In Pursuit of a More Comprehensive Framework for Fronting in Classical BH Prose

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ii

Abstract

The present dissertation is an investigation into the phenomenon of *fronting* within Classical BH prose. Applying developments of linguistic analysis and typological patterns of linguistic constructions that have come to light in recent years, it is my conviction that we can work towards a comprehensive model to account for pre-verbal constituent order in the Genesis-Kings corpus.

The sheer number of previous treatment in BH studies is testament to the importance of paying attention to such nuances and their pragmatic effects as the Bible continues to speak to us today. Yet, besides the information structural concepts of *topic* and *focus*, which will be discussed at length throughout the study, the results of these (primarily functional) approaches to BH constituent order, and specifically fronting, has been limited to a diverse and seemingly disconnected taxonomy of semantic values imposed upon the clause. As we will see in the literature survey, these semantic values surface time and time again from different scholars in different decades, who have intuitively arrived at similar proposals. Nevertheless, a robust linguistic organising factor has been lacking. On the other hand, those studies which have limited themselves to tried-and-tested models with descriptive adequacy have fallen short of comprehensive explanatory adequacy.

It is hypothesised that the linguistic model proposed here will provide an expansion of explanatory power under an organised understanding of information flow and common ground in human communication. Drawing upon an integral approach of treating both information *structure* and information *status*, I will apply insights primarily from Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar to the study of BH fronted clauses along with the thetic-categorical distinction in information profiling as a typologically-informed approach. Taking into account discourse tendencies as well as the prototypical semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics of thetic statements, the explanatory power of the model will then be tested on the corpus of 1241 fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings, which is hypothesised to be representative of the entire Classical BH corpus.

Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif ondersoek die verskynsel van *vooropstelling* in die klassieke prosa van bybelse Hebreeus (BH). Deur die ontwikkelings in linguistiese ontleding en tipologiese patrone van linguistiese konstruksies wat oor die afgelope paar jaar na vore gekom het, toe te pas, is ek oortuig dat ons kan werk aan 'n omvattende model om rekenskap te gee van die preverbale orde van sinstukke in die Genesis-tot-Konings-korpus.

Die blote aantal vorige behandelings in BH-studies getuig hoe belangrik dit is om aandag aan sulke nuanses en die pragmatiese effekte daarvan te skenk, aangesien die Bybel vandag nog tot ons spreek. Buiten vir die informasiestrukturele konsepte van *topiek* en *fokus*, wat breedvoerig regdeur die studie bespreek sal word, is die resultate van hierdie (hoofsaaklik funksionele) benaderings tot die sinstukorde van BH, en veral van vooropstelling, egter beperk tot 'n diverse en skynbaar onsamehangende taksonomie van semantiese waardes wat vir die sin opgelê word. Soos uit die oorsig van die literatuur blyk, kom hierdie semantiese waardes keer op keer na vore by verskillende vakkundiges in verskillende dekades, wat intuïtief by soortgelyke proposisies uitgekom het. Nogtans ontbreek 'n robuuste linguistiese organiserende faktor. Daarenteen het daardie studies wat tot beproefde modelle met beskrywende toereikendheid beperk is, nie omvattende verduidelikende toereikendheid bewerkstellig nie.

Die hipotese is dat die linguistiese model wat hier voorgestel word, 'n uitbreiding van die verduidelikende krag, met 'n georganiseerde begrip van inligtingsvloei en gedeelde grond ("common ground") in menslike kommunikasie, sal bied. Deur te put uit 'n integrerende benadering waarin inligting*struktuur* en inligting*status* behandel word, sal ek insigte uit hoofsaaklik kognitiewe grammatika en konstruksiegrammatika op die studie van sinne met vooropplasing in BH toepas, saam met die teties-kategoriese onderskeiding in inligtingsprofilering as 'n tipologies-ingeligte benadering. Die verduidelikende krag van die model sal dan, met inagname van die diskoerstendense, asook die prototipiese semantiese en morfosintaktiese kenmerke van tetiese stellings, op die korpus van 1 241 sinne met vooropstelling in Samuel tot Konings, wat volgens hipotese verteenwoordigend van die hele klassieke BH-korpus is, getoets word.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Peter Gentry for his guidance in the beginning of my journey into the world of BH. His zeal for scholarly integrity and faithfulness has left its mark years on. Likewise, the example of my supervisor Christo van der Merwe's scholarship has impacted me as much his words of guidance and encouragement through this project. I would like to thank him for his patience and critical clarity throughout the development of the present work. Evidently, our lengthy discussions and his feedback have impacted this dissertation more than anything else. I also owe a huge debt to Geoffrey Khan, Pierre van Hecke and Sebastian Floor for their careful reading and feedback on the manuscript. I would also like to thank Daniel Wilson for his feedback on parts of the manuscript and sharpening linguistics conversations, and Stephen and Wendy Atkinson for their continued support. Finally, and most importantly, I thank the King, the true Son of David and Lion of Judah who has given me the strength and perseverance to complete this project. To His Name be the glory as we seek a deeper understanding of His Word.

I dedicate this project to Mavi and Cillian, my wee family. Cillian, when we learned of your arrival I was not sure this work would ever be finished. Thankfully, you were content to lie on top of me and sleep through countless hours of reading and writing.

Dedication

For Mavi, אֵשֶׁת חַיִל and אֵשֶׁת נְעוּרַי

and Cillian, בְּנִי

בְּטַח אֶל־יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבֶּךָ וְאֶל־בִּינָתְךָ אַל־תִּשָּׁעֵן:
בְּכָל־דְּרָכֶיךָ דָעֵהוּ וְהוּא יְיַשֵּׁר אֹרְחֹתֶיךָ:

(Proverbs 3:5-6)

Table of Contents

x

1. Introduction

Communication is more than the words we use. As native speakers, we take much of our communicative capacity in our first language for granted. After years of input from the environment in which we were raised, we have mastered the nuances of communication arising from body language, facial expressions tone of voice and intonation. It is the latter, for example, which allows us to differentiate between a question and a declarative statement with the presence or absence of a rising pitch, respectively, in a sentence such as: "You did this(?)" Nevertheless, in the case of a question, if we simply want a yes/no response, we would not heavily stress the pronoun 'you,' as in "*You* did this?", which would imply "- and not somebody else?" In other languages, such as Spanish, even the presence of such a pronoun can mark the distinction, as in,

"¿Lo has hecho?"

it. you have. done.

Have you done it?

i.e. I am expecting a yes/no, vs.,

"¿Lo has hecho *tú*?"

it. you have. done. you.

Have *you* done it?

i.e., '…or somebody else?' Without such tools, which we take for granted, our communication would be significantly impoverished. In written English, however, the sentence's word order is essential for accurately communicating one's ideas and is thus syntactically determined, since we cannot rely on intonation or sentence stress.

Biblical Hebrew (BH) is counted among the world's 'flexible word order' languages, whose clausal constituent order reflect pragmatic factors or functions (Song 2012: 15).[1] For

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[1] Similarly, as noted by Song (ibid.) the North American languages Cayuga and Coos and the Australian Ngandi, along with more widely documented Spanish and Italian. Of course, such flexibility should be regarded as a continuum between strictly linearised languages, such as English, and freely ordered languages such as Russian and Latin.

1

modern interpreters, this presents both an illuminating heuristic with regards to its pragmatic possibilities and the nuances communicated by differing constituent orders, while at the same time our insight is necessarily limited, since we lack access to prosodic insights such as intonation or sentence stress, due to the nature of BH as *written* language. It is the nuances of communicative value provided by details such as clausal constituent order that interest linguists in general, while in the case of BH, exegetical insights and advances in translation accuracy hold further reward for the biblical scholar who pays attention to such details.[2]

Although the question of BH constituent order was noted as early as the medieval Iberian grammarians (see Gesenius 1910: §140f), it has received tremendous scholarly attention in recent decades as the rise of linguistic science has multiplied our tools for analysis (especially in the nineties, as seen in Bailey & Levinsohn [1992], Buth [1994, 1995], Myhill [1995], Heimerdinger [1999] and van der Merwe [1999], after earlier works such as Andersen [1974] and Givón [1977]; see the following chapter for an overview). Grammars of BH continue to dedicate space to the discussion (albeit limited, with the exception of van der Merwe et al. [2017]), while monographs and journal articles which return to the question are in abundance. Some have focused on one specific question (for example, Moshavi 2010), while others have attempted an exhaustive treatment of the matter (Heimerdinger 1999), analysing both pre-verbal and post-verbal constituent order (Gross 1996; again, see the following chapter for detailed discussion).

In this dissertation I limit my discussion of constituent order to the phenomenon of ***fronting*** (see van der Merwe 2013), *whereby a non-verbal constituent is placed at the beginning of a finite verbal clause*, and to *prose* texts, specifically the Samuel-Kings corpus, due to the extra complexities of BH poetry (Lunn 2006). Undoubtedly, the most significant study of fronting in BH prose in recent years is Moshavi (2010). She analyses all of the fronted clauses of the book of Genesis, and correctly hypothesises that the majority of these fronted clauses exhibit either *topic* fronting or *focus* fronting.[3] Although she goes on to explore other reasonable categories, which we will examine later, she is left without firm conclusions for 30.6% of the clauses. Evidently, this 'residue' (Moshavi 2010: 168) remains a problem. Besides this lacuna, the numerous studies which preceded Moshavi appeal to

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[2] Of course, the Masoretic markings provide valuable syntactic insight into an ancient interpretive tradition.

[3] These terms will be explored in chapter 3.

2

extensive semantic taxonomies of the effect of fronting, indicating something in relation to the entire clause (see Hornkohl 2018: 44).

Of course, scholars of BH have been utilising general linguistic theory for some time. Although Generative Linguistics dominated the landscape for much of the twentieth century, those studies which have had most impact on our understanding of BH word order have arisen from Functional Linguistics, specifically the Functional Sentence Perspective and the field of Information Structure which it spawned. However, outside of the information structural notions of topic and focus, no organising principle has yet been offered for the diverse explanations just mentioned, with the exception of 'discontinuity', as discussed in the following chapter (see Hornkohl 2018 and Robar 2018). Neither has a connection between constituent-fronting (whether topical or focal) and fronting indicating sentence-level semantics been postulated. It is reasonable to suggest that the Genesis corpus offers a fair representation of the language of Classical BH prose as a whole (Genesis-Kings),[4] and equally reasonable to consider Moshavi's study as about rigorous as they come. The question then naturally arises, if scholars of the highest calibre have to a greater or lesser degree reached somewhat of an impasse,[5] why another study on fronting in BH prose?

It is my conviction that potential for further explanation lies in three areas: (1) recent developments in Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar, (2) the *thetic-categorical* distinction, which has been an under-appreciated element of general linguistics since late last century, but is beginning to enjoy the light of day, and (3) a more sensitive analysis of the evolution of the Common Ground between interlocutors as discourse evolves. These have been largely, if not completely, overlooked in BH constituent order studies. Exceptions include Khan (2019) and Khan & van der Merwe (2020) who utilise areas (1) and (2) above, while (3) is discussed in Khan & van der Merwe (2020) and indirectly applied by Holmstedt's (2009) pragmatic model involving, on the one hand, both topic and focus, and on the other, theme and rheme (see chapter 2 for a detailed discussion of Holmstedt's work and chapter 3 for an exposition of such linguistic terminology).

The question may be presented, then, as a pursuit of a comprehensive and economical model to account for the residue of unexplained fronted clauses, as well as a linguistically-

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[4] See Joüon-Muroaka §3a.

[5] Albeit with some tentative suggestions, see the discussion of Hornkohl (2018) and Robar (2018) below.

informed understanding of the relationship between information structural topic and focus fronting, with such a model. As in Khan and van der Merwe's study of 1 Samuel, I will present theticity as a more adequate organising principle in order to both account for previously unexplained cases of fronting and also a direct connection to clause-internal fronting under the common pragmatic understanding of Common Ground (CG). Differentiating between information structure and information status (see Song 2017: 12), I will analyse the effect of CG management in topic selection and constituent focus, while also adapting Krifka's (2007) understanding of the 'semantic component' of the CG to observe the evolution of CG content. This CG content is composed of the commonly conceived and activated or accessible entities and events between the speaker and hearer, yet communication is an intersubjective affair, drawing on the communicative perspective of each participant, so acceptance of previously unestablished entities or events is often necessary on the part of the hearer to insert them into the CG as if they were already present. In order to achieve such a synthesis between CG management and CG content, I will investigate the nature of theticity itself, which has not always been transparent nor enjoyed consensus (Sasse 2006: 262). I will draw on cognitive linguistic notions of construal and perspective to differentiate between categorical sentences and thetics, and prototype theory, resulting in an understanding of thetics as a family-resemblance network of constructions, with both marginal and more prototypical instantiations. Cross-linguistic data will illustrate the discourse, semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics of such thetic constructions, providing corroborating evidence for the BH data. A more comprehensive explanation is hypothesised both quantitatively, reducing significantly the residue of problem cases, and qualitatively, providing a robust linguistic framework both as an overarching organisational principle for such residue and as a viable path of connection to the more commonly travelled information structure path of topic and focus fronting.

The organisation of the study is as follows. In chapter 2, I survey the work of the most recent and most significant contributions to the study of BH constituent order in general, and specifically, studies of fronting. This will lay the ground work for the linguistic framework which follows, highlighting areas that remain in need of development and illustrating where we can build on the previous work of others. In chapter 3, I describe in more detail the linguistic terminology used throughout chapter 2 and develop my own theoretical framework,

taking into account the areas of linguistics mentioned above, namely, Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar, theticity, and CG pragmatics. It will be shown how these notions both complement previous models surveyed in chapter 2, while also drawing on the linguistic literature unexplored in BH studies. As such, I offer a Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar understanding of theticity and tie together the notions of information structure to information status (in which there is often overlap, though not always; see Goldberg 2004: 429), by means of CG. In chapter 4, I apply this linguistic model to more than 1200 fronted clauses and illustrate my findings of prototypical examples of each of the various categories, while also discussing peripheral and potentially ambiguous cases. This chapter will illustrate the use of the linguistic framework set out in chapter 3, not only in areas of topic and focus fronting, but also with numerous discourse functions of thetics (following Sasse 2006), observing their discourse, semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics with widely attested typological data. Finally, in chapter 5, I offer a short conclusion of my findings and discuss a number of potential areas of future research.

It is my hope that the discussion continues from here, and if this study contributes something to the pursuit of a deeper understanding of BH pragmatics, discourse processing and constituent order, it will have been a success. Although the depths of human language are infamously unsearchable, it is among those cognitive abilities the human species is uniquely privileged to posses. The application of the linguistics discipline to the biblical text has broadened our explanatory horizons and may do so even further. If grammar, including constituent order, is indeed *meaningful* (Langacker 2008: 3), biblical scholars would be remiss to neglect such cognitive advances, as, if the Bible as text *communicates* a message to the reader - which I believe it does - it is incumbent upon us to make the effort to rightly read it.

2. Previous research on BH clausal constituent order and fronting

"The position of the finite verb in the sentence is one of the pragmatically most sensitive features of language, related to textual coherence and information structure, to sentence mode, clause combining and subordination, as well as to discourse genres."

(Auer & Maschler 2013: 177)

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2.1 Introduction

As we begin our investigation, it is necessary to situate the present study within the wider world of BH scholarship on constituent order. We are greatly indebted to the insights of previous scholars. At the same time, we cannot be content with the scope of their findings and, in some cases, erroneous approaches must be rejected.

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a brief introduction to previous scholarship in this area, which will shed light on the necessity of the present study and on the particular questions to be pursued. The field has become vast, so the overview will not be exhaustive. Neither is this necessary, as numerous detailed surveys have already appeared in previous literature.[6] Although l present an overview of the most significant contributions to the field, I will interact in detail with only a select number of others, largely restricting more careful discussion and critique to those works directly relevant to the present study and not mentioned in previous literature surveys.

In section 2.2 I will mention some traditional approaches to constituent order in BH before exploring the evolution of scholarship in the last few decades. To this end, section 2.3 will bring us up to date with studies from a widely defined Functional Linguistics point of view, while in section 2.4 I will survey the contribution of BH constituent order from a Generative Linguistics perspective, in the work of Robert Holmstedt, contrasting his methodology and results with the preceding Functional perspective. In section 2.5 I will

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[6] For detailed overviews the reader is directed to Floor (2004: 48-67), Moshavi (2010: 18-47) and Van Hecke (2011: 63-92). Floor surveys the work of Givón (1977, 1984, 1990), Rosenbaum (1997), Buth (1999), Holmstedt (2000), van der Merwe et al. (1999), Heimerdinger (1999), van der Merwe (1999), van der Merwe & Talstra (2002/3) and Shimasaki (2002). Moshavi surveys in particular detail the information structure models of Bendavid (1971), Bandstra (1982, 1992), Revell (1989a, 1989b), Buth (1987, 1994, 1995, 1999), Gross (1996), Heimerdinger (1999), van der Merwe & Talstra (2002/3) and Shimasaki (2002), while van Hecke introduces the work of Joüon-Muraoka (1996[2003]), Rosenbaum (1997), Buth (1995), Gross (1996, 2001) and Lunn (2006).

deviate slightly in order to highlight some important BH scholarship of recent years which is not directly pertinent to discussions of constituent order, but which nonetheless makes its own unique contribution to the theoretical model set forth in chapter 3. Finally, in section 2.6, I will draw our attention to a selection of recent studies which have most directly contributed to the present study. These all either dedicate significant space to the phenomenon of fronting in Classical BH prose or they tackle this subject matter exclusively.

2.2 Traditional approaches

In Semitic languages, fronting - the phenomenon of a non-verbal sentence constituent being placed before a finite verb in languages which are predominantly VSX[7] - has been noted as early as the middle ages by Arabic grammarians.[8] Over a century ago Gesenius noted, "By the Arab grammarians every clause beginning with an independent subject is regarded as a noun-clause, and every clause beginning with a finite verb as verbal. If a finite verb follows the noun-subject the two together (since the verb comprises its own subject and is thus a complete verbal-clause) form a compound noun-sentence, just as when the predicate consists of an independent noun-clause" (1910: §140f). Although he later came to reject this verbal/compound noun-sentence distinction, nonetheless, "this more complicated view of the Arab grammarians may be regarded as at least relatively correct, namely, in classifying verbal-clauses according as the subject precedes or follows the verb, a distinction which is often of great importance in Hebrew also" (ibid.: §140f).

Although prosody and claims of intuition were likely more accessible in the middle ages than in modern Semitic studies, traditional grammarians nevertheless noted this non-verb-first constituent order as, in various wordings, somewhat special. In the case of BH, we will see how numerous scholarly treatments of the matter and the evolution of modern linguistic research have resulted both in a more robust yet, at the same time, a more varied understanding of the significance and communicative value of fronting.

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[7] I use VSX and SVX to denominate the constituent order 'verb-subject-other' and 'subject-verb-other' respectively, allowing for intransitive clauses (without a direct object). Studies in linguistic typology have highlighted the structural similarity between these two variants, arguing instead for VO (verb-object) and OV (object-verb) as a more adequate distinction among the world's languages (see Song 2012: 30-36 for discussion), of which Semitic languages are uncontroversially considered VO (see ibid.: 69).

[8] See Buth (1994) and Choi (2006).

Citing Genesius again: "there is an essential distinction between verbal-clauses, according as the subject stands before or after the verb" (ibid.: §142). He argues these phenomena are cases of "special emphasis" in that a constituent is fronted "when any member of the sentence is to be specially emphasized by priority of position" (ibid.: §142f) or if "the clause is not intended to introduce a new fact carrying on the narrative, but rather to describe a state" (ibid.: §142b), which he describes as anterior or simultaneous actions.

Later, Joüon[9] mentions only the clause's subject being placed between the *waw* and the verb in order to "indicate the absence of succession after a successive form, the subject is therefore necessarily placed before the verb" (1923: §155n).[10] According to his understanding, the only other reasons the subject would not begin the clause, making room for either another complement or adjunct phrase, are for "emphasis" or "because of its importance" (ibid.) Since he treated SVX as the basic constituent order - with the exception of the inseparable *waw*-consecutive forms - in his view subject-fronting need not have any special syntactic-pragmatic motivation.

Muraoka's revision of Joüon's work refutes the latter's views on basic word order and states, "The statistically dominant and unmarked word-order in the verbal clause is: Verb-Subject. But… there is no lack of exceptions. Here again an attempt must be made to account for, or describe those exceptions" (2003: §155k). Somewhat more comprehensively, he treated fronting "on account of emphasis or contrast," in a "circumstantial clause," or at "the very beginning of a statement," also positing, "It is probably the newness of the matter which occasioned this order," and that, "In replies the essential part comes first" (ibid.: §155nb, nc, nd, nh). Though very much a proponent of the emphasis-model, in an earlier study he notes that often a fronted pronoun "is not used for the purpose of emphasis, but to avoid the use of the Waw cons. construction, because the following verb does not represent a continuation of the action expressed by the immediately preceding one, to serve as a necessary formal prop for an inserted circumstantial clause, or as a means to represent the plpf" (1985: 31).

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[9] Although he maintains SVX as the basic constituent order, he nevertheless recognises the *waw*-verb pairing as normally inseparable and comments on cases of a constituent coming between them.

[10] "indiquer l'absence de succession après une forme de succession; le sujet est alors nécessairement avant le verbe."

In Gesenius, Joüon and Joüon-Muraoka alone, analysis has become sharper - introducing discussion of the fronting of various sentence constituents, not only the subject - yet also more diverse, not necessarily advancing in explanatory adequacy. Unfortunately, works as recent as John Beckman's revision of *Williams' Hebrew Syntax* still claim to follow a "traditional analysis" of word order (2007: §570). Separating the analysis into syntactic constituents of subject, direct object and prepositional phrase, he argues that a direct object can be fronted "to focus attention on it"; a prepositional phrase can be fronted "to put it in focus" or "for contrast"; and a subject can be fronted "to focus attention," "to contrast," "when the subject has changed," "to express anterior time," or "to indicate simultaneous actions" (ibid.: §573-575). Although he offers no linguistic explanation for such functions[11], there seems to be a tacit recognition of both information structure and discourse structure's effect on constituent order.

Choi's dissertation (2006) also takes an intentionally traditional approach, reverting to viewing subject-fronted clauses in Genesis through the lens of a nominal clause, which communicate something about the subject (2006: 16), rather than the action or event in itself. He provides number of 'subjective' discourse effects, such as beginning, transitioning, or ending a narrative section, overlapping actions and contrastive constructions. He argues that these discourse categories are flexible and often overlap: "This explains why traditional grammarians avoid such categories. They simply give description and emphasis and let the context determine the proper categories" (ibid.: 69-70). Within narrative, "the descriptive notion seems stronger than the emphatic notion overall" (ibid.: 70), while the opposite is the case in direct speech (ibid.: 71). Unfortunately, theoretical linguistics plays virtually no role in his analysis and he limits his study to subject-fronting, paying no attention to the fronting of other sentence constituents. It is also questionable whether his example texts are simply emphasizing or describing something about the subject, rather than the entire state of affairs communicated (as the numerous subject-fronted thetics in section 4.2.4 illustrate).

In recent years, not all scholars have been satisfied with these initial explanations, primarily under the vague notion of 'emphasis'. I briefly offer just three early examples. Bailey and Levinsohn appeal to topic and focus[12] for fronted constituents (1992: 188-189)

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[11] As and when necessary, these will be mentioned in passing in this chapter but explored in more detail in chapter 3.

[12] See section 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2 for detailed discussion of these notions.

9

and explicitly reject foreground-background models (for example, Longacre 1989) and circumstantial clauses (for example, Andersen 1974) as adequate explanations.[13] They also argue that such topic-fronting can indicate a "discontinuity in the story line" (see ibid.: 193-200). In the same volume, Longacre, a proponent of the foreground-background discourse model, explores the idea of fronting used to mark surprising or unexpected discourse developments in out-of-the-blue statements and narrative *peaks* (1992: 214, 217). On the other hand, although Myhill (1995) also appeals to focus and contrast (as 'emphatic functions'), he dedicates most of his paper to non-emphatic cases of fronting, in which "certain functions are associated with verb-initial order while others are associated with non-verb-initial word order" and "these functions are basically properties of the clause as a whole rather than of one particular element in the clause" (1995: 102). Non-emphatic fronted clauses include breaking temporal sequencing to communicate a "jump back in time, or stop the flow or action with a stative, habitual, or progressive predicate" (ibid.: 104).[14]

As linguistic analysis has become more sophisticated in the last few decades, biblical scholars have strived to apply these insights to our understanding of the BH text and provide robust linguistic frameworks for what many have identified intuitively as subjective associations governed only by the co-text.

2.3 Functionally oriented approaches

In recent decades, scholarly treatments of BH constituent order has been dominated by functional approaches. Although we will not interact with Lambrecht's (1994) model of information structure until the next chapter, it will be seen that almost every study which has appeared in the 21st century has benefited from his model directly, or is at least aware of his work.

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[13] However, their notion of focus is quite simplistic, as "as informal cover term for elements that are highlighted because of their salience" (1992: 188). For advances in this area see the contributions of Erteschik-Shir 2007, Krifka 2007 and van der Wal 2016, as discussed in section 3.2.1.2.

[14] See the discussion of textual orientation and temporal iconicity in section 3.2.2.3, the correlation between thetics and statives in section 3.5.2, and examples of synchronous and anterior constructions in sections 4.2.4.1 and 4.2.4.4.

2.3.1 Andersen

I mention Andersen (1974) first because of his foundational role in the discussion which would follow his study. He seems to have been the first to attempt an exhaustive taxonomy of all Hebrew sentence structures, following a tagmemic approach (see Longacre 1961) involving a form-function pairing of tagmemes at the clause level. Inevitably, this requires giving attention to constituent order. He makes common mention of discourse function without the tools of Functional Sentence Perspective which were beginning to be developed around the same time.

He considers *waw*-consecutive clauses as "the workhorse of Hebrew narrative prose" (1974: 77), and, though without explicit reference to "markedness" terminology, he notes, "The usual way to break this succession [of *waw*-consecutive clauses] is to reverse this PS [predicate-subject] sequence by inserting some clause-level tagmeme between the conjunction and the verb. This inserted item is generally the subject, hence +wĕ- +S +P is considered normal for circumstantial clauses. But other items beside the subject can, on occasion, precede the predicator" (ibid.: 77-78), displaying a typical understanding of VSX as the "default" constituent order. Like Joüon had previously noted, this construction breaks the chain of successive clauses and marks the boundaries of such a clausal cluster. Furthermore, he offers a more extensive taxonomy of clauses, besides 'circumstantial', including *disjunctive*, *contrastive*, *antithetical* and *exclusive* sentences (ibid.: 186).

2.3.2 Dempster

Dempster (1985) concurs with Gesenius (see above) that BH verbal clauses should be separated into verb-initial clauses and those with a fronted constituent (1985: 64), whereby the succession of events in the narrative is indicated by clause type: "Since formal continuity represents semantic continuity in the presentation of events (formal sequence = wa-V wa-V wa-V wa-V = semantic sequence), it would be expected that formal discontinuity would correlate with semantic discontinuity (formal non-sequence = wa __ V = semantic non-sequence)" (ibid.: 71-72). He thus considers fronted clauses to be "the non-sequential pattern," with discourse-semantic functions including flashbacks and temporally anterior ideas (ibid.: 73), a change in the "subject of discourse" (ibid.) i.e., indicating the beginning or end of a discourse unit (ibid.: 78-84), or "a semantic contrast between individuals" (ibid.: 74).

In all three cases "the context determines its precise semantic function… Therefore the description cannot be as objective as might be desired" (ibid.). Dempster's work is significant for providing an early discourse analysis and refinement of Andersen's treatment of succession. Taking extensive clause patterns into account in the pursuit of clearly delineated communicative functions, he rightly concludes that in such a pursuit, "the sentence level itself cannot be the domain of linguistic description" (ibid.: 102).

2.3.3 Gross

Gross (1996) applies an information structure model to the constituent order of BH, attempting to account for edge-constituents[15] in both the pre-verbal field and the post-verbal field of the clause. He divides his treatment into minimal pairs of possible word order that differ only with regards to one variable, ignoring syntactic structures which lack such pairing, whose ordering he thus considers obligatory. Based on statistical analysis, he determines which construction of the opposition pair appears to be *unmarked* and which *marked*, i.e., 'standing out' in some way from its surroundings. This way, he is able to analyse the speaker's/author's choice (*Auswahl*) of fronted constituent (treated in his chapters 2 and 3) and the pragmatic motivations (*Aussageintention*) for that choice. In his analysis of the pre-verbal field (*Vorfeld*), which most concerns us here, he differentiates between asyndetic clauses, syndetic clauses, and either asyndetic or syndetic with initial discourse particles such as הִנֵּה or עַתָּה among others. Based on oppositions such as these, Gross finds that, "Sentences with an occupied *Vorfeld* and sentences with an empty *Vorfeld* have different clause-syntactic, text-syntactic and semantic functions; even sentences with a differently occupied *Vorfeld* have different functions. The syntactic structure of the sentence and its function must be analysed separately and only in the second place be related to each other" (1996: 141).[16] Indeed, on this last point, observation of the intended meaning and

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[15] As the name implies, edge-constituents include any clausal constituent purposely placed towards the beginning of the clause, as *fronting* or *left-dislocation*, or towards the end of the clause as *extraposition* and *right-dislocation* (see Holmstedt 2014 for a more recent study).

[16] "Sätze mit gefülltem und Sätze mit leerem Vorfeld haben unterschiedliche satzsyntaktische, textsyntaktische und semantische Funktionen, auch Sätze mit unterschiedlich gefülltem Vorfeld haben unterschiedliche Funktionen. Die syntaktische Struktur der Sätze und ihre Funktionen müssen getrennt analysiert und erst im zweiten Schritt aufeinander bezogen werden."

context is also necessary as only "in the rarest cases [is there] a 1:1 relationship between a clause-order and a syntactic/semantic/pragmatic function" (ibid.: 113).[17]

Despite Gross' meticulous study, his theoretical framework proves inadequate as he refers to 'topicalised' constituents only in purely syntactic terms, which, therefore, may or may not overlap with a focusing function (see van der Merwe 1999 for a critique). He thus adopts an exclusively *focus-background* model rather than the more common pragmatic framework of *topic-focus*. He also leaves room for theme-rheme and topic-comment models (albeit not without scrutinising their problems) for his understanding of BH constituent order, though fronting is largely explained pragmatically as a function of focus. Other functions include discourse structuring such as giving background information, anteriority, beginning or summarising a scene, and text-level functions such as authorial explanations and parenthesis (1996: 100-107), while in some cases the entire sentence can be highlighted (*hervorgehoben*) (ibid.: 106; see section 3.5 for the importance of such sentence-level frontings in the current study). Nevertheless, these latter functions are said to be determined by the surrounding co-text, so the primary attention of his study is on focus (ibid.:142). As van der Merwe (1999) argued, the recognition of topic and topic establishing/shifting as a function of fronting would not only simplify Gross' functional taxonomy and account for either excluded or unexplained cases, but would also more accurately reflect pragmatic models put forth in the general linguistics literature.

Nevertheless, Gross (2001) monograph on double fronting does allow for topic as one of the functions of fronting. In very general terms (though see appendix A for a more detailed interaction), Gross argues that in a double-fronted construction, the first constituent will be either topic or focused and the second constituent focused, allowing not only for the overlap seen in Gross (1996), but also the possibility of multiple focused constituents (cf. Heimerdinger 1999 below). He also includes 'backgrounded' constituents, framing of text-units, sentence focus and poetic-stylistic elements of parallelism and chiasm. Although, Gross (2001) is primarily concerned with BH poetry, his model accounts for the majority of double-fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings, as seen in appendix A.

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[17] "Auch ergibt sich in den seltensten Fällen eine 1:1-Beziehung zwischen einer Satzteilfolge und einer syntaktisch/semantisch/pragmatischen Funktion."

2.3.4 Disse

Drawing from Gross' earlier and contemporary works on BH constituent order and wider linguistic theory, Gross' student, Disse (1998), offers a comprehensive introduction to the effects of information structure on BH's syntax and pragmatics, which has not received due attention in previous literature surveys. Since his study is an attempt at strict deductive observation from his chosen BH texts, he discusses at length both the dangers and limitations of such a corpus study, especially regarding normal/neutral/dominant and marked/unmarked constituent orders. In the end, these are unlikely to be determined without recourse to other contextual and pragmatic considerations. As Gross (1996) had previously noted, the speaker's choice of utterance is key, yet in reality, "What freedom does the biblical author have in the formulation of his statement" (Disse 1998: 81)?[18] On the other hand, "The term *neutral* position suggests the lack of certain influencing factors," and Disse thus uses it on occasion, "when nothing has to be said about the Focus relationships" (ibid.: 75).[19] Disse closely scrutinizes the pragmatic models of topic-comment, focus-background and theme-rheme, and utilises all three models in his analysis, comparing the adequacy of the results of each one.

Due to the nature of his corpus study, he rejects the Generative approach of analysing *competence* above *performance* (see section 3.1), as "the truly once existing language-competence of speakers of a dead language is never accessible for reconstructing [by] philologists" (ibid.: 152).[20] Instead, he follows Gross in opting for a valency approach, listing the pertinent syntactic constituents which could be fronted and the given constituents which tend to surround them. For example, on occasion constituents are fronted obligatorily, such as independent personal pronouns or the indefinite אִישׁ, meaning they are seldom found in a different clause-position, and thus would be highly *marked* in such a case. Similarly to Gross' (1996, 2001) framework, besides topic and focus, Disse explains fronted clauses under the rubrics of entirely highlighted clauses (*Hervorhebung*) on the one hand, and discourse-structural techniques, such as narrative comments, parenthesis, backgrounding, scene-initial or summary statements, discourse shifts or other framing techniques on the other. The pursuit

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[18] "Welche Freiheit hat der biblische Autor in der Formulierung seiner Aussage?"

[19] "Der Begriff der *neutralen* Stellung suggeriert das Fehlen bestimmter Einflußfaktoren. Er wird gelegentlich verwendet, wenn über die Fokussierungsverhältnisse keine Aussage gemacht werden soll."

[20] "Die tatsächlich einmal vorhandene Sprachkompetenz des Sprechers einer toten Sprache ist für den rekonstruierenden Philologen nie erreichbar."

is, to an extent, subjective, and thus ambiguities will certainly arise, since, "The relationship between known/previously mentioned and highlighted/focused elements remains theoretically unexplained in the research, as does the status of text-structuring functions (temporal orientation, discourse structure) in its relationship with focus pertaining to a single-sentence" (ibid.: 211-212; such a relationship is the concern of section 3.2.2).[21] Nonetheless, for Disse, the two sources at the disposal of the biblical scholar are formal indicators, such as focus particles, and context.

In short, Disse considers his research to differ from previous studies due to (1) the range of his corpus and (2) the use of insights gained from research in modern languages (ibid.: 223). Whereas Gross laid the groundwork for the research of Deuteronomy, Judges and 2 Kings, Disse applies his model specifically to the text of Deut. 12, Judg. 4 and 2 Kgs 22-23. I will mention his pertinent comments on 2 Kgs 22-23 in section 4.4.1.3.

2.3.5 Heimerdinger

Like Gross, Heimerdinger (1999) accounts for both pre-verbal and post-verbal constituent order, but draws directly on Lambrecht's information structure model. He differentiates between orientational adverbials (such as location or time) and topical entities, as "the essential elements around which a story is constructed; the main topical participants belong to the goal of the discourse" (1999: 122). Although he allows for multiple focused constituents and utilizes a wider taxonomy of focus functions, he divides them essentially into completive focus and contrastive focus, and terms the 'dominant focal element' that constituent whose "corresponding denotatum represents the informationally pivotal element of the assertion" (ibid.: 167-68). While completive focus simply fills in a gap in the hearer's presuppositional content, contrastive focus is divided into parallel and counter-presuppositional focus, the latter of which is further broken down into replacive, expanding, restrictive and selective focus (ibid.: 169).[22] Post-verbally, he notes that a constituent can be placed at the very end of the clause to mark it as focused. However, constituent-focus and sentence-focus are solely indicated by X + *qatal* clauses and, as Joüon, Andersen and

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[21] "Theoretisch ungeklärt blieben bei der Untersuchung das Verhältnis von Bekanntheit/Vorerwähntheit zu Hervorhebung/Fokussierung von Elementen; ungeklärt blieb auch der Status der textstrukturierenden Funktionen (Reliefgebung, Diskursgliederung) im Verhältnis zur einzelsatzbezogenen Fokussierung."

[22] Similar models are adopted in BH studies by Rosenbaum (1997), Lunn (2006) and van der Merwe et al. (2017).

Dempster had previously noted, fronted clauses, "situated at the margins of vayyiqtol clause clusters … indicate the boundaries of these clusters" (ibid.: 17), while discourse functions such as narrative peaking or marking a new scene are also indicated by fronted clauses.

Heimerdinger's work is to be applauded as one of the first BH monographs to adopt Lambrecht's pragmatic framework to the BH text. The exhaustive nature by which Heimerdinger applies Lambrecht's three scopes of focus (see section 3.2.1.2) means he has also included verb-initial constructions in his study, and thus the integral of his nature both pre- and post-verbal analysis. Although his notion of multiple topics and a 'dominant focal element' will not be adopted in this study, his insight into how information structure informs discourse structure, narrative development, peaks and scene division, has been picked up by later scholars and is reflected in the discourse functions of thetics (as explored in section 3.5.3.1).

2.3.6 Floor

Floor (2004) follows Heimerdinger's lead in attempting to bridge the gap from information structure to discourse structure. He similarly considers fronted clauses as 'marked' to communicate the pragmatic functions of both topic selecting/shift and constituent focusing, as well as sentence focus. His main hypothesis is "to prove that those marked word-order structures do indeed have particular importance in the identification of theme in Biblical Hebrew narrative" (ibid.: 151). Adopting multiple topics and foci (as Heimerdinger 1999), the overall "topic structure" and "focus structures" can lead to the identification of *theme traces*, i.e., a "marked syntactic configuration," whether word order or seemingly redundant lexicalised constituents, and recurring concepts (ibid.: 255) and focused *macro-words*,[23] which may reveal the discourse topic. Thus, Floor can state, "it is certain that the cognitive-pragmatic processing of the information structure of propositions is crucial to marking and highlighting certain lexical units, and that the information structure build up - or information flow - does have a direct correlation with macrostructure information" (ibid.: 237). Furthermore, "Theme as the developing thread is basically information that is flowing

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[23] "Such macro-words belong to the cognitive macrostructure, and its special presence in sentences promotes these macro-words and the clauses that contain them, to the macrostructure or theme" (ibid.: 247). Though concerned with lexical semantics and not necessarily the reference and denotation of discourse agents, van Hecke also observes how a cognitive semantic analysis of such 'macro-words', i.e., "the terms that constitute the text's main Topics" (2011: 261) contribute to textual interpretation.

and unfolding in a particularly prominent way. Information flow is the key" (ibid.: 243). The analysis of such theme traces lead to thematic segmentation and the establishing of the theme of a discourse, which could be seen as a type of summary statement.

Regarding the contribution of 'sentence focus structures' to the development of theme, Floor remarks that they are

> "generally discontinuous, in other words, some change in the cognitive development of the macrostructure is signaled. This is true even for cases of flashback, where the chronological storyline is interrupted. Thematic change takes the form of either a digression to support the current development of the theme, or it redirects the theme onto a new course. This re-direction can take the form of new text-world information, or of an unexpected event with new participants, or with old participants in a new and unexpected development." (ibid.: 306)

In short, non-sequential or thematically discontinuous structures contribute to the cognitive development of information flow, even if such developments are unexpected or surprising.

2.3.7 Lunn

Lunn (2006) likewise applies Lambrecht's model but strictly to BH poetry. In doing so, he applies the various focal functions to fronting but also takes note of numerous constructions of parallelism and how the cola typically interact with regards to their constituent order. He identifies the distinct patterns in which the A-line dominates and therefore seems to display the same constituent ordering rules as for prose, whereas the B-line is much freer. However, he finds that whenever the A-line has a non-default constituent order, the B-line will follow the same structure.

In order to account for non-default constituent orders outside clause-level pragmatic considerations, he appeals to poetic defamiliarisation. Similar to Heimerdinger's discourse structure observations, this defamiliarisation often indicates a literary peak as it necessarily slows down the reader's processing capacity and thus lengthens the poetic experience.[24] He highlights four disambiguating factors between the pragmatic factors of information structure on the one hand and poetic defamiliarisation on the other: (1) the environment in which the colon occurs, (2) the presence or absence of pragmatic connotations which require a topical or focal explanations, (3) the presence of a focus particle, and (4) the extent of variation of the constituent order, whereby the more divergent cases are more felicitously explained as a product of defamiliarisation.

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[24] cf. Buth's (1994: 226-27) 'dramatic pause' in the context of prose.

Lunn's study exhibits another robust application of information structure to the BH text. However, as its object of study is BH poetry, there may be certain formal and stylistic constraints not applicable to narrative text, such as parallelism and chiasmus. Nevertheless, Lunn shows that even in such stylised compositions, information structure heavily influences constituent order, perhaps only to be differentiated from prose texts by his notion of defamiliarisation.

2.3.8 Van der Merwe & Talstra, van der Merwe & Wendland

Van der Merwe and Talstra (2002/3) investigate constituent order in Deuteronomy 3 by applying Lambrecht's Information Structure model and compare this with the formal discourse structuring features of the text. They note how structures representing cases of constituent focus and the introduction of a new topic can share similar surface structure, for example, fronting in BH (2002/3: 72). They show how presupposition, identifiability and discourse activeness (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 for detailed discussion) are key to understanding the functions of topics and foci, and reiterate Lambrecht's consideration of predicate focus, constituent focus and sentence focus (for both presentational and event reporting sentences; see chapter 3.2.1.2 and 3.5 for further discussion) (ibid.: 75-77).

With regard to fronting, they show that a clause with a non-verbal fronted constituent can be pragmatically motivated by constituent focus upon the fronted entity, either selecting an entity, contradicting a presupposed entity, confirming the entity or attributing something to it (ibid.: 81). Furthermore, they assert (as Floor 2004) that when background information is given, it is a case of sentence focus. Fronted constituents could also indicate a contrast between two topics, providing a topic frame to introduce each clause (ibid.: 83-84), or when simultaneous or nearly simultaneous actions are involved (ibid.: 85).

In a later article, van der Merwe and Wendland (2010) investigate the information structure of a large portion of the book of Joel and argue that even with poetic texts one can apply the same pragmatic notions of topic and focus to account for constituent order without appealing to 'poetic defamiliarization', as Lunn (2006) had done.[25] On the other hand, they state, "When we consider the content and word order of the book of Joel, we must keep in mind that poetic texts seldom convey information for the sake of pure instruction or

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[25] cf. Gross (2001: 102ff) and van Hecke (2011: 119).

enlightenment alone. Prophets and preachers normally try to change the behavior of their audience, e.g. influence them to do something or to think differently" (2010: 114), thereby appealing to distinct speech acts in regards to an utterance's pragmatic function and perlocutionary intentions. This approach negates the necessity of purely poetic motivation for certain constituent order constructions.

Whereas Heimerdinger 'split' his functional categories of focus in minute detail (1999: 169), van der Merwe and Wendland more concisely and helpfully assert the three functions of focus to be to *inform*, *alter*,[26] or *confirm* the addressee's information on a given topic (2010: 113), so that crucially, "An utterance does not always have to add new information; it may also confirm that which is already known" (ibid.: 121). Furthermore, parallel to Heimerdinger's appeal to literary structure in narrative texts[27] for fronted constituents, they state, "…fronting may have a structural function, viz. signaling the opening of a new strophe" (ibid.: 123). In other words, "manifestations of the marking of some standard literary-structural devices within the discourse" (ibid.: 128).

2.3.9 Moshavi

Moshavi (2010) studies fronting in the book of Genesis, which is treated as representative of classical BH prose.[28] She helpfully divides her analysis into narrative and direct-speech registers, while also taking note of the syntactic constituents in question, whether subject, complement or adjunct. In her survey of previous studies, Moshavi concludes that three models have typically been used to account for fronting in the BH finite clause, namely, (1) the 'emphasis-centered model',[29] under which contrastiveness and circumstantiality can play a role, which is rejected as too vague and offering little help with regard to functional or pragmatic explanation, (2) the 'backgrounding model'[30] and its 'temporal sequencing variation' which "fall short of a global paradigm for word order but

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[26] Admittedly, altering focus can communicate a number of sub-implicatures (see section 3.2.1.2 for a theoretical introduction and 4.2.2.2 for examples from Samuel-Kings).

