20:2	G	behold	(pp)	(pp)
20:5	M	behold	(pp)	listen
20:12	D	behold, if	if	if in fact
20:21a	M?	behold	then (I)	then (I)
20:21b	M	look	look	look
20:22	MI	look	( )	look
20:23	MI	behold	( )	remember
21:9	M	behold	( )	right now (it)

1 Sm 21:14	M	lo	look	look
22:12	MI	here I am	at your service	yes
23:1	MIU	behold	( )	David (vocative)
23:3	G	behold	(pp)	listen
24:1	MIU	behold	( )	Saul (vocative)
24:4a	MI	here	this	this (is the day)
24:4b	MU	behold	( )	listen
24:9	MIU	behold	( )	listen
24:10	M	lo	(pp)	(pp)
24:20	M	behold	(pp)	(pp)
25:14	MU	behold	have you heard?	listen
25:19	M	behold	(pp)	(pp)
25:20	VSR	behold	suddenly	suddenly
25:36	VS	lo	( )	found to her surprise
25:41	GI	behold	( )	fine, (your handmaid)
26:7	VS	there	found	surprisingly (Saul)
26:21	M	behold	(use of !)	(use of !)
26:22	M	here	here	here
26:24	??	behold	just (as)	(as) surely (as)
28:7	MI	behold	there (is)	there (is)
28:9	M	surely	surely	(rq)
28:21	M	behold	(please) sir, (vocative)	sir (vocative)
30:3	VS	they found	they found	they found to their surprise
30:16	VS	behold	(pp)	there (they were)
30:26	MI	here	here	here
Am 2:13	U	behold	and now	watch out
4:2	U	behold	( )	watch out
4:13	U?	lo	( )	listen
6:11	U	behold	( )	watch out
6:14	U	behold	( )	watch out
7:1a	VS	behold	in it I saw	in it I saw
7:1b	VS	lo	(pc)	(pc)
7:4	VS	behold	in it I saw	in it I saw
7:7	VS	behold	in it I saw	in it I saw

Am 7:8	U	behold	( )	now
8:1	VS	behold	in it I saw	in it I saw
8:11	U	behold	( )	watch out
9:8	U	behold	( )	watch out
9:9	U	lo	( )	(pc)
9:13	U	behold	( )	watch out

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OPTAT STYLE SHEET

In general, the style is to conform to that of the journal LANGUAGE—especially in regard to citations of articles and books in the body of the article, and the placing of complete bibliographical references and footnotes at the end. Please note also the conventions in regard to capitalization, language forms, translation glosses, and the use of quotation marks.

For the citation of forms or passages in biblical languages, if the Roman alphabet is used, please follow the transcription conventions set for the Society of Biblical Literature as presented below. If the Greek or Hebrew alphabet is used, hand-printed forms are not acceptable. Either a Greek or Hebrew typewriter/typehead must be employed or good black fotocopy must be made, cut, and pasted in the appropriate spaces.

When a wordprocessor is employed in the preparation of a manuscript, it is requested that the disks accompany the article, provided that the discs are CP/M or MS-DOS.

A. NOTES on manuscript preparation:

1. All manuscripts must be doublespaced and have 1 1/2 inch margins to facilitate editing.

2. Number the pages of the copy in the upper right corner. Include all sheets of the manuscript in a single pagination.

3. Underscores.

(a) A single straight underscore indicates italic type and a double underscore boldface. Contributors are asked to use these underscorings only for those purposes and no others.

(b) Use italics/single underscore only for cited linguistic forms and for titles of books and journals. Do not use italics for emphasis, or to mark familiar foreign words used as part of an English sentence: e.g. a priori, ad hoc, inter alia, ipso facto, prima facie, facon de parler, langue/parole, Sprachgefuhl, ursprachlich, etc.—all are to be without underscore.

(c) Use boldface/double underscore, where it seems essential, to give prominence or emphasis to a word, phrase, or sentence in the text, or to mark a technical term at its first occurence.

4. Punctuation.

(a) Use only single quotation marks—never double except for quotes within quotes. This applies to all uses of quotation marks without exception. If the second of a pair of quotes stands at the same point as another mark of punctuation, the quote precedes unless the other mark is itself part of the quoted matter: The word means 'cart' not 'horse'. He writes, 'This is false.' Does that mean 'You heard me!'? It means 'Did you hear me?'

(b) Never use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. See No. 6.

(c) Words containing prefixes are written solid, without hyphens, when no misreading will result: antimentalism, contradistinction, extrasystemic, prevocalic, semivowel, subdialect, superstock. The prefix is followed by a hyphen when the next element begins with a capital: non-Germanic, pre-Greek.

(d) Ellipsis is indicated by three periods, close set, with a blank space before and after, like this: . . . Do not add a fourth period even if the elipsis precedes or follows the end of a sentence.

(e) Use a comma after the expressions e.g. and i.e. and do not underscore them.

5. Footnotes.

(a) Footnotes are numbered serially through the article or review, or through one chapter of a longer work.

(b) The footnote reference number is a raised numeral following the word or passage to which it applies; it is not enclosed in parentheses, and is not followed by a parenthesis or a period. Reference numbers follow marks of punctuation.

(c) All footnotes must be typed (with double spacing) on a sheet or series of sheets following the main text.

(d) Each footnote is typed as a separate paragraph, with the first line indented. It begins with its reference number, raised above the line of type but not enclosed in parentheses and not followed by a parenthesis or a period.

6. Cited forms.

(a) A letter, word, phrase, or sentence cited as a linguistic example or subject of discussion appears in italics: the suffix *-s*, the word *like*, the construction *mich frieri*. Do not use quotation marks for this purpose.

(b) Cited forms may also appear in phonetic or phonemic transcription, enclosed in square brackets or in slant lines: the suffix [s], the word /layk/. Symbols between brackets or slants are never underscored.