[27] cf. also Buth (1994).

[28] Bailey and Levinsohn (1992), Myhill (1995), Hornkohl (2003), Choi (2006) and Holmstedt (2011) also use Genesis as their linguistic corpus.

[29] As seen in Gesenius (1909), Joüon (1923), Andersen (1974), Muraoka (1985), Revell (1989a), Joüon-Muraoka (2003), and Choi (2006).

[30] Including the work of Givón (1977), Niccacci (1990), Longacre (1989, 1992) and Myhill (1995).

succeed in explaining some types of subject-preposing, including parenthetical remarks, anterior clauses, and (in the case of the temporal-sequencing model) simultaneous clause pairs" (2010: 46), thus holding more potential than the first, and (3) the 'information-structure approach'[31] in which the fronting construction relates solely to the fronted constituent.

She finds the third model most satisfactory and in the main sections of her volume makes use of such information structure concerns, i.e. focus and topicalization,[32] finding that "information-structure functions account for 66.7% of narrative clauses and a smaller portion, 50%, of direct-speech clauses" (ibid.: 104). Her statistical results are laid out in her chapter 7.[33] She finds that the direct-speech residue, i.e. cases which do not fall within focus or topicalization categories, is much more significant than that of narrative and that, as a whole, "The explanation for the preposing of 31% of clauses [in Genesis] is currently unclear" (ibid.: 168).

She tentatively treats some of these residual cases as possible instances of (1) focusing, whereby the salient contextual proposition is possible but perhaps not convincingly; (2) accommodation, whereby the givenness principle is exploited intentionally; and (3) fixed expressions. While also noting that subject-fronted clauses typically communicate something about the entire clause, not just the fronted constituent, 49.5% of residue of subject-fronted clauses in narrative can be considered as cases of anteriority, simultaneity, background information or introducing a new narrative unit or scene within the narrative. On the other hand, within direct speech, the 62.4% residue can express justification following a directive or rhetorical question; affirmation, whereby a first-person pronoun occurs in a promise to carry out a certain action; or boasting. She posits that the category of affirmation "and the

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[31] As seen in the work of Bendavid (1971), Bandstra (1982, 1992), Buth (1987, 1994, 1995), Gross (1996), Disse (1998), Heimerdinger (1999), Shimasaki (2002), van der Merwe et al. (1999), Holmstedt (2000, 2005, 2009, 2011), van der Merwe & Talstra (2002/3), Floor (2004), Lunn (2006), van der Merwe & Wendland (2010), and van Hecke (2011).

[32] In this study, *topic fronting*.

[33] *In concreto*, "In narrative, focusing (10.8%) is much less common than topicalization (72.3%). In direct speech, the frequencies of the two function are more similar: 25.2% focusing and 33.1% topicalization. Comparing the size of the residue group in the two registers, we see that almost all the residue clauses are direct speech clauses" (ibid.: 107). "While in narrative only 12.3% of the preposed clauses have no clear function, in direct speech the percentage is 42.9%" (120). Overall, her results yielded 56.6% as either topic or focus fronting (ibid.: 119).

category of boasting … are subtypes of a broader category the parameters of which are currently unclear" (ibid.: 118).

In short, Moshavi has highlighted the need for further research most importantly on the residue of subject-fronting in direct speech. Her study represents a significant step in the right direction with regards to elucidation and exposition of text-register, syntactic function, and their contribution to the distribution of fronted clauses in classical BH prose. Thereby, it has provided a central pillar to the construction of this study, viz., developing a more comprehensive framework for understanding the same phenomenon in the corpus of Samuel-Kings. The relative silence with regard to constituent order and specifically fronting in the decade after her work highlights the importance of its contribution to the field.

We will follow her, and the majority position, of VSX as the default BH constituent order, and will see that information structure categories also play a majority role in our corpus. Nevertheless, it is her 'residue' that we will begin to account for in the following chapters. Because she consciously rejects *sentence focus* as an appropriate explanation for BH fronting, no accounting for the informational value of an entire state of affairs in terms of givenness and unexpectedness in the common ground (see sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.2) fit into her model (but rather in 'backgrounding' and 'temporal sequencing variation' models). Thus her categorization of subject-fronted clauses which seem to communicate something about the entire clause remains diverse and disconnected.

2.3.10 Van Hecke

Van Hecke' (2011) approach involves "starting from a clearly delimited textual corpus, and studying how the consequent application of a (recent) linguistic methodology lays bare its meaning" (2011: 5). His concern is to observe how such methodology reveals a complementary linguistics-exegesis interface (ibid.: 8), as the title *From Linguistics to Hermeneutics* implies.

In van Hecke's painstakingly minute pragmatic analysis of each clause in Job 12-14, he reminds us of the priority of constituent order in this pursuit, as there are only two other avenues of investigation, viz., prosody (being arguably inaccessible) and focus particles (being limited). More specifically, with regard to fronting he states, "Special fronted positions are not only used for locating focused constituents … topicalised constituents and

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constituents with an orientational pragmatic function (Theme, Setting, Condition) are also placed in the fronted position" (ibid.: 57). Although it is debated whether or not these orientational functions are simply topical or on a supra-clausal level (see the discussion of 'stage topics' in section 3.2.1.1), van Hecke seems to follow Buth (1994), who argues that topic should not be defined as what simply what the sentence is about, rather as an orientational tool - a 'contextualizing constituent' in the latter's terminology.

Van Hecke divides the body of his work into a pragmatic analysis of the clausal structure of the text before moving on to a semantic analysis of a number of the key terms and entities found to be salient in the previous pragmatic analysis. This approach necessitates a firm grounding in both functional and cognitive linguistics, which he outlines in detail in his introduction. It is perhaps due to his cognitive semantic approach that he is comfortable making the following bold statement: "the functions of Topic and Focus are graded and are not necessarily mutually exclusive: each constituent in the clause has a degree of topicality and of focality, which may, moreover, overlap in certain cases" (ibid.:111). Although I am hesitant to assert that each constituent in the clause has a degree of either topicality, focality, or both, nevertheless our analysis of Samuel-Kings will show that the fuzzy boundary between topicality and focality is inescapable.

Although information structure is very often determinant in constituent order, van Hecke offers us a wise caveat which I quote at length:

> It should be stressed from the outset, however, that not every constituent order that deviates from the ones described above necessarily involves pragmatic marking, since other, non-pragmatic factors may also influence this order (e.g., the relative length of constituents). Conversely, it is not because a clause is formally unmarked, that it is by definition pragmatically neutral. It will be clear, then, that there is no one-to-one relation between certain linguistic features in the text and underlying pragmatic functions; yet, it is via these features that I will try to gain access to the pragmatic structure of the clauses and the text. (ibid.: 122)

In other words, a non-default constituent order and pragmatic marking do not necessarily share a one-to-one correlation, as certain constructions may be motivated by pragmatics, prosody, syntax, or the revoking of an alternative, competing construction. On the other hand, a seemingly default constituent order may not always communicate a simple topic-comment construction with predicate focus (see section 4.4.3 for examples). The result of this is the complexity of "the question of constituent order... and how important it is not only to find correlations between constituent orders and linguistic functions, but also to discover the rationales for such correlations," yet "correlations are not always explanations" (ibid.: 228).

Van Hecke is transparent with regard to the certain level of subjectivity this necessarily involves, while identifying topicality is also viewed as a somewhat subjective enterprise.

Nevertheless, despite all his caution and the elaborately careful framework developed in his introduction, the result of his analysis of Job 12-14 is that, "With the exception of one instance, all the cases of deviant order mark one or more constituents for a specific pragmatic function" (ibid.: 237), i.e. topic or focus (the exception being caused by the length of the constituents in non-neutral order). In summary, van Hecke's monograph has appealed to topic, focus, and orientational features such as the setting or occasion to account for fronting. His application of a cognitive linguistic approach to categorization and correlation in his pragmatic analysis is also crucial.[34]

We are no doubt indebted to these functional studies and much progress has been made in accounting for fronted clauses by the information structure notions topic and focus. Nevertheless, much of the work just surveyed also recognises the place for discourse structure and even the significance of entire clauses for their fronted syntax, but have not been able to account for such with a concise and comprehensive linguistic model. As Floor argues, "The approach must incorporate cognitive theory, attempting to account for the mental representations activated by the text. It should be more than a mere taxonomy of functions" (2004: 4).

2.4 Generative approaches

We now turn from functional treatments of BH constituent order to generative studies. Although a minority position, it will be helpful to survey some recent work by Robert Holmstedt in order to be able to compare both his points of departure and his resulting conclusions with the functional approaches above.

2.4.1 Holmstedt

From a generative linguistics standpoint, Robert Holmstedt's work on BH constituent order is most worthy of mention. His works involve book-specific studies such as Proverbs (2005), Ruth and Jonah (2009), and Genesis (2011), while Homstedt (2000, 2013 and 2014)

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[34] See especially sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.2.2 for the discussion of the intersubjective nature of linguistic communication and the occasional metalinguistic ambiguity which results, section 3.2.2.3 for an application to textual interpretation and section 3.4.2 for a discussion of prototype theory.

look at fronting, constituent order and edge-constituents in BH in general. In Holmstedt (2000), he claims that, while left-dislocation is not the result of constituent movement, topicalization (fronting in our terminology)[35] is just that: it "refers to the movement of a constituent towards the front of its clause" (2000: 3), and in generative terms is *traced*, leaving a syntactic *gap* in its original position, that is, where they are "*expected in a normal, unmarked clause*" (ibid.: 6, emphasis original).

Although we will explore the central characteristics of generative linguistics in section 3.1, here I will briefly mention Holmstedt's application of such. His approach is based on "the basic distinction between "deep" structure and "surface" structure [which] allows a generativist to identify relevant features in a way that a nongenerativist cannot" (2005: 143) and "When the issue of basic word order in BH, specifically the order of the verb and its specifier, the subject (i.e. VS or SV), is approached from a generative perspective, *constituent movement* becomes a critical feature in the analysis" (2009: 120, emphasis original).[36]

Increasingly throughout his work, Holmstedt's understanding of edge constituents, and, most notably for our purposes, fronting, has been inextricably linked to his understanding of default constituent order. The logic is as follows: "If we start with the VS position, a necessary position is that no SV clause lacks a Topic or Focus operator, but VS clauses may be pragmatically neutral. In contrast, within the SV framework developed in this study, a few SV clauses may actually be basic and thus pragmatically neutral, but any VS clause without a syntactic or semantic trigger must contain a Topic or Focus operator" (2009: 137-8). Holmstedt's statement here is significant for the current study since, if we accept the concept of pragmatic neutrality, verb-initial topic-comment constructions with predicate

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[35] Although Holmstedt (2000) uses the term 'fronting' for both dislocated constituents and topicalization, he later (2014) restricts it in line with the definition adopted in this dissertation. Nevertheless, he maintains that there may be potential ambiguity between the two. Referring to Gen. 44:9a (אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִמָּצֵ֥א אִתּ֛וֹ מֵעֲבָדֶ֖יךָ וָמֵ֑ת), he states, "the presence of the ו does *not* distinguish left-dislocation from fronting. Rather, the ו is used in rare cases of Topic fronting to aid in the processing of the syntax" (2014: 143). In the present study, the ו is considered to unambiguously communicate left-dislocation and is not considered as fronting, see section 4.1.3.

[36] As discussed below, Holmdstedt draws on Greenburg's (1963) seminal work on word order to define basic word order. Yet Greenburg is widely regarded as the father of modern Linguistic Typology, which "is interested in what can be observed on the surface, as opposed to abstract or hidden - more often than not, also theory-internally motivated and thus difficult to verify cross-linguistically - structure, as is prominent in Generative Grammar" (Song 2012: 11), so Holmstedt's title, *A Generative-Typological Analysis* (2009) is perplexing. Song continues, "when word order is discussed in LT, what is meant by word order is surface word order - that is, as actually pronounced speech - not some abstract, unpronounceable structure or representation that must somehow be converted into phonetic outputs - for example, by means of movement" (ibid.).

focus are, in fact, prototypical (most commonly *wayyiqtol* clauses in narrative texts), while the remaining XV clauses are to be explained under pragmatic and discourse considerations.[37] In other words, he seems to reject Joüon, Andersen and Dempster's previous assertions about simple narrative succession by claiming that narrative texts exhibit "greater departures from standard word order" since "the skewing presence of the narrative-past verb *wayyiqtol* … greatly complicates the study of word order whenever it is present" (2005: 137).[38] Although prose is linguistically simpler cross-linguistically,[39] he defends this general position using Greenburg's (1963) criteria for identifying the basic word order of a given language:[40]

(1) the use of prepositions versus postpositions;

(2) the relative order of subject, verb and object in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object

(3) the position of qualifying adjectives, either preceding or following the modified noun

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[37] Holmstedt himself understands numerous fronted clauses to be communicating topic-shifts or constituent focus. On the other hand, some of his counter examples of SV clauses with no topic or focus marking are debatable. Others are well analysed as rejecting a topic or narrow-focus reading (2011: 24), yet, as will be seen later, the two clauses mentioned are better analysed as thetic statements, rather than 'basic.' In Gen. 37:20, וְאָמַ֕רְנוּ חַיָּ֥ה רָעָ֖ה אֲכָלָ֑תְהוּ, as the beginning of speech, the fronted clause represents a descriptive thetic common ground update as to Joseph's absence, while in Gen. 38:22, וְגַ֨ם אַנְשֵׁ֤י הַמָּקוֹם֙ אָֽמְר֔וּ לֹא־הָיְתָ֥ה בָזֶ֖ה קְדֵשָֽׁה:, the fronted clause introduces a statement entirely unexpected by Judah. I am not convinced by Hornkohl's altering focus reading (2018: 43), despite the *gam* particle, as the content of what the men said also seems to be part of the asserted content.

[38] Incidentally, in traditional transformational grammar, kernel sentences (i.e., the original, deep structure) "consist of simple, declarative, active sentences… all other sentences can be described more simply as transforms" (Chomsky 1957: 80). If this is applicable to BH, one wonders why *wayyiqtols* should be considered a transformation when they are transparently simple, declarative and active sentences.

[39] This is especially true regarding constituent order as as direct speech and poetics exhibit much more diverse constituent order (cf. Lunn 2006 and Moshavi 2010). Indeed, if he is to resort to information structure concepts as explanatory, the following quote is problematic: "Additionally, most of the line pairs in the book of Proverbs are not "bound" within the discourse; that is, individual proverbs, or occasionally small groups of proverbs, constitute a self-contained world of discourse and are thus not influenced by discourse factors beyond the syntactic boundaries of the proverb or proverb group" (2005: 137). I would agree, so at best we are left to grasp the shape of the discourse by a "small group" of poetic cola. In the case of Proverbs 11:5, "In terms of pragmatic structure of the two lines, the first line presents an ambiguous case: it is possible to read first lines of this sort (whether in Hebrew or English) as having either a contrastive or noncontrastive initial subject" (ibid.: 153). Such an ambiguity is inevitable outside of a discourse context, and such examples do not help Holmstedt's case that non-narrative texts somehow escape the "complicating factors" of narrative. In one of the minority of cases where "a two-line proverb is dependent on the previous context," (Prov. 22:23), his triggered inversion hypothesis, resulting in a VS order, is "superficially negated" (ibid.: 154). However, his conclusion that "YHWH is focus-fronted" is spot on.

[40] Holmstedt (2005: 139; 2009: 113).

Only (2) is pertinent to discussions of fronting. However, excluding *wayyiqtol* clauses from the default constituent order debate drastically reduces the data of an already limited corpus (of Ruth and Jonah, for example). Diachronically, the verbal forms require a clause-initial position for reasons that should not be dismissed because of its seemingly obligatory nature. Moshavi's response is appropriate: "basic word order in this approach bears little resemblance to the way language is most frequently used" (2010: 15). Furthermore, although BH is a pro-drop language (such as Arabic, Greek, and Italian, among many others), he continues to restrict "basic clauses" to those with full noun phrase subjects. However, explicit pronouns in pro-drop languages are virtually (if not exclusively) always pragmatically motivated and active topics go without lexicalisation. Holmstedt himself states, "Since Biblical Hebrew allows an overt Subject to be omitted … and arguably uses overt Subject pronouns for Topic or Focus marking … any discussion of basic word order must draw primarily on clauses that have overt lexical Noun Phrase Subjects" (2011: 14). The logic here seems backward, as the contrary should be true: if the pronoun or proper noun is often omitted, in natural, discourse-embedded language use, this is the basic sentence form in order to predicate something about an activated entity.

Holmstedt's studies also attempt to fill another lacuna seen to affect our understanding of fronting, viz., the negligence of *extraposition* and *right-dislocation*, and therefore the lack of "synthesis, a unified and cogent explanation of the four distinct-though-related edge constructions" (2014: 111), including fronting and left-dislocation. Such a synthesised approach should be expected to lead to fruitful avenues of research in the future, but does not necessitate the symmetry, without which studies of fronting would be consequentially impoverished.[41]

Although Holmstedt's theoretical framework, understanding of basic constituent order and categorization of movement differs from previous studies surveyed, his results are ironically similar.[42] Applying the same restrictive criteria and framework to Ruth, Jonah and Genesis, he often arrives at similar conclusions to the functional studies above, drawing on

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[41] This is not to deny that scholars such as Gross (1996) and Heimerdinger (1999) have already studied both pre- and post-verbal clausal fields. Khan (2019) has also recently shown how fronting and left-dislocation could be diachronically related.

[42] As Floor has noted, "What is very interesting is that generative linguists working on information structure have come to many of the same results independently from functionalists" (2004: 44). Again, this seems counter to what Holmstedt's own model seems to predict regarding the predominantly default nature of SV clauses.

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the information structure notions of topic and focus.[43] For example, in Ruth 4:1, with Boaz as topic, "This SV example orients the reader to which character is acting at a major transition in the book: Boaz" (2009: 130). Likewise in Jonah 1:3, "we have a case of a thematic entity, the ship (introduced already in v. 3), fronted in order to orient the reader to a new Topic" (ibid.: 131). He even considers Jonah 1:5 as what has generally been regarded as *sentence focus*: "It is not just the subject that is contrasted with the possible alternatives (e.g. the sailors) but also the predicate (e.g. with 'lightening the ship'). Therefore, we should view this as a case of an entire clause (CP) being moved to the Focus domain" (ibid.: 135). Nevertheless, in his "working model" he essentially limits *focus* to contrasting situations (ibid.: 132) and has no place for discourse activation.[44] In any case, he appeals to "triggered inversion" for the case where another clause constituent precedes both subject and verb, resulting in the VS surface structure.

In Holmstedt's work we have seen attempts to comprehensively define a basic constituent order for BH, regardless of text register or genre, arguing for a pre-BH shift from VS to SV (2013) - traditionally understood to have occurred in Rabbinic Hebrew. His later work refines his understanding of pragmatics, helpfully including both topic/focus and theme/rheme (see section 3.2.2). However, his approach and therefore results have been questioned repeatedly[45] to such an extent that his entire framework complicates dialogue across the methodological divide.[46] In modern language-specific analysis with native speakers' verification, generative approaches to syntax may have some merit. However, in the analysis of ancient languages we have no native intuition to confirm whether constituent movement has occurred or not. Moreover, a so-called *deep*-level analysis is of no concern to the most data-driven perspective of constituent order studies - the Linguistic Typological approach. As discussed in section 3.1, a typologically-adequate and usage-based approach to

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[43] On the other hand, information structure is difficult to account for in a genre such as Proverbs with small, independent text-units.

[44] For example, before discussing Jonah 3:3, he notes that, "Nineveh has been a thematic constituent since the second verse of the book… and is fronted as a Topic entity, marking Nineveh as the item out of all the possible thematic constituents to be modified by a predication" (2009: 131). Ignoring the fact that this entity is no longer active, though still identifiable, he fails to note the entire clause as discourse-unexpected.

[45] See, for example, Moshavi (2010: 11-16) and Hornkohl (2018: 38-44).

[46] Not to mention that SVX as basic constituent order negates the necessity of analysing subject-fronted clauses as pragmatically salient.

a language (i.e. *performance*) is more appropriate for BH studies than deep-structure analysis based on *competence* by native speakers (see also section 3.4.4).

2.5 Miscellaneous perspectives

Some of the following works treat fronting primarily and others in passing. Nevertheless, each work will be seen to offer varied and unique contributions to the study which follows and many aspects of their linguistic framework and insights will be utilised and expanded upon in the next chapter.

2.5.1 Zewi

Zewi's (2007) monograph on parenthesis defines the phenomenon as referring "to any peripheral information external to a sentence, a piece of information which can be expressed by a single word, a phrase, or a clause" (2007: 1). Parenthetical words seem to "enjoy complete freedom," (ibid.: 105) while "freedom of position of a phrase is typical of a full parenthesis" (ibid.: 160).[47] The case of fronted parenthetical words is illustrated by the "narrative time co-ordinates" לְפָנִים and בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא in the following examples:[48]

(1)	לְפָנִ֣ים ׀ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל כֹּֽה־אָמַ֤ר הָאִישׁ֙ בְּלֶכְתּוֹ֙ לִדְר֣וֹשׁ אֱלֹהִ֔ים לְכ֥וּ וְנֵלְכָ֖ה עַד־הָרֹאֶ֑ה כִּ֤י לַנָּבִיא֙ הַיּ֔וֹם יִקָּרֵ֥א לְפָנִ֖ים הָרֹאֶֽה׃	Previously in Israel, this is what a man said when he went to seek God: "Let us go to the seer." Because the prophet of today was previously called "the seer." (1 Sam. 9:9)
(2)	בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֗וּא כָּרַ֧ת יְהֹוָ֛ה אֶת־אַבְרָ֖ם בְּרִ֣ית לֵאמֹ֑ר לְזַרְעֲךָ֗ נָתַ֨תִּי֙ אֶת־הָאָ֣רֶץ הַזֹּ֔את מִנְּהַ֣ר מִצְרַ֔יִם עַד־הַנָּהָ֥ר הַגָּדֹ֖ל נְהַר־פְּרָֽת׃	In that day Yahweh cut a covenant with Abram, saying, "To your seed I will give this land, from the river of Egypt until the great Euphrates river." (Gen. 15:18)

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[47] As far as I can tell, no pragmatic motivation is offered for the distinction between sentence initial, middle or final, other than this flexibility confirms the phrase's identity as parenthetical. For example, the pragmatic difference between מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה as clause-initial in Judg. 11:40 and clause-middle in 1 Sam. 1:3 is left unexplored (2007: 170).

[48] Throughout the present study, I have attempted to follow a 'direct translation' model, as "striving to interpretively resemble the source text by producing all the communicative clues of the source text *in the context envisaged for the original audience*, without making any compromises as far as the conceptual world of the target-text audience is concerned" (Van der Merwe 2012: 5).

Nevertheless, the most significant contribution of her work to the present study are her observations on parenthetical *clauses*. As she herself states, her study follows closely Andersen's idea of a circumstantial clause (1974: 77-91, see above). She states,

> Since the typical verbs in Biblical Hebrew narrative clauses are prefix conjugation forms prefixed by the conversive *wāw*, namely *wayyiqtol* forms, the narrative flow can be broken by means of a different type of verbal clauses in order to introduce parenthetical, new, and contrastive settings and off-the-line information, namely clauses with suffix conjugation forms (*qatal* forms) following their subjects. (2007: 12)

And later,

> Since these clause types frequently share an inversion of word order deviating from the common structure in narrative chains of clauses initiated by *wayyiqtol* forms, and their subjects often are in first position, word order inversion itself should be regarded as a means of introducing parenthetical information into a text. Nonetheless, these techniques, that is, using certain type (sic) of circumstantial clauses involving either one or more of word order inversion, *qatal* clauses, nominal clauses, including participial clauses, and existential clauses, play roles other than introducing parenthetical information to the narrative sequence, the prominent of which are focalization and topicalization. (ibid.: 65)

Evidently, her primary concern is *parenthetical information* (though in her view these clauses necessarily contain either focus movement or topicalization).[49] However, she draws upon the wider scope of text linguistics to further distinguish the nuances of this category, distinguishing between *background information*,[50] *foreshadowing*,[51] *explanatory information*,[52] *theological apologetic remarks*,[53] *historical remarks*,[54] and *other information*

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[49] Since, according to Zewi, nominal clauses, participial clauses, and even *wayyiqtol* clauses can contain parenthesis - not only fronted clauses - one could argue that this parenthetical notion is simply incidental, and that the information structure of the clause should be primary. Because parenthesis evidently does not cause the fronting, Zewi argues that these cases "can often be categorized as parenthetical not according to their shape, but according to their context" (2007: 2), i.e. they are considered "limitedly parenthetical" at a functional-pragmatic level, not syntactically. I would argue that, in this case, one must assume a discourse-level perspective. Nevertheless, topic-shifts (if not also focus movement) "can also assist in identifying units which deviate from the main course" (ibid.: 66).

[50] 'restricted to extra information inserted into the story by the scribe or narrator to facilitate understanding of certain developments that could not be understood without it' (ibid.: 67).

[51] In this case, 'the extra information also foreshadows a coming event, that is, it intimates a later development in the story' (ibid.: 73).

[52] Clauses which 'provide explanations for certain states, events, and instructions, and their development or implementation in the story' (ibid.: 77).

[53] 'theological remarks, probably inserted by a the scribe or narrator, to elucidate that the story develops as it does according to God's will… Contrary to all types of parenthetical clauses discussed so far, such content might also appear as part of the narrative sequence, with regular narrative syntax of a *wayyiqtol* verb preceding its subject' (ibid.: 86).

[54] 'mainly aimed at describing practices prevalent among the Israelites, and their historical background. In certain cases the comments are not about practices but about historical terms, situations, and facts.' (ibid.: 91).

marginal to the story line.[55] Many of these discourse functions are evidently difficult to categorize and, on occasion, may indeed overlap. For example, the distinction between her definitions of background information and explanatory information remains quite unclear.

Zewi's study of parenthesis contributes to the development of studies of fronting, treating not only individually-fronted sentence constituents as topical or focal, but as refining a range of full clauses which break the *wayyiqtol* chains of BH narrative (cf. Andersen 1974). The importance of these discourse effects will be explored further in the following chapter (see especially section 3.2.2.3).

2.5.2 Robar

Although Robar (2015) does not discuss fronting or even constituent order in any detail,[56] her study contains some significant results for our purposes. In her words, "This work is an investigation into the formal evidence, in biblical Hebrew, of paragraph organization (namely their boundaries and internal structure) insofar as this may be revealed by verbal forms and sequences" (2015: 73), to which she adds, "Directing the flow of thought at larger discourse levels is equally the role of information structure" (ibid.: 74), i.e., not only at the clausal level. Her proposal is that the patterns of verbal sequences indicate both schematic continuity, "the explicit connection between schematic steps, and therefore … one strategy of expressing cohesion in a text" (ibid.: 102) and schematic discontinuity. For example, rejecting a foreground/background or online/offline analysis, she posits that a *wayyiqtol*-chain most prototypically "indicates the further development of a theme, and *not* a thematic break" (ibid.: 104). While minor discontinuities may be indicated by a *wayyiqtol* clause with an (often redundant) explicit subject (ibid.: 111), she dedicates her treatment of full-blown schematic discontinuities to unexpected *weqatal* clauses on the one hand, and *wayyiqtols* displaying a paragogic *he* or *nun* on the other, whereby the latter "can be markers of discontinuity, or counter-consecution, or topic shift markers" (ibid.: 187).

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[55] 'These examples are unique in that their substance does not show any common features … the marginal information might hint at other stories or pieces of information that the scribe or narrator assumes are known to the readers or listeners; still, these stories and pieces of information are not mentioned anywhere else in the Bible and are not familiar to us' (ibid.: 98).

[56] However, she does note in passing the common function of fronting as a point of departure: "In terms of consciousness and attention, fronted constituents *orient* the attention, preparing the reader for what comes next, and already beginning to activate in the reader's consciousness whatever is associated with the fronted elements (e.g., a fairy tale schema for the fronted 'once upon a time')" (2015: 21-22).

Since her work is primarily dedicated to how the BH verbal system determines the discourse structure it is understandable that she does not discuss fronted clauses as conveying discourse discontinuity.[57] Nevertheless, her discussion of consciousness, orientation, attention, and Gestalt for textual processing, schemas, entrenchment, thematic cohesion and schematic organization of paragraphs (and conversely, explicit structures that indicate their divisions) will be complementary to our linguistic framework outlined in the following chapter.[58]

2.6. Recent approaches to fronting

Finally, we move on to more direct studies of and new contributions to the area of fronting. Although over time the analysis has been helpfully refined, Moshavi's words (2010: 18) are still true, that a "bewildering variety of explanations … have been offered for preposing[59]" in Classical BH prose. It is therefore necessary to take a closer look at a few key works not discussed in the previous literature surveys mentioned above.

2.6.1 Van der Merwe

Van der Merwe (2013) appeals to topic shift, constituent focus, sentence focus, deictic temporal, and simultaneous (or near simultaneous) actions to account for fronting (2013: 934). Likewise, reflecting the conviction of van der Merwe et al (1999: §46.1.1) that "a more nuanced view of the semantic-pragmatic functions of Biblical Hebrew word order is possible," in their second edition (2017) they argue that fronting can function as topic (re-)activation, either comparing and contrasting entities, activating a topic in order to comment on related entities, or in order to provide a summary of a text unit (§47.2.1[1a-c]). Furthermore, fronting can indicate constituent focus, providing the identify of an entity, modifying an entity in terms of restricting, specifying, replacing, or expanding, or confirming the reference (§47.2.1[2a-c]). A construction communicating an oath is offered as an

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[57] For which, see Robar (2018) and Hornkohl (2018) below, especially Hornkohl's observation that the verbal system and constituent order are necessarily interrelated, an observation already made by Dempster (1985: 65-68).

[58] The importance of having larger chunks of discourse in view in our consideration of the dynamic processing of information will play a central role in the linguistic model developed in the following chapter. Her model is entirely compatible with my discussion of CG management (section 3.2), CG content (section 3.3) and cognitive linguistics (section 3.4).

[59] In our terminology: fronting.

explanation for certain pronominally fronted clauses such as "I swear" (Gen. 21:24, אָנֹכִי

אִשָּׁבֵעַ) (§47.2.1[2d]). Sentence focus structures are also said to be subject-fronted, as an

answer to an implicit 'What happened?', either begin direct speech or a new episode,

presenting background information or a flashback, or commenting on a temporal frame as

simultaneous actions (§47.2.1[3ad]). Similarly, a fronted temporal or spatial deictic

expression can ground an utterance (§47.2.1.[4]), while "a special type of temporal

construction where immediately simultaneous or nearly simultaneous actions are

involved" (§47.2.1[5]) can be communicated without the explicit temporal frame (cf.

§47.2.1[3d]). In short, van der Merwe et al. (2017) concisely draws together the results of

research on BH constituent order up to its publication, and organises their categories clearly,

with sentence focus being proposed as an overarching term for the constructions and their

functions found in §47.2.1[3].

2.6.2 Hornkohl

Hornkohl (2018) has helpfully highlighted the necessary link between BH's verbal

Tense-Aspect-Modality (TAM) semantics and constituent order, especially since two of the

four main finite verb forms are necessarily clause-initial, and the other two necessarily not

(*wayyiqtol* and *weqatal*; *yiqtol* and *qatal* respectively, cf. Dempster 1985: 65-68). Evidently, a

clause with a *yiqtol* or *qatal* verbal form will also contain a non-verbal element in the clause-

initial position. Hornkohl is convinced that, "The apparent systemic redundancy of

semantically equivalent forms that alternate depending on word order demands an

explanation" (2018: 33), and thus one is driven from syntax to the realm of pragmatics.

Regarding Holmstedt's work on constituent order, Hornkohl finds two fatal flaws. In a

simple statistical re-run of the Genesis data, in which Holmstedt had claimed that so-called

'pragmatically neutral' SV sentences outnumber VS by a ratio of 2:1, Hornkohl finds the

opposite to be the case and provides the exhaustive references in footnotes. Secondly, even

using Holmstedt's own data, in which he claims to find 112 SV clauses marked for topic-

fronting and only 47 pragmatically neutral SV clauses, would lead one to the conclusion that

it certainly is not the default constituent order, but is utilised for discourse-pragmatic

purposes, as will be shown in the Samuel-Kings data in chapter 4. For the basic word order

argument, Hornkohl argues that VS as default provides a much simpler solution according to

the data and theoretical model, with no need to appeal to more complex processes of deep-structure movement.[60]

Returning to his discussion of fronting, he appeals to topic and focus (and *contrastive* topic and focus) yet claims that, as Moshavi has also found, we need to look outside the realm of information structure if we are to develop our explanatory power of this 'residue' or fronted clauses. "Topic and focus get one only so far; the need for a complementary dimension or dimensions is evident" (ibid.: 44). Therefore, as virtually all the previous studies mentioned, he appeals to *temporal* values such as *sequentiality* or *anteriority*, *grounding* or *background information*, and *discourse discontinuity*.[61] For his part, *discourse discontinuity* has become the "umbrella term" under which he gathers "all frontings that mark the entire clause"[62] (ibid.: 51). He claims it is "sufficiently flexible because of its indirect link to real-world semantics, and at the same time broad enough to cover a range of effects associated with fronting employed to mark the entire clause in BH" (ibid.: 54), yet, "The explanatory power of a continuity/discontinuity approach is largely untested" (ibid.: 53).

Hornkohl provides necessary clarification and update with regards to previous studies. However, his conclusion is that we still have to make do with information-structure notions of topic and focus and some other dimension which can optimally explain the pragmatic values of other fronted clauses, most of which involve salience of the entire clause. Since the beginning of the application of modern linguistics to BH studies towards the end of last century until now, we have yet to improve our explanatory power of the 'residue' (Moshavi 2010) of fronted clauses that continues to plague BH corpus studies of fronting in terms of robust *linguistic* and *typological categories* that can legitimately gather the diverse phenomena evident to so many scholars past and present.

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[60] A parallel can be found in Irish, generally recognised as a verb-first language. Pragmatic explanations are more suited to non-verb-initial clauses, rather than the other way round. In simple terms, "Where the verb does not occupy this initial position in the sentence, it is for special reasons which must be discussed according to context" (McGonagle 2009: 3). See also Levinsohn's (2010: 2-4) discussion of the pragmatic parallels between BH and Balangao, a NW-Austronesian VS language.

[61] Following Buth (1994), Hornkohl (2003) and Robar (2015). Continuity is typically considered under the headings of consistency in *theme*, *action* or *topic* (see Givón 1983).

[62] These include, but perhaps are not limited to, *non-sequentiality*, *circumstantial, parenthetical, explanatory, background,* or *summary information*, the start of a new literary unit, intra-episode scene switching, dramatic slowing or pause, start of new theme in direct speech, restatement, explanation, detailing and redirection (ibid.: 51 fn. 75).

2.6.3 Robar

Robar (2018) presents an overview and extension of typical scholarly understanding of BH modality, including an investigation of occurrences of unmarked questions, i.e. those not marked with a question word or interrogative הֲ, noted as early as Gesenius.[63] Problematic are the "many cases in which there is an overlap between kinds of modality, such as the imposition of will, deontic modality, with the requirement of a response, interrogative modality" (2018: 77). Typically, grammarians have focused on conjunctions and verbal forms to ground their conclusions regarding modality. Robar extends this to involve particles such as אַף כִּי and נָא, and, more pertinent for our purposes, constituent order.

Since typically a clause-initial, non-consecutive *yiqtol* has been understood to mark a non-indicative mood, Robar notes, "Of great curiosity, then, is the observation that in the examples below it is the fronting of a constituent *before* the verb, in verbal clauses, or the fronting of a non-verbal predicate *before* a pronoun, in verbless clauses, that seems to indicate modality" (ibid: 82). She compares the translation values in a number of modern versions of clauses with a fronted redundant personal pronoun, where the context clearly requires either deontic or assertive modality, or an interrogative.[64] As we have already seen in the case of Zewi's parenthesis, although a certain feature is not formally present in the grammar, the pragmatics of constituent order correlate with contextually licensed modal readings, as modern translations typically show. This is because, as Robar argues, "There may be notional modality present that require no grammatical marking in Biblical Hebrew, but upon translation to English requires an explicit modal rendering" (ibid: 96), i.e. perhaps it is a target language problem in translation and could well have been communicated by now-irretrievable prosodic clues.

As an overarching paradigm for fronted constituents, Robar posits that *contrast*, as the embodiment of *discontinuity* (cf. Hornkohl 2003, 2018) could be able to develop further Moshavi's analysis that topic and focus account for around half of fronted direct-speech clauses in the Genesis corpus. As we shall see in section 3.2.1.2, there is debate as to whether

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[63] Gesenius (1910: §150a).

[64] Josh. 22:18, Judg. 11:23 and Judg. 18:9. In most cases there is some overlap in interpretation of the modal values of the fronted clauses. For example, in Josh. 22:18 "there is clear deontic modality, 'you must turn away', that may also be considered interrogative" (2018: 83). In many cases, at best we are to comforted that "There is unanimity in recognising that this is not a straightforward assertion" (ibid: 84). Other examples involve incredulity (1 Sam. 22:7) and permission (Gen. 42:37).

contrast is an optional characteristic of topic and focus or a separate concept on its own. Furthermore, "Most examples of modality shown through word order … actually fall neatly into Mitchell's[65] categories of incredulity, sarcasm and irony, suggesting that non-verb-first word order may mark interrogative modality for rhetorical questions, or, at times, rhetorical exclamations" (ibid: 94). That is to say, perhaps these discourse-semantic values of challenging or rhetoric function as signals for contrast. She concludes, "Further research is required to determine how direct or indirect the correlation is between word order and modality" (ibid: 96).

2.6.4 Khan & van der Merwe

Khan & van der Merwe (2020) expand upon and nuance van der Merwe's previous treatments of fronting (see above). As in van der Merwe (2013) and van der Merwe et al. (2017), topic shifts and constituent focus and sentence focus are identified as information structure motivations for fronting.

Examining all the fronted clauses in the book of 1 Samuel, a more sophisticated description is offered for topic-fronted and focus-fronted clause: categorical sentences, i.e. sentences which contain a predication base and some state of affairs about that entity - the predication. Focus and topic's information structuring elements are concerned with common ground management between the interlocutors. On another 'dimension,'[66] "communication involves also discourse management, which relates to strategies for structuring discourse to achieve subjective interactional goals of the speaker/writer" (Khan & van der Merwe 2020: 350-351).

Within categorical sentences, a taxonomy similar to Heimerdinger's (1999) is employed for fronting, said to achieve non-exhaustive completive focus (§3.1.1), exhaustive completive focus (§3.1.2), restricting focus (§3.1.3), selective focus (§3.1.4), replacing focus (§3.1.5), expanding focus (§3.1.6) and scalar focus (§3.1.7), while topic selecting constructions can contain broad focus (§3.2.1) or narrow focus (§3.2.2).

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[65] Mitchell (1907: 115-129).

[66] cf. Hornkohl's (2018: 53-54) suggestion.

Their introduction to thetic sentences is worth quoting at length:

> A large number of cases of fronting in the corpus fall into this category. The fronted item in the available examples is generally a subject, though a few examples have a fronted object. In such constructions the whole sentence is in broad focus with no presuppositional component. They involve only one domain of focus. They present the proposition of the clause as a unitary situation. The fronted item does not serve as the base of predication about which a predication is made. This item, nevertheless, has a particular prominence in the clause due to its initial position. One may say that it is the cognitive figure within a unitary situation. (ibid.: 377-378)

Thetic sentences with fronted subjects can support the mainline narrative (§4.1.1) by presenting the circumstances in which the events took place, often in a resultative sense,[67] likewise in dialogue (§4.1.2) as grounds, circumstance or explanatory background, in prayers and commands (§4.1.3) and in perceived situations (§4.1.4), whether independent clauses introduced by הִנֵּה, or subordinate כִּי clauses. On the other hand, they argue that thetic sentences can display fronted objects (§4.2) which typically function as the pivot of relevance or provide the grounds for what follows. Crucially, within a text's discourse structure, a thetic sentence can introduce a series of embedded clauses, often *wayyiqtol*, which in its totality supplies a circumstance or grounds for the following main line narrative (ibid: 381).

Besides making explicit use of the thetic-categorical distinction, Khan and van der Merwe also contribute to the study of BH constituent order in three important ways. First, they highlight the importance *common ground* in the analysis of linguistic communication. Secondly, they note the necessity of recognising *scripts* and *frames*, whereby, in the discourse organisation, the information structure can be exploited to include implicit "presuppositions about entities and propositions that are not directly mentioned" (ibid: 350), such as in the case where an element not previously established is fronted and given a certain prominence as if it was already part of the common ground. (ibid: 351).[68] To give just two examples, frames of *military operations* and *sacrificing* both provide plausible explanations for the discourse structure of their respective texts.[69] Finally, as hinted at in van Hecke (2011) above, Khan and van der Merwe make explicit the occasionally ambiguous categorization of, on the

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[67] Encompassing both *anteriority*, typically rendered by an English pluperfect, and also those best rendered with a present perfect.

[68] Although in the case of scripts and frames it is plausible that the implicit proposition is accessible, their result is comparable to that of *accommodation*, which "involves a speaker treating a proposition as presupposed or activated, even though he knows this is unlikely" (Moshavi 2010: 108). The implications of these phenomena will be discussed in chapter 3.

[69] 1 Sam. 4 and 9, respectively.

one hand, thetic sentences and topic-selecting constructions (ibid: 383), and on the other hand, thetic sentences and narrow focus constructions (ibid.: 384, 387).[70] A more detailed interaction with Khan & van der Merwe will be provided in section 4.3

2.7 Conclusion

This literary survey has shown that treatments of constituent order, and especially fronting, overlap with numerous other linguistic domains and thus a comprehensive, yet economical accounting for the communicative value of fronted clauses still alludes us. Indeed, "The tendency… has been to create more categories" (Bailey & Levinsohn 1992: 183). During the years that linguists and biblical scholars have struggled with this phenomenon, a more-or-less intuitive claim of 'emphasis' has developed into a more robust system of information structural concepts topic and focus. At the same time, scholars have been forced to 'zoom out' in order to observe discourse considerations, resulting in an extensive taxonomy of functional categories historically understand under 'circumstantiality'.

Nevertheless, Disse's (1998: 211-212) concerns remain true. Neither the relationship between previously mentioned content and highlighted/focused elements, nor between "text structuring functions" and constituent focus, have been clarified. It is precisely in these two areas that the need for a "complementary dimension" (Hornkohl 2018: 44) is most evident. Khan & van der Merwe identify this dimension as "discourse management, which relates to strategies for structuring discourse to achieve subjective interactional goals of the speaker/ writer" (2020: 350-351).

Holmstedt's four-way pragmatic model involving both topic, focus, theme and rheme is necessary to tackle Disse's first challenge, i.e., a comprehensive model to account for information structure and information status (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), while sentence focus (Van der Merwe et al. 2017), discontinuity (Hornkohl 2018, Robar 2018) and theticity, as the constructional manifestation of said discontinuity, work towards a solution for Disse's second problem. Such a 'dimension' would also economically account for the extensive taxonomies of semantic potential lacking concise organisation, as evident throughout the majority of functional approaches surveyed in this chapter.

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[70] These may share a "close functional relationship … on the level of discourse, although they differ on the level of information structure" (ibid: 48).

The following chapter will expand upon these ideas and refine them within the theoretical linguistic literature, primarily utilising *common ground*, and its management and content, as a bridge between sentence-level and discourse-level communicative strategies, thus providing an adequate linguistic model to account for fronting in Samuel-Kings, as will be seen in chapter 4.

3. Linguistic Framework

"As we will see, the achievement of contemporary work on word order lies not so much in the discovery of new types of preposing but rather in the formulation of conceptual frameworks that yield a more systematic and economical account of the types already observed."

(Moshavi 2010: 27)

In the previous chapter we introduced various approaches to BH fronting within recent scholarship. We saw that the most common analysis lies within topic fronting and focus fronting. Aside from these notions of information structure, there has been much less agreement, and a 'systematic and economical account', as Moshavi rightly appeals for, is yet to be established. Furthermore, in the previous chapter, discussion of the linguistic schools of thought, the terminology and concepts involved were either given a minimally-necessary explanation or skipped over completely. In this chapter I lay out the theoretical linguistic framework that will be used in the analysis of Samuel-Kings. Since the approach, as will be seen, is somewhat multi-disciplinary and touches on various aspects and diverse levels of language description, the task of the present chapter is to expand upon and clarify some of the major relevant positions within general linguistics while elucidating numerous minor issues that stem from their careful application to the text of BH. By the end of the chapter I will have set forth and established the theoretical framework that will be applied to our corpus in chapter 4.

I will begin section 3.1 with a discussion of generative and functional linguistics, outlining their central characteristics and points of difference. In section 3.2 we will turn our attention to communication theory within generative and functional models, including information structure notions topic and focus, as well as givenness and unexpectedness as indicators of information status. Throughout the discussion, I will highlight methods of textual cohesion within classical Gricean pragmatics and the application of Common Ground content to texts. Section 3.3 will introduce a number of communicative complications, specifically the intersubjective nature of information flow and the partial nature of Common Ground, which results in numerous potential areas of ambiguity. It will be seen that the

39

perspectival nature of linguistic communication results in potential imprecision and the subjectivity in the analysis of ancient texts. This will bring us to section 3.4, in which I will provide a short overview of the emergence of cognitive linguistics, its divergence from previous models, its primary objectives, and its contribution to the present study, primarily, grammatical construal and semantic categorisation. Finally, in section 3.5 I will apply this primarily cognitive approach to the distinction between categorical and thetic sentences. It will be seen that a more adequate understanding of theticity is to be found within grammatical construal and a subjective manipulation of information status, rather than being contained within information structure per se. Following Khan and van der Merwe (2020), I will show how theticity proves a promising cross-linguistic and cross-theoretical mode of expression, which can account for the diverse explanations for cases of fronting whose common arrangement has alluded most scholars up to this point. However, we will address a crucial question not explored in Khan and van der Merwe, namely, how attested subcategories of theticity are communicated cross-linguistically.

3.1 Generative vs. functional linguistics[71]

"It is neither healthy nor productive for the science of language that we, as a profession, engage in false polemics and become distracted from developing our many different specific areas of linguistic research, all of which are worthy of serious investigation."

(Mendívil-Giro 2018: 886)

It is generally accepted that the generative school of linguistics was founded by Chomsky in his *Syntactic Structures* (1957). Chomsky set out to define how one could develop a grammar of a natural language, that is, a potentially infinite corpus of sentences from a finite set of *kernel* sentences and transformations of such, utilising formal rules in order to determine which sentences are "grammatical" and which are not. Nevertheless, the pursuit of this set is integral to his idea of a Universal Grammar, i.e. the development of human beings' language faculty, that is, the innate ability children possess to develop working competency in their native language, regardless of what that language may be. This

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[71] See Disse (1998: 86 ff.) and Noonan (2020: 41-46) for similar presentations as related to BH, and Song (2012: 72-159) for an introduction to Generative Grammar as related to word order. The present overview is necessarily concise and attempts to introduce various decades of work in just a few pages.

40

set of *principles* are applied to the specific *parameters* of a specific language, and imply a strict binarity of grammatical sentences and non-grammatical sentences. However, the object of this determination is limited to "the ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (Chomsky 1965: 3). In so doing, he differentiates between a speaker's *competence*, that is, their *ability* to form perfectly grammatical sentences in their native tongue, from their *performance* - the words actually produced, and divides linguistic analysis between the deep level (i.e., its logical form) and how it is transformed to a corresponding surface level (its phonetic form), with movement operators Copy and Merge. He envisions each speaker's linguistic production as composed of semantic and phonological poles expressed by the syntax of the surface structure. Nevertheless, he argues for the autonomy of syntax and its separation from semantics (and by extension, pragmatics), in that grammatically well-formed sentences do not necessarily *mean* anything. Throughout the last half-century, the sheer number of generative syntactical studies far surpass those of linguists working under other frameworks and they enumerate countless rules in order to provide the foundation of a UG which could adequately describe every 'grammatical' sentence, even if they are unlikely to be, or ever have been, uttered in a natural discourse context.

In recent years, the Minimalist Program (MP) has been at the forefront of this pursuit, defining the *parameters* and *constraints* whereby sentences are grammatically formed. Radford (2006: 48) explains, "the goal of Minimalism is to reduce theoretical apparatus to the minimum which is conceptually necessary." Unfortunately, it seems that this experimental program is far from complete, as a considerable metalinguistic complexity has stubbornly persisted, i.e., a dizzying array of constraints and parameters have been developed, adopted, rejected and adapted, which perhaps can only achieve so much.[72] Indeed, Parikh opines, "The *generative* idea in philosophy, linguistics, and artificial intelligence, the idea of starting with a stock of simple objects and combining them according to formal rules to derive more complex objects was enormously fruitful, but perhaps too much has been attempted with this single idea" (2010: 13). In recent years, however, the Minimalist Program has been forced to

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[72] Of course, number and complexity do not inherently disqualify their validity, but they do shed doubt on whether they adequately reflect natural language use and linguistic communication.

take *performance* seriously, especially with regards to word order. In response to Chomsky's assertion that a linguistic expression is "nothing other than a formal object that satisfies the interface conditions," (1995: 171), Song responds, "Conversely, it is not possible to deny that the interface conditions, which are driven by performance, have a direct, palpable impact on linguistic expressions themselves" (2012: 98). Evidently, the MP as a revolutionary paradigm within generative linguistics betrays the previous page as overly simplistic, yet an application of developments in the MP to BH remains to be seen as previous generative studies (such as those of Holmstedt, surveyed in the previous chapter) seem to have persisted with largely Government Binding and Principles and Parameters approaches.

In this study, the theoretical underpinnings of the autonomy of syntax and binarity are rejected (see section 3.4). The idea of movements and deletions (Copy and Merge, etc.) from deep to surface structures and the competence/performance distinction are of no interest to our study of BH one way or the other as we have no access to any such 'logical form' or 'ideal speaker'. Although I leave the theoretical question of UG open,[73] as a concept it has provided the impetus for countless cross-linguistic studies by generative linguists which have broadened our understanding of language immensely. Without methodological contradiction I question (or leave open) many of the framework's theoretical foundations while openly embracing the *results* of felicity judgments by native speakers of living languages. The generative paradigm, as the major school of linguistics throughout the last half-century, has enriched our understanding of syntactic theory and the prominent information structure studies by generatively-orientated linguists cannot be ignored (Vallduví 1990, Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007, Song 2017; see especially the recent works of Bianchi 2013, Rochemont 2013, Bianchi et al. 2016 and Cardinaletti 2018).

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[73] Mendívil-Giró (2018) claims functional-cognitive linguistcs (for example Tomasello 2009, Evans 2014 and Christiansen & Chater 2015) have simply misunderstood Chomsky's original vision of UG and the language faculty. He shows that the rise of the Minimalist Program came as a response to the Principles and Parameters agenda of amplifying in unnecessary detail what is involved in the language faculty. Song has also highlighted that generative research has already begun to "shift to interface/bare outputs conditions relating to linearization. When such interface/bare output conditions are pursued in earnest, however, there is no escaping what may be characterized broadly as functional explanations or theories" (2012: 157). Consider, however, the persistent notion of autonomy between syntax and semantics formulated as recently as Everaert et al.: "the mapping to meaning is primary and is blind to order (language as a system for thought), the mapping to sound/sign is secondary and needs order (imposed by externalization of language). The empirical claim is, therefore, that linear order is available for the mapping to sound/sign, but not for the mapping to meaning" (2015: 741).

Moving on to functionally-orientated linguistics, the following summary, although dated, nonetheless highlights the distinction between such an orientation and the formal (generative) approach used in BH studies up to this point:

> In the formal paradigm a language is regarded as an abstract formal object (e.g., as a set of sentences), and a grammar is conceptualized primarily as an attempt at characterizing this formal object in terms of rules of formal syntax to be applied independently of the meanings and uses of the constructions described. Syntax is thus given methodological priority over semantics and pragmatics.
> In the functional paradigm, on the other hand, a language is in the first place conceptualized as an instrument of social interaction among human beings, used with the intention of establishing communicative relationships. Within this paradigm one attempts to reveal the instrumentality of language with respect to what people do and achieve with it in social interaction. A natural language, in other words, is seen as an integrated part of the communicative competence of NLU [the Natural Language User]. (Dik 1997:2-3)

In terms of an over-arching *paradigm*, in Dik's terminology, a functional, and particularly a cognitive/constructionist approach will be preferred in this study, primarily because it favours "solutions in which the relevant constituents are immediately placed in the position in which they actually occur in the final linguistic expression" (ibid.: 20-21). Such an approach is more adequate for the study of ancient languages like BH, as Disse states, "Chomskyan linguistics cannot be applied directly to the research of Biblical Hebrew: due to the specific circumstances of a 'dead language', only existing as a corpus, important requirements for the research of mental representation of linguistic knowledge are not supplied at all (especially lacking is speaker intuition regarding the grammaticality of sentences)" (1998: 90).[74] Disse's argument is, in other words, that for an ancient language such as BH we do not have native speakers' intuitions (*competence*) at our disposition to determine what transformations may or may not have taken place and it is therefore methodologically preferable to study the observable form of the language as we have it (*performance*).[75]

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[74] "[Aus der vorangegangenen Darstellung von Zielsetzung und Methodik der Generativen Grammatik sollte deutlich geworden sein, daß] die CHOMSKY-Linguistik nicht unmittelbar auf die Untersuchung des Biblischen Hebräisch anwenden läßt: Aufgrund der spezifischen Gegebenheiten einer nur als Korpus vorliegenden 'toten Sprache' sind wichtige Voraussetzungen für eine Untersuchung der mentalen Repräsentation sprachlichen Wissens gar nicht gegeben (insbesondere fehlt die Sprecherintuition hinsichtlich der Grammatikalität von Sätzen)." Porter likewise argues, "It is prima facie much more reasonable and potentially promising to approach a "dead" languages from a functional paradigm, in which instances of real languages are cited, than from a "formal" (psychological) model which must test user competence against an already finite set of sentences, with no possible recourse to native speakers for verification" (1989: 7). Similarly, Patten (2012) shows that even diachronic and historical English studies favour the analysis of the observable surface structure of texts.

[75] Note that both traditional generativist approaches and structuralism before it, consider competence/*langue* as the proper object of linguistic investigation, rather than performance/*parole*. Cognitive linguistics (see section 3.4), on the other hand, is usage-based, favouring corpus approaches, and is thus more appropriate for the study of ancient languages.

Therefore, within the overarching paradigm of functional approaches to language, a sentence's felicity is only to be considered within the context in which the proposition was actually uttered, not as extracted autonomous syntactic structures, that is, as felicitous semantic-pragmatically within the communicative context of social interaction.[76] In some cases, this has led to an over-emphasis on pragmatics to the detriment of syntactic theory. Nevertheless, language, as social interaction, is governed by rules (constraints) - comparable to those of the generativist framework, though formally less complex. As Crystal states, "Syntactic functions (interpreted semantically) and pragmatic functions are then ASSIGNED to elements of predication, and expressed in SENTENCES through the use of 'expression rules'" (2008: 203). Functional linguists have therefore developed the concept of *allosentences* (Lambrecht 1994), or *syntactic alternations* (Hilpert 2014), whereby an identical 'underlying structure' is expressed in diverse ways according to the pragmatic function of each utterance, and whose *meaning* is thus distinct.

Without positing UG, the functional school is equally concerned with cross-linguistic viability (*typological adequacy*, in Dikian terms), especially with regard to common communicative necessities and grammatical operators, which are attested cross-linguistically. However, to account for this, Dik's 'underlying structure' shows some similarities to Chomsky's 'deep structure' (although the former is concerned with grammatical operators, largely pragmatic, rather than purely syntactic as in the generative case). Likewise, the Dikian understanding of 'oppositions' within *markedness theory* does not seem far from the generativist's binarity.[77] It rather loosely represents a reworking of Structuralist semantics formulated by differences, which, as will prove significant later (see section 3.4.2), is not an ideal view of linguistic categorisation.

In conclusion, while the generative theoretical paradigm is rejected as an overarching framework in this study, we engage with and benefit from the labour of many linguists working within this paradigm (the lengthy treatment of Holmstedt's work in the previous

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[76] The Construction Grammar notion of *dependencies* show that equal syntactic structures are not, in fact, equally grammatical in a given language community. Hence why the semantics of *heating* in 'roast' and 'toast' are not symmetrically natural in the cases of 'roasted meat' vs. 'toasted meat', and 'toasted bread' vs 'roasted bread', the *selectional tendencies* determining that only the first of each pair is natural, i.e., grammatical (see Croft 2001: 175-185).

[77] Of course, in such a framework, entire constructions can be marked or unmarked. But to illustrate such oppositions simply, we could consider *books* as marked for plurality, while *book* is simply 'non-plural' (1997: 44) with regards to number.

chapter was not coincidental). Specifically relevant to the present study, both frameworks have interacted with constituent order and theticity. Generative linguists have developed numerous syntactic studies on pro-drop languages (developed in section 3.5.3.3; see Chomsky 1981, but cf. Dryer 2013), while in recent years linguists from both persuasions have used the model of information structure followed here and take discourse-pragmatic considerations seriously (though usage-based approaches to corpus studies, explored in section 3.4.4, remains a hallmark of cognitive linguistics). That these elements intertwine throughout this chapter and culminate in (as far as possible) a theory-neutral investigation of theticity is no accident.[78]

3.2 Linguistic communication[79]

Fundamental to the approach taken in this study is the conviction that *all language* is communicative and *meaning* is central to all communication. This has been the case since the beginning of linguistic inquiry (Parikh 2019: 4). In this sense meaning is only to be found in an *utterance*, as opposed to a sentence, that is, language is necessarily *situated*, i.e. to be studied within social interaction and meaning is also found therein. Attempts to unite semantics and pragmatics include Parikh's dynamic *radical semantics* (see especially Parikh 2000, 2006, 2010)[80] and *truth-conditional pragmatics* (see Recanati 2006), partially motivated by the persistent lack of a generally agreed-upon dividing line between the two. Nevertheless, the study of situated communication has traditionally been limited to the realm of *pragmatics*, which, for simplicity, can defined broadly as "the study of language use in context" (Birner 2013: 2).

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[78] False accusations have been directed towards functionally-orientated linguists, that they are not concerned with syntax, without taking Construction Grammar's rich contribution to syntactic theory into account (see Herbst & Hoffman 2018 for a promising way forward). In the other direction, that generativist linguists are not concerned with surface structure has partially lost veracity with the rise of the MP (cf. Taylor 2003: 244), yet, in my judgment, its inadequacy for ancient languages remains, even more so within studies of constituent order, i.e., linearisation, where hierarchies rather than linear strings have been preferred as the object of analysis (Chomsky 1995, Radford 2006, but see Richards 2010).

[79] I use "communication" as an overarching term encompassing what has been traditionally partitioned into semantic and pragmatic concerns, though 'contextless meaning' is of little importance in corpus studies such as those of BH.

[80] Also known as e*quilibrium semantics*. He views the 'content' (more commonly referred to as the 'meaning') of an utterance as C (φ, *s*), "where *s* is the situation of the utterance (or what is more commonly called the context), where φ is the sentence uttered in *s*, and C is the full content of the utterance" (2006: 349). This holistic approach unites the traditionally semantic φ and the traditionally pragmatic consideration of *s*.

How, therefore, can we claim 'access' to the *meaning* of BH narrative, if, as Chafe (1994) claims, written discourse is necessarily desituated? Although this question will be pursued at length in section, 3.2.2.3, a brief comment must be made regarding textual hermeneutics. Despite the BH text being fixed and distanced from us chronologically and culturally,[81] I am unaware of any literary or hermeneutical theory which does not take into account the interaction of both the reader's and the text's situatedness.[82] Verhagen notes,

> "Even in the absence of an actual speaker, an addressee (for example, the reader of an ancient text) always takes a linguistic utterance as having been intentionally produced as an instrument of communication by another being with the same basic cognitive capacities as the addressee; otherwise it would not be justified to call the material being interpreted a 'linguistic utterance'" (2005: 7, cf. Langacker 2008: 459).

On account of this, it is of little consequence to the model developed in this chapter whether the text be situated or desituated (although each has its own pragmatic particularities which will affect linguistic construal, as will be seen below; see especially Chafe 1994: 278-295), since *communication* is always present. The development of this model must begin with the philosopher Paul Grice, who famously set out to investigate "the nature and importance of the conditions governing conversation" (1975: 43), since, just as in a written discourse,

> Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least mutually accepted direction… We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected (ceteris paribus) to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. One might label this the COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE. (ibid.: 45)

By this *cooperative principle*, and indeed his more specific maxims of *quantity*, *quality*, *relation* and *manner*, Grice argues that there is a cooperative effort between interlocutors for communicative coherence, relevance, and a sense of direction in the discourse. Applying the maxim of *quantity,* for instance, he observes an economical aspect, whereby speakers will not add more than is the necessary amount of information, yet will not sell their addressees short

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[81] This reality produces a number of inevitable ambiguities (see section 3.3) since we are necessarily *situated readers*. However, Firth prudently clarifies that "the situation of the reader and those questions for the Bible that emerge from a given reader's social and political context are themselves to be brought into a dialogue with the Bible. It is through interaction with the Bible that our pre-understanding can be challenged and changed through the process of reading the text" (2019: 3).

[82] See Porter and Robinson (2011: 1-22) for an overview. At the risk of massively over-simplifying, the most significant differences between hermeneutical schools of thought lie in the importance each places (if any) on the author, the text or the reader. Just as in situated communication, a speaker, utterance and addressee are involved, Vanhoozer describes the author as a *communicative agent*, the text as a *communicative act* and the reader's response based on notions of *communicative ethics* and *communicative efficacy* (1998: 26-29), while van Hecke notes, "nothing meaningful can be said about texts and language if one does not take into account their use in communication and cognition" (2011: 38, cf. Brown 2007).

to impede the intended reception of their utterance. All of these achieve a "maximally effective exchange of information" (ibid.: 47).

Around the same time, the development of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) and the Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) began to apply these pragmatic principles to the discourse and sentential levels respectively. As Pezatti states, "an important characteristic of Functional Discourse Grammar is to consider seriously the fact that utterances are produced and understood in a certain context, since it assumes that the intention of the speaker does not arise in a vacuum, but within a multifaceted communicative context" (2012: 3).[83] Therefore, linguistic pragmatics is concerned with the conveying of information between interlocutors in a certain cooperative context and thus arose models of information flow (Chafe 1994), information structure (such as Lambrecht 1994, Erteschik-Shir 1997 and 2007, Song 2017) and even attempts to demarcate an independent informational component of language, *informatics* (Vallduví 1990).

3.2.1 Common ground management

When we want to inform our addressee about something we typically take our starting point from something assumed to be known by both interlocutors and add some new information to it.[84] If we did not start from a commonly known reference or event, there would be loose strains of statements with no informational cohesion, resulting in miscommunication; yet if we did not add something new, we would contribute nothing to the informational and cognitive world of the addressee and thus our contribution to the discourse would be null. So, "A sentence is thus viewed as a means of changing the information state of the interpreter or hearer. The part of the information state which the hearer has in common with the speaker is the common ground" (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 7). I consider this common ground (CG hereafter) to consist of: (1) world knowledge, shared universally by all humanity, such as the existence of the sun (though often restricted to what is culturally defined - see section 3.4.3 for further discussion of the notions of *schema, scripts* and *conventions*), (2) the

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[83] "uma importante característica da GDF é considerar muito seriamente o fato de que os enunciados são produzidos e entendidos no contexto, pois assume que a intenção do falante não surge em um *vacuum*, mas sim em um multifacetado contexto comunicativo." This has been a given in philosophy of language for over half a century: "for some years we have been realizing more and more clearly that the occasion of an utterance matters seriously, and that the words used are to some extent to be 'explained' by the 'context' in which they are designed to be or have actually been spoken in a linguistic interchange" (Austin 1962: 100).

[84] Prototypically limited to one new idea (Chafe 1994: 108-119).

situational context, i.e. what the interlocutors hold in common on the basis of where and when their communication is taking place (for example the speaker can refer to a definite entity who is within clear sight of the addressee, although it has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse) and, (3) the discourse co-text, that which has indeed been previously mentioned in the conversation.[85]

CG consists of both discourse events and discourse entities (Krifka 2007: 16). Chafe discusses our consciousness of these entities within CG as *inactive*; *semi-active* and therefore *accessible* (from world-knowledge, situational context or if they have been recently mentioned in the discourse); and *active*, if they are currently under discussion. However, "we need to allow for the possibility that the three or more activations states… have fuzzy boundaries" (1994: 56, cf. Dryer 1996). Events are mentioned in passing throughout discourse and are therefore much more transient than discourse entities. While entites can persist throughout longer chunks of discourse and can be referred to later pronominally and anaphorically, both their number and indeed the length of their state as *active* are finite. Evans shows that "there is strong evidence that stimuli can only be retained in short-term memory for around three seconds if rehearsal is not permitted," so "The evidence for a perceptual moment [i.e., our real experience of *now*] having an outer limit of around three seconds is persuasive" (2013: 82). Due to our finite short term memory and restless consciousness (Chafe 1994: 67), recently activated entities will fade into a semi-active state to 'make way' for the activation of new entities or reactivation of accessible entities (which are accessible due to the three areas of CG mentioned above; see Chafe 1994: 86, Dik 1997: 10, and Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 56 for similar treatments).

Returning to our basic communicative principles of, on the one hand, active or accessible starting points, and on the other, being informative, we will look at the concepts of topic and focus respectively.

3.2.1.1 Topic

In the literature, the concept of topic has enjoyed a relative degree of consensus. Lambrecht claims that, "In selecting a topic for a sentence, a speaker makes a communicative decision as to the "point of departure" for the new information, i.e. as to the entity that she

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[85] One might also add, as Stalnaker (2014), the interlocutors' awareness of the CG itself as part of the CG.

wishes to convey information about" (1994:162-163, cf. Taylor 2003: 191, Song 2017: 11). Chafe (1994: 84) and Dik (1997: 313ff) concur that topic is what the sentence is about, though both make a distinction between such a sentence topic and the 'discourse topic', that is, "an aggregate of coherently related events, states, and referents that are held together in some form in the speaker's semiactive consciousness" (Chafe 1994: 121). Under the current discussion of CG management, we are only concerned with *sentence topics*, i.e., an active or accessible entity introduced through a topic shift. I will use *topic shifts* to refer to what has been considered *topicalization* in other studies.[86] Thus it is expected that topic shifts require a pragmatically salient structure due to their processing costs.[87] When there is no shift the same topic is continued for a series of clauses (with a non-stressed pronoun in non-pro-drop languages such as English, and simply in the inflection of the verbal morphology in pro-drop languages), giving rise to a *topic chain*.[88] For topic chains in BH, as has just been hinted, there is no need for further mention of the topic as it is automatically accessed from the previous clause, unless otherwise indicated. When there is overt mention of a continued topic in subsequent clauses in the form of a fully lexicalised noun phrase or pronoun, we will have to account for this construction's construal and the resulting discourse effects (Runge 2007, Robar 2018).

In the current model I do not adopt Erteschik-Shir's 'stage topic' as a a type of topic. On the other hand, I do agree that sentences claimed to contain such a 'stage topic' exhibit

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[86] Such as Moshavi (2010). She argues that such topic fronting functions as a discourse-connective device, indicating "a contextual relation between the preposed constituent and another element in the immediately preceding context" (2010: 101), often in a relation of contrast or similarity with another topic-fronted entity (ibid.: 102).

[87] An analogous cognitive process to topic shifts (and indeed any 'discontinuity') is the "switching costs" observed in microeconomic studies such as Mannering and Winston (1991) and Shum (2004). Research shows that rational agents are reluctant to "switch" and try new, less familiar brands and will only do so under extreme circumstances since decision-marking requires effort, and is thus a cost. Syntactic structures such as fronting indicate this extra processing effort is needed to follow the discourse flow, when (topic) continuity would be more cognitively economical. Chafe defines activation cost as "the expenditure of mental energy as ideas are activated" (1994: 91) and Parikh as "the added psychological effort involved in accessing something that is less salient (2010: 101 n. 34). It is to minimize this *cost* that Chafe hypothesises a 'light subject constraint' and 'one new idea constraint' (cf. Langacker's maxim of "the natural progression from given to new" [2008: 493] and Evans' [2013: Chapter 9] discussion of *salience* and *complexity* in this regard). It will be seen that thetic structures somewhat violate these maxims, probably formulated for typical topic-comment sentences, as their subjects are not always 'light' i.e., active/accessible, and the entire state of affairs is profiled rather than only the focal material.

[88] Erteschik-Shir offers the example: "*John* likes to read. *He* is intelligent and industrious and will go far" (2007: 3).

theticity.[89] Erteschik-Shir regards topic as providing the informational and truth-conditional 'pivot' for the assessment of the sentence, and therefore insists that "all sentences must have a topic, since all sentences must be assigned a truth value" (2007: 15). However, she discusses out-of-the-blue sentences at length as those containing 'sentence focus' (see the following section). Since these cannot, by definition, contain an informational pivot (so the "felicity conditions on the relation between sentences and context" [1997: 8] are entirely dismissed), she posits a 'stage-topic' as the *here-and-now* of the sentence, whether explicit or implicit. In sentences such as "It's snowing" or "There's a cat outside the door," she regards stage-topic as implicit, yet this is not falsifiable and to claim that the spatio-temporal frame of the sentence is what it is *about* seems unlikely.[90] It is for this reason that Krifka (2007: 43) does not consider these 'sentence-focus structures' to contain a topic and, being widely considered thetic sentences, they reflect truly out-of-the-blue sentences, often beginning a totally new section of discourse.[91] The entire construction may be better analysed under distinct linguistic criteria, namely *givenness* / *unexpectedness* (see section 3.2.2) and the tools of *grammatical construal* developed within cognitive linguistics (see section 3.4.1; cf. the discussion of sentence focus below). Leaving aside these details, we restrict our model with regards to BH fronting to topic shifts, whether the entities be already active, semi-active or inactive but accessible.

Although a full analysis of topicality in the Samuel-Kings corpus will be provided in the next chapter, let us briefly illustrate with some BH examples. Notice that in 1 Sam. 4:1,

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[89] The function of Erteschik-Shir's 'stage topics' can be compared to Buth's (1995) "contextualizing constituent," Dik's "extra-clausal constituents" (1997: 310 ff.). However, as will be seen in the next chapter, there is no syntactic reason to consider such adverbials as 'extra-clausal' (perhaps with exceptions found in section 4.4.2.4).

[90] Following the common "As for…" test for topicality, this would license the paraphrase, "As for the here-and-now, there's a cat outside the door." In response to "What happened?", a question prototypically without presupposition. Erteschik-Shir argues that the question itself indicates that both past time and something situationally are both indeed given. However, apparently sometimes this stage topic is "lacking in contextual definition, i.e., either the place or the time is not contextually available, then a "new" stage is defined by adding these parameters to the stage" (2007: 119). For example, in the utterance, *There are many people who like ice cream*, "no locative parameter is contextually available, yet this parameter is not provided in the sentence either; the new stage is accommodated to mean the whole world" (ibid.). In summary, in an out-of-the-blue sentence, the spatio-temporal context is said to be the topic, though sometimes it is not available either explicitly in the discourse nor in the situational context. It is for these reasons that so-called 'stage topics', if topics at all, are extremely peripheral and will not be considered topical in our model.

[91] Krifka defines topic in the following way: "The topic constituent identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the CG content" (2007: 41). As will be argued below, thetic sentences do not constitute traditionally-understood topic-comment sentences, so there is neither a topic as such, nor a comment on it.

the second clause Israel is activated as a topic and thus explicitly encoded, while in the third clause it is already active and thus functions as a topic chain, so lexicalising 'Israel' again is unnecessary according to Grice's maxim of quantity. On the other hand, the topic shift necessitates explicit mention of 'the Philistines' as newly activated.

(1)	וַיְהִי דְבַר־שְׁמוּאֵל לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל לִקְרַאת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיַּחֲנוּ עַל־הָאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר **וּפְלִשְׁתִּים** חָנוּ בַאֲפֵק:	"And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. And Israel went out to meet the Philistines in battle. And they camped at Ebenezer, [*while*] *the Philistines* camped at Aphek. (1 Sam. 4:1)

Following, we have longer list of topic shifts:

(2)	וַיֵּצֵא הַמַּשְׁחִית מִמַּחֲנֵה פְלִשְׁתִּים שְׁלֹשָׁה רָאשִׁים **הָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד** יִפְנֶה אֶל־דֶּרֶךְ עָפְרָה אֶל־אֶרֶץ שׁוּעָל: **וְהָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד** יִפְנֶה דֶּרֶךְ בֵּית חֹרוֹן **וְהָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד** יִפְנֶה דֶּרֶךְ הַגְּבוּל הַנִּשְׁקָף עַל־גֵּי הַצְּבֹעִים הַמִּדְבָּרָה:	"And the raiders went out from the camp of the Philistines in three groups. *The first group* turned to the direction of Ophrah to the land of Shual. *The next group* turned to the direction of Beth-horon, while *the other group* turned to the direction of the border, which looks out towards the valley of Zeboim, towards the wilderness" (1 Sam. 13:17-18).

3.2.1.2 Focus

The notion of focus has proven slightly more controversial and has been defined in various ways in the literature, though with many points of overlap. Dik defines it as "communicatively what is the most important" (1997: 68), that is, "The focal information will thus concern the changes that S wishes to bring about in the pragmatic information of A" (ibid.: 326), while Erteschik-Shir treats it as "the constituent to which the hearer's attention is drawn" (1997: 12), and Song as "what is new and/or important in the sentence" (2017: 11). Lambrecht's older formulation is somewhat more elucidating. He considers focus to be "the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance" (1994: 207), i.e., "the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition" (ibid.: 213). Thus it is what makes the utterance informative, "the portion [of a proposition] departing from what was previously established" (Langacker 2008: 60).

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Simple English intonation patterns for the Wh-question test indicate which entity is focused. Erteschik-Shir (2007: 1) offers the following examples:

(3)   (i) What did John wash?

He washed [the dishes]FOC.

(ii) Who washed the dishes?

[John]FOC washed them.

In example (i), the direct object is the focus of the utterance, while in (ii) the subject 'John' is the focus. Notice that the active entities can be expressed using simple anaphor ('He' for 'John' in the first example, and 'them' for 'the dishes' in the second).

Also important for models of information structure is the scope of focus. Lambrecht posits three possibilities: that of (i) *predicate focus*, (ii) *argument focus*,[92] and (iii) *sentence focus*, respectively illustrated below (from Lambrecht 1994: 223), with the typically stressed constituent in each answer in italics:

(4)   (i)   What happened to your car?

It [broke *down*]FOC.

(ii)   I heard your motorcycle broke down?

My [*car*]FOC broke down.

(iii)   What happened?

[My *car* broke down]FOC.[93]

Predicate focus is prototypically communicated by verb-initial constituent order in BH finite clauses, so will not be further considered here. Constituent focus structures (as in Erteschik-Shir's examples above) place the focus on a single entity, regardless of its syntactic status. Sentence focus structures have a broader scope than both the argument and predicate

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[92] Van der Merwe et al.'s (2017) formulation of *constituent focus* is preferable, encompassing the possibility that clausal arguments, complements or adjuncts can equally be focused.

[93] Notice that in this case the stress patterns of the constituent focus structure and the sentence focus structure coincide. Although this is not always the case (for example, Khan [p.c.] notes that some languages do not have exactly the same prosody for constituent focus structures and thetic utterances, though their prosody nevertheless seems to reflect a single domain of focus), there is often a phonological overlap (or whatever the linguistic determinant of focus structure) between predicate and so-called sentence focus structures (see section 3.3.2.2 for further discussion). In the following chapter we will witness the same possibility in BH both with fronting and between constituent focus and thetic constructions.

focus structures, the entire proposition being focused. Embedded in discourse, an entity which is focally selected can then be available as the topic of the following clause(s). This is known as *focus chaining*. For example:

(5)   (Q) Where did you go?

(A) I went to [the shop]$_{FOC}$. Unfortunately [it]$_{TOP}$ was closed.[94]

| (6) | וַיִּוָּלֵ֤ד לַחֲנוֹךְ֙ אֶת־עִירָ֔ד וְעִירָ֕ד יָלַ֖ד אֶת־מְחֽוּיָאֵ֑ל וּמְחִיָּיאֵ֗ל יָלַד֙ אֶת־מְת֣וּשָׁאֵ֔ל וּמְתוּשָׁאֵ֖ל יָלַ֥ד אֶת־לָֽמֶךְ׃ | And [Irad]$_{FOC}$ was born to [Enoch]$_{TOP}$. And [Irad]$_{TOP}$ had [Mehujael]$_{FOC}$, and [Mehujael]$_{TOP}$ had [Methushael]$_{FOC}$, and [Methushael]$_{TOP}$ had [Lamech]$_{FOC}$. (Gen. 4:18) |

Later literature has developed a more nuanced understanding of focus. Krifka, following Rooth's (1992) model of alternative semantics, states, "Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (2007: 18), that is, a discourse-relevant set out of which an entity is selected. For example, the presupposition of example 3(i) above is 'John washed *x*,' where *x* will serve as the correct focal constituent among alternatives, and in 3(ii) '*x* washed the dishes' is presupposed, so the answer must select the correct alternative for *x*. Thus Krifka argues that pragmatically focus can correct, confirm, highlight parallels, and delimit the constituent in focus. I follow Krifka in radically nuancing the previously mentioned definitions of focus, since,

> While such explications are intuitively appealing and may apply to a majority of cases, I consider them unsatisfactory as definitions. The notion of highlighting is a particularly unclear one that is hardly predictive as long as we do not have a worked-out theory of what highlighting is. I am also not aware of any worked-out theory of communication that has made clear what 'importance' means, let alone one that has introduced a graded notion of importance. Even on an intuitive level, the notions of importance is difficult to apply. (2007: 28)

Yet, it is not a mystery why such definitions of focus have been postulated:

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[94] Notice the anaphoric *it* to indicate topicality, which explains why "I went to the shop. Unfortunately the shop was closed" sounds unnaturally redundant.

> The focus denotation typically feels highlighted because it is contrasted with the other alternatives; the selection of this denotation over alternative ones is often felt to be the most important contribution in a sentence; and the selective alternative is often also new (not mentioned previously). (ibid.: 30)[95]

In general terms, "To make an assertion is to reduce the context set in a particular way… The particular way in which the context set is reduced is that all of the possible situations incompatible with what is said are eliminated" (Stalnaker 2002a: 153). In this sense, there is always some element of 'contrast', eliminating the alternatives.[96] In short, "*This triggering of an alternative set is a unified core function of focus,* and the various types of focus can be seen as the outcomes of additional pragmatic and semantic factors" (van der Wal 2016: 262, emphasis added).

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[95] On the other hand, Matić and Wedgwood (2013) argue against treating focus as a primitive and universal category at all, differentiating the linguistic encoding and its pragmatic effects. They prefer to view the diverse instantiations of 'focus' as "merely a set of interpretive effects (the clustering of which is probably rooted in one or more general cognitive mechanisms), … [which] can stem from highly divergent form-meaning pairs, and can come about in ways that are more or less independent of the grammar… Focus is then a purely descriptive tool, which should FACILITATE both language-internal analysis and comparison across languages without CONSTITUTING that analysis." (2013: 157-8). That is, they question the ontological status of focus. Similarly, Ozerov (2018) proposes a complete overhaul of the current approach to information structure, complaining that "current research of Information Structure begins with pre-empirical theoretical categories and proceeds to attempts of their identification in the data" (2018: 83). He argues instead that it is methodologically preferable to employ a bottom-up approach, that is, "instead of exploring the way universals are expressed, the task is to discover what is expressed directly and how indirect interpretations arise" (ibid.: 84) and since "languages can directly express a vast number of diverse highly specific cognitive categories and communication managing interactional instructions. Their unified description through a small set of high-level concepts would miss their real nature and result in an unmotivated over-generalisation" (ibid.: 92). Khan & van der Merwe (2020) concur that information structure is an epiphenomenon of discourse structure.
These critiques are stinging, their data difficult to ignore and their reasoning attractive. However, they have yet to be widely adopted or receive response in the literature so their implementation for this study is difficult. In order to to maintain general comparability and dialogue with previous studies of BH and the majority position of information structure studies up to this point, their findings will be scarcely mentioned. Nevertheless, keeping in mind cross-linguistic diversity and a cognitive linguistic view of categorisation (for which, see section 3.4.2) constitute a first step in compatibility with their conclusions. For now, topic, focus and theticity should be understood as diverse, though still organised, family-resemblance sets of interpretive effects, which, given our understanding of ambiguity, prototypicality, polysemy, and polyfunctionality developed in the following sections, are to be expected.

[96] There is a lack of consensus in the literature regarding the status of contrast. I agree with Vallduví (1990: 13) that it is "most likely a derived notion and not a primitive" (cf. Rooth 1992, Krifka 2007). *Contra* Pezatti's (2012) FDP model and Song's (2017) Information Structure model, I consider it a situational epiphenomenon, not a subcategory of either topic or focus (or both), but as an occasional contextual effect. This is purely for simplicity and expository purposes, considering our discussion of 'category' in section 3.4.2. Repp (2010: 1335) argues that, "*contrast* has been used for a number of concepts that bear a family resemblance but cannot be summarized under a definition" and hence "the impossibility to give a unified semantic-pragmatic definition that can be applied to all the cases which have been suggested to involve contrast." In the BH corpus of Samuel-Kings, contrastive topics and foci abound, the latter covering such notions such as 'corrective', 'replacing', 'rejecting', and 'exhaustive' focus. Thus, *contrast* is of no little importance, yet does not constitute an independent category as such (cf. Erteschik-Shir [2007], who limits information structure primitives to topic and focus, though one must keep Ozerov's [2018] words of caution in mind).

Our final consideration of Krifka's focus model is the size of the alternative set. We can illustrate a 'closed' and (relatively) 'open' set with the following two question tests respectively:

(7)   (i) What would you like to drink, tea or coffee?

        (ii) What would you like to drink?

In the first example, there are only two alternatives (although in other examples there could exist a larger closed set), while in the second example there is a (relatively) unlimited number of beverages that could be requested.

Let us briefly return to our discussion of out-of-the-blue sentences. Since information structure is "concerned with felicity conditions on the relation between sentences and context," (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 8) and since Erteschik-Shir claims that every sentence must have a topic, then a stage topic, although often implicit, "is always available in our system and allows for out-of-the-blue sentences" (1997: 70). I have left this position in doubt in the previous section. However, regarding the focus structure of such out-of-the-blue sentences, they are broadly treated as sentence-focus structures (Lambrecht 1994, Sæbø 2007, Krifka 2007, Erteschik-Shir 2007, Song 2017). Yet, given the model of alternative semantics introduced above, in which "the set of alternatives are defined contextually" (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 29), it would seem not to be prototypically focal.

Sæbø affirms that prior to his study, "Broad [sentence] focus is known to select relatively empty, out-of-the-blue contexts; this, however, has not been accounted for theoretically" (2007: 21). He combines an Alternative Semantics approach with an Optimality Theory model whereby the alternative in question is in fact an alternative construction entirely (ibid.: 32), in competition with narrow focus reading (ibid.: 17).[97] In this sense, "It would seem that broad focus depends on contexts where none of the other … focus constellations have their presuppositions verified" (ibid.: 22), i.e., where no set of alternatives is discourse-present. For example, consider:

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[97] For a general overview of Optimality Theory approaches to word order see Song 2012: 160-233.

(8)   What happened to make you leave home?

        My *mother* died. (ibid.: example [12])

for which is it "very difficult to specify the denotation of such a question … the class of possible answers is open-ended" (ibid.: 22), so the necessary constraints for a narrow focus reading lose out to a broad focus interpretation.[98] In other words, "a broad focus is appropriate if and only if the presuppositions of one or two narrow foci are not verified… When the presupposition of two narrow foci or a presupposition of one narrow focus is verified, this should be signalled - by not signalling it, you implicate that it is not verified," (ibid.: 23). However, Sæbø's conclusion is as follows:

> Again, it must be acknowledged that boundaries are not really as sharp as … [they] seem. Particularly in out of the blue contexts, there is abundant room for accommodation; what counts as alternatives does not only depend on lexical and encyclopaedic knowledge and the situation of utterance but *in the last instance on the speaker's intentions - within limits, speakers can choose whether to represent an argument-predicate pair as an element of a set of alternative pairs.* (ibid.: 30, emphasis added)

We will build on the ideas of *accommodation* and speaker intentions below. But in light of Sæbø's last remark, the vagueness of such alternative sets should cause us to question whether to retain sentence focus at all. Rather, these sentences are better considered thetic, as their unitary (not *topic-comment*) structure suggests, at the discretion of the speaker to shape his discourse (Sasse 1987), that is, to manage the development of the CG - projecting, reminding, updating and directing attention, among other discourse functions. With regards to discourse expectations and attentional salience, Bianchi et al. discuss mirative fronting[99] in Italian as follows:

> We have proposed that Italian mirative fronting is one such a structure where the interpretation of mirativity requires a set of focus alternatives: this is meant to explain why in many different languages a mirative flavour arises in connection with the marking of a constituent as narrowly focussed. However, we are not claiming that focus is necessarily involved in all mirative structures and strategies across languages: in other cases, *the interpretation could rely on a set of expectations which is not related to focus structure in any direct way*. (2016: 32, emphasis added)

That is, the entire utterance is unexpected and not dependent on a set of alternatives for a narrow-focussed single entity. Crucially for our discussion, they later point out:

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[98] A plausible set of alternatives would have to include "mother died, mother emigrated, father died, father died, there was a drought, we lost our money…" (ibid.: 22) among infinitely many more.

[99] Mirative statements are similar constructions to thetics, equally dependent on the (un)expectedness of the utterance's content (see García Macías 2016).

> Note in fact that, in alternative semantics terms, when the whole proposition is in focus there is no way to constrain the shape of the proposition-level alternatives. (In structured meaning terms, the background will be empty, and we would have to stipulate a contextually relevant set of alternative propositions including - or identical to - a congruent question: but this is a very counter-intuitive characterization of all-new statements.) *In our view, this justifies the hypothesis that so called "broad focus" is actually not a focus at all.* (ibid.: 38, emphasis added)

I concur with Bianchi et al.[100] that an infinitely 'open set' is meaningless as situated interlocutors do not have the capacity to maintain an infinite number of possible worlds which will be narrowed by the ensuing discourse (some have interpreted 'open focus' in this way, yet according to Krifka's definition the unrestricted set must satisfy "the general condition that all the alternatives must be compatible with the focus in their semantic type" [2007: 32]).

If we adopt a more general approach to focus, such as Dik's, Erteschik-Shir's or even Lambrecht's model, we do no better, since against what perceptual background can the focused constituent stand out as important or salient when the entire sentence is in focus? Or what presupposition is transformed into an assertion if there is nothing finitely presupposed?[101] Sasse had already pointed out the following:

> The common element in all these characterizations is a conception of focus as an information peak. One cannot speak of a peak, though, if there is no valley; otherwise the 'up hill and down dale' concept of the traditional notion of focus would be reduced to vacuity: given the lack of a contour, a concept of 'entire statement focus' is as good or bad as no focus at all. (1987: 573)

It seems like Bianchi et al. and Sasse would be in agreement with van der Wal, who similarly points out that such 'sentence focus' structures "instantiate information structuring on a higher level than the sentence: it is a thetic (as opposed to categorical) sentence which as a whole presents one piece of information in the surrounding discourse, rather than focusing information *within* the sentence" (2016: 260, emphasis original). Since out-of-the-blue sentences are considered 'discourse-unexpected', and therefore, if you will, 'sentence-rheme' rather than sentence-focus, this would place them within the realm of information *status*,

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[100] These authors' treatment of mirative fronting is discussed at length in section 3.5.2.

[101] Lambrecht argues that "if a sentence evokes no presupposition, focus and assertion coincide. This situation obtains often (but not always) in thetic sentences" (1994: 213). Though it is not clear for him when this result does not hold, the line of argumentation here shows why I consider it never to hold, i.e., why theticity does not equal sentence focus.

rather than information structure.[102] On the other hand, "Topic and Focus are relational notions assigned on the basis of context, and not inherent statuses of denotations" (Smit 2007: 93). We discuss this *status* below, which often correlates but is not equal to structure (i.e. 'new' does not equal 'focal'). Under this understanding, sentence focus structures are at best, very peripheral cases of focus and, in my view, more adequately accounted for by other linguistic means.