(c) Cited forms in a foreign language should be followed at their first occurence by a gloss in single quotation marks. No comma separates the gloss from the cited form: Latin *ovis* 'sheep' is a noun. No comma follows the gloss unless it is required by the sentence as a whole: Latin *ovis* 'sheep', *equus* 'horse', and *canis* 'dog' are nouns. Note that the punctuation follows the closing quotation mark.

7. Abbreviations. Abbreviations ending in a small letter have a following period; abbreviations ending in a capital generally have none.

8. Titles and headings.

(a) Never underscore any part of a title, subtitle, or section heading. Leave the choice of type faces to the Editor.

(b) Use normal capitalization: capitalize only the first word and such other words as the orthography of the language requires to begin with a capital letter.

9. Bibliographical references.

(a) Full citation of literature referred to should be given in a bibliography at the end of each article or review. Within the text, brief citation will be made, normally by giving the author's surname, year of publication, and page number(s) where relevant. Such brief citations should be given in the body of the text, not in footnotes, unless they refer specifically to a statement made in a footnote.

(b) The full bibliography should be doublespaced, beginning on a separate page of typescript with the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors; multiple works by one author should be listed chronologically, with suffixed letter a, b, d, etc., to distinguish several items published in a single year. Each entry should contain the following elements: Author's surname, given name(s), coauthors if any (given names first), year of publication, title of work. In the case of journal articles, give name of journal, volume number, and page numbers for the article as a whole. In the case of an article in a collection, give the title of the

collection, the editor's name, and the page numbers of the article. For all monographs and books, state the edition, volume number or part number (if applicable), the series in which published (if any), the place of publication, and the publisher's name. All material will be in Roman type. Use punctuation as in the following examples:

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. Language. New York: Holt.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1965. The atomization of meaning. Language 41:555-73.

Brugmann, Karl. 1906. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatick der indogemanischen Sprachen. 2nd ed., vol. 2, part 1. Strassburg: Trubner.

Chafe, Wallace L. 1965. Review of grammar discovery procedures, by R. E. Longacre. Language, 41:640-7.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. Syntactic structures. (Janua linguarum, 4.) The Hague: Mouton.

Hockett, Charles F. 1964. The Proto Central Algonquian kinship system. Explorations in cultural anthropology, ed. by Ward Goodenough, 239-58. New York: McGraw-Hill.

(c) The brief citations given in the text should take such forms as Bloomfield 1933 or Hockett 1964:240-41. Note that the page numbers given here are only for the passage to which reference is made, not the whole paper. Use initials for authors' given names only when necessary to distinguish, e.g., N. Chomsky, and C. Chomsky, within a single article. if the author's name is part of the text, use this form: 'Bloomfield (1933:264) introduced the term . . . '

(d) Where the names of authors or editors appear in the list of references, do not replace given names with initials, unless such abbreviation is the normal practice of the individual concerned: thus Miller, Roy Andrew (Not Roy A. or R. A.); Hooper, Joan B. (not J. B. or J.); but Palmer, F. R.

10. Tables.

(a) Plan each table so that it will fit into the printed page without crowding. Leave ample white space between columns, and doublespace all entries. Do not use vertical and horizontal rules unless the table would be unclear without them.

(b) Column heads should be short, so as to stand clearly above the several columns. If you need longer headings, represent them by numbers or capital letters and explain these in the text preceding the table.

(c) If two or more tables appear in one article, number them and refer to them by number. Do not speak of the 'preceding' or 'the following table'; the printer may not be able to preserve its original position.

(d) Each table should have a legend below it, after quadruple space. The legend contains the table number and optionally a concise title, sometimes also (as a separate line) a brief explanation or comment.

B. Transliteration rules from Society of Biblical Literature:

1. Transliteration of Hebrew.

(a) Consonants: ʾ b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ʿ p ṣ q r ś š t (ʾ Alep and ʿ Ayin should be written in with a pen, if the raised semicircle is not available on a typewriter/typehead. Do not use ' for alep or raised ^{c} for ayin.)

(b) Vowels: a (pataḥ), ā (qāmeṣ), â (final qāmeṣ hē), e (sĕgōl), ē (ṣērê), ê (final and medial ṣērê yōd and medial sĕgōl yōd), i (short ḥîreq defectively written), î (medial or final ḥîreq yōd), o (qāmeṣ ḥātûp), ō (ḥōlem defectively written), ô (ḥōlem fully written), u (short qibbûṣ), ū (long qibbûṣ defectively written), û (šûreq). Other final vowels are to be written with the appropriate vowel sign followed by hē (or ālep) or mater lectionis (e.g., Šĕlōmōh, yigleh, qārāʾ (but qārâ), hinnēh, sûsāyw). Furtive pataḥ is to be recorded as pataḥ (e.g. rûaḥ). Reduced vowels are to be written with the breve: ă, ĕ, ŏ. (No distinction is made between simple šĕwâ and hātēp sĕgōl.) Short vowels fully written should be shown as o(w), u(w), i(y), e.g., bĕqu(w)štāʾ. Accents are usually not indicated; if really needed, the acute is to be used for the primary and the grave for the secondary accent. A hyphen is to be used for maqqēp.

2. Transliteration of Aramaic. The system described above for Hebrew is to be followed, even though sere and holem are frequently not markers of long vowels in Aramaic.

3. Transliteration of Greek. Th is to be used for θ, ph for ϕ, ch for χ, ps for ψ, ē (not ê) for η, ō (not ô) for ω, h for the rough breathing, and y for υ, except when it is part of the diphthong (e.g. au, eu, ui). Iota subscript should be represented by a cedilla under the vowel concerned: α for α, η for η, ω for ω.