Despite these theoretical wrinkles, Moshavi's work among others has sufficiently applied both topic and focus to fronting in Classical BH prose, and up to this point these models of information structure (albeit with various understandings of topic and focus) have proven both most fruitful and have enjoyed the most agreement among biblical scholars.[103] Therefore, we will not concern ourselves with potential complications at any more length.

For clarity and simplicity of exposition I follow van der Merwe and Wendland (2010) in limiting our analysis of focus to its primitive functions of *informing, altering*, or *confirming[104]* something in the addressee's conceptual world.[105] Let us now briefly consider some illustrative examples. First we provide an example of *informing focus* in Irish, in which 'The day is *x*' is selected from an obviously limited set.[106]

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[102] Another approach proposed by Rochemont is to "make a distinction between two notions of focus, focus-as-new (NEW) and focus-as-alternatives (FOCUS)" (2013: 60). His awareness of the problem is to be applauded, yet the two suggested notions of focus are about as different as 'aboutness' topics and 'stage' topics.

[103] See the discussion in the previous chapter, especially the work of Heimerdinger (1999), van der Merwe (1999), Floor (2004), Hornkohl (2018), Robar (2018) and Khan & van der Merwe (2020).

[104] Although perhaps this *confirming* could seem redundant, everything depends on the contextual or co-textual common ground between the interlocutors, as per Pezatti (2012: 6), "The communicated content of a declarative discourse act can be entirely new for the addressee or counter new and familiar information. Sometimes, however, the information can already be familiar for the addressee, and the intention of the speaker as to remind them of it or, for some reason, affirm the obvious" (O Conteúdo Comunicado de um Ato Discursivo Declarativo pode ser inteiramente novo para o Destinatário ou conter informações novas e familiares. Às vezes, no entanto, a informação pode já ser familiar para o Destinatário, e a intenção do Falante é relembrá-lo ou, por alguma razão, afirmar o óbvio). Furthermore, information structures' lack of accounting for rhetorical devices such as repetition, elaboration, projection, etc., can highlight the tension between Grice's maxims of quantity and quality: "Redundancy helps to assure that the cooperation in sharing information is effective" (Roberts 2012: 27).

[105] See the previous chapter for more elaborate taxonomies of focal functions within studies of BH.

[106] In examples (3) and (4) I have adopted the original authors conventions. Here, however, as will be the case throughout our analysis in the next chapter, the original language's fronted structure will be in red text, while the corresponding constituent or construction in my English translation will be put in italics.

(9)   A: Cad é an lá atá ann anniu?

       'What day is it today?'

       B: Dé Luain atá ann inniu.

       'Today's *Monday*'

And in BH, with the question presupposing 'I have come from *x*'.[107]

| (10) | וַיֹּ֤אמֶר לֹוֹ֙ דָּוִ֔ד אֵ֥י מִזֶּ֖ה תָּבֹ֑וא וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֵלָ֔יו מִמַּחֲנֵ֥ה יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל נִמְלָֽטְתִּי׃ | And David said to him, "Where have you come from?" And he said to him, "I have fled *from the camp of Israel*." (2 Sam. 1:3) |

Altering focus can correct, replace, restrict, or add to the presupposed CG content. The following example of Italian fronting communicates a *correcting* function of altering focus:

(11)   A: Gianni ha regalato una collana a Maria.

       'John has bought Maria a necklace.'

       B: Un anello le ha regalato.

       'He got her *a ring*'   (Bianchi et al. 2016, example [5])

And likewise in BH, we have both a *correction* and *replacement*:

| (12) | לֹ֤א אֹֽתְךָ֙ מָאָ֔סוּ כִּי־אֹתִ֥י מָאֲס֖וּ מִמְּלֹ֥ךְ עֲלֵיהֶֽם׃ | "They haven't rejected *you*, but [in fact] they've rejected *me* from ruling over them." (1 Sam. 8:7) |

Next we look at *confirming focus*. In this first example, the model-reader is undoubtedly familiar with the details of the Elijah story, specifically, that the prophet had declared it would not rain unless he said so (1 Kgs. 17:1), so the focal material confirms the presupposed details.

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[107] In providing a "good idiomatic" direct translation (Van der Merwe 2016: 1), I represent constituent focus in English by italics in its most natural syntactic position, "construed [in] the source text" (ibid.) by fronting.

(13)   Ἠλίας ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν, καὶ προσευχῇ προσηύξατο τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι, καὶ οὐκ

ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς *ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ·* καὶ πάλιν προσηύξατο, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς

ὑετὸν ἔδωκεν καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐβλάστησεν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς. (James 5:17-18)

"Elijah was a man with a nature like ours, and he prayed fervently that it might not

rain, and *for three years and six months* it did not rain on the earth. Then he prayed

again, and heaven gave rain, and the earth bore its fruit." (HCSB)[108]

And now in BH:

(14)	וּרְאִיתֶ֗ם אִם־דֶּ֨רֶךְ גְּבוּל֜וֹ יַעֲלֶה֙ בֵּ֣ית שֶׁ֔מֶשׁ **ה֗וּא** עָ֤שָׂה לָ֙נוּ֙ אֶת־הָרָעָ֣ה הַגְּדוֹלָ֔ה הַזֹּ֖את	"And you will see: if it goes up the way of its border to Beth-Shemesh, *he* [indeed] did this great evil to us [after all]. (1 Sam. 6:9a)

Before we continue, a terminological note must be made regarding information *status*
- our primary concern in the next section. In modern pragmatic studies, there is an array of
metalinguistic confusion regarding *theme-rheme*, *topic-comment*, *topic-focus* and even *focus-background*. Focus, for example, first used by Halliday (1967), consisted of the 'informative
part' of the *rheme* in his framework, following the Prague School tendency to equate *theme*
with the informationally weakest sentential element and *rheme* as the most informative.
Nevertheless, Vallduví points out numerous counterexamples in which topic does not equal
old and focus does not equal *new*. He thus argues for distinguishing theme-rheme on the one
hand - generally understood as hearer/discourse given and new propositional content
respectively - and topic-focus on the other (1990: 20-26). Since they are so highly correlated
(Goldberg 2004; though not perfectly - see Erteschik-Shir [2007] for numerous examples
where the focus is not new information) and due to the terminological diversity in previous
pragmatic studies (Vallduví [1990: 35-53] offers a helpful survey), we will follow Erteschik-Shir (2007) in affirming that *topic* and *focus* are the only two primitives necessary in
information structure models (as per Moshavi's treatment). However, in Krifka's terminology,
CG *update* is just as important as CG *management*, so that apart from information structure,

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[108] The HCSB is correct to front the temporal extension in English as salient - probably as a reminder to the
original addressees' general knowledge, hence *confirmation*. Yet in Hellenistic Greek, as Levinsohn states, "To
mark as focused a constituent whose default position is not the end of a clause or sentence, place it at the end of
the clause or sentence" (2000: 34).

communicative models must also account for information status, and the problems arising with the case of out-of-the-blue sentences above need to be resolved in this linguistic domain. To avoid metalinguistic confusion we will avoid the *theme-rheme* terminology (as used by Holmstedt 2009 and Schade 2013, among others) and I will use *topic-comment* only to refer to *categorical* utterances, as opposed to *thetic* utterances, encompassing topical material, focal material, and, in Song's (2017) terminology, *background*, i.e., everything else. Regarding CG content, the concern of the following section, instead of *theme-rheme* or *old-new*, I discuss information status under the notions of *givenness* and *unexpectedness*.[109]

In this section we have seen that topic shifts, argument focus, and out-of-the-blue sentences are the most pertinent for the considerations of the study of BH fronting which will follow. We will now leave behind our extended discussion of CG management, embodied in the information structure notions of topic and focus, and turn our attention to CG content, that is, the informational status of discourse.

3.2.2 Common ground content

In this section I develop a model of the evolution of the informational content stored in the CG as discourse unfolds. The necessary notions are largely derived from Stalnaker's (2014) pragmatic model which can account for CG as witnessed in natural human communication. It is within CG that the link between information structure and information status is found. Here, too, sentence-level analysis can be connected with the needs of discourse, particularly applied to written texts.

If information is to change the cognitive world of the addressee, models limited to topic and focus are unlikely to represent the full picture of what happens in linguistic communication without also taking into account the ideas of information status and CG (Holmstedt's model, which does not conflate topicality and focality with givenness / unexpectedness may be the exception among BH studies). Recognition of a sentence's situatedness within discourse demands the interaction of information structure and information status. It will be seen that communication displays dynamic semantics by which

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[109] Although Krifka (2007) discusses givenness as a category within information structure, Song is right to warn that "information structure interacts with but is distinct from information status" (2017: 12). I will not follow Prince's (1981) distinction between givenness as *shared knowledge* and givenness as *salience*, instead encompassing both, since there seems to be no apparent cognitive difference between the activation of propositions as opposed to entities (Dryer 1996: 483), both being *ideas* in Chafe's (1994) terminology.

meaning is ruled by the speaker's need to *update* the addressee's information store, anticipating what is given and what is not. To that end, let us first briefly define givenness.

Krifka offers the following definition: "A feature X of an expression α is a Givenness feature if X indicates whether the denotation of α is present in the CG or not, and/or indicates the degree to which it is present in the immediate CG" (2007: 37), that is, whether it is discourse-old or new with regards to the question-under-discussion (Roberts 2012: 31).[110] Naturally, certain constructions can just as aptly indicate *unexpectedness*. Without consciously attending to the linguistically encoded indications of givenness and their appropriate application to the CG, the success of cooperative communication is at stake. Erteschik-Shir's (1997: 7) understanding of CG (mentioned on page 50) is strikingly similar to the *current discourse space* of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar model:

> "everything presumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer as the basis for communication at a given moment. Part of the CDS, of course, is the discourse itself, including both previous usage events and any that might be anticipated. Also part of the CDS are other mutually evident aspects of the transient context, as well as any stable knowledge required for their apprehension or otherwise invoked" (2008: 466, cf. Crystal 2008: 89 and Verhagen 2015: 241)

that is, *situational context* and *world knowledge,* respectively. We can now begin to appreciate the three layers of communicative CG: that of explicit discourse co-text, world knowledge and the situational context, illustrated in examples (15), (16) and (17) respectively:

(15)   A: Tell me about your family.

B: My mother's a teacher, my father works in an office, and my sister is a student.

(Erteschik-Shir 2007: 3)

Erteschik-Shir claims, "Neither one needs previous mention on its own, because speakers are aware that families are made up of parents, siblings, etc." (2007: 3).[111] Likewise:

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[110] For example, anaphor and definite articles, clitics, deaccenting, and suppression are prototypical givenness features. Given denotations are indicated by their ease of processing. One can see why there is significant overlap with topic.

[111] Erteschik-Shir considers these topics as 'derived', and Dik as Given Topics (1997: 324), i.e., that are *accessible*.

(16)   "John speaks excellent Finnish although he never lived there." (Hilpert 2014: 107)

Hilpert argues, that although Finland is not mentioned explicitly, we have no problem in understanding the reference *there* since the utterance including the word *Finnish* "brings a number of associations to play, among them, quite trivially, the country where Finnish is spoken" (ibid.: 107). That is, in the speaker's projection of the hearer's mental state, they are judged to be conscious of the idea of 'Finland' and it is thus *given*. In the following BH example, 'the iron [axe-head]' is not elicited at random, but is grounded as part of the conventional schema of wood-cutting, and thus an accessible entity without further activation or CG development:

(17)	וַיְהִי הָאֶחָד מַפִּיל הַקּוֹרָה וְאֶת־הַבַּרְזֶל נָפַל אֶל־הַמָּיִם	While one of them was cutting the log, *the iron* [axe-head] fell into the water. (2 Kgs. 4:5)

In the three previous examples we can appreciate that Grice's cooperative principle involves *relevance* to the question-under-discussion, as accessible extensions of the previously mentioned entities (i.e., 'mother' from 'family', 'Finnish' from 'Finland' and 'axe-head' from the action of 'cutting wood'). However, whenever *relevance* is flouted with regards to givenness or discourse accessibility, the interpretation involves higher processing costs. Applying *relevance* across numerous clauses leads to discourse *coherence*, which is also necessary for cooperative communication.[112] The reason why humans are so adept at this type cooperative and economical communication is that,

> As they speak, they not only take account of the changing activation states of information in their own minds, but also attempt to appreciate parallel changes that are taking places in the minds of their listeners. Language is very much dependent on a speaker's beliefs about activation states in other minds. Such beliefs themselves constitute an important part of a speaker's ongoing, changing knowledge, and language is adjusted to accord with them. (Chafe 1994: 54)

We adjust and calibrate our communicated content appropriately for according to our expectation of the addressee's mental state, that is, in line of what we consider to be the CG.

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[112] Thus why "John took a train from Paris to Istanbul. He has family there" is acceptable while "John took a train from Paris to Istanbul. He likes spinach" is questionable (Asher & Lascarides 2011: 227). His personal taste for spinach has nothing to do with travelling by train, so in order to maintain discourse cohesion we would require a marker of discontinuity, for example, "John took a train from Paris to Istanbul. He's coming for dinner. Oh, by the way, did you know that he likes spinach?"

Of course, CG does not equal *common knowledge*, and thus functions imperfectly, since, "The common ground is what is *presumed* to be common knowledge" (Stalnaker 2014: 45, emphasis original). This presumption will never perfectly reflect the reality, causing a complication which we will revisit in section 3.3. First, let us explore a few characteristics of the ever-evolving conversational CG.

3.2.2.1 Dynamicity

In examples (15)-(17), the CG is updated at the moment of utterance. As a rough sketch, the speaker anticipates the addressee's mental state, adapts and calibrates their utterance in order to communicate cooperatively according to their belief of this state, while the addressee predicts and interprets the spoken utterance, plainly expecting cooperative action on behalf of the speaker, both before and during the act, and thus the addressee updates their mental state, activating the accessible entities and accepting the "proposal to change the context by adding the content expressed in the assertion to the common ground" (Stalnaker 2014: 89). Finally, the speaker updates their understanding of the CG with the fact that (a) they have spoken, and (b) unless indicated otherwise, the addressee has accepted the conversational input of their utterance. This cycle continues as long as the conversational encounter lasts and involves. That is to say, this CG updating and management is *dynamic* (see Langacker 2008, Paillard 2009, Parikh 2010, Stalnaker 2014, Verhagen 2015). Stalnaker argues that the conversational context is ever-changing, both on the level of the discourse and the situation. He states,

> The fact that a speaker is speaking, saying the words he is saying in the way he is saying them, is a fact that is usually accessible to everyone present. Such observed facts can be expected to change the presumed common background knowledge of the speaker and his audience in the same way that any obviously observable change in the physical surrounds of the conversation will change the presumed common knowledge. If a goat walked into the room, it would normally be presupposed, from that point, that there was a goat in the room. And the fact that this was presupposed might be exploited in the conversation, as when someone asks, *How did that thing get in here?*, assuming that others will know what he is talking about. (2002a: 152)

On step further, since "The information in the common ground is information that speakers and interpreters can draw on in deciding what to say and in interpreting what is said" (Stalnaker 2014: 108), the future of the discourse is determined by the current CG, as in Langacker's (2008) notion of *current discourse space*, in which previous utterances, the anticipation of any that may be uttered in the future, and the transient context, all evolve

simultaneously.[113] Likewise, Murray (2014) distinguishes between updates of information and attention, i.e., on the one hand, the updated pure propositional content, and on the other hand, the updated resulting context set (i.e., CG) from which the communication proceeds.

3.2.2.2 Linearity

The nature of the dynamic evolution of CG is linear - an idea that can be traced back to as early as de Saussure:

> The linguistic signal, being auditory in nature, has a temporal aspect, and hence certain temporal characteristics: (a) it occupies a certain temporal space, and (b) this space is measured in just one dimension: it is a line … The elements of such signals are presented one after another: they form a chain. This feature appears immediately when they are represented in writing, and a spatial line of graphic signs is substituted for a succession of sounds in time." (de Saussure 1983[1915]: 103)

More recently, Langacker has asserted, ""Linear order" is actually temporal order, the sequencing of elements in the flow of speech. Time is a basic dimension of phonological structure and is thus inherent in its characterization" (2008: 206). Yet, "Even as we are attending to individual words, we must also be making more global projections at various syntactic and even discourse levels" (ibid.: 82). Notice, however, that a *Gestalt*, i.e., a satisfactory mental conceptualisation of the communicated content, is not reached until the entirety of the utterance or, as Langacker hints, larger portions of discourse has been correctly interpreted by the addressee.

These notions of dynamicity and linearity in discourse CG is analogous to the 'garden path effect,' a psycholinguistic processing model whereby, on a sentential level,

> "we actually interpret an utterance in real time, going from left to right in the sentence, using the information gleaned from the first word to help us interpret the second, simultaneously reinforcing our conjecture about the meaning of the first word, then using the information gleaned from the first two words to help us interpret the third, with the third hopefully reinforcing and confirming our hypotheses about the first two words, and so on… the nature of the interpretive process is embedded in *time* and … this constrains the nature of our access to the sentence." (Parikh 2010: 177, 183-184, emphasis original)

As such paths become well-travelled, certain constructions become entrenched and are thus processed more easily, an extreme example being predictable collocations. Indeed, we use both semantic and syntactic *cues* (collocational constraints, for example), to predict what

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[113] Indeed, Langacker claims that "most clauses carry expectations about the preceding or the following discourse, if not both" (2008: 486). Since our consciousness is in a constant state of flux, with the capacity to remember the past, experiencing the present and imagine the future (Evans 2013: 65), Goldberg concurs that "As we comprehend utterances, we attempt to anticipate what the speaker will say next, and we are able to use what the speaker actually says to improve future predictions through a process of error-driven learning" (2019: 4).

follows based on the language already heard. Thus the CG is constantly updated (dynamic) even during an utterance, unless a *Gestalt*-type state of understanding is reached, in which case that discourse will continue from that point. This is directly analogous to the so-called 'hermeneutical spiral', whereby the reader's judgments of a text are constantly updated and refined by further reading and understanding. The parts confirm or put in doubt the reader's current understanding of the unfolding whole, while the currently-understood whole confirms or puts in doubt the reader's understanding of the parts. Likewise in spoken communication, "if the speaker is conveying this partial meaning, it is more likely that he is also conveying that meaning and less likely that he is conveying this other meaning, and so on in a self-confirming spiral that is optimal" (Parikh 2010: 190). This can be illustrated by the following clause: כִּי־לֹא־טוֹב אָנֹכִי מֵאֲבֹתָי (1 Kgs. 19:4). Before reaching the end of the clause, we might typically conceptualise טוֹב as 'good' until reaching the מִן which triggers the "better … than" reading.[114]

Thus, just as in speech conversation, in the reading of a text we find the same constant iteration of changing CG, i.e., an evolving understanding on the part of the reader as they 'interact' with the text. BH studies have lacked the connection between conversational CG update and information status on the one hand, and the evolving CG involved in the reading of texts.[115] It is to this area we now turn.

3.2.2.3 Common ground and textual orientation

As seen in the previous chapter, besides topic and focus, the majority of the remaining explanations for fronting in BH lie in the realm of larger discourse motivations. Floor (2004), for example, expands his information structure analysis to determine the *theme* of larger portions of text (similar to the *discourse topic* as in Chafe 1994, though Floor maintains a distinction [2004: 257]). This move is somewhat inevitable, as per Vanhoover's definition of

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[114] The current approach is limited to modelling the 'first encounter' of the text as the CG is established and evolves on-line between the author and reader. The effects on CG linearity produced by the orally repeated and recited nature of the BH text is outside the scope of this study.

[115] See Reinhart (1980) and Lascarides and Asher (1993), who both apply Grice's conversational maxims to literary texts, while Langacker (2008) and Auer and Maschler (2013) illustrate the continuum between sentential and discourse-length concerns. See also Chafe (1994: 278-295) for a detailed account of the interplay between information flow and reading: "The most significant difference here is the separation of language production from language reception" (ibid.: 282). Aside from this, notions of (reader-orientated) identifiability, activation, and the 'one new idea constraint' seem to function in the same way.

a written text as simply "an extended piece of discourse - something said by someone to someone else about something - fixed by writing" (2000: 64). While the pursuit of theme/ discourse topics can become a highly subjective affair without an accompanying linguistic analysis, if we apply a CG model to written discourse there need not be such a disconnect between the CG management of sentence-level analysis and the mental state of the model reader informing the CG content and thus concerns of discourse and even literary studies. Van Hecke rightly understands the linguistic-hermeneutical interface from a functional/ cognitive framework, stating, "Words mean nothing unless they are related to content-laden cognitive domains, and grammatical structures are meaningless unless they are the expression of the cognitively motivated processes of guiding and structuring textual meaning" (2011: 39).

Within BH prose, perhaps we could imagine a 'double-decker' model of CG update, which is managed on a 'lower level' between speakers in embedded speech, and on a 'higher level' between the text and reader.[116] The CG of discourse management would motivate such notions as 'discontinuity,' 'background,' 'explanatory comments,' 'parenthesis,' and 'anteriority' (as touched upon in the previous chapter). In the following pages I argue that it is preferable to understand these discourse strategies with the model of CG content outlined above.[117]

Figure 3.1 below shows that in the same way CG considerations govern the interaction of interlocutors in direct speech, the CG in a text is constantly evolving. This is because the author has to calibrate and project a CG between themselves and their model reader and encode givenness/unexpectedness features accordingly, while the reader constantly updates their interpretation of the discourse (Dik 1997: 5, Verhagen 2005: 5, Langacker 2008: 458). This communicative interaction updates the CG both dynamically and linearly. Furthermore, in both cases, the projection and interpretation of *meaning* is central. The figure illustrates an example of how such a textual-CG can be continually updated

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[116] See, for example, van Wolde's (1995) account of embeddedness, i.e., the characters' text within the narrator's text, and perspective in the 1 Kings 3:16-28 pericope. Incidentally, although she limits her analysis of fronted structures as 'background information', she nonetheless affirms that whether narrator or character is reporting an event, in both cases they may "freeze the action and interrupt this report [or narrative] to give background information. He/she then mostly uses … a nominal clause or a verbal clause containing a *qatal* form" (1995: 632).

[117] See section 3.5 for a linguistic framework for these discourse techniques, based on their grammatical construal.

between the author and reader, consisting of numerous embedded discourses-unit, each reflecting the conceptual worlds of their respective interlocutors and each continually updating their own respective CGs in order to inform the development of the text's CG. Alternating between direct speech and narrative, for example, each sub-unit will develop and arrive at its own informational *Gestalt*, which then contributes to the evolving CG of the entire discourse.

Textual-CG continually updated between the text and reader			
Embedded-CG continually updated	(Background Explanation)	Embedded-CG continually updated	(Discourse Discontinuity)
Direct Speech	Narrative	Direct Speech	Narrative
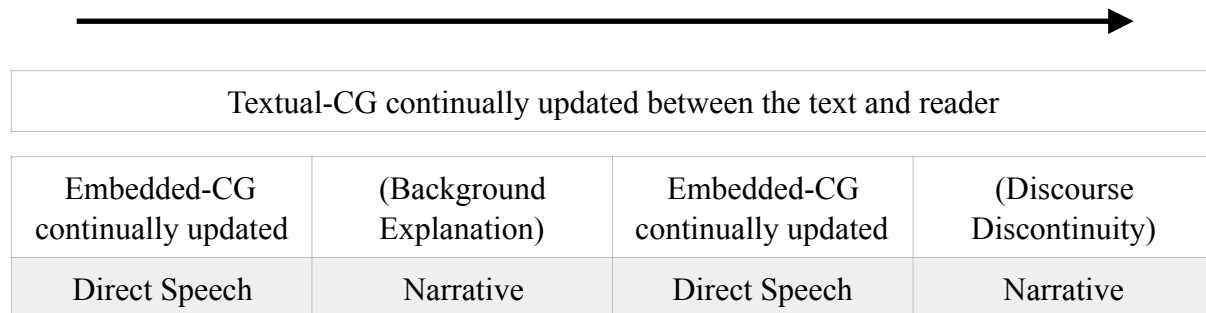
Fig. 3.1: an example of double-decker textual and conversational CG

To appreciate just how similar a process this is with the CG model above, consider Dooley and Levinsohn's understanding of textual processing:

> A mental representation for a text does not generally come full-blown into the hearer's mind. Rather, it is shaped in successive stages by trial and error. In the initial stages of the text, the hearer posits a tentative representation for it. Then he or she amplifies and modifies that representation, updating it as the discourse unfolds, so that each item of information is accommodated in a plausible way. (2001: 24)

Typically, these narrative techniques of CG update consist largely of spatiotemporal orientation, that is, how reality is represented in the text. As readers we naturally expect the semiotic link between the occurrence and the retelling of events, coinciding with Grice's maxim of *manner*, i.e., the text *should* be orderly. Yet it is the narrator's prerogative to manipulate chronology for purposes of suspense and surprise, while narrative presentation in general uses various means to "control what we learn and what we are left to ponder about the characters and the meaning of the story" (Alter 2011: 195).[118] Care must be taken to discern between the two levels of (1) the omniscient narrator's presentation and (2) the

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[118] Specifically, "Why at a particular juncture does the narrator break the time frame of his story to insert a piece of expository information in the pluperfect tense, or to jump forward to the time of his contemporary audience and explain that in those days it was custom in Israel to perform such and such a practice?" (Alter 2011: 230). Likewise, Sternberg notes, "through devices like temporary withholding and gradual disclosure of information, the reader is forced to fill in gaps and revise previously formed attitudes and hypotheses regarding the object of description" (1981: 84).

embedded characters' own perspective, yet "a whole network of logical and perspectival relations" (Sternberg 1986: 309) provide the reader the necessary orientation.

Literary, narratological and hermeneutical studies[119] have undoubtedly benefitted our understanding of BH discourse. Nevertheless, even after placing their contribution within CG content, their linguistic application is incomplete without both the rich inventory of schematic causality, as discussed in Lascarides and Asher (1993), and the cognitive foundations of our perception of time in language offered by Langacker (2008) and Evans (2013, 2015).

Lascarides and Asher provide a "common sense" approach by appealing to both our linguistic knowledge and our world knowledge, "gained from perception and experience" (1993: 444) with regards to semantic content and "place the reader's knowledge in a logic where its implications can be precisely calculated" (ibid.: 439). They offer the following examples:

(18)   (a) Max stood up. John greeted him.

(b) Max fell. John pushed him.   (Lascarides and Asher 1993: examples [1-2])

(a) receives a straightforward temporal interpretation based on cultural convention, while (b) is intuitively understood as reversed due to commonly experienced causality and sequentiality ('John *had* pushed him' would be equally appropriate). Similarly, common experience would indicate that losing your sight from old age is not typically instantaneous, so the fronted clause in the following text is meant to be read as anterior, rather than semiotically sequential, as in the case of the final three *wayyiqtol* clauses:

| (19) | וְעֵינֵ֤י יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ כָּבְד֣וּ מִזֹּ֔קֶן לֹ֥א יוּכַ֖ל לִרְא֑וֹת וַיַּגֵּ֤שׁ אֹתָם֙ אֵלָ֔יו וַיִּשַּׁ֥ק לָהֶ֖ם וַיְחַבֵּ֥ק לָהֶֽם׃ | Israel's eyes were heavy from old age; he was not able to see. He brought them near to him, kissed them and embraced them. (Gen. 48:10) |

On the other hand, consider the following two examples:

(20)   (a) Max opened the door. The room was pitch dark.

(b) Max switched off the light. The room was pitch dark. (ibid.: examples [3-4])

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[119] See, for example, Reinhart (1980), Ricœur (1983), Sternberg (1985), Fokkelman (1999), Bar-Efrat (2004).

Relying on world knowledge (perhaps culturally defined) drawn from our daily experiences, (a) is understood as synchronous and (b) as successive. The stative nature of the room being dark can be compared to the presence of the light of the morning in the following passage, which provides a synchronous stage for the second clause, i.e. it is not instantaneous and thus successive with the men being sent away:[120]

| (21) | הַבֹּקֶר אֹור וְהָאֲנָשִׁים שֻׁלְּחוּ הֵמָּה וַחֲמֹרֵיהֶם: | When morning came / had come the men were sent away - they and their donkeys. (Gen. 44:3) |

These repeated daily experiences become schemata, by which we organise our experience of the world. Rumelhart defines them as follows:

> A schema, then, is a data structure for representing the generic concepts stored in memory. There are schemata representing our knowledge about all concepts: those underlying objects, social situations, events, sequences of events, actions and sequences of actions. A schema contains, as part of its specification, the network of interrelations that is believed to normally hold among the constituents of the concept in question. A schema theory embodies a prototype theory of meaning. That is, inasmuch as a schema underlying a concept stored in memory corresponds to the meaning of that concept, meanings are encoded in terms of the typical or normal situations or events which instantiate that concept. (1984: 163)

In fact, drawing upon our experience of common schemata is basic to our survival in the world, as Chafe argues, "Understanding is the ability to relate a particular, spatiotemporally limited observation to a more encompassing and more stable imagined schema, within which the observation has a natural place" (1994: 9).

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[120] For recent grammatical approaches to time and sequentiality in BH see Gentry (1998), Cook (2012), Andrason (2013) and Hatav (2018). Appealing on occasion to 'context', they lack discussion of cultural and contextual *frames* and *schemas*, i.e., the tools to adequately account for Lascarides and Asher's examples above (Hatav directly interacts with Lascarides and Asher [1993] but does not address the problematic cases in which entrenched cultural experience guides the reader to the correct interpretation). Evans rightly states, "The grammatical systems of TAM do, in different ways, encode temporal information. Nevertheless, grammatical systems such as these provide relatively schematic content [not in the sense of *schemata* as discussed here]. This is not to say that the information is not important to linguistic understanding. Rather, it is impoverished; it doesn't afford a richly detailed representation of temporal reference" (2013: 11). Similarly, in order to "tell whether a proposed description has any validity… we cannot just rely on intuition or introspection… We apprehend meanings (i.e. we understand the expressions we use), but this is quite different from subjecting them to explicit analysis" (Langacker 2008: 85). Langacker is of the opinion that Cognitive Grammar provides such a framework as it seeks "converging evidence from each of three general sources:; (i) what we know about cognition (independently of language), (ii) what is needed for viable semantic descriptions, and (iii) whether the constructs support an optimal account of grammar" (ibid.; see especially section 3.4 for a detailed discussion and 3.5 for an application to theticity).

We have already seen above how world knowledge and schematic understanding is typically implicit in communication and permits underspecification on the part of the speaker, in line with Grice's maxim of *quantity*. Why say more when one can be understood saying less? However, taking something for granted that the hearer does not in fact share in their common knowledge leads to a defective CG, a complication saved for section 3.3.

To provide a firm cognitive grounding for this schematic extension of perception and experience we turn to Langacker (2008)[121] and Evans (2013).[122] Langacker differentiates between *processing time*, that is, the dynamic conceptualisation of language, since "Every conceptualization requires some span of processing time for its occurrence" (2008: 79), and *conceived time*, that which is the object of conception, "construed most objectively when a span of time is profiled, for instance by expressions like *moment, period, week,* and *next year*" (ibid.). *Temporal iconicity* determines the pairing of the both conceptualised and described time, as in,

(22)   I quit my job, got married, and had a baby.   (Langacker 2008: 79, example [19a])

However, this is only a tendency, as shown by the following example:

(23)   I had a baby, got married, and quit my job - in reverse order, of course.
        (example [19b])

The extra processing cost of (23) is recognised by the speaker's appendage, "in reverse order, of course," indicating the addressee's need to reconceptualise and backtrack in order to correctly apprehend the temporal sequence of events.

Evans affirms that, "Events are widely acknowledged to be the units of perception… Our experience of the world comes to us via the perception of events, and events are temporally structured, hence - my argument is that - their very essence appears to be temporal" (2013: 151-153). He argues that temporal representations are grounded in *directly perceived* and *subjectively real* experiences. Though not a new finding, temporal perception is in many ways comparable to spatial organisation, oftentimes being linguistically derived as

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[121] Whose ideas have already been applied to BH in van Wolde (2009: Chapter 6).

[122] See Evans (2015) for a short and accessible introduction to time within a Cognitive Linguistics framework.

71

a metaphorical extension of such (though not neurologically, see Evans' chapter 3). Nevertheless, time is only one-dimensional, as a succession of events, so "from the phenomenological perspective, time is experienced as anisotropic at the subjective level. This concerns the anticipation of a future event, the actual experience of the event, and finally, the recollection of the event as past" (ibid.: 65). This one dimension is also uni-directional and irreversible, so Evans argues that the primary difference between space and time is that the central unique feature of temporal conceptualisation is *transience*, i.e., "that aspect of time which underpins our ability to experience, and hence fix, events in time. Moreover, our experience of transience underpins our ability to represent temporal reference, including the use of spatial language and spatial representations in constructing and utilising t-FoRs [temporal frames of reference]" (ibid.: 75).[123]

Unfortunately, all of his examples are English and largely limited to conceptual or discourse metaphors representing temporal frames of reference, rather than discussing temporal iconicity (as mentioned by Langacker) in a discourse context, which he labels *coding time*. Nevertheless, his exposition of Target Events, Reference Points and Perspective Points is essential for an adequate cognitive understanding of discourse orientation.[124] Most pertinent to our present purposes are his treatment of *succession* (covering 'anteriority') and *synchronicity* (covering 'simultaneity'). Regarding the former,

> The human ability to experience succession is central to our ability to function successfully in the world. Moreover, it is phenomenologically real, constituting one of the 'felt' temporal experiences that appears to be essential for normal human function. Without the means of recognising succession, and hence event sequences, humans would be unable to distinguish between causes and their effects, with potentially disastrous consequences for learning and survival. The ability to experience and judge succession involves the ability to recognise events, and the ability to assign them an order in a sequence…A given target event (TE) is fixed with respect to another event, the reference point (RP), with respect to which it is sequenced" (ibid.: 114-115).

Synchronicity, on the other hand, is not a transience type, but a *temporal quality*, which "involve[s] a comparison across a specific type of transience," (ibid.: 67), namely, that of duration. It very simply "involves an awareness of two experiences or experience types

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[123] His three types of transience are: *anisotropicity*, i.e. the ability to recall the past, experience the present and imagine the future, *succession* and *duration*, which result in three temporal frames of reference respectively: *deictic*, *sequential*, and *extrinsic*. Each of these temporal frames of references are subject to semantic and formal conventional selectional tendencies.

[124] Target event (TE) is defined as, "The event, in a temporal scene, that is identified with respect to transience," the Reference point (RP) as, "The point which is deployed to fix the TE," and the Perspective point, "The perspective from which the temporal scene is viewed; this can take the perspective of the TE or the RP" (ibid.: 78).

occurring at the same temporal moment." However, "temporal qualities are the most phenomenologically complex temporal experience type," (ibid.: 68), so their conceptualisation - and textual determination - may not be as simple as this short definition could lead us to believe. In short, without a cognitively grounded model like Evans' we are methodologically impoverished.[125]

An example of CG update between the narrator and the reader in found in 1 Sam. 9:9. Evidently, in constructions such as these, there was an element missing in the conceptual world knowledge of the readers in the later retelling of the event that would have been obvious in the time of the historical event itself.[126]

(24)	לְפָנִים ׀ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה־אָמַר הָאִישׁ בְּלֶכְתּוֹ לִדְרוֹשׁ אֱלֹהִים לְכוּ וְנֵלְכָה עַד־הָרֹאֶה כִּי לַנָּבִיא הַיּוֹם יִקָּרֵא לְפָנִים הָרֹאֶה׃	*Previously in Israel*, this is what a person said when he went to inquire of God: "Come, let us go to the seer", because *the prophet of today* was previously called the seer. (1 Sam. 9:9)

Interestingly, the motivation for this CG update is not clear until 9:12. Saul and his helper both before (in 9:6, 7, 8) and after (9:10) refer to Samuel as אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים, yet as soon as they begin interacting with the young women at the well (9:11), they use the mutually comprehensible term, הָרֹאֶה, which they expected to be common in their conceptual context. In this case the narrator is aware of the need to maintain a cooperative CG, and thus explains the conceptual world knowledge that was potentially not shared by his readership - that prophets were previously called 'seers'. In the first clause we are situated spatiotemporally, 'Previously in Israel' (לְפָנִים ׀ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל),[127] and in the final explanatory כִּי clause, the reader is

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[125] To take only the example of "pluperfect" verbs, we are dealing plainly with translation value rather than a formal difference in the verb form itself (usually *waw*-X + *qatal*) and its pragmatic effects are determined through common schemata. Grammatical and literary studies limit us to context as our guide (Alter 2011), while formal semantics would posit something along the lines of Lascarides and Asher: "The event is usually the inceptive reading of the state… although this can vary with the context. Then, the pluperfect asserts that the consequent state of this event holds" (1993: 457) Interestingly, outside of parallel/contrastive topics, they limit anteriority's felicitous application to cases of *elaboration* or *explanation* (ibid.: 470). In section 3.5 we will pursue their manifestation as unambiguously *thetic*, which can function as a temporal frame of reference construction within strategic discourse organisation. Hatav, for her part, appeals to *reference time* (RT) being encoded within the verbal semantics of both *wayyiqtols* and *weqatals*. Accordingly, since they introduce a new RT into the discourse, they "are not used to depict situations that are (anaphorically) presupposed, simultaneous, or anterior" (2018: 52).

[126] Because of the economy of communication (Grice's maxim of quantity), "It is only when authors cannot assume that their audience shares their worldview that additional details must be added to flesh out statements that require further explanation" (Matthews 2008: 113).

[127] Zewi calls this a "Narrative-time coordinate" (2007: 158-170), and Matthews a "time cue" (2008: 18).

informed that "The prophet of today was previously called the 'seer'".[128] While the triple fronting at the beginning of the verse (לְפָנִ֣ים ׀ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל֮ כֹּ֣ה) is difficult to account for in terms of information structure, regarding its information status the entire proposition provides the reader with a necessary update to the CG, as does the the second fronted clause (לַנָּבִיא֙ הַיּ֔וֹם), which continues the necessary background knowledge to ensure a mutually agreed CG. In short, "temporal forms and spatial indicators in the text can combine with verbal forms to create powerful guides to textual perspective for the reader" (Matthews 2008: 17).[129]

In this subsection we have seen that we can apply the same framework of CG in spoken communication to narrative as well as direct discourse, and that the CG content is governed by givenness/unexpectedness features, dynamicity and linearity. The primary differences involve, on the one hand, the desituated nature of reading and thus an impoverished *current discourse space*, yet on the other hand, the ability to revisit earlier texts and correct one's understanding in a less transient fashion than in conversational speech. Nevertheless, under the framework of information status, discourse considerations do not have to lack the linguistic robustness that sentence-level analysis of information structure studies enjoy, since, as has been repeatedly pointed out in the literature (Langacker 2008, Auer & Maschler 2013, Evans 2013), there is no binary distinction between grammar and discourse concerns, rather a continuum.

CG content as encompassing both the information status of speech conversation and ongoing textual discourse lays the foundation for the explanatory power of thetic construals in accounting for the numerous and diverse discourse explanations that have been offered for BH fronting up to this point (see section 3.5). Let us briefly consider CG content outside of simple assertions.

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[128] Van der Merwe (p.c.) considers this clause a case of LD due to the disjunctive *zaqeph* on הַיּוֹם and the fact that the subject is resumed in the verbal morphology. For simplicity I limit LD to those clauses which have an overt resumptive personal pronoun (whether independent or suffixed; see section 4.1.3 for further discussion). This illustrates not only the pragmatic family resemblance of LD and fronting constructions, but also potentially their syntactic overlap.

[129] The orientative function of either locative or temporal adverbial phrases explains why they are often fronted in existential sentences (despite the sentence-initial *there*- construction - see Langacker 2008 for examples; cf. Kuno [1971: 375]). For this reason I argue below that, along with grammatical subjects, spatio-temporal adverb phrases are prototypical candidates for the fronted constituent in BH thetic sentences.

3.2.2.4 Common ground outside the declarative

Fortunately, language is not limited to the conveying of information. Even limiting ourselves to declarative utterances, communication has both illocutionary effects (what we are doing *in* our use of the language, for example, correcting) and perlocutionary effects (results that come about *by* our use of language, for example, an addressee adjusting their behaviour), often anticipated, by intentional construal and perspective or the use of persuasive speech. Sweetser explains,

> "Inasmuch as speech is the communication of information or of other matter for the intellect, hearing as well as sight is connected with intellectual processing… In a larger context, hearing is also considered to represent the kind of internal receptiveness to the speaker's intentions which might subsequently lead to compliance with the speaker's requests - i.e., to heedfulness and obedience" (1990: 43; cf. Austin 1962: 101).[130]

On a basic level, one need only consider the use of שמע as both 'hear' and 'obey' (Sweetser discusses this very case as a prototypical sensory metaphorical extension). These effects can be induced implicitly or intentionally through questioning or commanding. Nevertheless, they still have implications for the information status between the interlocutors. Murray excellently accounts for a CG update model of interrogatives as "impos[ing] a partition on the context… setting up the possible answers" and imperatives as "imposing a preference relation on the context" (2014: 4; see Paillard [2009:117-118] and Roberts 2012 for a similar approach).[131] If, as argued above, the speech act of "assertion is something like a proposal to change the context by adding the content expressed in the assertion to the common ground" (Stalnaker 2014: 89), that is, to limit "the set of possible worlds that is compatible with the presumed common knowledge of the participants" (ibid.: 24), both interrogatives and imperatives have the same power to limit the 'set of possible worlds'.

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[130] Likewise, Verhagen maintains that language is always argumentative, that is, "engaging in cognitive coordination comes down to, for the speaker/writer, an attempt to *influence* someone else's thoughts, attitudes, or even immediate behavior. For the addressee it involves finding out what kind of influence it is that the speaker/writer is trying to exert, and deciding to go along with it or not" (2005: 10, emphasis original). As is to be expected, biblical literature is exemplary in this regard (as noted in our brief survey of van der Merwe & Wendland 2010 on pages 19-21).

[131] Roberts further notes, "if a question is asked, the fact that it is asked is entered into the common ground, whether or not it is accepted, this by virtue of the fact that the asking is a speech act performed in full knowledge of all the interlocutors and that such (nonlinguistic) shared information is also represented in the common ground. And if the question is accepted, then the interpretation of the question and the fact that it was added to the set of questions under discussion at that point also becomes part of the common ground, by virtue of the way that the character of the changing InfoStr is continuously reflected in the common ground" (2012: 23).

With this foundation, let us briefly turn to some potential complications in natural communication, before exploring some solutions found within cognitive linguistics and the thetic-categorical distinction.

3.3 Complications for linguistic communication models

The model of communication laid out in section 3.2.1, limited to information structure (CG management), has proved a workhorse both within linguistics and biblical studies (see the previous chapter). Yet even when augmented with a more adequate understanding of CG content, its simplicity is somewhat artificial. In this section we take a short hiatus from *building* our theoretical model, per se, to confront the empirical and philosophical challenges to such a neat and tidy model of communication posited as realistically human. We begin with a short discussion of *bounded rationality*, before investigating its implications in a number of areas.

3.3.1 Bounded rationality

I concur with current behavioral psychology theories that in human decision making and interaction agents only act with a *bounded rationality* (see for example Rubinstein 1998, Schwartz 2002, Thaler 2017, 2018, Szpiro 2020). This affects the fluidity and indeed *success* of communication due to a less-than-optimal parsing of the speaker's (both implicit and explicit) intentions and a less-than-fully informed model of the other interlocutor's mental state to begin with. Parikh (2007, 2010) describes the former as *probabilistic interpretation*. Grice's, model of communication has relied too heavily on the positivistic assumption of perfectly rational agents (as have, to a certain extent, most *relevance theories*), which has proven unrealistic in other cognitive disciplines, especially in the decision-making literature. Schwartz notes that, "modern behavioral economics has acknowledged that the assumption of complete information that characterizes rational choice theory is implausible… owing both to the complexity of the human environment and the limitations of human information processing" (2002: 1178), while Szpiro adds that this foundational shift was inevitable as "it was time to turn away from purely theoretical speculation and take humans themselves, not mathematical models of them, as the measure of things… access to information is imperfect,

and computational capacities are limited" (2020: 183-184). An obvious extension of this idea is the partial indeterminacy of textual interpretation (which, as we have just seen, can be modeled according to a standard communication theory such as CG content). Though sound hermeneutical techniques bring us closer to an adequate reading, this too will always be *bounded* to a certain extent by our partial informational status and displacement from the text (Chafe 1994).

Note that this does not mean human action is *irrational*, but only *boundedly rational*, that is, in their actions, interactions, and decisions, agents are *bounded* by the environmental constraints and imperfect information flow.[132] This recognition lays the explanatory basis for the communicative complications which follow.

3.3.2 Intersubjectivity

Throughout our previous discussion, we have observed the notion that "language use is intimately tied to the fundamental human ability to coordinate cognitively with others" (Verhagen 2005: 8), yet how it is that "language as a communicative instrument transcends the individual" (Geeraerts 2016: 529) has not been fully developed. Consider the following example:

(25)   A: Do you think our son will pass his courses this term?

         B: Well, he passed them in the autumn term.   (Verhagen 2005: example [4])

For this answer to be cooperative it must be true that "In our culture it is a rule, *mutually known to the members of the culture*, that passing some test normally licenses the inference that one will be able to pass other tests as well" (ibid.: 12, emphasis added). We have examined a number of similar *accessible ideas* above and we will see the benefits of these conventions in the following section, yet how can it be confirmed that this rule is indeed mutually known?

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[132] Alternatively, *partially* rational. Indeterminacy arises in general because the "utterance situation, plays a profound role in communication, both in particular instances and in the large-scale evolution of language. It is seldom precisely specified or specifiable as the boundaries of situations are generally indeterminate. It contains all the ambient information that agents can draw upon in deciding what to say and inferring what has been communicated" (Parikh 2019: 26). Although this was first argued by Simon (1955), much economics research since has ignored psychology and acted *as if* we were fully rational, for mathematical precision and model simplicity.

A speaker perceives and conceptualises an event so that in communicating this event the utterance is subjectively construed to be cooperative with the perceived CG.[133] In the same way, the communicated event enters the interlocutors' CG in an *intersubjective* manner, wherein both the production and reception of the utterance involve construal.[134] Even with written texts, both the author's intention and the reader's interpretation are mutually necessary, and likewise, both illocution and perlocution, that is to say, the *effects* (whether intended or not) of the utterance.[135]

Now, with CG presupposed, we have seen that not everything needs to be 'spelled out.' Yet this intersubjectivity involves the risk, mentioned above, of a disconnect between common *knowledge* and common *ground*. In an ideal world, the CG of the conversational community would indeed align perfectly with their common knowledge, with can be defined as follows:

> "The common beliefs of the parties to a conversation are the beliefs they share, and that they recognize that they share: a proposition φ is common belief of a group of believers if and only if all in the group believe that φ, all believe that all believe it, all believe that all believe that all believe it, etc." (Stalnaker 2002b: 704).

In the real world, however, "The common ground is what is *presumed* to be common knowledge" (Stalnaker 2014: 45), i.e., *assumed* and *perceived* (Crystal 2008: 89). So a weaker model than that of Stalnaker's must be proposed for CG:

> "Since the interlocutor's discourse knowledge P_A is not directly accessible, language users rely on recursive models, reflecting their own assumptions about the other's knowledge $(P_A)_S$, their assumptions about the other's assumptions about their knowledge $((P_S)_A)_S$, etc." (Smit 2007: 94-95).

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[133] The notion of *grammatical construal* will be explored in section 3.4.1.

[134] Parikh takes a particularly radical stance: "I will propose that we can identify one subjective (or, more correctly, intersubjective) content for each participant in the conversation and that there is no content that we can identify as the interlocutor-independent 'objective' content of the utterance in question, even for the simplest utterance" (2006: 377).

[135] A further complication arises since these speaker effects are invisible to the hearer (Parikh 2006). So not everything communicated can be assumed to be necessarily explicitly intended. On the other side of the coin, not everything intended is communicated as in our examples of cultural conventions above.

The result is that "in general, communication is also a partial affair, determined by the degree of overlap between the speaker's meaning and the addressee's interpretation" (Parikh 2006: 382).[136] In Langacker's words,

> Conceptually, a usage event [utterance] includes the expression's full contextual understanding - not only what is said explicitly but also what is inferred, as well as everything evoked as the basis for its apprehension. Thus a usage event, when examined in comprehensive and fine-grained detail, is never precisely identical for the speaker and the addressee. Substantial overlap is usually enough for successful communication, however." (2008: 457-458)

How do we model, then, successful communication in CG terms? In other words, how do we bridge the gap between the desired common knowledge, for successful communication, and the more realistic picture of CG? Stalnaker's solution is the incorporation of the idea of *acceptance* to converge common belief with the CG: "It is common ground that ϕ in a group if all members *accept* (for the purpose of the conversation) that ϕ, and all *believe* that all accept that ϕ, and all *believe* that all *believe* that all accept that ϕ, etc." (Stalnaker 2002b: 716).[137] That is, for the purpose of communication we *accept* the entry of some entities or events into the CG, although previously not shared. Indeed, perhaps the ideas are not shared even after the utterance! As he later argues:

> I have said that one may *accept* many things, in the relevant sense, that one does not believe in cases where it facilitates the conversation to do so, which means that something may be part of the common ground even when it is not mutually believed. (2014: 46)

In short, parting from mutual belief, "if our basic attitude was acceptance for the purposes of the conversation, the result would be a representation of the common ground" (ibid.: 123). When speakers *flout* Grice's maxims, uttering something they may or may not be aware is inaccessible to their addressee, "pretending to presuppose something while actually doing something more like asserting it" (Dryer 1996: 498), we observe the phenomenon of *accommodation*, simply defined as "an adjustment of the presumed common ground in response to the manifest event that a certain speech act took place" (Stalnaker 2014: 69). As Wilson states, "Often in discourse an interlocutor presupposes a question or assertion which has not yet been accepted into the common ground; but when no interlocutors object to this

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[136] This constraint is multiplied when considering ancient texts as the reader is increasingly removed from the original communicative act. As Campbell states, "While language is sometimes ambiguous because a communicator has not given enough concern to clarity, at other times it is due to a lack at the recipient's end… The author may have been perfectly clear to his original readers and hearers, but less so to us" (2015: 81).

[137] Helpful here is Lewis' qualification: "Note that this is a chain of implications, not of steps in anyone's actual reasoning. Therefore there is nothing improper about its infinite length" (1969: 53).

presupposition, they all behave as if this information was in the common ground all along" (2020: 318).[138] Consider the following examples:

(26)   The *butler* did it! (Chafe 1976: 34)

(27)   I talked to *Larry* last night. (Chafe 1994: 98)

In example (26) Watson is sitting reading a newspaper, his mind elsewhere, when Sherlock blurts out his utterance. This does not appeal to world knowledge, but to long-term memory, i.e., the entity is inactive at the moment of the utterance, so Watson must be willing to make the effort to accommodate the activation.[139] In example (27), also conversation-initial, the uniqueness of the referent 'Larry' eases the accommodation, even when totally inactive before the utterance.

An important caveat with regard to accommodation is that the speaker assumes the addressee is prepared to tacitly assume the asserted content, "quietly and without fuss" (von Fintel 2008).[140] Therefore, if not accessible to the addressee, it should at least be "uncontroversial" (Krifka 2007: 16). Stalnaker is worth quoting at length here:

> But a conversation is presupposed to be a cooperative enterprise, and successful communication will depend on agreement about what the common ground is. So it is a norm of communication that the presuppositions of the participants - what they take the common ground to be - should be the same. There will inevitably be contexts in which there is a difference in what is presupposed by different parties to the conversation, but these will be *defective* contexts, and cooperative speakers who recognize a defect of this kind will take steps to ensure, in one way or another, that it does not persist. (2014: 46-47, emphasis original)

In other words, "Given the importance of this kind of agreement for successful communication, it is not surprising that the languages should contain devices, not just for

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[138] If intentional on the part of the speaker, they could be considering the content given in 'world-knowledge' terms. Alternative psychological explanations could be the *efficiency of the transfer of content*, (i.e. if the addressee is deemed capable of reconstructing what was left out explicitly, it is not worth one's time to express it explicitly), the *curse of knowledge*, "in the sense that they have a hard time recognizing that others do not know what they know" (Thaler 2017: 1803-4) or simply something *unexpected*, either in the speech situation or the discourse world.

[139] Perhaps the update could be accommodated under an *interpersonal context* (Evans 2013). "This suggests that there is a notion of activation accommodation as well as a notion of belief accommodation" (Dryer 1996: 501). While there exists the danger that appealing to accommodation could seem unfalsifiable, Dryer offers at least one constraint: "One property that seems to be shared by the cases for which an account in terms of accommodation seems plausible is that while the *hearer* may not believe the proposition in question prior to the utterance, it is at least the case that the *speaker* does (or acts as if they do)" (ibid.: 499).

[140] The phenomenon of accommodation differs from the implicatures [appeals to convention] discussed in section 3.2.2 (see examples [15]-[17]), in which case the entity or event is judged be CG accessible for the hearer.

saying things, but for signaling, as the conversation proceeds, what is common ground, just to keep the conversation on track" (ibid. 77; cf. our discussion of spatiotemporal orientation above). In Stalnaker's older work, he argues that "participants will normally be able to tell that divergences exist if they do" (2002a: 152), and thus, if the CG does become *defective*, "some backtracking and repair will be required" (1998: 10) in order to "keep the conversation on track." In speech conversation with a complete *current discourse space* (Langacker 2008), this seems unproblematic. Yet, since readers are desituated from their texts (Chafe 1994), crucially for biblical studies no "backtracking and repair" of the defective context set is possible,[141] and so ambiguities may persist. We turn now to such ambiguities.

3.3.2.1 Linguistic Ambiguity

Throughout the current discussion and indeed, in our analysis of the text of Samuel-Kings in the next chapter, we are exclusively concerned with language being used in a discourse context. However, syntactic ambiguity is typically illustrated by examples like the following:

(28)   "I saw the man with the telescope" (Rooth 1992, example [47.a])

(29)   "I found the boy studying in the library" (Chomsky 1957: 88)

Is the telescope instrumental of the seeing, or an attribute of the man being seen? And was I studying in the library when I found the boy, or was the boy studying in the library when I found him? I cannot imagine a discourse context, especially one in speech, with a full *current discourse space*, in which these examples would result in such an ambiguity. In any case, if a defective CG did arise, backtracking and repair could easily solve the ambiguity, or in the case of a written text, further reading would clarify the matter.

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[141] Unless, of course, it is explicitly provided. Note the introduction of Jonathan as Saul's son (1 Sam. 14:1) and both Gad and Nathan as the prophet (1 Sam. 22:5; 2 Sam. 7: 2) without any further detail, reflecting their accessibility to the mental world of the original readership. Amasa, on the other hand, is introduced as an focal constituent (informing who Absalom had set over the army in Joab's place - that this was necessary, Joab being on the run with David and company, seems reasonably accommodated): וְאֶת־עֲמָשָׂא שָׂם אַבְשָׁלֹם תַּחַת יוֹאָב עַל־הַצָּבָא. However, as the entity may not have been fully accessible from this abrupt introduction, the narrator continues to offer his genealogical details: וַעֲמָשָׂא בֶן־אִישׁ וּשְׁמוֹ יִתְרָא הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִי אֲשֶׁר־בָּא אֶל־אֲבִיגַל בַּת־נָחָשׁ אֲחוֹת צְרוּיָה אֵם יוֹאָב. This backtracking repairs the potentially defective context.

Austin considers certain ambiguities of modality to be resistant even within a discourse context. By way of illustration, he offers the following examples: "'There is a bull in the field' may or may not be a warning, for I *might* just be describing the scenery and 'I shall be there' may or may not be a promise." He continues, "there may be nothing in the circumstances by which we can decide whether or not the utterance is performative at all. Anyway, in a given situation it can be open to me to take it as *either* one or the other" (1962: 33, emphasis original). That is, sometimes even the discourse and situational context is not sufficient to determine clear cut speaker intentions, in which case backtracking to restore the nondefective CG would be necessary. Finally, Moshavi notes how even declaratives can be used to ask questions, as in the utterance, "You told him to come?" (Moshavi 2013: 306). Again, discourse context (and in this case, speaker attitude) would disambiguate a legitimate inquiry or discontent comment.

This leads to difficulties in classifying linguistic categories. However, bearing in mind what we have introduced above regarding cooperation and relevance, calibrating, maintaining a nondefective CG, etc., this type of ambiguity should not arise in-context very often, and if it does, we can "backtrack and repair." The problem arises when there is no way to gain access to this nondefective CG or to restore it, in the Stalnakerian terms explored above. On the other hand, though not to be exaggerated, ambiguities can still arise when dealing with written texts since (1) backtrack and repair is not possible, (2) future discourse may not clarify the matter, (3) as readers, we are displaced from the situational context of the author's model-reader, so are no doubt missing a world of cultural and contextual clues in the form of schemata and conventions that would enhance the precision of the CG and finally, (4) we have no access to the prosody of the BH text which would most likely offer insight into the pragmatics and CG management, and are exclusively reliant on morphosyntax to best determine the text's information flow.[142] In light of such inevitable imprecision, we will briefly mention some metalinguistic ambiguities, before offering some solutions in sections 3.4 and 3.5.

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[142] Though not explored here, the Masoretic system as an ancient interpretive tradition offers significant insight into the prosody-syntax interface.

3.3.2.2 Metalinguistic Ambiguity

While prototype theory and linguistic categorisation will be explored in greater detail in section 3.4.2, the nature of fuzzy boundaries between categories and the reality of more prototypical and more peripheral cases of a given category are important to mention at this point. Throughout our discussion, we have, in passing, noted areas of linguistic inquiry in which no firm boundaries can be located, such as the semantics-pragmatics interface (page 48), the activation states of referents in a discourse (page 50) and the grammar-discourse continuum (page 77). As our analysis will show, such a continuum is inevitable between topicality and focality (and indeed the scope of focus, as often their morphosyntactic / prosodic manifestations are identical) and between theticity vs. categoricity.

In the first place, some scholars hold to the possibility of no topic, others to more than one topic, and even in the simplified case of one topic, it is not always possible to identify with confidence (see van Hecke 2011: 227 and Hilpert 2014: 109). If they seem to exhibit a level of contrast or parallelism, they are often taken to overlap with the focus scope (see Ozerov 2018 for numerous examples of topic-focus conflation, especially in cross-linguistic comparisons of similar linguistic phenomena). Similarly, in the previous chapter we already noted van Hecke's (2011) and Khan & van der Merwe's (2020) observation of the subjectivity of both topic identification and adequately determining the scope of focus in BH data. On the latter, Erteschik-Shir (2007: 30-31) offers an example of an English stress pattern which could potentially be interpreted as argument-focus, predicate-focus or indeed sentence-focus, while the following two examples would be difficult to disambiguate without access to the stress patterns indicating the argument-focus placement:

(30)   a. she beats *me* more often than Sue (= than she beats Sue)

        b. *she* beats me more often than Sue (= than Sue beats me)

        (Rooth 1992, example [59])

Turning to theticity (discussed in detail in section 3.5), I will offer just a few examples of prosodic or morphosyntactic ambiguity in the literature. Sasse (2006: 267-268) notes a total ambiguity between Hungarian subject-focus constructions and thetic sentences, while Pezzati (2012: 371) observes a similar potential ambiguity between thetic sentences and those

with an explicit topic in Portuguese. Lambrecht (1994: 307) argues that an *event reporting* clause often share the same syntactical structure as those of argument focus, while we have already noted the identical prosody of the narrow focus and 'sentence focus' structure in 'My *car* broke down' (from example [4], cf. Krifka [2007: 31]). If, as I argue here, BH encodes morphosyntactically the pragmatic information communicated by English prosody (see Taylor 2003: 186-199 for further examples), we can imagine how such an example could be read as either narrow focus or thetic.

Thus we conclude our survey of the complications encountered in our model of communication. We have seen that difficulties arise in real world communication since CG does not equal common knowledge. Interlocutors do not enjoy direct access to the conceptual world of their addressee regarding their presuppositions (or vice versa), so our linguistic interaction is inescapably intersubjective. Nevertheless, as Stalnaker has proposed, simply accepting propositional content, in the form of *accommodation* allows conversation to proceed fluently and cooperatively. If there is a disconnect between the two (or more, depending how many people are involved in the conversational community) conceptions of the CG, backtracking and repair is necessary to restore a nondefective CG, and human interlocutors have no trouble identifying such divergences and getting the conversation back on track. On the other hand, ambiguities can persist when we cannot fully determine the CG and therefore, in the case of texts, cannot confirm that our interpretation aligns perfectly with the author's intended message. Finally, metalinguistic ambiguity can arise for the same reason, conflated by the lack of prosody available to reader of the BH text and, in any case, the probability that fuzzy boundaries and overlap between categories are inherent to linguistic categories. These issues will continue to be addressed in our survey of cognitive linguistics and the thetic-categorical distinction in the following two sections.

3.4 Cognitive linguistics

In Geeraerts' introduction to cognitive linguistics he highlights four central tenets of the discipline: namely, that linguistic meaning is (1) perspectival, (2) dynamic and flexible, (3) encyclopedic and non-autonomous, and (4) based on usage and experience (2006: 3-6). We will base our investigation of how a cognitive linguistics approach can benefit the study

of BH fronting on these four basic characteristics and examine how it can explain many of the complications raised in the previous sections. The reader will notice abundant overlap and interdependence between these four areas of investigation.

3.4.1 Construal

Geeraert's first concern is the "perspectival nature of linguistic meaning" (cf. Geeraerts 2016). That is, all communication is *construed* in a number of different dimensions - construal being "our ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways" (Langacker 2015: 120). We have already referred to construal above in our short discussion of intersubjectivity, whereby both the speaker and addressee independently construe meaning from the utterance.

The most obvious perspectival element, in light of our previous discussion, is what Langacker refers to as the *ground* (the communicative situation) which will determine the reference point(s) of the conversation and therefore determine notions such as givenness features. Canonically, interlocutors are together in space and time, therefore presumably sharing the same vantage point of the scene. However, when this is not the case, orientation is employed by the speaker to subjectively paint the scene's *viewing arrangement* for the addressee (Langacker 2008: 73-78). Furthermore, due to our finite processing capacity, short-term memory (Chafe 1994, Evans 2013) and bounded rationality, *selection* is necessary in our language production, so that some entities will necessarily be made salient (*profiled*) and others peripheral.[143]

As will be further discussed in sections 3.4.3, both speaker and addressee construal is perspectival. Illustrative is Langacker's framework of *trajector* as a primary focus, "the most prominent participant… the entity construed as being located, evaluated, or described" (2008: 70) and landmark as the secondary focus.[144] Consider the following examples:

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[143] As native speakers, and to a lesser extent as readers of ancient languages, robust lexical and cultural understanding allows us to determine (albeit imperfectly) this background knowledge (which is left unexpressed) from an onomasiological perspective by asking "for any given entity or state of affairs, what range of linguistic expressions may be used to denote it" (Taylor 2003: 50).

[144] Langacker's notions of *focus* and *profiling* should not be confused with the Information Structure concepts *focus* and *topic* as they do not describe the same phenomena.

(31)   (a) [The other guests all left]TR before [we arrived]LM.

(b) [We arrived]TR after [the other guest all left]LM.   (ibid.: 72, example [12])

It is evident that "Expressions can have the same content, and profile the same relationship, but differ in meaning because they make different choices of trajector and landmark" (ibid.: 70), resulting in a different temporal perspective in these two examples (cf. Evans 2013), and a different spatial perspective in the following two:[145]

(32)   [The rock]TR is in front of [the tree]LM. [The tree]TR is behind [the rock]LM.
        (ibid.: 76, example [15])

In the following, notice the distinct perspectives produced by construal operations of *reification* (whereby an action is nominalised) and *actionalizing* (whereby an entity can derive a verb form):

(33)   *an event:*   *reified as an object:*
        John called me   John gave me a call
(34)   *object:*   *actionalized as:*
        Hail(stones) came in   It hailed in through
        through the window   through the window   (Talmy 2006: 78)

Comparison with vision (among other motor-sensory faculties) is the cognitive motivation for treating our linguistic conceptualising and perception in the same way (see section 3.4.3). Van Wolde applies the interlocutor's choice of how to shape their communicative content to the study of BH in her formulation of a cognitive approach to ancient texts:

> *Cognitive historiography* … identifies the meanings of words and texts with cognitive or mental processing in the broadest sense of that term, including both sensory and motor experience, as well as a speaker's conception of the social, cultural, and linguistic context. Thus, historical texts are investigated as both conceptual and contextual constructs. Owing to their conceptual character,

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[145] The alternative construals of the same proposition can be compared to Tversky and Kahneman's findings that decision-making is often dependent on 'decision frames', which, "refer to the decision-maker's conception of the acts, outcomes and contingencies associated with a particular choice. The frame a decision-maker adopts is controlled partly by the formulation of the problem and partly by the norms, habits, and personal characteristics of the decision-maker. It is often possible to frame a given decision problem in more than one way. Alternatives frames for a decision problem may be compared to alternative perspectives on a visual scene (1981: 453).

historical records are dependent on construal - that is to say, on the human capacity for conceptualizing an event or situation. (2009: 10)

Notice that we are concerned not only with individual conceptualisation, but also contextual constructs, that is, these conceptualisations are both perceived and construed in usage events (utterances) and in society. As I have argued from the beginning of this chapter, all language is communicative and therefore social by nature. It is for this reason that both Verhagen (2005) and Geeraerts (2016) argue that intersubjectivity is simply the interconnection between the speaker's construal and the addressee's interpretation of this construal.

Janda astutely observes, "construal determines how perceived reality is sorted into foregrounded and background information" (2015: 133), the proximal / distal distinction between *this* book and *that* book as a simple illustration.[146] At the same time, this is in no way limited to such determiners: "*It does not seem fanciful to view the overall topic of a paragraph… as being analogous to a clausal trajector. As for profiling, a possible analog is the essential content of a passage or the main story line of a text*" (Langacker 2008: 483, emphasis added). Therefore, it would appear that a speaker's subjective construal of an event can be interpreted to update the CG on different levels of discourse salience, i.e., profiling a single sentence constituent, *profiling an entire event* or following a trajector through discourse. Indeed, regarding the profiling of a single entity or an entire state of affairs, consider the spatial scanning analogy offered by Langacker:

"Sequential scanning is the mode of processing we employ when watching a motion picture or observing a ball as it flies through the air… On the other hand, summary scanning is what we employ mentally reconstructing the trajectory a ball has followed (e.g. in identifying a pitch as a curve, fastball, or slider and diagramming its degree of curvature). The component states are activated successively but cumulatively (i.e. once activated they remain active throughout), so that eventually they are all coactivated as a simultaneously accessible whole." (Langacker 2006: 51-52)

Regarding the construal of thetics, Rosengren had already noted the following:

Thetic/categorical are actually EXTRALINGUISTIC concepts, standing for two different perspectivizations of events: thetic for a perspective where the event is looked at as a totally undivided WHOLE, or, more precisely, as a STAGE, that is, as one event in a flow of events; categorical for a perspective where an event is divided into two parts, one of which is an entity, which is looked upon from the point of view of what happens to it or what it is doing. (1997: 442)

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[146] Indeed, during the brutal siege of Samaria, resulting in economic collapse and even cannibalism, when a certain citizen appeals to the king that הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת אָמְרָה אֵלַי with the proximal deictic (2 Kgs. 6:28), the text certainly profiles the defendant as foregrounded in an accusatory, finger-pointing manner, and thus probably present on the scene, rather than a generic "A certain woman said to me…"

We will examine the details of construal and profiling in theticity later (see section 3.5.1). However, after discussing of the embodied nature of language below (in section 3.4.3), the inadequacy of Rosengren's claims that profiling and construing theticity are *extralinguistic* realities should become clear; cognitive linguistics places 'perspective' very much *within* linguistic consideration.

Two key constructions that we have encountered so far (namely, out-of-the-blue utterances and temporal frames of reference) are entirely dependent on their construal and correct grounding for an adequate account of the intersubjective nature of reading ancient texts. Only on some occasions can they be compared to the notion of 'background' (in the discourse off-line sense typical of previous BH studies, not in the information structure sense, for which, see Song 2017). On other occasions they are very much mainline, yet profile the entire event, rather than topical or focal entities (see section 3.5 below).

3.4.2 Prototype Theory

> *"If one breaks eggs into a frying pan, it may or may not be*
> *easy to tell where one egg leaves off and another begins"*
> (Chafe 1994: 58)

Geeraerts' second concern, that meaning is dynamic and flexible, is the result of a cognitive understanding of linguistic categorization - prototype theory. By way of illustration, consider the concept 'bird'. I doubt anyone would argue that there is only one type of bird. Yet what is it that delimits our definition of bird, i.e., those primitive and binary (+/-) features which tell us what is and what is not a bird? Penguins, for example, do not fly - a potentially basic characteristic of how we might have defined bird, and ducks live in water, probably not where we would have conceptualised a prototypical bird's residence. They are, therefore, highly peripheral examples of bird. Degree of category membership is a continuum, moving all the way from such peripheral examples to prototypical examples, which "serve as reference points for the categorization of not-so-clear instances" (Taylor 2003: 45). However, even when considering prototypical birds not everyone will conceptualise the same image - some will be more prototypically envisaged as prototypical than others, that is to say,

there is a prototypical structure even among prototypes![147] Perhaps in the UK someone might picture a robin, while in the USA someone might picture an eagle. The same realities of degree of membership can be seen in the colour spectrum - where does red end and orange begin? And different communities are likely to claim different reds as prototypical, though not usually verging on quite universally peripheral examples. Returning to Chafe's eggs-in-a-pan comment above, we may not be able "to tell where one eggs leaves off and another begins," but we will surely have no problem identifying the yokes. Nevertheless, "Just as there are central and marginal members of the semantic category BIRD, so too a linguistic category… has representative and marginal members" (Taylor 2003: 202).

We have already mentioned both van Hecke's (2011) and Khan & Van der Merwe's (2020) observations of the subjectivity and overlap of information structure categories in the previous section, by which one "one form [is] being used for more than one function" (Sweetser 1990: 1), i.e., there is an informational *polyfunctionality* of identical grammatical constructions resulting in family-resemblance networks with more marginal and more prototypical occurrences. Although not working with a cognitive linguistics framework, Parikh notes that such polyfunctionality is due to the *efficiency* of language. He is worth quoting at length on this point:

> The fact that the same sentence can be used to convey different contents in different circumstances is precisely what makes language efficient. Partly, efficiency is purely linguistic, that is, it resides in the lexical ambiguity of words and structural ambiguity of sentences, thereby allowing one word or one sentence to carry multiple semantic values via linguistic mechanisms, but by and large it is contextual. Context is central to efficiency as it both provides the ambient information that gets *added* to the purely linguistic information a sentence provides to produce meaning. In these two ways, efficiency is an entirely observable and empirical fact about language and meaning. (2019: 21-22, emphasis original).

Therefore the "rules" observed from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective are not concerned with a syntactic constraints of a UG but the social, cultural and contextual constraints of communication. Note that Parikh makes no attempt to separate the lexical and structural nature of both situatedness and efficiency, as structuralist and generativist studies have tended to do. Indeed, leading proponents of cognitive linguistics such as Langacker (2008) stress the

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[147] This notion of "prototype as prototypical" is clearly presented in Geeraerts (2006b). He observes that "(i) Prototypical categories cannot be defined by means of a single set of criterial (necessary and sufficient) attributes… (ii) Prototypical categories exhibit a family resemblance structure, or more generally, their semantic structure takes the form of a radial set of clustered and overlapping meanings… (iii) Prototypical categories exhibit degrees of category membership; not every member is equally representative for a category… (iv) Prototypical categories are blurred at the edges" (2006b: 146).

continuum from a syntactic and semantic pole, rejecting the previously dominant understanding of the autonomy of syntax.

The phenomenon of *polysemy* has been long observed in lexical semantics, whereby the same lexeme can communicate numerous meanings. As Taylor has noted, "ambiguity is the hallmark of polysemy" (2003: 183), and the linguistic ambiguity resulting from both polysemy and polyfunctionality is an area where the cognitive linguistics has amply applied lexical sense extensions to syntactic constructions. The majority of BH studies in recent years have concerned the polysemy of lexical domains, (for example van der Merwe 2006, Rodriguez 2016, Burton 2019 and Thompson and Lyle 2019), or conjunctions (as Locatell 2017). However, Andrason and van der Merwe confirm Taylor, Langacker and Parikh's conviction in applying the same approach to "design a semantic qualitative map" of the *qatal* conjugation in Genesis (Andrason & van der Merwe 2015: 74), while Andrason, Westbury & van der Merwe (2016) illustrate both the polyfunctionality and polymorphism of the left-dislocation construction, and Andrason (2019) illustrates the pervasiveness of polysemy in serial verb constructions and the gradient status of the קוּם gram within this category.[148]

Sense-extensions and the resulting polysemy and polyfunctionality in language creates a family-resemblance network of both lexical and syntactic structures.[149] Yet crucially, just as the entities might display degrees of membership according to their prototypicality, so might the *attributes* that cause them to be considered a category member also display degrees of membership, some enjoying more structural significance than others (as perhaps, 'flying,' as opposed to 'living in water' for our category of *bird*). Furthermore, "Bearing a relationship to the prototype does not necessarily entail sharing a feature with the prototype, since a relationship to the prototype may be mediated by a chain of linked members, in which each contiguous pair shares features, but there may be no feature shared by category members at the extreme ends of this chain" (Janda 2015: 136). That is, four members of a certain category might display attributes AB, BC, CD, and DE respectively.

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[148] The investigation of constructional polysemy has also proven fruitful in the study of other languages (see, for example, Allan's [2016] study of the aorist in Homeric Greek). As noted, the extension of prototype theory from lexical studies to verbal semantics and even syntactic constructions as a natural result of cognitive linguistics' rejection of any hard divisions between these linguistic levels has not been lost on theoretical linguists and particularly semanticists in recent years (see Taylor 2003, 2015, Geeraerts 2010, Reimer 2010, Cruse 2011).

[149] Radial networks of polyfunctionality exhibit semasiological salience: "The semasiological perspective asks, for a given linguistic expression, what range of entities or situations may be named by it" (Taylor 2003: 50).

Note that each member only exhibits characteristic similarities with the directly adjacent category members, i.e., they need not exhibit all five to be considered a member. Furthermore, it could plausibly be the case that if the second and third members are closer to prototypical, attributes B, C and D enjoy more structural significance, and both AB and DE are peripheral members. Andrason is perhaps a little more pointed:

> Even though crucial for a meaningful organization of respective categories, prototypes do not exist in the real world. They constitute inductive generalizations - or mental idealizations proposed by us, observers - that exemplify categories to the optimal degree, distinguishing them most efficiently from other taxa. An actual phenomenon that exists in the real world is variation - language-specific instantiations of a category. These may, however, comply with the prototype to a greater or lesser extent. Those that fulfill all the features postulated for the prototype approximate it closely. Those that fulfill only a number of such features constitute less close approximations. The former are referred to as canonical, the latter as non-canonical… The critical fact is that all members - whether canonical or non-canonical - belong to the category, even though this belonging varies qualitatively. The inclusion of non-canonical members in the category is granted by their respective similarity to the prototype, and the family resemblance that connects them to more canonical neighbors on the scale. Overall, the relation of belonging to the category… cannot be solved by resorting to binary logic, but is rather a question of degree, i.e., the extent of canonicity. (2019: 102-103)

He concludes his article, "Binarism constitutes a serious flaw in linguistics that has held back language science for a hundred years" (ibid.: 125)!

The family-resemblance network resulting in both overlapping forms and functions (polysemy and polyfunctionality) is a natural result both of language as dynamic - i.e. as a direct intersection of synchronic and diachronic considerations, and of alternative profiling (Langacker 2015). It is for this reason that Cognitive Linguistics "provides a unified explanation of why a category may be used in more than one function, why different categories may be used to express the same function, and why some phenomena may exhibit properties that are exemplary of two (or even more) categories" (Andrason, Westbury, & van der Merwe 2016: 2). Lexical items or grammatical structures often evolve diachronically by the innovative forces of grammaticalization or metaphorical extension, with their added senses being pragmatically retrievable (albeit by accommodation), before becoming *entrenched* (see the following section), resulting in a polysemous family-resemblance network of meanings (see Hopper & Traugott 2003, van der Auwera et al. 2015 and Falkum & Vicente 2015 for further discussion).[150] In the case of a shift in lexical semantics, Reimer

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[150] For example, Falkum states that polysemy ought to be "treated as a mainly communicative phenomenon, which arises as a result of lexical concepts underdetermining the situation-specific concepts that are communicated by them, as part of hearers' search for optimal relevance in the process of utterance interpretation" (Falkum & Vicente 2015: 11). This "search" analyses both "encyclopaedic information activated by the lexical concepts in the utterance, as well as any other relevant situation-specific assumptions activated by the utterance situation" (ibid.).

states, "A word does not suddenly change from meaning A to meaning B in a single move; instead, the change happens via an intermediate state in which the word has *both* A and B among its meanings" (Reimer 2010: 373, emphasis original).[151] It will be crucial to not lose sight of prototype theory and family-resemblance category structures both in our discussion of theticity below and in our analysis of Samuel-Kings in chapter 4.

3.4.3 Cognitive Commitment

Geearaerts' third characteristic, that meaning is encyclopedic and non-autonomous, is that of a *cognitive* commitment. This implies that idea that "language is studied not as if it were a separate and autonomous cognitive module, but as a reflection of general conceptual organization, categorization principles, processing mechanisms, and experiential and environmental influences" (Geeraerts 2016: 531). Semantically, lexical items and grammatical structures are better understood as the tip of an iceberg of encyclopedic knowledge, i.e., as vehicles to communicate all of the experienced and embodied conceptual knowledge that underlies an interlocutor's use of language (see Evans 2013). For this reason cognitive linguistics is necessarily a multi-disciplinary enterprise, mutually benefitting from other cognitive sciences. We have already noted numerous psychological explanations and corroboratory research regarding decision-making applied to linguistic interaction in this chapter, namely, *choice* (for topic-shifting and focus selection; sections 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2), *semi-rationality* (section 3.3.1), *efficiency* resulting in polysemy (section 3.4.2), *efficiency of the transfer of content* or the *curse of knowledge* resulting in potentially unexpected utterances (page 80) and *processing costs* (page 49).

Furthermore, since we are *embodied* beings, *construal* is clearly derived from both our visual perception and sensory and motor faculties of extension, movement and direction, while our underlying conceptual knowledge, which languages acts as a vehicle to transmit, is dependent upon both our sociocultural and schematic experiences. As we will see in the next section, the recognition of language use as culturally-embodied communication enriches our

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[151] Verbal semantics and syntactic structures experience the same process. For example, the *qatal*: "In terms of our model, meanings are maps of accumulated senses. It is the variation in the prototypicality of senses that leads to shifts in meaning. However, theoretically speaking, at a particular historical moment, all the senses typical of the previous stages of the cline may be available - the meanings that were once acquired may persist for a long time even if newer senses have also been developed" (Andrason & van der Merwe 2015: 78), and regarding left-dislocation, which "should be able to express more than one meaning and adopt more than one formal appearance" (Andrason, Westbury & van der Merwe 2016: 13-14). For our purposes, see Sasse (2006: 271-274) for further discussion of polysemous constructions related to theticity.

understanding of even a limited corpus. As Walton notes, "if we are going to comprehend communication that took place between members of an ancient culture, we are going to have to adjust our thinking to be able to sit in the circle of communication with the ancient audience" (2018: 9). Indeed, Geeraerts refers to this as the *sociosemiotic* commitment within cognitive linguistics. He states:

> Generative grammar decontextualizes grammar by disassociating what is considered to be the core of linguistics from the discursive context of performance and language use, from the social context of interaction and variation, and from the cognitive context of meaning and experience. Cognitive Linguistics is a recontextualizing approach in that it reincorporates these contextual domains into the scope of the grammar – including, needless to say, the social perspective. (2016: 530)

These commonly-lived experiences are reflected in the language speakers use and how they refer to certain entities. Indeed, such *frames* (i.e., schemata) "structure our conceptual and social life" and "although cognitive framing is reflected and guided by language, it is not inherently linguistic. People manipulate many more frames than they have words and constructions for" (Fauconnier & Turner 2006: 303). Likewise, after Lackoff and Johnson's pioneering work (1980), recent decades have witnessed a flourishing of scholarship in conceptual metaphor theory, now recognising that "The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary" (Lackoff 2006: 192), since, "as soon as one gets away from concrete physical experience and starts talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm" (ibid.: 188), varying between cultures due to each language community's lived experiences. Finally, these common experiences lead not only to schemata/frames, but also *scripts*, which can be considered more dynamic than frames, and are typically associated with "basic level events such as 'do the washing up' and 'visit the doctor', which are structured according to the expected sequencing of subordinate events" (Taylor 2003: 91). One can see how both frames and scripts enhance our conceptualisation of temporal ordering of events, as discussed in section 3.2.3.3. These concepts will be further elaborated on in the next section.

3.4.4 Usage-based approach

Geeraerts' final characteristic of the cognitive linguistics enterprise is that meaning is usage-based, that is, we derive our linguistic skill from experience. Evidently, this has major implications for theories of language acquisition and UG, but for our purposes, the fact that "all things flow from the actual usage events in which people communicate linguistically

with one another" (Tomasello 2006: 439) both limits our research to the 'surface level' of the BH text and also frees us from speculation. For this reason corpus-driven and statistically-verified research is characteristic of cognitive linguistics, rendering its results empirical and falsifiable. Thus linguistic meaning is observable and limited to the *utterance*, not *sentence*, since "Semantic content is structured and symbolized, not at the level of some abstract, unobservable underlying representation, but at the surface level of an utterance" (Taylor 2003: 226). Langacker calls this the *content requirement*, and considers it to be,

> "intrinsically more restrictive (at least in a certain, nontechnical sense) than the constraints generally imposed on algorithmic models. Essentially, it rules out all arbitrary descriptive devices, i.e. those with no direct grounding in phonetic or semantic reality. Among the devices excluded are contentless features or arbitrary diacritics; syntactic dummies with neither semantic nor phonological content, introduced solely to drive the formal machinery of autonomous syntax; and the derivation of overt structure from abstract, underlying structures of a substantially different character." (2006: 47-48)

The same accusation of the inadequacy of a generative approach to ancient languages could hypothetically be leveled at the cognitive approach,[152] yet it does not claim to determine the felicity of a speaker's performance in generating grammatically sound sentences. Rather, it pursues the natural language user's performance in the text given, as far as possible, according to their conceptual world, and based on the corpus it can statistically determine some measure of prototypicality, with both semasiological and onomasiological entrenchment and salience (see below; cf. Geeraerts 2010, Burton 2017). However, as in many other areas of linguistic investigation, the case for BH research is complicated:

> Recall that the purpose of confirmatory analysis is to validate or falsify the results obtained, that is, to determine if there is statistical significance. If this were to be the case, it would imply that similar results would be found in another corpus or even a live analysis of actual language use. However, with BH the analyst is limited to studying the language from a closed-corpus, primarily the Hebrew Bible… In this way, there are no further attestations for which a BH expression can be measured against, as often, the analyst can evaluate every available variation or usage. As a result, confirmatory analysis becomes a moot point… Although for the BH scholar, this is one less step to conduct, it is a significant - though unavoidable - deviation from standard corpus-driven quantitative analysis. In the end, the ancient language analyst must content themselves with never being able to make empirically validated claims about the language beyond the sample/closed-corpus—even if this language be a hypothetical reconstruction. (Thompson & Lyle 2019: 133-134)

Nevertheless, being limited to the BH corpus is no excuse for biblical studies to be content with a detached and partial account, since, as I have argued from the beginning of this

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[152] Burton (2017) confronts this question head on. She convincingly shows that the cognitive approach nonetheless provides the best framework to approach to ancient language study and, rather than shying away from the messiness of linguistic ambiguity added to the lack of a native speaker's intuition, it "challenges the biblical or semitic scholar to discover signals that reveal the process of communication" (Van Keulen & van Peursen 2006: 34, as quoted in Burton [2017: 215]). In Burton's view, these signals include parallelism and word pairs, a noun's syntactic tendency as either subject or object and which verbal semantic categories it tends to be paired with, verbal valency with or without prepositional compliments, and construct phrases, among others. For an alternative approach, see Zanella (2010).

chapter, linguistic meaning is derived from access to the usage event. To this end, Burton exhorts us to take seriously "The contexts in which the lexemes occur" and their syntactic nature, since this may help determine "the interrelationships between the members of a semantic domain… their relationship to the rest of their cognitive world, as well as allowing us to make distinctions between various members of the sam domain in terms of the possible ranges of their use" (2017: 223; see Kingham 2021 for a recent cognitive-statistical study of adverbials in BH determined by their collocational tendencies and syntactic contexts). From a literary approach, Alter warns us to take seriously the constructions the BH text utilises to present "a mentality alien to our own and a radically different *approach to ordering experience* from the ones familiar to us" (2011: 111). He later summarises, "What we find, then, in biblical narrative is an elaborately integrated system of repetitions, some dependent on the actual recurrence of individual phonemes, words, or short phrases, others linked instead to the actions, images, and ideas that are *part of the world of the narrative* we "reconstruct" as readers but that are not necessarily woven into the verbal texture of the narrative" (ibid.: 119, emphasis added).

The repeated construal of these 'actions, images and ideas' in the BH world are directly applicable to cognitive linguistic's idea of *entrenchment*, by which their transmission becomes a cultural convention. In other words, "A regular association between sound and meaning consists in a process of repeated use that is crucially based on - and at the same time (re)produces - mutually shared knowledge and expectations in a community" (Verhagen 2015: 232). It is no mystery then, why *constructions* (as understood by Construction Grammar, at least from Goldberg 2006a onwards) are just syntactic manifestations of such entrenched, conventional, "form-meaning correspondences that are not strictly predictable from knowledge of the rest of the grammar" (Goldberg 2006b: 411).[153] The frequency of such constructions ease their global processing and interpretation within a speech community (Patten 2012).[154]

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[153] Non-compositionality is no longer considered a necessary feature of constructions (as in Goldberg 1995). As since expressed, "Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency" (Goldberg 2006a: 5).

[154] See sections 3.5.3.1, 3.5.3.2 and 3.5.3.3.1 for an exploration of thetics as constructions.

If attempting to account for intersubjectivity gave rise to communicative complications, this ease of processing of entrenched constructions could be viewed as the resulting benefit of a sociosemiotic commitment of cognitive linguistics, since if language is "a tool for organizing and exchanging knowledge," then ""language as cognition" encompasses shared and socially distributed knowledge and not just individual ideas and experiences" (Geeraerts 2016: 532-533, cf. van der Merwe 2006). As already discussed and hinted at, these 'shared and socially distributed' ideas which provide an economic processing of discourse involve not only *constructions*, but also *frames* (or schemata, i.e., commonly shared situations), *scripts* (the expected sequencing of events) and *conventions* in general,[155] in a world where language is to a certain extent shaped by the community and the community thus shapes the language.[156]

Applying such notions to textual interpretation, often what goes unsaid is what may concern us as modern readers, but "one must keep in mind the rigorous economy of biblical narrative" (Alter 2011: 73). This also applies to a striving to "relearn something of this mode of perception that was second nature to the original audiences" (ibid.: 74), i.e. as far as possible, to enter their cognitive space.[157] By way of illustration I offer the potentially difficult case of fronting:

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[155] Hence the necessity of Ancient Near East research for the study of the Hebrew Bible, not only socioculturally, but also linguistically. See Walton (2018) for an excellent introduction. He exhorts biblical studies to focus on history and archaeology as much as literature, "as a means of penetrating the cognitive environment of the people who inhabited the ancient world that Israel shared" and language, "as a means of gaining additional insights into the semantics, lexicography, idioms, and metaphors used in Hebrew" (2018: 18). Alter (1999, 2011) discusses specific *type-scenes*, such as conversation at the well and the prestige enjoyed at the city gate. Klein also mentions the "call form" involve with Saul's ascension and the conventionalised elements of (1) divine confrontation, (2) and introductory word, (3) commission, (4) objection, (5) reassurance, and (6) sign (1983: 84). Besides common literary conventions entrenched in the culture of the primary readership, on an informational level, intertextual confirmation should be sought within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible itself. In the case of Samuel-Kings, Firth has pointed out, "the narrators in the Former Prophets tend to assume that readers are aware of other texts within the Old Testament (principally the Pentateuch)" (2019: 5). Minimally, it seems that interlocutors and the narrator assumed the initial audience of the books of Samuel-Kings were aware of the nation's preceding history in oral form. Note, for example, how Joab can make a passing reference to Abimelech (Judges 9) without further explanation (2 Sam. 12:21). While the recognition of the importance of these disciplines is not novel, cognitive linguistics argues for their necessary integration and application to the search for textual meaning.

[156] However, we should not ignore the limitations. "We're frequently aware of how inadequate language is to the ideas we want to express. Often, for example, words are ambiguous, and only one of the possible interpretations corresponds to the meaning we want to convey. Cases like this seem clear evidence of the non-identity of language and thought" (Reimer 2010: 414).

[157] Cf. our previous discussion of maintaining a nondefective CG in section 3.3.2 and 3.3.2.1.

(35)	וּנְתַתִּיו לַיהוָה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו וּמוֹרֶה לֹא־יַעֲלֶה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ:	And I will give him to Yahweh all the days of his life. And *a razor* will not touch his head. (1 Sam. 1:11)

Here Hannah is making a vow before Yahweh. If the razor reference is lost on readership on the first take, reading on will reveal that if He grants her a child, she will dedicate it to lifelong service in the tabernacle. As we will see later, it is unlikely that razor represent either the clause's topic, as it appears totally inaccessible, or focus, as the presupposition '*x* will not touch his head' seems unlikely. It is therefore understood as a thetic utterance announcing the speaker's commitment to carry out its content, perhaps having become a cultural convention in this case. Within Hannah's conceptual world dedicating a child to Yahweh seems to have implicitly meant a Nazarite vow and the razor comment confirms this, metonymically representing the entire (unvoiced) vow (cf. Alter 1999: 5). Furthermore, even in the establishment of the Nazarite vow in Numbers 6, the shaving instrument was fronted:

(36)	כָּל־יְמֵי נֶדֶר נִזְרוֹ תַּעַר לֹא־יַעֲבֹר עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ	All the days of his Nazirite vow *a knife* will not pass over his head. (Num. 6:5)

The כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו in 1 Samuel:11 also intertextually echoes the temporal orientation in Numbers 6. Finally, the Samuel text is an exact repetition of Judges 13:5, where the same vow is made concerning Samson.[158] Here the subjective construal of the writer profiles one element of a much larger base of encyclopedic knowledge based on cultural convention more accessible to the model reader, yet intertextual clues are provided even for the modern reader.[159] If, as we have seen, verbal semantics and indeed syntactic structures should be

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[158] Again there are two layers of discourse: Hannah's world of her direct speech prayer to Yahweh and the narrative world in which it is embedded. These intertextual connections and the possibility of a new and better judge (after Samson) would probably jump off the page (scroll?!) much more readily than for the modern reader. Thus biblical studies are dependent, not only on intertextuality, but also on rigorous historical and contextual studies for (in our case) early Iron Age ANE to determine many of the elements the original audience's conceptual world would likely have consisted of. 1 Sam. 1:11 seems to be a case where "conversants… may also employ abbreviated expressions or nicknames for persons, places, or event, and there is a level of familiarity when speaking about these things that leave cognitive gaps for persons not a part of that culture" (Matthews 2008: 69). However, even conventionality falls on a continuum, "so that something can be known by only one person (wholly non-conventional) known by the entire discourse community (wholly conventional) or somewhere in between (for example, known by two people, a few people or many but not all people)" (Evans 2013: 38).

[159] As per Alter: "it seems to me that we shall come much closer to the range of intended meanings - theological, psychological, moral, or whatever - of the biblical tale by understanding precisely how it is told" (2011: 222).

studied in a similar fashion to lexical studies (as vehicles conveying encyclopedic knowledge), biblical studies must continue to consider all levels of CG (not only the literary co-text, but also the situational context and world knowledge) in determining how a grammatical construction is being used throughout a certain literary corpus (see Geerarts 2010: 249-258 and Reimer 2010: 411-417). Brown states:

> The historical contexts of the author and original audience set the parameters for what the reader needs to know about the communicative setting. What was assumed between them may be alluded to in the text but will most often require further historical investigation. Certain information will be only partially inscribed in the text, given that the author could assume that the audience had adequate shared knowledge to fill in the rest. Our task will be to ascertain the shared knowledge that is assumed. (2007: 82, cf. 189-211)

3.4.5. Conclusion

Applying insights from cognitive linguistics provide important results. Within the BH corpus it is uncontroversial to claim that *wayyiqtols* are the prototypical means of narrative development, profiled against a background of "a vast array of established structures (including linguistic units) whose differential salience consists in their ease and likelihood of activation" (Langacker 2015: 128). So profiling a less accessible event from the ground results in reconstructing the conceptual model of the denotation and requires an alternative construal. Langacker adds, "As a matter of processing efficiency, the order of presentation tends to follow *natural paths* of mental access, such as causal chains, paths of motion, event sequences, established associations, and rankings for salience or other properties" (ibid.: 133, emphasis original). As we will see in the following section, thetic constructions perfectly represent peripherally profiled events which require a higher processing cost since they do not follow natural paths of mental access in any of these five examples just mentioned. They therefore serve prototypically for spatiotemporal orientation and out-of-the-blue accommodated CG updates. These constructions soon become entrenched in the language community - "enabling the user to access and fluently use the expression as a whole" (Tomasello 2006: 449) - and because of language's creative possibilities the construction becomes more productive and polyfunctional (see Schwarz 2016), being utilised in progressively diverse discourse circumstances. Yet, as we have seen (in section 3.4.2), they are organised in family-resemblance groupings of sub-instantiations so their partial overlap with (equally non-prototypical) categorical constructions is to be expected. First, however, we must consider theticity's prototypical nature.

3.5 Theticity

"The greatest problem with positing the all-sufficiency of information structure as an explanation for fronting in the BH verbal clause is that the relevant marking is generally conceived of as applying narrowly to fronted arguments in agreement with their informational status. Yet frequently in BH, elements are fronted for purposes of marking something special about the entire clause."

(Hornkohl 2018: 44)

3.5.1 The nature of theticity

As seen throughout our discussion of CG management, a "predication may be understood in terms of the two basic acts of *referring* and *predicating* (cf. Searle 1969). Referring means pinpointing some entity about which something is to be predicated; predicating means assigning properties to, and establishing relations between such entities." (Dik 1997: 127). Dik's definition refers to a canonical topic-comment utterance, which has been understood as exclusively representative of logical judgments throughout Western intellectual history. The dichotomy between binary and unitary judgments was introduced by Franz Brentano and Anton Marty (see Marty 1918, Kuroda 1972, Ulrich 1986 and Sasse 1987 for discussion) and hence was initially only of philosophical interest, becoming integrated into linguistic discussion primarily by the work of Kuroda (1972) and Sasse (1987) among others.[160] While *categorical judgments* are those of a 'referring and predicating nature', as mentioned above, a thetic judgment (or herafter, *thetic utterance*) is "assumed to be logically unstructured; it merely expresse[s] an event or a state or situation" (Sasse 1987: 512). In this sense, thetic utterances exhibit a unitary situation (Khan & van der Merwe 2020), which "represents an event, state or situation globally" and "does not specify any element as a starting point" (Pezatti 2012: 9, 13),[161] lacking a bipartite division. Sasse adds, "information is not given about someone or something, but about an entire state of affairs (1987: 535), so that they "have no internal information

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[160] Theticity has since undergone extensive cross-linguistic study. For example: Japanese (Kuroda 1972, Deguchi 2012), German and Romanian (Ulrich 1986), Chinese (Wu 1992), Latin (Bolkestein 1995), English (McNally 1998, Sæbø 2007, Smit 2007, Rochemont 2013); various European languages (Sasse 2006), Kuwaiti Arabic (Qasem 2006), Modern Hebrew (Melnik 2006), Spanish (Martínez Caro 2007), Koine Greek (Bailey 2009), Portuguese (Pezatti 2012), various sign languages (Kimmelman 2015), various languages (García Macías 2016), Buli (Schwarz 2016), BH (Wilson 2019), Japanese, English and German (Fujinawa 2020) and German and Chinese (Lee 2020). Wilson (2020:4) also mentions further examples in Irish, Russian, Lelemi, Sumerian, and Tanti Dargwa.

[161] "Apresenta um evento, estado ou situação globalmente…não especifica qualquer elemento como ponto de partida."

structure" (Schwarz 2016: 92). This makes thetic utterances difficult to account for under information structure considerations (cf. Krifka 2007: 44),[162] yet fit satisfactorily under givenness considerations of CG content, as we will see below.

Since Kuroda (1972; and more explicitly Vallduví 1990, Lambrecht 1994, Bailey 2009 and Pezatti 2012), the idea has prevailed that thetic judgments are simply sentence-focus structures.[163] As we have seen above (section 3.2.1.2), however, the idea of 'sentence focus' as selecting an alternative from an infinite set is as good as no focus. Indeed, a thetic utterance "as a whole presents one piece of information in the surrounding discourse, rather than focusing information *within* the sentence" (van der Wal 2016: 260). An alternative analysis, in line with CG content, is thetics as "all-new utterances" (Martínez Caro 2007: 131). Sasse doubts the characterisation of thetics as either sentence-focus or all-new (as do Ulrich 1986, Güldemann 2010, Schwarz 2016 and Khan 2019), since the discourse-pragmatic contexts in which they are found to be felicitous are so diverse that their sentence-level information structure is insufficient to predict and identify their occurrence. To quote Sasse at length,

> The thetic statement forms a unit with respect to what it contributes to the discourse at a given point. It expresses a pragmatically unanalyzed state of affairs and presents it as a piece of complex information… Thetic statements are thus uttered at those points of the discourse when compact information is required. This is not the case with the categorical statement. It presents a state of affairs as something analyzed, dissected into different information units… We thus utter categorical statements at those points of the discourse when information is built up in successive bits. The distinction between thetic and categorical is therefore not a semantic one. It has something to do with the way information is processed in discourse and should therefore more appropriately be regarded as a discourse-pragmatic distinction. (1987: 558).

It is for this reason that I have previously rejected the 'stage topic' or 'sentence focus' explanations for thetic utterances.[164] Rather, calling to mind our earlier discussion of *construal*, thetics seem to provide an *alternative perspective* of the event, one in which the

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[162] Primarily because "Thetic statements lack a Topic-Comment dichotomy" (Smit 2007: 114), being "avalent, and do not predicate informational relations" (ibid.: 112). That is, they lack a topic-comment structure *informationally*, not necessarily restricting their syntax, as they may assume the same syntactic structures as categorical alternatives.

[163] After rejecting the presence of a topical entity in thetic statements, treating them as all-focus, Bailey seems to backtrack in his inclusion of so-called 'stage-topics', considering locatives and temporals as 'topical', yet "They are integral elements of the thetics' presupposition" (2009: 68). In light of the present discussion, structurally, this *unitary-but-also-topic-comment* tension does not seem possible.

[164] As Fujinawa states, "the terms "categorical" and "thetic" would not be worth introducing if they only replicated already established notions such as "theme-rheme-structured" or "all-focused" (2020: 285 n.2).

entire state of affairs is profiled, rather than only the topical entity. Sasse uses the

terminology *communicative perspective*:

> The thetic/categorical distinction will be shown to reflect two different points of view from which a state of affairs can be regarded. These are universally reflected in sentence structure in a way as basic to the syntax of human languages as, say, the distinction between declarative, interrogative, and imperative sentences. Such points of view are aspects of what we may call *communication perspective*, that is, the general shape a speaker gives the state of affairs which he is about to convey in a given sentence. (ibid.: 518, emphasis original)

Likewise, thetic constructions are "chosen in order to revoke the categorical interpretation of

the simple clause; since otherwise the subject would be regarded the unmarked topic and the

focus would be restricted to information pertaining to the comment" (Schwarz 2016: 93), and

"It is the subtle discourse-structuring and interactional, interlocutor-engaging needs that call

for the usage of such utterances, rather than Information-Structural considerations" (Ozerov

2018: 87).[165] For Sasse, theticity "explicitly signals low presuppositionality of the state of

affairs expressed, something like, "look out, addressee, an assertion is being made that adds a

new situation to your presuppositional fundus"" (2006: 300). Under the current model, we

need not need to appeal to information structure, under the concerns of CG management, but

rather, information *status* within the CG *content*.[166] Along these lines, Rochemont's

conclusion of his study of English stress patterns and theticity is worth quoting at length:

> I propose then that thetic sentences exemplify a process of GIVENness accommodation, with the same condition that the required adjustment to the CG be made quietly and without fuss. When a speaker S utters a sentence which imposes (through its prosodic property of deaccenting) GIVENness conditions

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[165] "These have a highly specific INTERACTIVE DISCOURSE-MANAGING FUNCTION, the productivity of the construction is limited, and its effect extends to stretches of discourse larger than a proposition. Although it can trigger a certain information-structural interpretation, this is an outcome of the specific interactional discourse-structuring function of the construction" (Ozerov 2018: 86). For example, "People often verbally repeat a successful joke (or just the punchline of it) to evoke a second round of laughter; redundantly admit well-known romantic feelings to trigger bonding or passion; or share again their emotions by repeatedly and redundantly summarising and re-summarising a remarkable incident discussed and re-discussed in the immediately preceding conversation. Nonetheless, these concepts have not been incorporated yet into the core field of the study of Information Structure" (ibid.: 94).

[166] Martínez Caro judges "sentence focus structures and other related structures" to have a number of *correlations* with the thetic-categorical judgment: In general terms, a thetic judgement appears to govern the referent-introducing function, the (so called) attitude-reporting function, the event-reporting function and (generally understood) the contrary-to-expectation function. A categorical judgement, on the other hand, generally governs the expression of contrast, utterances with Emphatic Given Topics and syntactic configurations where the speaker wishes to clearly mark the (New or Contrastive) Focus finally after having provided some topical information towards the beginning of the clause. (2007: 135). In other words, she 'assigns' certain information structures to either a thetic or categorical judgement, though this does not result in a 'neat picture', since some "seem difficult to assign to either thetic or categorical types of judgements" and "certain types of utterances seem to share features of both thetic and categorical statements" (2007: 135). Crucially, "*often the same proposition may be expressed thetically or categorically by the speaker, by choosing* to initiate his/her message with a topic and then proceed with the focus information or by presenting the state of affairs as a compact event involving no obvious parts" (2007: 135-6, emphasis added). As will be seen below, often there are no syntactic or prosodic clues to differentiate between these two and a more holistic approach is necessary, involving discourse-position, semantics and morphosyntax.

> on the local CG which are not satisfied in the local CG, S is making appeal to the other discourse participants to make whatever adjustments to the local CG are necessary to satisfy the relevant presupposition of GIVENness, subject to the naturalness requirement von Fintel specifies [that the addressees will accept the accommodation 'quietly and without fuss']… As with presupposition accommodation generally, GIVENness accommodation is accompanied by an element of risk on the part of the speaker. This is the main source of the perceived variation in facility of production for thetic prosody and of the lack of agreement across speakers regarding how natural a given thetic sentence sounds in or out of context. (2013: 58)

In short, for Rochemont theticity represents an appeal for *accommodation*, presenting the utterance as *given* within the current CG even when they know their addressee does not share such a presupposition. Whether the state of affairs is accessible to the addressee or not leads to this "lack of agreement across speakers regarding how natural a given thetic sentence sounds in or out of context." With the entire state of affairs profiled, potentially not containing any accessible entities Chafe's (1994) 'light subject constraint' is likely to be violated, so in order to reduce processing costs, thetic utterances tend to assimilate to his 'one new idea constraint' as much as possible. Consider the prosodic difference between the following two equally thetic utterances:

(37)   (a) The *baby's* crying

        (b) The *man's crying*   (from Rochemont 2013: example [36.b])

where, "As a function of world knowledge, participants are very likely to accommodate *crying* as GIVEN in the case of a baby but much less likely to do so in the case of a man" (ibid.: 58).[167] As a result, English prosody must accent both *man* and *crying* to communicate the state of affairs as thetic.

       Khan's conclusion is similar, considering thetic clefts to "stand apart from the surrounding discourse of categorical statements," and to involve "processes of accommodation by hearers of pragmatically inappropriate presuppositions and the use of constructions that impose presuppositions to signal the speaker's requirements or reminders as to what information should be present in the hearer's knowledge" (2019: 21-22).

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[167] A similar motivation could be behind the different stress patterns between "I have a POINT to make" and "I have a point to EMPHASIZE" (Rochemont 2013, example 49.a). Since the state of affairs lacks givenness, our capacity for information flow attracts simplicity as closely as possible to the 'one new idea constraint'. This could also account for the cross-linguistic tendency for semantically-bleached unaccusatives, impersonals, existentials, presentationals and verbs of movement.

Wilson has independently reached the same conclusion: "When a speaker/writer uses what has been identified as a thetic construction, she is inviting her interlocutor to behave as if the information [contained in the utterance] was already in the common ground so that it can be built upon in subsequent moves" (2020: 322), and thus "A thetic sentence is a spontaneous common ground *creator*" (ibid.). An advantage of this approach is that instead of a strict binary distinction, which it could be argued necessitates the felicity of both sentence-types as corollaries in a given discourse situation, the result is "a scale of construction types which are more likely to be used for updating the common ground in this way" (ibid.: 323), and hence occasional overlap between thetic and categorical constructions is inevitable. Indeed, as discussed under prototype theory (section 3.4.2), theticity as a category is organised with both prototypical and peripheral examples, and discourse, semantic and morphosyntactic, attributes which hold varying weight in relation to their degree of category membership. It is due to Sasse's less realistic understanding of categorization that he explicitly rejects the notion of theticity as a category (2006: 300), since "it proves difficult to define a set of necessary and sufficient criteria in terms of which the domain under discussion could be described in a straightforward way; consequently, it looks more like a case of "family resemblance" rather than anything else" (ibid.: 304 n. 31). Ironically, "family resemblance" is exactly what we should expect of human categorization.

It must be stressed at this point that our concern for the nature of theticity is completely dependent on the utterances discourse-embeddedness (as I consider all semantic judgments, cf. Recanati 2006, Parikh 2010) and the meaning or function of ambiguous structures can only be determined by presuppositions and CG expectations. Hence I must disagree with García Macías when he considers "theticity as an information-structure configuration identifiable at the sentence-level" (2016: 52). The difference can be illustrated by recalling our previous discussion of accommodation. Prototypical is the case in which a single referent which was not discourse-given was thus micro-accommodated, such as 'my sister' in 'I have to pick my sister up from the airport' (see examples [59]-[61] below). However, an exception was Chafe's "The *butler* did it," in which there is a *relational* lack of discourse givenness regarding the entire state of affairs, i.e., macro-accommodation, and is thus analysed as thetic (despite being formally ambiguous with a constituent-focus reading,

for example).[168] Consider Bailey's similar insight, "So the proposition as a unit, what is referred to by the subject and verb, is *unpredictable*, and as a whole it informs the hearer of a *single state of affairs* that is relevant to the interchange" (2009: 4, emphasis added).

In light of the preceding overview, we can propose a workable definition of thetic utterances as *a family-resemblance network of alternative construals serving the discourse management purposes of CG updates by macro-accommodation*. Before moving on to explore the attributes of category membership, let us briefly discuss the distinction between theticity and mirativity.

3.5.2 Theticity and mirativity

Due the "scale of construction types" (Wilson 2020) and the preceding definition of theticity, a word must be said on the interaction between pragmatics and emotive emphasis, which is a complex one (see Bailey 2009). García Macías' (2016) dissertation investigates the similarities and distinctions between thetics, miratives and exclamatives. The mirative nature of הִנֵּה clauses and related constructions has not gone unnoticed in BH studies (see van der Merwe 2011 and Miller-Naudé & van der Merwe 2011), yet García Macías provides a more typologically exhaustive study, the idea of (un)expectedness connecting the three types of statement. He holds that thetics reflect the speaker's construal based on their calibration of correctly gauging the addressee's conceptual state (cf. Sasse 2006), whereas "miratives express that the information is unexpected or surprising to the speaker. In other words, miratives are grounded in the speaker's perspective" (2016: 7). Bianchi et al. differ on this point, preferring to define "the mirative import not with respect to the speaker's individual beliefs (or commitments), but rather, with respect to the shared commitments of the conversational community" (Bianchi et al. 2016: 26). Whether speaker-centric or surprising for the entire conversational community, "Miratives appraise the event as schema-discrepant" (García Macías 2016: 248), that is, it breaks the expected and already accepted image of the

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[168] The distinction between *micro-* and *macro*-accommodation mirrors *referential* givenness-newness as distinct from *relational* givenness-newness (see Gundel & Fretheim 2004). For example, van der Wal seems to consider the accommodation necessary for thetic statements as referential, stating that in answering a 'what happened' question, "For the purposes of creating a coherent discourse, participants are willing to accept as common ground the *existence and relevance of referents* that might be coded as topics even if they were not in the common ground before" (2016: 269, emphasis added). Nevertheless, Rochemont's (2013), Khan's (2019) and Wilson's (2020) understanding of the necessary accommodation as *relational* seems to be more commonly the case.

state of affairs under discussion. According to García Macías, exclamatives are further removed from thetics, as they are "also speaker-oriented but more specific: they convey surprise with respect to the degree of a scalar property (ibid.: 11), for example:

(38)   How beautifully you sing!

(39)   What a rude man!

(40)   What a beautiful smile your sister has!   (Swan 2005: 174)

(41)	מַה־נִּכְבַּ֨ד הַיּ֜וֹם מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל	*How* the king of Israel has honoured himself today! (2 Sam. 6:20)

Later, he argues more explicitly, "Thetics are not exclamatives because they do not fulfill the pragmatic conditions of exclamatives: they do not presuppose the proposition, but directly assert it; in addition - and more importantly - they do not have a scalar interpretation" (ibid.: 79). In other words, miratives are seen as a middle-point between thetics and exclamatives, summarised in the following table:

Thetics	Miratives	Exclamatives
Addressee-orientated	[Can be] Speaker-orientated	Speaker-orientated
Not topic-comment	Undefined	Topic-comment
Non-scalar	Non-scalar	Scalar
Not presupposed	Not presupposed	Totally presupposed

Table: 3.1

For our purposes exclamatives are to be kept distinct from thetics (though often utilizing similar constructions) and will therefore not be further discussed. Miratives, on the other hand, seem to be a somewhat hybrid structure. On occasion they exhibit a plain topic-comment construction, while on other occasions they present a unitary state of affairs. This is because, mirativity should probably be considered "a separate linguistic category altogether, being outside of the domain of focus" (van der Wal 2016: 283). Nonetheless, "The strategy is thus used not only to establish a contrast with logical alternatives, but also has the marking of

unexpectedness as one of its pragmatic functions" (van der Wal 2016: 283). That is, focus is not "necessarily involved in all mirative structures and strategies across languages: in other cases, the interpretation could rely on a set of expectations which is not related to focus structure in any direct way" (Bianchi et al. 2016: 32). In this study, the latter will subsumed under thetic constructions since the primary difference is the speaker-oriented vs. hearer-orientated distinction. In BH the narrator is evidently not surprised, but can use such thetic constructions to construe an experience as surprising or unexpected, as is the case in introductive and interruptive thetics (see section 3.5.3.1). Nevertheless, there are occasions of true speaker-surprise within direct speech in the Samuel-Kings corpus. These are object-fronted, topic-comment constructions, and will be discussed within BH in the following chapter. For now, I will present Bianchi et al.'s (2016) framework, which provides a suitable model for object-fronted miratives. Consider the following examples, transparently expressing surprise on the part of the speaker:

(42)   Tu sais ce qui est arrivé? *Le candidat du patron*, ils ont refusé!

         'You know what happened? They refused *the boss's candidate*!

(43)   A: Eccoti qui! Cos'è successo?

         B: *Una multa da 500 euro* mi sono beccato!

         A: Here you are at last! What happened?

         B: I got *a fine of 500 euros!*

(44)   Non ci posso credere! *Due bottiglie* ci siamo bevuti!

         'I can't believe it! We drank *two bottles*!'

         (Bianchi et al. 2016: examples [1] and [10a])

Depending on the content of the preceding CG, the same reading could be true of the following, which also exhibits the inversion typical of thetics in numerous pro-drop languages (for which, see section 3.5.3.3.2 below). The second example, with a typical topic-comment structure and pre-verbal subject, highlights the distinct nature of such surprising or unexpected utterances:

106

(45)   *Un viaje a las Canarias* hizo Antonio este verano.

         ?? *Un viaje a las Canarias* Antonio hizo este verano.

         'Antonio made *a trip to the Canary Islands* last summer' (from Torrego 1984: 111)

On the other hand, "the fronting structure may come with a flavour other than surprise, for example disgust or discontent" (Bianchi et al. 2016: 16), as in the following example:

(46)   Accidenti! *Marina* hanno invitato!

         'Damn! (Of all people,) they invited *Marina*!' (ibid.: example [21])

And likewise in Spanish, again exhibiting the SV inversion:

(47)   ¡*Un edificio de dos pisos* derrumbaron los albañiles!

         The construction workers knocked down *a two-story building*!

         (from Torrego 1984: 111)

Note how the preceding utterances differ from the standard 'sentence focus' readings of 'My *car* broke down,' for example. Thus these constructions are labelled *mirative fronting* by Bianchi et al. (2016: 11) and display an apparent paradox between the narrow focus of the fronted constituent and the 'sentence focus' required by the "What happened?" question, i.e., without a specified presupposition set (see my previous arguments in sections 3.2.1.2 and 3.5.1). The paradox is only apparent, since, as discussed above, the authors reject sentence focus as focus (see section 3.2.1.2). Nevertheless, mirative fronting differs from other focus fronting (for example, corrective), as "in the mirative case the fronted constituent cannot be separated from the finite verb by an intervening constituent" (2016: 9), as in:

(48)   ?? Non ci posso credere! *Due bottiglie*, al pub, ci siamo bevuti!

         'I can't believe it! We drank *two bottles* at the pub!' (ibid.: example [10b])

Nor can mirative fronting occur in embedded clauses, since the emotive reading "belongs in a tier of meaning separate from the truth-conditional (at-issue) meaning" (ibid.: 16):

107

(49)   ?? Non ci posso credere! Ha raccontato che due bottiglie ci eravamo bevuti!

'I can't believe it! He said that they we had drunk *two bottles*!' (ibid.: example [12])

Key to their linguistic framework is the hybrid between the unexpected proposition (mirative construction) yet a fronted constituent focus. They claim:

> Notice that in MF [mirative fronting], the fronted focus constituent occurs in the high periphery of the clause. In alternative semantics terms (Rooth 1992), the focus operator must attach at the clausal level in order to have the focus constituent in its scope, and the focus alternatives are thus exploited at the level of the proposition.[169] The mirative import of this structure can then be taken to convey that the expressed proposition is unexpected when compared with at least one distinct focus alternative: there may be salient alternatives in the context, or else, relevant alternatives may be drawn from general background knowledge. (ibid.: 11)

It bears repeating that the identification of a presupposition set in the CG is a subjective enterprise and could be viewed on a continuum, thetics representing the most prototypically CG inaccessible, and constituent focus representing the most salient set of alternatives. In the case of mirative fronting, the set is not explicit in the preceding discourse, but may be accommodated or accessible from world knowledge or the situational context. In the following example, the purchase of a ring can be elicited from the context set of 'being madly in love' without fuss on the part of the hearer, once the utterance is introduced into the CG (recall our discussion of the sensitivity of timing in evaluating a dynamic CG linearly in section 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2):

(50)   Gianni è innamorato pazzo di Maria. Pensa un po'… *Un anello di diamanti* le ha regalato!

'John is madly in love with Mary. Guess what! He gave her a *diamond ring*!'

(ibid.: example [19])

In their own words, the perspective adopted "for the interpretation of MF is the context set as defined by the conversational common ground prior to, and independently of, the acceptance of the clause's propositional content and its incorporation in the common ground" (ibid.: 36). After this brief detour, let us continue to explore the diagnostic characteristics of theticity.

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[169] Note that focus-fronting in BH prototypically elicits alternatives with regard to the fronted constituent itself, not at the level of the entire proposition. Object-fronted miratives are the exception (see the following chapter for examples).

3.5.3 Identifying thetics

As expected, along a number of parameters the internal organisation and cross-class categorisation of thetics have fuzzy boundaries and often overlap, while being indicated on a number of formal levels and exhibiting distinct degrees of category membership. McNally states, "Many linguistic factors have been correlated with the classification of an utterance as thetic or categorical, including intonation, basic phrase structure, genericity, and quantification" (1998: 293). Yet taking a closer look at thetic utterances as *constructions* in three general areas - discourse considerations, semantic considerations, and morphosyntactic considerations - will allow us to adequately grasp the prototypical cases of thetic utterances, in order to "serve as reference points for the categorization of not-so-clear instances" (Taylor 2003: 45) Let us now explore the corroborating evidence for this approach.

3.5.3.1 Discourse considerations

"identifying discourse structuring as the ultimate motivation for XV constructions reveals interrelationships between the various types of these constructions, which brings us nearer to a comprehensive model for understanding fronting in Biblical Hebrew."

(Khan & van der Merwe 2020: 350)

If, as Construction Grammar postulates, "form-meaning pairings cannot only be found at the word level, but at all levels of grammatical description - from morphemes, words, and idioms to abstract phrasal patterns as well as larger discourse patterns" (Herbst & Hoffman 2018: 199), it is no surprise that a *construction* such as thetic utterances tend to be utilised in certain discourse positions and not in others. Recall that BH scholars have intuitively considered discourse *discontinuity* as a schematic explanatory category. We can now appreciate how this is given cross-linguistic, morphosyntactic and semantic rigour by the notion of theticity.

Sasse (2006) considers there to be five prototypical discourse functions of thetics, namely (1) annuntiatives, (2) introductives, (3) interruptives, (4) descriptives, and (5) explanatives.[170] Before moving onto other treatments, we will look at each of Sasse's discourse functions individually. Annuntiatives are considered prototypical out-of-the-blue

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[170] Indeed, in a previous study, Sasse (1995) noted a 'discontinuative' discourse function.

statements, i.e., "a previously unknown state of affairs" (Bailey 2009: 64) and "hot news" (García Macías 2016).[171] For example:

(51)   Cambia il governatore alla Bundesbank

       'The *governor* is changing at the Bundesbank' (Sasse: 2006, example [24])

(52)   Tilefonise o Kostas!

       '*Kostas* has called! (ibid. example [30])

(53)   J'ai ma femme qui est malade!

       My *wife* is sick! (ibid. example [33])

Introductives are the means "by which we mean first mention subjects as a text-opening strategy (ibid.: 284). Sasse limits this function to the introduction of discourse participants rather than encompassing scene-setting statements in general, which fall under 'descriptives.' The introduced entity will ideally play a central role in the ensuing discourse, perhaps being introduced at the beginning of a new scene (2 Kgs. 5:1) or parable (e.g., 2 Sam. 12:1).

Interruptives are "usually preceded by a series of events in a topic chain which is disrupted by a sudden, unexpected new situation" (ibid.: 285), such as "the phone, the alarm clock, or the doorbell ringing, somebody knocking on the door, the door opening, the lights being turned on or off" and (ibid.: 285). In our corpus the arrival of the messenger bringing news of Philistine raids to Saul, who in turn is forced to call of the pursuit of David just as he is closing in on him is analogous to a closely-timed phone call (1 Sam. 23), while Nathan's barging into the palace (perhaps knocking the door?) to support Bathsheba's words (1 Kgs. 1) are prototypical of the interruptive function.

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[171] In light of construal and usage-based linguistics, the object of linguistic enquiry is strictly discourse-situated (see section 3.2, 3.4.1 and 3.4.4). Thus, Abraham's (2020) notion that thetics must be discourse-free, solipsistic sentences is incompatible with Sasse's (1987, 1995, 2006), Rochement's (2013), Khan's (2019) and Wilson's (2020) treatment of thetics and the traditional understanding of CG as set forth by Stalnaker - the latter Abraham himself notes (2020: 229, 270). Instead, it is precisely the discourse-embeddedness of thetics which indicates their relatively 'unexpected' status (unless, of course, CG is unconcerned with presuppositions, as in Abbott 2008, but see von Fintel 2008 and Stalnaker 2014). Such *Kundgaben* are argued not to "prepare or exploit Common Ground as there is no addressee the utterance is directed to" (Abraham 2020: 229). However, even with the prototypical weather statements which are evident to all, stating "It's cold" the speaker may derive comfort from simply "shar[ing] their emotions" (Ozerov 2018: 94), obvious though they may be. Furthermore, if "no new information is asserted in CG," Abraham's understanding of thetics containing sentence focus is unclear (Abraham 2020: 274).

Descriptives are "presented as a background to the main story line" (ibid.: 286). These can be explicitly anterior as in (54) or general statements aiding in the processing of the discourse as in (55):

(54)   Schon senkte sich die Dunkelheit über das Moor
'Darkness had already fallen over the moor' (ibid. example [40])

(55)   Zu dieser Tagezeit waren nur wenige Menschen auf dem Marktplatz
'At this time of day, only a few people were at the market place' (ibid. example [41])

Finally, in similar fashion, explanatives include 'background information' yet, "require a presupposed event, that is, something which has already happened but remains to be identified" (ibid.: 287). Among others, Sasse offers the following two examples:

(56)   Da trat ein jäher Wendepunkt in meinem Leben ein: meine *Schwester* kam zur Welt
'Then, there was a drastic change in my life: my *sister* was born' (ibid. example [43])

(57)   A: Wo will er hin?
B: In die Klinik. Seine *Frau* wird operiert.
'A: Where is he off to? - B: To the clinic. His *wife* is having an operation.
(ibid. example [45])

Sasse's use of "presupposition" in discussing explanatives is unfortunate as it does not equate to that of our model of CG previous expounded. In this sense, if "it remains to be identified" it cannot be included within the context set of conversational presupposition, rather, that an explanation is to be attached to the preceding statement is presupposed. Yet, as our discussion of Stalnaker's CG model has shown, sensitivity must be given to the linear order of the evolving CG and thus the ever-changing context set of presuppositions. Sasse himself claims that "the presupposition can be built up interactively by the question-answer sequence [as in (57)] or monologically [as in (56)]" (ibid. 287). However, due to our previous treatment of the similar CG effects of both interrogatives and imperatives to declaratives (see section 3.2.2.4), I would extend Sasse's analysis of the explanative reading to questions or commands

111

involving the same interlocutor who also provides the presupposed information (cf. Moshavi's [2010] *justification* function). Consider the following example:

(58)   Take it easy. Remember, you have a heart condition. (Langacker 2008: 472)

Evidently, the concept of 'all-new', within thetic utterances, refers to 'discourse-new', i.e., its unexpectedness as a state of affairs to be introduced into the CG, since it is clear that the addressee is well-aware of his/her heart condition (by definition, it's a reminder). Indeed, "Much of our everyday talk consists in stating what is already plainly evident to the listener" (Langacker 2008: 472; cf. Abbott 2008: 532). Therefore the concept of accommodation should be expanded to include "reminders as to what information should be present in the hearer's knowledge" (Khan 2019: 22),[172] so the resulting distinctive of non-givenness found in thetic statements "does not depend on the information being new, but depends on the background of expectation that the speaker assumes with respect to the addressee" (García Macías 2016: 38). This concept matches well with Sasse's explanatives, which contain the presupposition that the informational gap will be filled, but it is not discourse-evident to the addressee before being uttered.

I have found that in Samuel-Kings many explanatives follow a question (i.e., CG narrowing) or an imperative (i.e., expressing CG preferences). The statement, "I have to pick my sister up from the airport" (von Fintel 2008) has become famous within discussions of presuppositional accommodation as being discourse-appropriate even if you don't know I have a sister before pronouncing the utterance. However, returning to the explanative validity of both declaratives and interrogatives and imperatives, I have provided one of each type of sentence before the same utterance in each of the three cases. Notice how they read equally naturally, introducing the content of my accommodated utterance into the CG at the time it is pronounced:

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[172] Consider 1 Sam. 28:3, which begins with a thetic statement communicating Samuel's death. However, this had already been introduced into the CG back in 1 Sam. 25:1, triggering slightly forced translations such as "Now Samuel had been dead" (Tsumura 2006: 618).

112

(59)   I'd better get going. I have to pick my sister up from the airport.

(60)   Have you seen my keys? I have to pick my sister up from the airport.

(61)   Pass me my keys. I have to pick my sister up from the airport.

In each case, the second utterance is a discourse-unexpected state of affairs, which also introduces a previously unknown entity (my sister) into the addressee's conception of the CG, and the possibility of my having a sister and that I have to pick her up from the airport must be macro-accommodated.

Before moving on to survey other scholars' approaches to the discourse functions of thetics, mention must be made of where theticity fits in with previous treatments of BH fronting. As we have seen, thetics represent a family-structure of discourse-managing functions (Ozerov 2018), and only in this sense can be called a category, though the necessity of macro-accommodation and the overall unexpected / surprising flavour of the utterance seems to be a prototypical characteristic. For this reason, there is no direct correlation between theticity *as a whole* and either discourse on-line/off-line material on the one hand, or between theticity *as a whole* and discourse (dis)continuity on the other. Rather, if, as I will argue, fronted thetic clauses provide an alternative construal to verb-initial clauses and particularly (in narrative contexts) the *wayyiqtol* topic-comment construction, they must communicate an unambiguously un-categorical structure, which is why discontinuity and narrative off-line tend to coincide with thetics. As opposed to the sequential, topic chaining of *wayyiqtol* constructions, introductives and descriptives align well with off-line / background material, while annuntiatives, interruptives and explanatives align well with discontinuity / non-sequence. Besides the CG effects of thetic constructions, their unexpectedness and therefore necessary accommodation, there is no other singular organising principle by which we should look to account for BH fronted clauses outside of topic and focus.

Using these five prototype discourse functions (with all their expected overlap and ambiguity from classifying their status as categories) as a guideline, we now briefly survey other scholars' understanding of the discourse function of theticity.[173]

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[173] We can already intuitively see from our previous discussion of out-of-the-blue utterances that they potentially fulfill an *annuntiative* or *interruptive* function, while spatiotemporal orientation seems to be *annuntiative* or *descriptive*. Presentational clauses seem to be prototypical of the *introductive* function and purely informative CG updates such as 'parentheses' or 'background remark' seem to fit either the *explanative* or *descriptive* functions well.

Ulrich defines them as primarily *kontextfrei* (1986: 228)[174], that is, not discourse-accessible, expressing discontinuity, while those thetic utterances without an agent also "form a frame and the circumstances for the [following] categorical sentence" (ibid.: 233).[175] She also offers introductive thetic utterances as providing the topic for the following discourse, as in,

(62)   *Es war einmal ein König* [thetic]. *Der König hatte drei Töchter* [categorical].

There once was a king. The king had three daughters. (ibid.: 223)

Likewise, Lambrecht agrees that thetic propositions are "Perhaps the best candidate for assertions without presuppositions" (1994: 60), leaning on their situational context for interpretability. Erteschik-Shir concurs, claiming that the spatiotemporal aspect of her 'stage topics', (i.e., the *annuntiative* or *descriptive* function) even if covert, are "supplied by the context" (1997: 177).[176] Pezatti's understanding of theticity, "permits the speaker to support, expand or comment the main line of the discourse, that's why it constitutes a background sentence, since it contributes to the description or setting of the scenery in the development of the discourse" (2012: 13).[177] García Macías' model is slightly more varied, adapting Sasse's foundational models to treat thetics under the categories of *existentials*, *presentatives*, *hot news*, *physical sensation* and *weather statements* (2016: 106-108). Weather statements seem

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[174] Though not in solipsistic fashion (as Abraham 2020). Although the prototypical test for theticity in the literature, "What happened?" might "appear as a contextless, discourse opening utterance, in the relevant examples… answers do not introduce a de-contextualised proposition, but are used to address this specific query" (Ozerov 2018: 87).

[175] "die thetischen Äußerungen ohne Aktanten den Rahmen und die Umstände für kategorische Äußerungen bilden." Thus Revell notes, "a contextualizing clause with *qāṭal* contextualizes a following *wayyiqṭōl* in a specific stream of events" (1985: 425). Incidentally, he provides 1 Kings 20:1 (example [60] below) as his key example.

[176] Which further leads one to the conclusion that if thetic utterances are to be accommodated and not typically discourse-given, to speak of either 'stage topics' or sentence focus in this case is fundamentally flawed. For example, she later argues, "When the stage topic is lacking in contextual definition, i.e., either the place or the time is not contextually available, then a "new" stage is defined by adding these parameters to the stage" and accounts for the example THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO LIKE ICE CREAM she claims that, "no locative parameter is contextually available, yet this parameter is not provided in the sentence either; the new stage is accommodated to mean the whole world" (2007: 119). Returning to our discussion in section 3.2.1.1, if this can indeed be considered topical, it is at the extreme periphery of topicality and seem to be much more plausibly considered using the cognitive linguistics apparatus and framework of theticity discussed in the previous and present sections.

[177] "permite ao falante sustentar, ampliar ou comentar a linha principal do discurso, por isso constitui oração de Fundo, já que contribuem para a descrição ou montagem do cenário no desenvolvimento do discurso."

114

to be a popular candidate for thetic prototypicality due to the inescapable lack of topic (see Chafe 1994). Schwarz notes, "the thetic encoding is used whenever the speaker wants to deliberately interrupt the coherence of the discourse and set the following paragraph apart from the previous text. This is most typically the case when new scenes, major participants, and unexpected events are presented" (2016: 92).

Other approaches have involved a split between event-central utterances and entity-central utterances. Prototypical of the first would be surprising or unexpected events, perhaps either in episode-initial position, at an episode-climax, or summary (Auer & Maschler 2013, Schwarz 2016), while entity-central utterances are canonically presentational or existentials (see Lambrecht 1994, Bailey 2009).[178] Both of these types can set the scene for the following discourse, perhaps laying the grounds for a following request (Khan 2019: 40). The following example is a prototypically episode initial sentence:

(63)	וּבֶן־הֲדַד מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם קָבַץ אֶת־כָּל־חֵילוֹ	[Now] Ben-Hadad, the king of Aram, had gathered all his army. (1 Kgs. 20:1)

Ben-Hadad is in no way discourse active nor accessible from the discourse co-text, so his abrupt entrance into the CG must be accommodated and is anchored as 'the king of Aram' to ease the processing. It is no coincidence that many of Sasse's (2006: 270) examples involve newspaper headlines, possibly due to, in CG terms, "the need for newspapers to bundle substantial quantities of new information in a maximally efficient format" (Abbott 2008: 531).

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[178] "The beginning of a new complication episode - and surely the beginning of the first episode… - can coincide with the introduction of the protagonists of the story" (Auer & Maschler 2013: 155).

3.5.3.2 Semantic considerations

"It appears that in certain places the use of a special group

of verbs - chiefly verbs of movement and knowledge - is

responsible for the otherwise inexplicable fronting of the subject"

(Muraoka 1985: 36)

"a construction with sentence focus is not in the first place about "what a discourse

active referent did," but "what happened." The subject of the sentence is often

indeterminate and/or lexically explicated. The predicate is typically a verb of

movement or another intransitive verb. Verbs of saying may also be involved"

(Van der Merwe et al. 2017: 506)

In this section I will provide linguistic motivation for these observations made by Muraoka (1985) and van der Merwe et al. (2017). Again, within a Construction Grammar framework, given the grammar-lexicon continuum it is no surprise that a family-network of lexical semantics should govern *selectional tendencies* (Evans 2013) within certain syntactic structures, and vice versa. Indeed, departing from perhaps a family of prototypical verbal semantics that utilise a given construction, a common path for grammatical evolution involves "the speaker, creatively, us[ing] a verb that is not part of their representation of the general argument structure construction and combin[ing] it with the construction" (Herbst & Hoffman 2018: 209), i.e., *blending*.[179]

Again, we will begin with Sasse's (2006) model before moving on to other scholars' approaches. While introductives prototypically include semantics of "existentials + indefinite animate subjects" (2006: 299), annuntiatives communicate "appearance and disappearance, beginning, ending; expected results of actions ('dinner is ready'), mishaps, gleeful news; pain, bodily conditions" (ibid.: 299). According to Sasse, the semantics of explanatives is "in principle [the] same as for annuntiatives, but perhaps more open" (ibid.: 299). As mentioned above, interruptives communicate "sudden events (phone ringing, door opening)," but also "appearance" (ibid.: 299). Finally, descriptive statements prototypically communicate

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[179] For example, a typical ditransitve construction like *She gave him something* can be creatively extended to form utterances such as *She baked him a cake* or *She caught him a fish* (ibid.: 210). Applied to thetic constructions, Sasse notes, "To what extent such cases are conventionalized and to what extent they can be exploited for creative processes in discourse is a language-specific matter. Yet, there is a common core of quasi-lexicalized "theticity-relevant" states of affairs crosslinguistically associable with certain discourse positions and closely tied to the five discourse-pragmatic functions of thetic constructions" (2006: 298).

"meteorological expressions, existentials with natural phenomena as subjects, existentials pertaining to habitual situations; beginning, lasting pertaining to habitual situations; beginning, lasting and ending of background scenery" (ibid.: 299). We can begin to appreciate the expected overlap of the common discourse positions of thetics across these categories in the case of 'appearance', 'existentials', and 'beginning and ending' among others.

Ulrich (1986) and Martínez Caro (2007) also discuss weather statements such as *It's hot* or *It's raining* and Marty (1918) and Erteschik-Shir (1997) include discussion of world-parts and universal judgements. These are intuitively prototypical because the entities are permanently accessible in the interlocutor's conceptual worlds, so the accommodated state of affairs is not too heavy that it completely violates Chafe's (1994) 'one new idea constraint.' That is, since the processing cost already increases in thetic utterances, the entities discussed are often easily accessed.[180] Annuntiatives, involving an inactive entity and an unexpected state of affairs, are the most informationally heavy, followed by explanatives and descriptives, while interruptives typically involve *entrance* to the discourse scene and introductives prototypically bring an *indefinite* entity into the discourse CG, which can then continue as topical. Compare the following two examples, where the introduction of an unaccessible entity using a definite reference does not seem natural in a given discourse context.

(64)   Once upon a time there was a king.

(65)   ?? Once upon a time there was the king.

In the following BH example, notice that both the men and their city are indefinite.[181]

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[180] Nevertheless, "the starting point role can be manipulated for special effects, some of which are more easily achieved in writing than in speaking" (Chafe 1994: 83). "Linguistic unexpectedness, in other words, can be used by a writer as a way of conveying iconically the unexpectedness of an experience… The occasional nonidentifiability of a new subject may be used as a way of expressing iconically the suddenness with which a referent appears in the flow of the protagonist's experience" (ibid.: 290).

[181] For a prototypical "singular entity that is not anchored" see Bailey's (2009: 174-181) treatment of τις in NT Greek. τις is ideal for use in introductives, which, apart from the previously unidentified entity, is not informationally heavy.

(66)	וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה אֶת־נָתָן אֶל־דָּוִד וַיָּבֹא אֵלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ שְׁנֵי אֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ בְּעִיר אֶחָת אֶחָד עָשִׁיר וְאֶחָד רָאשׁ:	And Yahweh sent Nathan to David, and he came and said to him, "*There were two men in a certain city*. One of them was rich, and the other poor…" (2 Sam. 12:1)

Similarly, indefinites can revoke the categorical reading from a given utterance, whether from the commonly denoted *entity-central* or *event-central* thetic utterances,[182] as in the following two examples respectively:

(67)   There are dogs in the garden.

(68)   A wine glass broke last night. (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 61-2)

Regarding (68) Erteschik-Shir remarks that although the entity 'wine glass' is construed as indefinite, "it must be unique to the stage upon which it is introduced" (ibid. 63, i.e., a 'strong reference' as per Lee 2020). It is clear, however, that such uniqueness must be *pragmatic uniqueness*.[183] Other, perhaps peripheral cases, involve generic entities, as in the following example:

(69)   Teacher: What happened in the Cretaceous period?

    Pupil: The *dinosaur* became extinct. (Sasse 1987: example [17])

Similarly, as already mentioned, in canonical conversation the speakers are together physically (Langacker 2008), enjoying a full *current discourse space*, so first and second personal pronouns are also pragmatically unique, permanently salient throughout the

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[182] I do not make use of this distinction in this study, preferring Sasse's (2006) discourse functions. Nevertheless, under such a rubric, if a thetic utterance does not introduce a new entity, the entire utterance should be informationally heavy, carrying unexpected and thus necessarily accommodated propositional content outside of the standard understanding of 'comment' in a bi-partite clause. Such would be the case of "Watch out, the dog will bite you" as we walk up a driveway, without prior knowledge of the dog's existence, though accommodation seems plausible from the frame of dog-ownership. An alternative strategy, in keeping with Chafe's 'one new idea constraint' would be to divide the proposition into two intonational units, as in, "Watch out, there's a dog here and it will bite you" (Dryer 1996:497).

[183] Schwarz recently defined the distinction: "More specifically, semantic uniqueness holds if a definite description refers unambiguously based on the meaning of the noun alone, in a context-independent manner. In contrast, in cases of pragmatic uniqueness, reference is unambiguous only under consideration of contextual information, which can be linguistic or extra-linguistic. Crucially, this distinction is seen relative to a gradient uniqueness scale, which allows different languages to choose different cut-off points for using one form as opposed to another" (2019: 28).

discourse and available anaphorically. On other occasions an entity can be considered identifiable based on their uniqueness, be that semantic or pragmatic. Recently, on a "scale of uniqueness," Schwarz (2019:29) has determined proper names and personal pronouns to top the list. In Samuel-Kings, many of the difficult cases of fronting involve an explicitly encoded first person pronominal subject - prototypically conversation-familiar and unique respectively and, as Erteschik-Shir (2007) argues, permanently accessible as topics, yet neither a topical nor focal reading seems appropriate (see section 4.4.2.2 for further discussion). If, therefore, such utterances are understood as thetic (which seems to be the case for numerous clauses involving a second person singular independent pronoun), as we have seen, the discourse-irretrievable element does not have to only involve the subject's referent, but the entire state of affairs introduced by this entity.

It is interesting to note that in spoken English, although we retain the demonstrative, definite and indefinite articles, the speaker is at liberty to treat a new entity in their discourse as "more *situated* in the speaker's mental attitude" (Sweetser 1990: 27, emphasis original). Consider the following two construals:

(70)   (a) So I was walking down the street and a guy came up to me…
         (b) So I'm walking down the street and this guy comes up to me…

Note that, as part of the speaker's choice and construal, both the verbs' temporal value and the identification of the agent is flexible. Bailey claims that the use of this 'false definite' is felicitous only when it is "unidentifiable but would normally have to feature in the subsequent discourse" (2009: 76).[184] Thus it can be seen why the notion *discontinuity* correlates well with theticity, in that a new entity is introduced into the CG, or an inaccessible event which closes, transitions, or opens discourse units (see the previous section).

Another semantic characteristic of thetics involve *impersonal* utterances in general. Ulrich clarifies, "Of course, existential and event-reporting utterances also contain agents - besides those event reporting utterances without an entity - *but they are not in essence about*

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[184] Chafe, on the other hand, considers such inaccessible 'false definites' to be restricted to "the surprising placement of a new, though trivial referent in the subject role," in the sense that "they do not reappear in a discourse after their first and only mention" (1994: 91). Nevertheless, "the starting point role can be manipulated for special effects, some of which are more easily achieved in writing than in speaking" (ibid.: 83), and among which I would place thetics.

119

them" (1986: 225, emphasis added).[185] German provides the distinction between alternate construals of an event which have the event in the foreground which "wrap" (*einwickeln*) the agent, and those with the agent in the foreground, illustrated by the difference between *Es kommt ein Sturm* and *Ein Stúrm kommt!* (ibid.: 228). To provide a simpler example, if we are walking together and I am worried you might fall, I may warn you:

(71) Your *shoe's* untied.

Yet, I am not interested in commenting on your shoes or activating it as topical for the following discourse; the entire utterance is profiled. Such impersonals and existentials are related to Hilpert's *scene-encoding hypothesis* which "predicts that across many languages, there should be basic syntactic patterns that express ideas such as bringing about a result, transferring an object, moving along a path, undergoing a state of change, or experiencing a stimulus" (2014: 31). From the preceding discussion it is no surprise that statives (such as מֵת זָקֵן,, etc.; cf. McNally 1998) and verbs of movement (prototypically בּוֹא, עָלָה, among others; see Polak 2009 and van Wolde 2009) or change of state seem to be family-related and both be prototypical for use in thetics (though see Irwin 2020 for a more restrictive position). Statives can facilitate the grounds for the surrounding discourse, since states tend to originate in the past and affect the present narrative time,[186] as in the following examples:

(72)   Speak softly! A *baby* is sleeping.

(73)   Tread softly! The *ice* is thin.   (Sæbø 2007: examples [19-20])

On the other hand, verbs of movement are by nature spatially orientative (i.e. updating the text-reader CG), indicating the point of departure or arrival (comparable to presentational structures [Erteschik-Shir 2007: 185-187] or change-verbs [ibid.: 210-212], respectively)

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[185] Daseinssetzende und ereignisbezogene Äußerungen enthalten - außer den ereignisbezogenen Äußerungen ohne Agens, vom Typ *Es regnet* - selbsverständlich auch Aktanten; es wird jedoch nicht über sie 'referiert'."

[186] Revell also notes that, in his view, the only cases a narrative *qāṭal* should not be considered as anteriors in coding time, "are those in which it represents a state or activity originating in the past and continuing into the present relative to the narrative" (1985: 423). Indeed, one of the findings of Andrason & van der Merwe is that the *perfect* (whether pluperfect, present or future) accounts for more than 50% of the *qatal* verbs in Genesis (2015: 85).

depending on the perspectival 'reference point relationship' (Langacker 2008: 83). Yet their function is richer than simply orientation, as Polak argues,

> The fact that transitions of this kind are indicated by motion verbs shows that this class contributes far more to biblical Hebrew discourse than just the indication of change of place. Notably, in cognitive linguistics motion is a metaphor for change, and 'locality' for position or situation. The metaphorical use of verbs of motion is not to be disregarded." (2009: 165-166; cf. Auer & Maschler 2013: 160)

Bailey claims that "Thetics typically involve 'unaccusative' verbs, that is, intransitive verbs with a (relatively) non-agentive subject," (2009: 53, cf. Goldberg 2004: 433), similarly defined by Cruse as "intransitive verbs, typically denoting changes of state or location, whose subjects are not perceived as being actively responsible for the event denoted by the verb" (2011: 284), such as 'arrive', 'disappear', 'die', etc. This is perhaps another reason the majority of unexplained cases of fronting in BH prose - according to my hypothesis, thetic utterances - has been perceived as *discontinuous* (Buth 1995, Hornkohl 2018, Robar 2018), i.e. offering a change of scene (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001). Likewise, Alter points out, "explicit reports of attitude - which usually occur in the simple form of X loved Y, hated, feared, revered, had compassion for Y, or in *nonrelational statements* like X was distressed, X rejoiced - I would regard as essentially expository assertions. That is, they do not convey to us actions but inner conditions that color the actions, affect them, explain them" (2011: 102, emphasis added). The following examples are prototypical cases:

(74)	כִּי הַמַּגִּיד֩ לִ֨י לֵאמֹ֜ר הִנֵּה־מֵ֣ת שָׁא֗וּל וְהֽוּא־הָיָ֤ה כִמְבַשֵּׂר֙ בְּעֵינָ֔יו וָאֹחֲזָ֣ה ב֔וֹ וָאֶ֨הְרְגֵ֔הוּ בְּצִֽקְלָֽג	"[that] the one who spoke to me saying, "Look, Saul is dead" - *and he thought he was bringing good news* - I grabbed him and killed him in Ziklag" (2 Sam. 4:10)
(75)	וַיִּשְׁכַּ֤ב שְׁמוּאֵל֙ עַד־הַבֹּ֔קֶר וַיִּפְתַּ֖ח אֶת־דַּלְת֣וֹת בֵּית־יְהוָ֑ה וּשְׁמוּאֵ֣ל יָרֵ֔א מֵהַגִּ֥יד אֶת־הַמַּרְאָ֖ה אֶל־עֵלִֽי׃	And Samuel lay down until the morning, when he opened the doors of the house of Yahweh. *Now Samuel was afraid to tell Eli his vision* (1 Sam. 3:15)
(76)	וַֽיהוָ֣ה נִחָ֔ם כִּֽי־הִמְלִ֥יךְ אֶת־שָׁא֖וּל עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	*And Yahweh regretted that he had made Saul king over Israe*l. (1 Sam. 15:35)

Example (76) could be considered a *headline / introduction / explanation* for what follows, or at least, minimally, a strong discontinuity, although there are strong discourse arguments for treating it as conclusive (see Kim 2009), i.e. discourse 'terminus' (Tsumura 2006, 2014) or

121

summary (Schwarz 2016). Furthermore, being a fronted clause, it fulfills the morphosyntactic character of thetic utterances as *inverted* (see the following section) and נחם plainly fits the 'report of attitude' profile.

On the other hand, although fully transitive constructions have occasionally been rejected for communicating thetic utterances in some languages (for example, see Ulrich 1986: 228 for German), it is preferable to consider them as peripheral cases, nonetheless belonging to such a category (Andrason 2019: 102-103). Nevertheless, to limit the information load, whether transitive or intransitive, the verbal predicate should not be overly complex and *semantically bleached* verbs are more prototypical. The selectional tendencies of such 'weak' or 'low-content' (Chafe 1994: 111) verbs is due to the strategy of communicating thetic utterances as a unitary relation and revoking a categorical reading, which would hold a certain entity or action as singularly salient and thus profiled.

Example (77) illustrates that even with unaccusative clauses, the 'low-content verb' i.e., that which is less unexpected, facilitates the plausibility of a thetic reading, reducing the entire informational strain. To wit, 'coming' provides no processing difficulty so the English sentence stress pattern can felicitously apply Sasse's subject accentuation paradigm (cf. Lambrecht's car-breaking-down example) and be analysed as a whole. In the second example, 'failing' is not prototypically salient so both the subject and verb must be stressed for a thetic reading.[187] Only the verb would be stressed if the speaker did not intend to profile the entire state of affairs.

(77)   (a) *John*'s coming. / *John*'s *failing*.   (Rochemont 2013: example [36a])
        (b) ??*John's* failing.

In example (b), subject accentuation would require a narrow-focus reading with the implicit question-under-discussion being '*x* is failing.' However, such processing restraints can be extended to transitive clauses, although perhaps less commonly, as the following examples show:

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[187] Indeed, Gilquin & De Knop argue that such 'light verbs' provide the basis for the extension of basic entrenched constructions, as a first step "that is necessary before more specific verbs can gradually come to be associated with the constructions" (2016: 11, cf. Goldberg 2019). For a discussion of how semantic dependency and frequency bias inform processing effects of word order see Song 2012: 267-270.

(78) (a) A *cop* pulled me over this morning on my way to work.

(b) Your *father* called me last night.   (ibid.: examples [40a] and [40c])

The following two would require different accentuation patterns due to the less salient nature of the subject-verb pairing, and thus processing constraints revoke a unitary, thetic reading.[188]

(79) (a) ?? A *cop* gave me a birthday card this morning on my way to work.

(b) ?? Your *father* insulted me last night.

In summary, applying this family of semantic attributes of theticity to constituents of a fronted BH clause - since I have argued that the construction itself requires a higher processing cost - it should be expected that the discourse position and verbal semantics should be relatively salient so as to not add any further cost.[189]

3.5.3.3.1 Morphosyntactic considerations

> *"Crucially, it is the form of the sentence that clues the hearer about what is to be taken as the common ground and what is the new informative idea."*
>
> (Bailey 2009: 4)

Cross-linguistically, thetic utterances constitute a *syntactic space*, "in which there is a continuum of construction types in morphosyntactic terms" (Croft 2001: 6). The prototypical feature is the measures that the construction takes to revoke the categorical interpretation (Schwarz 2016) and express the unity of the content as unambiguously as possible. In short, the discourse is presented in such a way that, "Employing a clause pattern markedly different from the surrounding clauses enables a speaker to draw interactants' maximum attention to the transition into the upcoming talk, thus increasing the likelihood of their following the

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[188] Tanaka explains the validity of even such involved utterances as thetic as "attributed to the necessarily close relationship between a subject and its predicate," (2020: 346), such that 'cop' and 'pulled over' is easily processed as a unit. More prototypically, such semantic collocations can be illustrated by cognate constructions for weather statements such as Turkish *Yagmur yagar* ('It's raining).

[189] Hence the prevalence of common verbs such as הָיָה or בּוֹא in the examples given in the following chapter. As already noted in section 3.4.4, constructional entrenchment aids processing. However, (as indeed is found with הָיָה, for example) a developing polyfunctionality should also be expected: "It seems that when a single verb occurs with high frequency, that verbs's variability tends to increase as well" (Goldberg 2019: 70).

course of events described. This is particularly desirable at episode boundaries, which are pivotal for following the narrative" (Auer & Maschler 2013: 160).

Again, we begin with Sasse's treatment. He discusses the four morphosyntactic configurations prototypical of theticity (2006: 264-269). The first is subject accentuation, of which we have already seen examples such as 'Your *shoe's* untied' and 'My *car* broke down'.[190] Secondly, and most appropriate to the current study, is VS constituent order, inverted from basic SV languages.[191] These will be further explored in section 3.5.3.3.2. Sasse's third morphosyntactic configuration is split constructions of the subject + relative clause, as in the French *C'est X qui… / Il y a X qui…* or simply *X qui* (see Khan 2019 for further examples).[192] Fourth and finally, Sasse discusses subject incorporation into the verbal constituent.

Other morphosyntactic attributes involve *there + be* constructions for introductives (elsewhere, labelled *presentationals* and *existentials*), often equivalent to deictic constructions such as *Voilà…* or *Oye, …* (Bailey 2009), and הִנֵּה … בָּא.[193] Other renowned observations are Kuno (1971) and Kuroda's (1972) distinction of the Japanese particles *wa* and *ga*, directly encoding categoricity and theticity respectively.[194] Fujinawa illustrates how Japanese communicates example (4):

(80)   (a) Kuruma *wa* koware-ta [categorical]

         car   *wa* break.down

       (b) Kuruma *ga* koware-ta [thetic]

         car   *ga* break.down   (2020: 284, example [1])

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[190] As in all of Sasse's subject-accented examples, the possessive is excluded (see Sasse 1987: 519-526; 2006: 264).

[191] Cf. García Macías (2016: 153).

[192] Notice, by way of illustration, Jouön's rendering of Num. 16:29 (1923: 475):

לֹא יְהוָה שְׁלָחָנִי

"ce n'est pas J. qui m'a envoyé"

[193] I once overheard a phone conversation, which following conventional niceties, began with, "Oye, mira, escúchame, una cosa…" roughly equivalent to, "Here, look, listen to me, one thing…" I can only suppose that what followed must have been a very noteworthy exchange.

[194] See Okamoto (2020) for important caveats. He concludes, "the mere use of the particle *ga* does not guarantee the theticity of a sentence" (2020:380).

Fronted spatiotemporal adverbials can also indicate theticity (see Kuno 1971, Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007, Evans 2013), often being paired with subject-verb inversion (Sasse 2006, Alexiadou 2010). Indeed, Alexiadou and Carvalho (2018: 50) find that in some partial pro-drop languages spatiotemporal adverbials may be responsible for indicating such an existential analysis, as in the following example:[195]

(81)   Na semana passada entrou um cara na minha casa.

'Last week a man (= a thief) entered my house.' (ibid.: example [23])

One can even observe the same effect in English, since (82) warrants an impersonal reading, (83) refers to a definite group of people.

(82)   In Italy they like to take a nap in the afternoon.

(83)   They like to take a nap in the afternoon.   (ibid.: example [22])

Forming part of the same family-network of constructions, we can expand Alexiadou and Carvalho's observation (it was not their purpose to make a judgment either way in this regard) to include a wider range of thetics (not only 'entity-central' utterances) preceded by either spatial or temporal adverbials, as the following examples of a descriptive (84) and annuntiative (85) show:

(84)   In den Tälern löste sich der Nebel zögernd auf.

'In the valleys, the fog hesitantly lifted.' (Sasse 2006: example [39])

(85)   At six o'clock, Jane left.

Jane left at six o'clock. (Hatav 2018: 15)[196]

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[195] As consistent with other observations of selectional tendencies within cognitive linguistics, a number of constructionist approaches "assume that the adjunct/modifier selects the structure it needs to combine with" (Herbst & Hoffman 2018: 203). Indeed, "Co-occurrence behaviour of words is not random or coincidental, but arises from the interaction of the semantic-pragmatic value humans assign to them" (Kingham 2021: 537).

[196] 'Jane left at six o'clock' would require the presupposition 'Jane left at x o'clock' to be CG activated.

As seen above, significant clues are offered to distinguish between a thetic and categorical reading (as between '*John's failing*' and 'John's *failing*'). This is dependent on "the expectation of information on the hearer's part or, more exactly, on the speaker's assumptions about what kind of information his addressee expects, in particular whether or not he expects information about an entity, no matter if this entity is known, previously mentioned, situationally present, etc." (Sasse 1987: 528-529). On the other hand, we have also seen the common morphosyntactic ambiguity between a thetic and categorical reading (such as in 'My *car* broke down' in example [4ii]-[4iii] as either thetic or constituent focused; see section 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2), in which case we are dependent on our desituated insight into CG expectations of the conversational community (Qasem 2006: 24-25, Sasse 2006: 271-274). Nevertheless, combining the selectional tendencies between these discourse, semantic and morphosyntactic attributes, especially those most prototypical to the family-resemblance structure of thetic utterances, provides us with a plausible basis on which to identify such statements.

In morphosyntactic terms, we are primarily concerned with the evidence for VS inversion, produced as an alternative construal to the canonical categorical SV order in a large number of languages - many of which also happen to be pro-drop languages.[197] I consider BH fronted constructions to be an analogous strategy of inversion,[198] with one significant difference. While Sasse notes that on occasion, "adverbials of setting," that is, expressions indicating time, place, and circumstance and setting a frame for the following

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[197] More complex cases of double, or even triple fronting would be difficult to analyse as simple inversions. Within our corpus, they represent topic-comment constructions prototypically with both focal and topic fronting (see Gross 2001). On the other hand, if the double fronting involves two adverbial adjuncts, it may be methodologically preferable to treat them as a single spatiotemporal orientation, as in the following sentence:

That very night in Max's room a forest grew. (Maurice Sendak, *Where the Wild Things Are*)

An analogous structure in BH is found in 1 Sam. 9:9a, discussed in Appendix A.

[198] A position supported by Sasse. He states that in BH and Classical Arabic, "a type of inversion is allowed by which the subject is put in front of the sentence. In addition to 'subject emphasis' the main function attributed to this word order is the option marking of the beginning of stories and explications, explanatory responses, etc. However, though it looks like 'subject inversion' in reverse, this process must not be taken to be a mirror image of the SV/VS switch in Romance, Modern Greek, etc." (1987: 543). However, he only rejects such an analogy due to his adoption of the traditional verbal/nominal sentence distinction based on such a construction, in which the remainder of the utterance "is some sort of asyndetic relative clause" (ibid.). In other words, Sasse only rejects the *verbal* nature of such subject-initial BH clauses. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, such an understanding of BH fronting has been laid aside for a century (with the exception of Niccacci 1996 and Choi 2006), so the mirror image of the SV/VS inversion in other thetic studies is safely applicable here and Sasse's conclusion that "in rigid VS languages mere preposing of the subject is sufficient to give the sentence a thetic character" (ibid.) speaks directly to the data found in the current study.

126

predication, also trigger inversion in some languages" (2006: 273), BH seems to prefer *either* subject-fronting *or* the fronting of spatiotemporal adverbials. Thus I limit the categorization of thetics in BH to subject-fronted clauses or those initiated with a spatiotemporal adverbial.

We will now tie together the results from our semantic and morphosyntactic overviews (discourse considerations will be corroborated with the BH evidence in the next chapter), comparing their selectional tendencies among other pro-drop languages in order to investigate the similarity of strategies found within such languages with the communicative perspective and discourse-managing functions of theticity in BH.

3.5.3.3.2 BH's behaviour as a pro-drop language

As discussed in section 3.1 and 3.4.4, native-speaker confirmation for Copy and Merge (among other movements and deletions) are outside the scope of the study of BH among other ancient languages. Nevertheless, we can observe similar characteristics between BH and modern, pro-drop languages with a so-called *null subject*.[199] In short, in pro-drop languages the subject is not canonically lexicalised as its identity is determined by both the verbal inflection and the surrounding discourse (though not always). First and second person independent pronouns are pragmatically unique within the *current discourse space* (Chafe 1994, Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007, Langacker 2008, Stalnaker 2014). Since they are expressed unambiguously by the verbal inflection, they can be dropped, meeting the expectations of Grice's maxim of quantity. Likewise, if a third person or fully lexicalised entity is the agent in a topic chain, it will be understood from the verbal morphology and discourse co-text. Some of the cases of fronting in the Samuel-Kings corpus that are most difficult to explain involve such 'redundant' explicit first or third person independent pronouns, or fully lexicalised subjects.[200] However, my concern here is only to compare the shared characteristics across other pro-drop languages which do enjoy intuitive explanations in order to shed some light on the case of BH fronting.

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[199] Dryer (2013) points out that the label 'pro-drop' is probably an anglo-centric misnomer, adopted as early as Chomsky (1981), for lack of typological insight that the vast majority of the world's languages function as such. In any case, 'topic-drop' is probably more accurate as the discourse conditions usually require the non-lexicalised constituent to be active.

[200] cf. Loder's (2016) observations, the implications of which have not been sufficiently explored beyond explicitly marking topic/focus (see section 4.4.1.2 and section 4.4.2.2 for some tentative explanations).

One key characteristic of a wide range of pro-drop languages analysed by Sasse (2006) is that they allow the verb to occupy the sentence initial position, as in the following event-reporting utterance:

(86)   Se ha estropeado el *ordenador*.

       'The *computer* has broken.'   (Martínez Caro 2007, example [14a])

Cardinaletti argues, "it is widely assumed in the literature that pro-drop languages like Italian 'freely' allow for postverbal subjects *in any type of sentence*, their occurrence being discourse-motivated." (2018: 79, emphasis added). Not only is their occurrence discourse-motivated, but also their position. Her paper on postverbal subjects in Italian is analogous to the case of fronted explicit pronouns in BH (again, I treat the SV/VS inversion to be the reverse order of the same phenomenon as BH fronting). She continues, "It is however less known that in Italian, postverbal subjects are not necessarily new information and that the two properties (syntactic distribution and discourse status) may indeed be dissociated" (ibid.: 79). Likewise, in BH, not only can a *confirming* narrow focus be fronted, but so can the subject in a thetic utterance whose referent may already be discourse accessible.[201] Finally, she points out that "Italian displays so called 'free subject inversion' (Rizzi 1982). As is well-known, however, the syntax of subjects is not completely 'free', but ruled by two semantic factors: the discourse status of the subject (old *vs* new information) and the verb class ((in)transitive *vs* unaccusative)" (ibid.: 80), which also finds parallels in the prototypical classes of verbs found in thetic sentences, as seen above.[202] Indeed, in response to the classic diagnostic 'What happened?' she shows that subjects of unaccusative verbs occur in the postverbal position, similarly to narrow focused subjects in any verb class. Consider first a transitive example:

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[201] Such as in the following two examples respectively:

אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ׃   You made the heavens and the earth (2 Kgs. 19:15)
בֶּן־הֲדַד אָמַר תְּחִי־נָא נַפְשִׁי   Ben-Hadad says, "Please grant me my life" (1 Kgs. 20:32)

[202] Again, primarily semantically weak/bleached verbs (Ulrich 1986, Smit 2007; cf. Chafe [1994: 111] and Gilquin & De Knop [2016: 11]).

(87) Che è successo?   Gianni ha rotto il vaso.   (ibid., example [3a])

      What happened?   Gianni has broken the vase.

versus the unaccusative:

(88) Che è successo?   È arrivato Gianni.   (ibid. example [3c])

      What happened?   Gianni has arrived.

She claims this asymmetry among verb classes is due to the subject of example (88) behaving like an object of a transitive verb. If, however, an object is included, the postverbal subject position is infelicitous (cf. example [89]) - this does not seem to match the case of inversion among transitive thetic utterances in BH fronted clauses, which are, admittedly, less than prototypical (see section 4.2.3.1 for some examples).

(89) Che è successo?   Maria ha visitato mio fratello.   (ibid.: example [4c])

      What happened?   Maria visited my brother.

On the other hand, the exact same answer to (88) with identical sentential stress is given to the Wh-question,

(90) Chi è arrivato?   È arrivato Gianni   (ibid.: example [2c])

      Who has arrived?   Gianni has arrived.

Here, informationally different interpretations are called for without any syntactic or prosodic support. As argued, their respective discourse-pragmatics are key (cf. Sasse 2006).[203]

Next, observe the simple inversion in Modern Greek indicating thetic and categorical utterances respectively, both containing a typical unaccusative verb, "ring":

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[203] See Bianchi 2013 for similar findings regarding Italian's discourse-dependency in the case of focus semantics, which lacks 'one position - one interpretation.' Focus fronting is constrained by the CG, or 'conversational dynamics' in her terminology, limiting its interpretation to corrective focus, whereas to *in situ* narrow focus does not share this same constraint but can convey either a merely contrastive focus, or corrective focus (which she considers a subtype of the more general contrastive focus).

(92)   Xtipise to tilefono.   [thetic]

     rang   the phone   'The phone rang.'

(93)   To tilefono xtipise. [categorical]

     the phone   rang   'The phone rang.'   (Sasse 1987: example [55])[204]

Likewise, after a spatial orientation [though here the verb is passive]:

(94)   Apo to   parathalassio kendro akustike   i   melancholiki melodhia enos saksofonu

     from the by.the.beach pub   was.heard the melancholic melody   of.a saxophone

     'From by the beach club the melancholic melody of a saxophone was heard.'

     (Sasse 2006: example [49])[205]

     Similarly, in Spanish, VS or VSO sentences (often 'correlated' or 'governed by' theticity, as claimed by Martínez Caro) often display specific verb classes and "Thetic judgements are commonly expressed through intransitive clauses … where the subject appears postverbally" (Martínez Caro 2007: 136). Consider the effect of inversion on the following examples, where in (96) either '*x* is coming tomorrow' or 'Juan is coming *x*' would have to be a CG presupposition:

(95)   Viene *Juan* mañana. [thetic]

     '*Juan* is coming tomorrow.'

(96)   *Juan* viene *mañana*. [categorical]

     '*Juan* is coming tomorrow' / 'Juan is coming *tomorrow*.'

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[204] Although not without exception, Bailey notes that in NT Greek SV "is a default order for [thetic] tokens that (a) begin a brand new discourse, (b) follow ἰδού [roughly analogous to הִנֵּה], and (c) come in object complement clauses of perception reports" (2009: 236). Bailey's data shows that what he has in mind for (a-c) would be particularly prototypical of introductives and peripherally annuntiatives. For example, note the same constituent order in parable-initial introductives and annuntiatives respectively: Κριτής τις ἦν ἔν τινι πόλει (*There was a certain judge in a certain city*, Luke 18:2) and Ἄνθρωπός τις εἶχεν δύο υἱούς (*A certain man had two sons*, Luke 15:11).

[205] Although not a pro-drop language, the following fairly peripheral English presentationals may be illustrative:

a. Standing at the top of the stairs was an old bookcase
b. Happiest to see her were her parents
c. To your right is a wooden door   (Rochement 2013: example [28])

Similarly, as already noted above (see example [81]), spatiotemporal adverbials can be fronted even in such an inverted construction.[206]

(97)   Mañana viene *Juan*. [thetic]

        '*Juan* is coming tomorrow.'

Martínez Caro affirms that it is not just discourse-pragmatic considerations, but both the semantic nature of the verb in question and the resulting syntactic configuration, which indicate theticity.[207] Evidently, the syntactic configuration we are referring to, inversion, is evident in thetic utterances throughout numerous pro-drop languages,[208] including Latin, which generally tend towards verb-final constructions in narrative discourse, yet SV indicates a thetic reading (Bolkenstein 1995).[209] Therefore, if we are correct in understanding Classical BH narrative discourse as tending towards VSX, its pro-drop nature would likewise license inversion, but in the opposite direction, resulting in a fronted clause.

      The preceding examples are from pro-drop languages genetically unrelated to BH. However, evidence of pragmatic and syntactic parallels in other Semitic languages' handling of thetic structures is not lacking. Friedmann's sentence repetition tests confirmed that VS is dominant in Palestinian Arabic in both unergative and unaccusative utterances, such as the second alternation in the following pair of examples:

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[206] Contra Abraham, whose understanding of a contextless constraint for theticity leads to the notion that "Thetic sentences (simple judgments) are ungrammatical for direct origo deixis (thus, for *here*, *there*, *now*, *tomorrow* etc.)" (2020: 254). On the other hand, Sasse notes that "All languages of the SV/VS alternating type also allow XVS constructions" (2006: 266).

[207] Although, as expected in light of a continuum of constructions, "There does not seem to be a one-to-one relationship in Spanish between the type of statement in terms of the thetic-categorical distinction and the syntactic form of the construction" (Martínez Caro 2007: 138).

[208] This is a widely attested phenomenon. With regards to the prototypical question introducing this type of construction, namely *Was geschieht?*, Ulrich states (1986: 222), "On a closer look, it also stands out that in the answer to the same question in other languages, such as Romanian, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, generally we have an utterance with VS-order" (Bei einer genaueren Beobachtung fällt außerdem auf, daß in Antwort auf dieselbe Frage in anderen Sprachen wie Rumänisch, Italienisch, Spanisch, Russisch, Bulgarisch, Ungarisch, in der Regel eine Äußerung mit VS-Anordnung steht). Likewise Sasse (2006: 255-256) analyses Italian, Spanish, Russian, Serbo-Croation, Albanian, Modern Greek and Hungarian from the prototypical subject + predicate to a predicate + subject in thetic sentences.

[209] Note that "tend toward" does not necessitate the idea of a 'basic word order' for freely ordered languages (see section 4.1.1 for further discussion).

(98)   el-balon   inmaza   / inmaza   el-balon

        the-ballon got-torn / got-torn the-ballon

(99)   el walad rakad / rakad el-walad

        the-boy ran   / ran   the boy   (Friedmann and Costa 2011: example [10])

Sasse also notes, "Egyptian Arabic normally uses VS structures for thetic statements and SV structures for categorical statements. In addition, thetic statements can be expressed by splitting up the sentences into two parts, the subject and the rest, and presenting the latter in the form of a relative clause or a participle" (1987: 540, cf. Qasem 2006 for a similar analysis of Kuwaiti Arabic). This second alternative is the split construction strategy, mentioned in the previous section, identical to Sasse's analysis of SV in BH (the reader will recall the traditional treatment of BH fronted clauses as nominal in the previous chapter [for example, Choi 2006]). Khan (2019) discusses similar split constructions cross-linguistically, notably statives in the Neo-Aramaic dialects Qaraqosh and Urmi. He argues that such cleft sentences can be used as a "strategy to integrate the subject and predicate to express a unitary situation" (2019: 19), typically involving an explanation, give background information or existential statements.

Thackston (2000) shows how Classical Arabic existentials reverse the subject-predicate order in nominal ('*inna*) sentences (analogous to the case of BH's הִנֵּה), since they introduce an indefinite entity. Modern Hebrew, though considered only partially pro-drop, nonetheless undergoes the inversion mentioned above. Auer and Maschler affirm that inversion in Modern Hebrew is only utilised in "specialized functions, among which narrative functions seem to play an important role" being paired with other motivations such as "morpho-syntactic factors, such as definiteness and the NP type, syntactic-semantic factors such as unaccusativity, semantic factors such as animacy, and pragmatic factors such as accessibility and topicality" (2013: 150). Their study, however, focuses on discourse strategies involved, such as introducing a protagonist, interim summaries, and the climax of an episode. Schade (2013: 116) shows that, as well as using nominal clauses, ancient Phoenician inscriptions also employ subject-fronted (and relativised) verbal clauses to introduce a new entity into the discourse, comparable to the split constructions already

132

mentioned. In fact, he finds that a primary function of fronting in Phoenician inscriptions is to mark a new textual unit, both the beginnings and even paragraph endings (2013: 121).

Further corroborating evidence from modern VSX languages and further research on the explicit encoding of first and second subject pronouns in so-called *null subject* languages would greatly enhance the framework offered here. However, as briefly surveyed in the previous chapter, Khan and van der Merwe (2020) have offered the most recent study on fronted clauses as thetics in BH, and will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

A final interesting question is the possibility of theticity being communicated by canonical *wayyiqtol* clauses, relying on their perceived discourse position and verbal semantics.[210] Bailey notes, "most of the [discourse] functions mentioned above are not restricted to thetics. For example, entities may be introduced in predicate-focus constructions (e.g. in object position), annuntiative and interruptive statements are often expressed by predicate-focus structure [sic] with a topical subjects [sic]" (2009: 64). However, even where this occurs, in the Classical BH corpus, fronted clauses remain undoubtedly onomasiologically salient and are perhaps resorted to as a syntactic alternation (Hilpert 2014: 45-46) to disambiguate and avoid another pragmatic analysis which would misconstrue the communicative event (Bianchi 2013: 196, Schwarz 2016: 93; cf. Erteschik-Shir's [2007: 80] understanding of linguistic *altruistic fronting* and Sæbø's [2007: 17] notion of *competition* within Optimality Theory).

3.6 Conclusion

After briefly introducing the generative and functional linguistic paradigms, I laid out the communicative and discourse-pragmatic model which will be used in chapter 4, with a central place for CG management and CG update. I then explored some theoretical difficulties within this model and presented how *accommodation* can satisfactorily convert an unattainable *common knowledge* into a workable CG model. I showed how the cognitive

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[210] Tsumura argues that *wayyiqtol* clauses, though typically denoting the 'mainline' or the narrative discourse, can be used in the discourse functions he labels *setting* ('background information') and *terminus* (a clause which "points to the end of an episode") if they contain verbs of movement or stative verbs, subject to "a relative order in terms of nearness to the mainline story" (2006: 52). As we have seen, these are prototypical of thetic utterances, so the combination of these other elements (perceived discourse function and verbal semantics) can form a somewhat peripheral case of theticity, absent of the morphosyntactic encoding of a fronted clause. This idea is further explored in section 4.4.3.

linguistic enterprise offers ample solutions to the complexity of human communication, namely a real-world view of categorization and and an interlocutor's freedom in grammatical construal. Finally, I explored the thetic / categorical distinction and the potential for theticity to account for much of the residue that remains outside of topic/focus within treatments of BH fronting. Corroborating evidence was provided with regard to discourse, morphosyntactic and semantic considerations, especially within other pro-drop languages. I have hypothesised theticity's central organising principle to be an alternative construal in order to serve the discourse purposes of CG update by macro-accommodation. Although its status is a family-resemblance network (Sasse 2006), consider the following exhortation by Ozerov:

> Interactional, intersubjective and discourse categories such as subjective stance or a 'communicative device of persuasive intention' appeal to vague and poorly-defined concepts. It may appear questionable whether such reformulation of analysis can represent advancement in the understanding of linguistic and pragmatic phenomena. However, it is a necessary step in any paradigm shift and in the development of a more adequate framework for the phenomena analysed." (2018: 91)

In this chapter I have taken to heart Moshavi's appeal for a more systematic and economical approach to fronting. Although at first glance it may seem that theticity has not brought us any closer than the previous selection of miscellaneous and contextual explanations offered in previous studies of BH fronting, following Khan & van der Merwe (2020) I argue that "such reformulation of analysis" may indeed provide the necessary step "in the development of a more adequate framework for the phenomena analysed" (ibid.). With an appropriate cognitive understanding of categorization, the structural unity (i.e. lack of topic-comment) and construed nature, as well as its cross-linguistic corroboration under similar discourse, semantic, and morphosyntactic circumstances, theticity proves a worthy paradigm shift to account for a large number of fronted clauses in BH prose. In the following chapter I will test the explanatory value of theticity in over 1200 cases of fronting within Samuel-Kings.

4. An analysis of Samuel - Kings

In the previous chapter, I presented the linguistic theoretical framework which will be used throughout our analysis of Samuel-Kings. In this chapter we move on to the data itself - over 1200 fronted clauses within these four books of the Former Prophets - to test the explanatory power of the model presented. I will show that, as with Moshavi's (2010) study of Genesis, the majority of fronted clauses display topic or focus fronting. However, there are numerous ambiguous cases which could be read as either categorical, and thus topical or focal, or thetic, depending on the likelihood of the presuppositions and expectations the speaker/author projects the addressee/reader to possess, and those the addressee/reader possesses which enable us to interpret a given utterance in a certain way. Other, more prototypical thetic utterances also make up a large part of the corpus, and can largely be accounted for under Sasse's (2006) understanding of their discourse functions. Those fronted clauses which remain difficult to account for will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

In section 4.1, I present some preliminary methodological issues pertinent to my treatment of the data: namely, (1) a brief revisit to the basic constituent-order question, which surfaced a number of times in our literature survey, (2) the poetry vs. prose distinction, (3) clause-initial constituents that are considered obligatory and (4) morphological ambiguity. In Section 4.2 I will apply the theoretical framework as outlined in the previous chapter, and present the Samuel-Kings data, concentrating primarily on those cases of topic fronting, focus fronting and theticity that are deemed prototypical, while noting areas of overlap and ambiguity. The results are summarised at the end of section 4.2. It is hypothesised that such a large selection of fronted clauses represent Classical BH prose as a whole. Section 4.3 contains a comparison of my own investigation of 1 Samuel with the results of Khan and van der Merwe's (2020) study. As expected, there are minor discrepancies in some ambiguous cases and slightly different treatments of thetic utterances, yet taking theticity into account provides very similar results. Finally, in section 4.4 I will discuss some difficult cases, some of which have tentative solutions, while other questions remain unanswered, providing possible avenues for future research. I briefly explore whether or not verb-initial clauses can possess the same communicative value as fronted clauses, and therefore whether this model

is useful at all. I conclude section 4.5 with a critical evaluation of the model, noting its fit for the data while not overlooking potential shortcomings.

4.1 Preliminary matters

4.1.1. Prototypical constituent order in BH

In the previous chapter we have seen that in the case of topic fronting and focus fronting, the fronted element receives the attentional prominence (or, salience), and in thetic constructions the same is true for the entire utterance. In other words, they are *profiled* against a discourse *background* and therefore, I conclude, represent the prototypical word order for their functions.[211] To pick up the basic constituent order argument from our literature survey in chapter 2, Holmstedt's position has attracted attention in recent years (see Zuo 2017, Noonan 2020), yet within BH scholarship it remains the minority, expounded in detail by Holmstedt himself and followed by a select few (see Hatav 2018).

Besides working with a tiny corpus in an already limited body of BH literature, Holmstedt's use of Greenberg's (1963) maxim's for basic sentence structure and thus limiting basic sentences to those fully lexicalising their subjects is inappropriate for a pro-drop language such as BH. As in Spanish or Italian, the presence of a lexicalised noun phrase is pragmatically significant in itself. Furthermore, rejecting the importance of *wayyiqtol* clauses, since they are "clearly associated with a particular discourse type" (2009: 120), greatly skews the data. As noted above, *wayyiqtol* clauses certainly are associated with a particular discourse *function* (not type) and it is unclear to the present author how a construction could *not* have such a prototypical association. As van der Merwe noted,

> "A crucial question is whether one regards fronting as referring merely to position in the clause, or to the pragmatic result of movement from basic to fronted position. The answer to this question is usually determined by the linguistic model employed to account for the Biblical Hebrew data. For example, for scholars in a generative tradition the basic word order of a clause is a theoretical construct that would reflect the linear order of fully lexicalized constituents in a context-free clause. Within this framework, fronting always implies the movement of a constituent from its position in this basic pattern to a pre-verbal position. For scholars in a functionalist and, more recently, cognitive tradition, on the other hand, a basic or canonical word order would reflect the pattern(s) associated with the most prototypical use in a communicative situation (see Lambrecht 1994). According to Fried (2009:295) "word order

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[211] Here is a key difference between the background/foreground model and a cognitive linguistics approach taking theticity into account. Whereby in the former, thetic statements are typically treated as background/off-line, informationally they are discourse-unexpected and thus highly profiled. This does not necessitate that they form the backbone of the discourse material, which I maintain prototypically consists of *wayyiqtol* clauses.

> cannot be studied independently of its pragmatic functions because neither is necessarily predictable from the other." (2013: 932)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the generative framework appears inadequate for the study of ancient languages, since, if "constituent movement becomes a critical feature of the analysis," (Holmstedt 2009: 120), that critical feature is irretrievable and not verifiable by the competency of native speakers. Furthermore, discourse-pragmatics are crucial to an analysis of constituent order since 'context-free clauses' do not exist in natural language.[212]

Apart from the preceding methodological concerns with Holmstedt's framework, no where in his work does he seem to address the older criticism of Buth:

> Of course, one can postulate a basic SVO pattern for Hebrew, list XVSO sentences, VSO, and SVO sentences, and then describe various occurrences of each. But such a methodology has no explanatory power. It does not explain why XSVO is so rare as to be almost non-existent outside of participial clauses. Furthermore, an SVO theory is worse than a clumsy theory because it hides the fact that SVO sentences have a specially pragmatically marked element." (1995: 81 n2)

Hornkohl (2018) points out that in Holmstedt's Genesis corpus he finds twice as many pragmatically marked SV clauses than those unmarked, intuitively problematic for viewing SV as canonical. Although the study of fronting does not rest on a dogmatically correct understanding of canonical word order, it is not insignificant. In Holmstedt's own words, "If we start with the VS position, a necessary position is that no SV clause lacks a Topic or Focus operator, but VS clauses may be pragmatically neutral. In contrast, within the SV framework developed in this study, a few SV clauses may actually be basic and thus pragmatically neutral, but any VS clause without a syntactic or semantic trigger must contain a Topic or Focus operator" (2009: 138). Noonan has recently formulated the question in similar fashion: "The word order debate directly impacts exegesis because departure from standard word order can draw attention to a particular word or clause, but we cannot know what words are highlighted without first knowing what that standard word order is" (2020:28). Besides the trouble with the idea of "pragmatically neutral" (see below), in the Samuel-Kings corpus, outside of thetic statements there are indeed no SV clauses lacking a topic or focus operator,[213] and once again the 'triggering movement' argument must be rejected as inappropriate for the study of BH pragmatics.

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[212] Admittedly, some methodology could be envisaged to abstract generalisations of the competency of a speech community from large enough linguistic corpora. However, usage-based approaches to corpus linguistics are concerned with so-called 'performance', not 'competency' (not to mention the limited nature of the BH corpus).

[213] Of course, exceptions include the problem cases I have not been able to account for under the CG approach.

A recent study by Zuo (2017) correctly notes that, ironically, Holmstedt's discourse-pragmatic analysis does not turn out to be significantly different from a canonical VSX approach. However, apparently key to the 'basic word order' debate is *pragmatic neutrality*, which is a questionable concept. Zuo claims, "Basic means the word order that is neutral and does not select any particular constituent for an explicit pragmatic role" (2017: 56). This definition of 'neutral' cannot hold up under scrutiny, as even the so-called 'unmarked' predicate focus construction selects a certain predicate to be focussed. Song's concern is worth quoting at length:

> It is to be borne in mind that the concept of basic word order is not applicable to flexible or free word-order languages. The word order in these languages - at least at the clausal level - is qualitatively different from syntactically defined word order, in that the former reflects pragmatic factors or functions, not semantic roles and/or grammatical relations. Mithun (1992) suggests that in these "pragmatically based" languages, whatever constituent is "newsworthy" - introducing pertinent new information, presenting a new topic or indicating a contrast - is placed initially in sentences, thereby producing a range of orderings of the major constituents. Thus the criteria of frequency, markedness and pragmatic neutrality "provide little evidence for any underlying [basic word] order in these languages" (Mithun 1992: 50). To put it differently, the concept of basic word order, at least at the clausal level, is simply irrelevant to flexible word-order languages, just as the concept of tone is inapplicable to non-tonal languages (2012: 15).

Although not as free as fully case-inflected languages, such as Latin or Russian, BH's word order is certainly *flexible* in light of how pragmatics inform constituent order.

Even if Song's conviction was not valid, BH topic-chaining prototypically employs (apparently pragmatically neutral) *wayyiqtol* clauses, yet oftentimes containing explicit subjects post-verbally (i.e. post-*wayyiqtol*).[214] If by 'pragmatically neutral' we are referring to what is most *frequent* in language, this is undoubtedly a topic-comment sentence with a predicate-focus structure, prototypically encoded in Classical BH by a *wayyiqtol* clause. It is an uncontroversial claim that referring to an established topic and predicating something about it is the most common function of human communication (see Goldberg 2004: 432 and van der Merwe et al. 2017: 498). However, in my view, it is both methodologically preferable and linguistically simpler to define discourse functions as prototypical of certain constructions, that is, form-function pairings which are symbolically connected to a contextually and discourse-embedded semantic value, rather than claim 'pragmatic neutrality'

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[214] Runge discusses a numbers of cases of *wayyiqtol* clauses containing a relexicalised proper noun when no topic shift is present, under the notion of *cataphoric highlighting* (2007: 168-174). Apparently disambiguation and competition "from the set of available candidates" (Chafe 1994: 77) plays no role here, rather they are "construed as marking a new segment… either near or at a point of highest tension in the story… with the pragmatic effect of adding prominence to each clause" (Runge 2007: 170, 173-174). Examples include the fivefold repetition of 'David' in 2 Sam. 5:7-10 and threefold repetition of Ahab in 1 Kgs. 16:29-30.

(especially in light of Song's comment above). Whether a *wayyiqtol* clause or a fronted clause, there are nevertheless particular constituents selected for pragmatic roles.[215] Hence, in the light of Construction Grammar, determining a 'basic word order' for BH is virtually irrelevant to the present study.[216] Nevertheless, at least in the corpus of Samuel-Kings (and, I suspect, the rest of the Classical corpus), *wayyiqtol* clauses are uncontroversially used for topic chaining (and thus event-continuity), while fronted clauses are uncontroversially used for topic shifting, focal fronting and theticity (all representing some type of discontinuity and a certain level of processing cost due to the various levels of CG update).

4.1.2. Poetry vs. prose

The linguistic model laid out in the previous chapter has only been formulated to account for narrative material. Undoubtedly, an information structure approach seems equally applicable to poetic material (see Lunn 2006 and van der Merwe & Wendland 2010), yet it has not been tested whether thetics can perform similar functions as those found in prose text. Therefore, for the purpose of this research the following passages have not been accounted for:

1. Hannah's song (1 Sam. 2:1-10)

2. David's lament for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:17-27)

3. David's lament for Abner (2 Sam. 3:33-34)

4. David's final two poems of dependance on Yahweh (2 Sam. 22:1-51, 23:1-7)

5. Yahweh's message to Hezekiah and Sennacherib through Isaiah (2 Kgs. 19:21-34)

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[215] In terms of information structure, thetic statements would be the exception, in which the entire state of affairs is profiled.

[216] Compare Hornkohl's recent comment: "it may be advisable to resist the dogmatism involved in assigning a basic word order. It may be more profitable simply to recognise functional correlations between various orders and their semantic/pragmatic values and effects" (2018: 44 n. 50). Of course, *markedness* and Construction Grammar are not necessarily mutually exclusive since the productive extension from a "dominating construction in the networks" being "syntactically and semantically more basic than the dominated one" (Sung & Yang 2016: 107) is of diachronic concern to Construction Grammar (see especially Goldberg 2019). However, whether or not there exist arguments for the diachronic extension from *wayyiqtols* to fronted clauses or vice versa in BH is impossible to ascertain.

On the other hand, I have included analysis of the Lord's message to David through the prophet Nathan and David's prayer in response (2 Sam. 7:5-29), though the analysis has proved difficult at times the they undoubtedly contain poetic elements (as *poetic prose* - see Tsumura 2019: 141 and the evident parallelism in 2 Sam. 7:16). There, explanative constructions and confirming focus are in abundance, since they are not *informative* in the sense presented in the previous chapter, i.e., "Perhaps his prayer functions as a kind of verbal processing by which he reminds himself of who God is and who he himself is, as the recipient of God's promise" (Long 2020: 337). On the other hand, "It is humanly understandable that David should now fervently pray to God that the grand promise of the night vision be fulfilled in time to come" (Alter 1999: 235).

4.1.3. Obligatory clause-initial constituents

Further comment on the methodology of my analysis include the following points:

1. No distinction is made between so-called main clauses and dependent clauses, as they seem to share the same strategy of constituent order regarding CG development.[217]

2. Constructions containing obligatory clause-initial elements (such as interrogatives, discourse markers, particles and text-deictics, infinitive absolutes) are not included in the analysis.[218]

3. Neither עַתָּה nor אָז are included in the analysis when functioning as a discourse marker, only when deemed a temporal adverb.[219]

4. Vocatives will not be considered as they do no affect the syntactic structure of the rest of the clause and, informationally, could just as easily be omitted.[220]

5. Although it is debated whether left-dislocation can be marked by the verbal inflection alone, for simplicity of the syntactical analysis of this study I only consider a clause to be

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[217] Even among explanative statements, where a grounding כִּי could be considered prototypical in introducing the utterance, displays no communicative difference where כִּי is not used (see section 4.2.3.5).

[218] See Gross (1996:51-53), Moshavi (2010: 68-86), Van der Merwe et al. (2017: 491-492), and Khan & van der Merwe (2020) for a detailed treatment.

[219] Messarra (2020) details four senses of (וְ)עַתָּה: predicate adverb, sentential adverb, structural discourse marker and interactional discourse marker. Within this paradigm, only the first two will be considered in this study. The same will be applied to 'logical' אָז (as in 1 Sam. 20:12).

[220] On the other hand, mid-clausal vocatives may indicate a categorical reading where theticity would otherwise be possible (see example [32]).

left-dislocated if the dislocated constituent is explicitly resumed in the main clause (be that fully lexicalised, in independent pronominal form or as a clitic, i.e., not only by verbal agreement). Likewise, I do not include cases of dislocated constituents which are separated by a *waw* from the matrix clause, even if they are not resumed (see Holmstedt 2014: 141-143; Van der Merwe et al. 2017: 512 for discussion).[221]

6. Questions words, although perhaps containing "intrinsic focus" (Dik 1997: 421) are not included - most are obligatorily fronted in any case (see point 2 above).[222]

7. Conditionals, whose protasis is perhaps best understood as a frame-setting topic (see Song 2017), are nonetheless individually analysed as two separate clauses, each displaying its own independent information structure.

8. Pre-verbal particles of negation are considered part of the verbal predicate and thus merit no further consideration. When the clause is fronted and the verbal predicate is negative, the negator falls pre-verbally and its scope is thus over the entire sentence (sentential negation, see van der Merwe et al. 2017: 456). However, in the case that the negator is detached from the verbal predicate and precedes a fronted constituent, it communicates only 'constituent negation' (ibid.), in which case its position pre-fronted constituent is psycholinguistically necessary for the correct processing of linear syntax and does not constitute 'double fronting'. Such is often the case for altering focus.[223] Consider the following examples, first of verbal negation with לֹא and אַל respectively, followed by a negated verbal predicate in a fronted clause, and finally a negated fronted constituent.

| (1) | וְלֹא נַעֲלֶה אֲלֵיהֶם: | And we will not go up to them (1 Sam. 14:9) |
| (2) | אַל־תִּתֵּן֙ אֶת־אֲמָתְךָ֔ לִפְנֵ֖י בַּת־בְּלִיָּ֑עַל | Do not consider your servant as among the worthless women (1 Sam. 1:16) |

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[221] Again, this is purely for simplicity of analysis, since left-dislocation may very well "be able to express more than one meaning and adopt more than one formal appearance" (Andrason, Westbury & van der Merwe 2016: 13-14).

[222] The interrogative clauses in 1 Sam. 12:3 are quite unique. However, they are perhaps best considered a case of left-dislocation, as in each clause the direct object precedes the wh-question word.

[223] Thus the following guidance of Gesenius has stood the test of time: "The negation of *noun*-clauses by לֹא (as opposed to the regular negation by אֵין) always includes a certain emphasis, since the force of the negation falls rather upon a particular word, than upon the whole clause" (1910: §152d).

(3)	וְעַתָּה מַמְלַכְתְּךָ לֹא־תָקוּם	But now your kingdom shall not stand (1 Sam. 13:14)

(4)	לֹא אֹתְךָ מָאָסוּ	They have not rejected *you* / It is not *you* whom they have rejected (1 Sam. 8:7)

4.1.4 Questionable fronted clauses

Throughout the analysis, morphologically ambiguous cases have been noted.[224] For simplicity I have taken them as finite verbs (even though this may not always be the case) and included them in the analysis. The statistics given throughout the rest of this chapter would only be marginally different if this were not the case.[225] Further ambiguities depend on syntactic difficulties involving possible left-dislocation (1 Kgs. 8:37), Masoretic accents (ex. 1 Sam. 18:21, 2 Sam. 19:38) or textual issues involving a possibly lacking conjunction (1 Sam. 18:30, 21:4, 1 Kgs. 8:31), or a non-fronted construction (1 Sam. 5:8). In each of these situations the MT is given preference and if the clause is possibly fronted, an explanation is attempted.

4.2 Analysis of 1 Samuel - 2 Kings

We will begin our investigation, following the model of the previous chapter, with a consideration of cases of topic shifts and focal fronting. Under each category I provide examples of what I consider to be among the most prototypical cases, to best illustrate their function. Peripheral and (often) ambiguous cases will be discussed separately.

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[224] Such morphological ambiguity is found between *Qal* 3sg. *qatal* verbs and masc. sg. participles in a select number of biconsonantal verbs (such as בּוֹא in 1 Sam. 4:6, 4:13, 11:5, 12:12, 13:10, 20:41, 21:1, 23:27; 2 Sam. 1:2, 3:22, 17:24, 18:31, 19:12, 19:16, 20:8; 1 Kgs. 1:22, 1:42, 12:1, 13:1; 2 Kgs. 4:1, 4:42, 5:25, 9:31; נוּס in 1 Sam. 19:10, 2 Sam. 19:9, 23:11; רוּץ in 1 Sam. 20:36, 2 Sam. 18:24, 26; קוּם in 1 Sam. 20:41, 24:8; שׁוּב in 1 Sam. 26:25; 2 Sam. 1:1, 2:30, 20:22; 2 Kgs. 2:25, 4:38; סוּר in 1 Sam. 28:15, 28:16; 1 Kgs. 20:39; שׂוּם in 2 Sam. 8:14, 17:25; 2 Kgs. 10:24), between *Niphal* 3sg. *qatal* verbs and masc. sg. participles in I-נ verbs (such as נִבָּא in 1 Sam. 10:11), in III-א verbs (such as חָבָא in 2 Sam. 17:9) and in biconsonantal verbs (such as מוּג in 1 Sam. 14:16) and finally, between *Qal* 3sg. *qatal* verbs and adjectives (such as זָקֵן in 1 Sam. 2:22, 2 Sam. 19:33, 1 Kings 1:1, 1:15 and מֵת in 1 Sam. 28:3, 2 Sam. 11:21, 11:24, 13:32, 13:33; 1 Kgs. 14:7, 2 Kgs. 4:1), amounting to 57 possibly fronted clauses.

[225] As will be seen below, הִנֵּה ... בָּא is a common thetic construction. Feminine examples from 1 Sam. 25:19 and 1 Kgs. 14:17 are unambiguously participles, so perhaps all of them are to be read as such. However, as this cannot be determined morphologically I have nonetheless included them in the data.

4.2.1 Topic fronting

Recalling our adopted definition for topicality in section 3.2.1.1 as the ""point of departure," for the new information" i.e., the entity that the speaker wishes to convey information about (Lambrecht 1994: 162-163), the following examples of topic fronting include subjects, objects and prepositional phrases. There are 313 clauses which I have considered to unambiguously represent topic selection in Samuel-Kings.[226]

Example (1) from the previous chapter is repeated here (example [5]) for convenience. Though functioning as any other topic shift, some cases, like this one, exhibit a clear parallel pairing. However, in contrast to later examples in which the parallel entities are both fronted, for example (6) and (7), in (5) Israel is already activated in the first clause, topical by the second and unambiguously given by the third, so does not need to be even lexicalised, much less fronted.

| (5) | וַיְהִי דְבַר־שְׁמוּאֵל לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל לִקְרַאת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיַּחֲנוּ עַל־הָאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר וּפְלִשְׁתִּים חָנוּ בַאֲפֵק: | "And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. And Israel went out to meet the Philistines in battle. And they camped at Ebenezer, [*while*] *the Philistines* camped at Aphek. (1 Sam. 4:1) |

In the next two examples the parallels are, first, between Israel on the one hand, and Saul and Jonathan on the other, and second, between Yahweh and David's son. Each 'point of departure' clearly indicates what each clause is about (Song 2017: 11).

| (6) | וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ לְעֵבֶר אֶחָד וַאֲנִי וְיוֹנָתָן בְּנִי נִהְיֶה לְעֵבֶר אֶחָד וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָעָם אֶל־שָׁאוּל הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה: | And he said to all Israel, "*You* will be on one side while *I and Jonathan my son* will be on one [i.e. the other] side." And the people said to Saul, "Do what is good in your eyes. (1 Sam. 14:40) |
| (7) | אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה־לּוֹ לְאָב וְהוּא יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבֵן | "*I* will be a father to him, and *he* will be a son to me" (2 Sam. 7:14a) |

Parallel topics may be prototypically communicated in contexts with personal pronouns, but any accessible referents are appropriate as long as that have "the activation properties

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[226] For a full list of the clearest cases of classification of topic fronting, focal fronting, and thetics, see Appendix B.

required for topic function in a sentence" (Lambrecht 1994: 163), as shown by the following two examples.

| (8) | עֲבָדַי יֹרִדוּ מִן־הַלְּבָנוֹן יָ֫מָּה וַ֫אֲנִי אֲשִׂימֵם דֹבְרוֹת בַּיָּם עַד־הַמָּק֫וֹם אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁלַ֖ח אֵלַ֗י וְנִפַּצְתִּים שָׁם וְאַתָּ֫ה תִשָּׂא וְאַתָּה֙ תַּעֲשֶׂ֔ה אֶת־חֶפְצִי֙ לָתֵ֖ת לֶ֥חֶם בֵּיתִֽי׃ | "*My servants* will bring it down from Lebanon to the sea and *I* will make them into rafts on the sea, until the place where to send me, and I will break them up there. And *you* will take them up and you will do my wish, that is, providing the bread of my household." (1 Kgs. 5:23) |
| (9) | וַיְחַלְּק֥וּ לָהֶ֛ם אֶת־הָאָ֖רֶץ לַעֲבָר־בָּ֑הּ אַחְאָ֜ב הָלַ֨ךְ בְּדֶ֤רֶךְ אֶחָד֙ לְבַדּ֔וֹ וְעֹבַדְיָ֛הוּ הָלַ֥ךְ בְּדֶֽרֶךְ־אֶחָ֖ד לְבַדּֽוֹ׃ | And they divided the land for themselves, to pass through it; *Ahab* went one way alone, while *Obadiah* went one way alone. (1 Kgs. 18:6) |

Numerous others topic shifts are clearly contrastive, displaying an opposition between their respective clausal comments. Though, as the second pairing in the following verse shows, the distinction between parallel and constrastive pairings is probably on a continuum.

| (10) | וְעַתָּ֗ה אָבִי֙ הֶעְמִ֤יס עֲלֵיכֶם֙ עֹ֣ל כָּבֵ֔ד וַאֲנִ֖י אוֹסִ֣יף עַל־עֻלְּכֶ֑ם אָבִ֗י יִסַּ֤ר אֶתְכֶם֙ בַּשּׁוֹטִ֔ים וַאֲנִ֕י אֲיַסֵּ֥ר אֶתְכֶ֖ם בָּעַקְרַבִּֽים׃ | "Now, *my father* lay a heavy yoke upon you, but *I* will add to your yoke. *My father* chastised you with whips, but *I* will chastise you with scorpions." (1 Kgs. 12:11) |

During the rise of David's, he is repeatedly contrasted with Saul.

| (11) | וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ אֶל־דָּוִ֔ד צַדִּ֥יק אַתָּ֖ה מִמֶּ֑נִּי כִּ֤י אַתָּה֙ גְּמַלְתַּ֣נִי הַטּוֹבָ֔ה וַאֲנִ֖י גְּמַלְתִּ֥יךָ הָרָעָֽה׃ | And he [Saul] said to David, "You are more righteous than me, because *you* have done good to me but *I* have done evil to you." (1 Sam. 24:18) |

Besides independent pronouns, prepositional phrases can also be used to make the contrast.

144

(12)	וַיֹּאמֶר נָתְנוּ לְדָוִד רְבָבֹות וְלִי נָתְנוּ הָאֲלָפִים	And he said, "They gave tens of thousands to David but *to me* they [only] gave thousands" (1 Sam. 18:8b)
	וַיִּרָא שָׁאוּל מִלִּפְנֵי דָוִד כִּי־הָיָה יְהוָה עִמֹּו וּמֵעִם שָׁאוּל סָר׃	"And Saul feared David because Yahweh was with him, but He had turned *from with Saul*" (1 Sam. 18:12)

Object constituents can function in the same way, as seen by the clear contrast between those Adonijah invited to his celebration of the attempted *coup d'état*, and those he did not invite.

(13)	וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־כָּל־אֶחָיו בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וּלְכָל־אַנְשֵׁי יְהוּדָה עַבְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ׃ וְאֶת־נָתָן הַנָּבִיא וּבְנָיָהוּ וְאֶת־הַגִּבֹּורִים וְאֶת־שְׁלֹמֹה אָחִיו לֹא קָרָא׃	And he called all his brothers, the sons of the king, and all and men of Judah, the servants of the king. But he didn't call *Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, the warriors, or his brother Solomon.* (1 Kgs. 1:9b-10)

As in the previous example, for a considerable portion of negated verbal predicates the fronted constituent should be considered topical and the verbal negation is focused, though this is not without exception (see examples [115] and [116]). Van der Wal considers this "A special category of correction… where what is corrected is not part of what is currently under discussion, but part of what the speaker assumes to be common ground" (2016: 286). Here, Jonathan's father is clearly discourse accessible and, as the rest of the chapter makes clear, is expected to be in the know.

(14)	וַיְהִי הַיֹּום וַיֹּאמֶר יֹונָתָן בֶּן־שָׁאוּל אֶל־הַנַּעַר נֹשֵׂא כֵלָיו לְכָה וְנַעְבְּרָה אֶל־מַצַּב פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֲשֶׁר מֵעֵבֶר הַלָּז וּלְאָבִיו לֹא הִגִּיד׃	One day Jonathan the son of Saul said to his armour-bearer, "Come, let us cross over to the garrison of the Philistines which on the other side." But he did not tell *his father*. (1 Sam. 14:1)

Likewise, in the following text returning to Jerusalem would seem to implicate seeing the king's face, so the first negative polarity is informing focus and the second confirming focus (as already mentioned).

| (15) | וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ יִסֹּב אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ **וּפָנַי לֹא יִרְאֶה**

 וַיִּסֹּב אַבְשָׁלוֹם אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ **וּפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לֹא רָאָה:** | And the king said, "Let him return to his house, but *my face* he will not see." So Absalom returned to his house be he did not see *the face of the king*. (2 Sam. 14: 24) |

Finally, the majority of fronted כֹּל and כֹּל אֲשֶׁר fronting should be read as topical, providing a point of departure (especially when their denotata is discourse accessible or inferable, being anchored by an explicit or asyndetic relative modifier).[227]

| (16) | **כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה הַמַּזְלֵג** יִקַּח הַכֹּהֵן בּוֹ | Everything the fork brought up, the priest would take for himself. (1 Sam. 2:14) |

4.2.2 Focal fronting

Below I provide prototypical examples of *informing* focus, *altering* focus and *confirming* focus respectively. In each case the expressed entity is chosen from a set of alternatives, as seen in section 3.2.1.2, yet it must be born in mind that, "This triggering of an alternative set is a unified core function of focus, and the various types of focus can be seen as the outcomes of additional pragmatic and semantic factors" (van der Wal 2016: 262). The total number of unambiguous cases of focus fronting in Samuel-Kings comes to 352, marginally higher than those of topic fronting. These include 130 of informing focus, 142 of altering focus, a notably lower total of 65 confirming focus clauses and 15 which could plausibly be read as different focus functions.[228]

4.2.2.1 Informing Focus

Prototypical examples of informing focus involve answering a direct question with varying degrees of size of the set of alternatives. In the following example there are only two alternatives:

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[227] Moshavi considers such cases as "fixed expressions with preposed word order" (2010: 110), since, such כֹּל אֲשֶׁר constructions are not always fronted (cf. 1 Sam. 14:7). In such cases, construal and communicative perspective seems to lead to favouring a fronted construction or verb-initial clause.

[228] Again, for a full list see Appendix B.

| (17) | וַיַּעַן דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר׀ אֶל־אֲחִימֶלֶךְ הַחִתִּי וְאֶל־אֲבִישַׁי בֶּן־צְרוּיָה אֲחִי יוֹאָב לֵאמֹר מִי־יֵרֵד אִתִּי אֶל־שָׁאוּל אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִישַׁי אֲנִי אֵרֵד עִמָּךְ׃ | And David answered and said to Ahimelech the Hittite and to Abishai the son of Zeruiah, Joab's brother saying, "Who will go down with me to Saul, to the camp?" And Abishai said, "*I* will go down with you." (1 Sam 26:6) |

In contrast, the set of triggered alternatives (van der Wal 2016) of (18) could potentially be infinite: וְכָל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם (Kgs. 22:19)! Nevertheless, a definite entity answers the question of '*Who* will go?' with '*I* will go*'.

| (18) | וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה מִי יְפַתֶּה אֶת־אַחְאָב וְיַעַל וְיִפֹּל בְּרָמֹת גִּלְעָד וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה בְּכֹה וְזֶה אֹמֵר בְּכֹה׃ וַיֵּצֵא הָרוּחַ וַיַּעֲמֹד לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנִי אֲפַתֶּנּוּ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלָיו בַּמָּה׃ | And Yahweh said, "Who will entice Ahab, so that he will go up and fall in Ramoth-gilead?" And this one said one thing, and this another. And the Spirit went out and stood before Yahweh and said, "*I* will entice him." And Yahweh said to him, "With what?" (1 Kgs. 22:20-21) |

In the following text, there are a limited number of places the visitors could have come from and a limited number of things the visitors could have seen. Hezekiah informs Isaiah:

| (19) | וַיָּבֹא יְשַׁעְיָהוּ הַנָּבִיא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ חִזְקִיָּהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו מֶה אָמְרוּ׀ הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה וּמֵאַיִן יָבֹאוּ אֵלֶיךָ וַיֹּאמֶר חִזְקִיָּהוּ מֵאֶרֶץ רְחוֹקָה בָּאוּ מִבָּבֶל׃ וַיֹּאמֶר מָה רָאוּ בְּבֵיתֶךָ וַיֹּאמֶר חִזְקִיָּהוּ אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵיתִי רָאוּ לֹא־הָיָה דָבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הִרְאִיתִם בְּאֹצְרֹתָי׃ | And Isaiah the prophet came to king Hezekiah and said to him, "What did these men say? And where did they come to you from?" And Hezekiah said, "They came *from a far away land* - from Babylon." And he (Isaiah) said, "What did they see in your house?" And Hezekiah said, "They saw *everything that is in my house*. There is not a thing which I did not show them in my store houses." (2 Kgs. 20:14) |

In the next two examples the set seems slightly more open. In the former, by selecting Samuel, Saul excludes the alternatives by extension, and in the second the woman informs 'I see *x*'.

| (20) | וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֶת־מִי אַעֲלֶה־לָּךְ וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵל הַעֲלִי־לִי׃ | And the woman said, "Who should I bring up for you?" And he said, "Bring up *Samuel* for me." (1 Sam. 28:11) |

| (21) | וַיֹּ֩אמֶר לָ֨הּ הַמֶּ֜לֶךְ אַל־תִּֽירְאִ֗י כִּ֖י מָ֣ה רָאִ֑ית וַתֹּ֤אמֶר הָֽאִשָּׁה֙ אֶל־שָׁא֔וּל אֱלֹהִ֥ים רָאִ֖יתי עֹלִ֥ים מִן־הָאָֽרֶץ: | And the king said to her, "Don't fear. But what do you see?" And the woman said to Saul, "I see *a god* coming up from the earth." (1 Sam. 28:13) |

Occasionally, the question is posed indirectly. For rhetorical effect, Samuel does not openly ask, "Where did you get these animals?", yet the underlying presupposition is the same, as seen in Saul's answer. It is quite informationally heavy, with the fronted locative adverbial, and the agents of the verb, the people, were evidently present and thus accessible in the *current discourse space* (Langacker 2008) since they are initially only encoded in the verbal inflection, a standard signal of *givenness* in pro-drop languages.

| (22) | וַיֹּ֣אמֶר שְׁמוּאֵ֗ל וּמֶ֤ה קֽוֹל־הַצֹּאן֙ הַזֶּ֣ה בְּאָזְנָ֔י וְק֣וֹל הַבָּקָ֔ר אֲשֶׁ֥ר אָנֹכִ֖י שֹׁמֵֽעַ: וַיֹּ֣אמֶר שָׁא֡וּל מֵעֲמָלֵקִי֩ הֱבִיא֨וּם אֲשֶׁ֨ר חָמַ֤ל הָעָם֙ עַל־מֵיטַ֤ב הַצֹּאן֙ וְהַבָּקָ֔ר לְמַ֖עַן זְבֹ֣חַ לַיהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֑יךָ וְאֶת־הַיּוֹתֵ֖ר הֶחֱרַֽמְנוּ: | And Samuel said, "And what is this sound of sheep in my ears? And the sound of cattle I am hearing?" And Saul said, "They have brought them *from the Amalekites* which the people took pity on the best portion of sheep and cattle for a sacrifice to Yahweh, your God, but *the rest* we destroyed." (1 Sam. 15:14-15) |

In next verse we have a parallel pair between the contents of Ahithophel's and Hushai's advice for Absalom.

| (23) | וַיֹּ֣אמֶר חוּשַׁ֗י אֶל־צָד֤וֹק וְאֶל־אֶבְיָתָר֙ הַכֹּ֣הֲנִ֔ים כָּזֹ֣את וְכָזֹ֗את יָעַ֤ץ אֲחִיתֹ֙פֶל֙ אֶת־אַבְשָׁלֹ֔ם וְאֵ֖ת זִקְנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל וְכָזֹ֥את וְכָזֹ֖את יָעַ֥צְתִּי אָֽנִי: | And Hushai said to Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, "Ahithophel advised Absalom and the elders of Israel '*Such and such*', but I advised '*such and such*'. (2 Sam. 17:15) |

In the following example, the בָּזֹאת cataphorically provides the only terms Nahash was willing to agree to the covenant proposed in the previous verse by the men of Jabesh-Gilead. Out of all possible actions, this was the one that would satisfy him, i.e., 'I will agree under condition *x*.'

148

(24)	וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֲלֵיהֶ֗ם נָחָשׁ֙ הָעַמּוֹנִ֔י **בְּזֹאת֙** אֶכְרֹ֣ת לָכֶ֔ם בִּנְק֥וֹר לָכֶ֖ם כָּל־עֵ֣ין יָמִ֑ין וְשַׂמְתִּ֥יהָ חֶרְפָּ֖ה עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	And Nahash the Ammonite said to them, "*With this* I will cut a covenant with you: When you all pluck out for yourselves your right eye. And I will make it a disgrace over all Israel." (1 Sam. 11:2)

The elders of the city then request seven days to decide what they will do, before going out to meet him. Expectant of news, they report their supposed plan of action to Nahash in verse 10, informing that *tomorrow* they would surrender (although Saul had already promised salvation for their city before the announced time in verse 9).

(25)	וַיֹּאמְרוּ֙ אַנְשֵׁ֣י יָבֵ֔ישׁ **מָחָ֖ר** נֵצֵ֣א אֲלֵיכֶ֑ם וַעֲשִׂיתֶ֣ם לָּ֔נוּ כְּכָל־הַטּ֖וֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶֽם׃	And the men of Jabesh said, "*Tomorrow* we will go out to you, and we will do for you whatever is good in your eyes." (1 Sam. 11:10)

4.2.2.2 Altering focus

As mentioned in the previous chapter, altering focus seems to be used prototypically to correct, replace, restrict, or add to the presupposed CG content. Below, after Solomon's moral downfall, Yahweh promises to tear the kingdom away from him due to his unfaithfulness. Yet He offers two caveats, it will *not* be during his lifetime, but during his son's and neither will he tear away the *whole* kingdom, but Solomon's son would be left with *one clan*.[229]

(26)	אַךְ־בְּיָמֶ֙יךָ֙ לֹ֣א אֶעֱשֶׂ֔נָּה לְמַ֖עַן דָּוִ֣ד אָבִ֑יךָ **מִיַּ֥ד בִּנְךָ֖** אֶקְרָעֶֽנָּה׃ רַ֠ק אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּמְלָכָה֙ לֹ֣א אֶקְרָ֔ע **שֵׁ֥בֶט אֶחָ֛ד** אֶתֵּ֥ן לִבְנֶ֖ךָ לְמַ֙עַן֙ דָּוִ֣ד עַבְדִּ֔י וּלְמַ֥עַן יְרוּשָׁלַ֖͏ִם אֲשֶׁ֥ר בָּחָֽרְתִּי׃	However, I will not do it *in your days*, on account of David, your father. Instead, I will tear it *from the hand of your son*. Nonetheless, I will not tear away *the whole kingdom*. I will give your son *one clan* on account of David, my servant, and on account of Jerusalem, which I have chosen. (1 Kgs. 11:12-13)

This rejection-correction can also be seen in the following rhetorical question, in which a resounding negative is expected.

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[229] I consider the first and third cases of fronting in these verses as topical, with the negator being focal.

(27)	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם רַב־שָׁקֵה הַעַל אֲדֹנֶיךָ וְאֵלֶיךָ שְׁלָחַנִי אֲדֹנִי לְדַבֵּר אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה הֲלֹא עַל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַיֹּשְׁבִים עַל־הַחֹמָה לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־חֲרֵיהֶם וְלִשְׁתּוֹת אֶת־שֵׁינֵיהֶם עִמָּכֶם:	And Rabshakeh said to them, "Was it for *your lord* and *you* that my lord sent me to speak these words? Was it not [rather] for these men sitting on the wall, to eat their dung and drink their urine with you?" (2 Kgs. 18:27)

Similarly, the rejection can be partial, communicating only a restriction.

(28)	וְכִי־תֹאמְרוּן אֵלַי אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בָּטָחְנוּ הֲלוֹא־הוּא אֲשֶׁר הֵסִיר חִזְקִיָּהוּ אֶת־בָּמֹתָיו וְאֶת־מִזְבְּחֹתָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לִיהוּדָה וְלִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לִפְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה תִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם:	And if you say to me, "We trust in Yahweh," was it not His high places and altars that Hezekiah has removed, and said to Judah and Jerusalem, "[Only] before *this altar* shall you worship in Jerusalem."? (2 Kgs. 18:22)

On occasion the rejected presuppositions are left implicit, as in the following example, in which Abner reminds Joab that when the sword keeps devouring, there is only bitterness in the end, not the glory or any other positive outcome Joab may have been envisioning.[230]

(29)	וַיִּקְרָא אַבְנֵר אֶל־יוֹאָב וַיֹּאמֶר הֲלָנֶצַח תֹּאכַל חֶרֶב הֲלוֹא יָדַעְתָּה כִּי־מָרָה תִהְיֶה בָּאַחֲרוֹנָה וְעַד־מָתַי לֹא־תֹאמַר לָעָם לָשׁוּב מֵאַחֲרֵי אֲחֵיהֶם:	And Abner called out to Joab and said, "Will the sword devour *forever*? Do you not know that it will be *bitter* in the end. For how long are you not going to tell the people to turn from pursuing after their brothers? (2 Sam. 2:26)

Finally, additives are a common function of altering focus, with or without גַּם. Though on occasion they could be argued as topic shifts, if the semantic import of the verbal predicate is similar in both clauses, an additive focus reading is to be preferred. In 2 Samuel 8 there is a list of the spoils of war being dedicated in Jerusalem, and in 1 Kgs. 18, in both clauses there is a devouring by fire.

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[230] I consider the first and third cases of fronting in this verse as *confirming* focus, for which, see the following sub-section.

150

(30)	גַּם־אֹתָ֗ם הִקְדִּ֛ישׁ הַמֶּ֥לֶךְ דָּוִ֖ד לַיהוָ֑ה עִם־הַכֶּ֤סֶף וְהַזָּהָב֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר הִקְדִּ֔ישׁ מִכָּל־הַגּוֹיִ֖ם אֲשֶׁ֥ר כִּבֵּֽשׁ׃	Also *these* king David consecrated to Yahweh, with the silver and gold which he consecrated from all the nations which he subdued. (2 Sam. 8:11)
(31)	וַתִּפֹּ֣ל אֵשׁ־יְהוָ֗ה וַתֹּ֤אכַל אֶת־הָֽעֹלָה֙ וְאֶת־הָ֣עֵצִ֔ים וְאֶת־הָאֲבָנִ֖ים וְאֶת־הֶעָפָ֑ר וְאֶת־הַמַּ֥יִם אֲשֶׁר־בַּתְּעָלָ֖ה לִחֵֽכָה׃	Fire from Yahweh fell and devoured the burnt offering and the wood and the stones and the dust. It also / even licked up *the water which was in the trench*. (1 Kgs. 18:38)

4.2.2.3 Confirming Focus

Recall our discussion in section 3.2.1.2 that confirming focus is often used seemingly redundantly on an informational level, affirming the obvious (Pezatti 2012: 6). Indeed, "Assertions may be appropriate as reminders, even if they are not really news. Such assertions serve to bring an item of background knowledge into the active content - to make it salient" (Stalnaker 2014: 141). In Cognitive Linguistic terms, for any number of discourse motivations, an entity is profiled which is known from the set of alternatives to satisfy the focus relation. In BH, prototypical cases of confirming focus are often found in prayers. Evidently God knows the content of their prayers, which serve to make remembrance of His own actions or identity:

(32)	בַּעֲב֤וּר דְּבָֽרְךָ֙ וּֽכְלִבְּךָ֔ עָשִׂ֕יתָ אֵ֣ת כָּל־הַגְּדוּלָּ֖ה הַזֹּ֑את לְהוֹדִ֖יעַ אֶת־עַבְדֶּֽךָ׃	"*On account of your word and as your desire* you have done this great thing, making known to your servant."
	וַתְּכ֣וֹנֵֽן לְךָ֡ אֶת־עַמְּךָ֩ יִשְׂרָאֵ֨ל׀ לְךָ֧ לְעָ֛ם עַד־עוֹלָ֖ם וְאַתָּ֣ה יְהוָ֔ה הָיִ֥יתָ לָהֶ֖ם לֵאלֹהִֽים׃	"You have established for yourself your people Israel, as a people for you forever. *You*, Yahweh, became their God." (2 Sam. 7:21, 24)
(33)	וַיִּתְפַּלֵּ֨ל חִזְקִיָּ֜הוּ לִפְנֵ֣י יְהוָה֮ וַיֹּאמַר֒ יְהוָ֞ה אֱלֹהֵ֤י יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ יֹשֵׁ֣ב הַכְּרֻבִ֔ים אַתָּה־ה֤וּא הָֽאֱלֹהִים֙ לְבַדְּךָ֔ לְכֹ֖ל מַמְלְכ֣וֹת הָאָ֑רֶץ אַתָּ֣ה עָשִׂ֔יתָ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַ֖יִם וְאֶת־הָאָֽרֶץ׃	And Hezekiah prayed before Yahweh and he said, "Yahweh, God of Israel, inhabiting the cherubim, You alone are God to all the kingdoms of the earth. *You* made the heavens and the earth." (2 Kgs. 19:15)

Other cases of confirming focus depend on the perceived CG status and shared beliefs between the narrator-reader/interlocutors. Adonijah's pathetic appeal to Bathsheba for Abishag as a wife contains a number of interesting fronted clauses. However, only the fourth

seems to be (unambiguously) *confirming* focus.[231] To win Bathsheba's grace he appeals to what she would like to hear, accommodating her presuppositions likely without sharing them, instead of mentioning her meddling role: "We all know that Yahweh gave the throne to your son…"

| (34) | וַיֹּאמֶר אַתְּ יָדַ֫עַתְּ כִּי־לִי֙ הָיְתָה הַמְּלוּכָ֔ה וְעָלַ֞י שָׂ֧מוּ כָֽל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל פְּנֵיהֶ֖ם לִמְלֹ֑ךְ וַתִּסֹּ֤ב הַמְּלוּכָה֙ וַתְּהִ֣י לְאָחִ֔י כִּ֥י מֵיהוָ֖ה הָ֥יְתָה לּֽוֹ׃ | And he said, "*You know* that the kingship was *mine*, and all Israel looked to *me* as king, but the kingship has changed and it is my brother's, because *from Yahweh* it became his." (1 Kgs. 2:15) |

After Abner's fall-out with Ish-bosheth and subsequent team-change in the house-of-Saul and house-of-David conflict, he encourages Israel and Benjamin to get on board, appealing to their own actions, confirmed by the fronted temporal adverbial:

| (35) | וּדְבַר־אַבְנֵ֣ר הָיָ֔ה עִם־זִקְנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל לֵאמֹ֑ר גַּם־תְּמוֹל֙ גַּם־שִׁלְשֹׁ֔ם הֱיִיתֶ֤ם מְבַקְשִׁים֙ אֶת־דָּוִ֔ד לְמֶ֖לֶךְ עֲלֵיכֶֽם׃ | And the word of Abner came to the elders of Israel saying, "*For quite a while now* you have been seeking to get David to rule over you." (2 Sam. 3:17) |

Joab was not happy with Abner's welcome and, as expected, needed little excuse to murder him. However, the text clarifies with a descriptive thetic statement that David did not know about Joab's plan (3:26b; וְדָוִ֖ד לֹ֥א יָדָֽע) and, in order to clear his name, David cannot emphasise strongly enough his innocence in the (convenient) death of Abner, continuing to sing his praises and present his memory as ideally mutually perceived: 'a leader and a great man' (whether or not this was actually *believed* by the conversational community seems beside the point for the *acceptance* of the utterance):

| (36) | וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ אֶל־עֲבָדָ֔יו הֲל֣וֹא תֵדְע֔וּ כִּי־שַׂ֣ר וְגָד֗וֹל נָפַ֛ל הַיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ | And the king said to his servants, "Do you not know that *a leader and great man* has fallen today in Israel?" (2 Sam. 3:38) |

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[231] I consider the first to be a thetic utterance with an explanative discourse function, and the second and third to be potentially *altering* focus as corrections, or *confirming* focus, appealing to what would be common knowledge to Bathsheba.

Some structural effects of confirming focus may result in an analysis involving "poetic feature[s] of Hebrew narrative prose," as in the following example, of which "The two halves… constitute a parallelistic structure, a-b-c/c´-a´-b´, with a chiasmus… The first half is a general statement; the second a specific one" (Tsumura 2006: 643).[232]

| (37) | וַיַּצֵּל דָּוִד אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לָקְחוּ עֲמָלֵק וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי נָשָׁיו הִצִּיל דָּוִד: | And David rescued all that the Amalekites had taken, and [indeed] *his two wives* David rescued" (1 Sam. 30:18) |

4.2.2.4 Potentially ambiguous focal fronting

Before noting potential ambiguity between topical and focal readings, we will first consider a few cases of ambiguity within focal fronting itself.[233] Depending on the CG status and/or intentions of the speaker, the following fronted constituents could be considered *confirming* focus or *altering* focus (as a correction). As mentioned just above, the second and third fronted clauses in the following verse could appeal to what both Adonijah and Bathsheba were supposed to have known to be true (confirming focus), or as a correction to Bathsheba's perception of the preceding events, all depending on the mental conceptualisation Adonijah projects Bathsheba to have.

| (38) | וַיֹּאמֶר אַתְּ יָדַעַתְּ כִּי־לִי הָיְתָה הַמְּלוּכָה וְעָלַי שָׂמוּ כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּנֵיהֶם לִמְלֹךְ וַתִּסֹּב הַמְּלוּכָה וַתְּהִי לְאָחִי כִּי מֵיהוָה הָיְתָה לּוֹ: | And he said, "*You know* that the kingship was *mine*, and all Israel looked to *me* as king, but the kingship has changed and it is my brother's, because *from Yahweh* it became his." (1 Kgs. 2:15) |

Later, when Solomon is flourishing on the throne, the Queen of Sheba visits. In the next verse she explicitly admits doubting reports about his wisdom and greatness (10:7), but here is forced to either *confirm* what she and Solomon now both know to be true, or to *alter* her preconceptions before arriving for her visit (again, since she had previously considered it to be an exaggeration).

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[232] This construction is somewhat diluted by Long's more natural rendering, that "David recover[ed] everything the Amalekites had taken, including his two wives" (2020: 269).

[233] For both of which, see Appendix B.

153

| (39) | וַתֹּ֙אמֶר֙ אֶל־הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ אֱמֶת֙ הָיָ֣ה הַדָּבָ֔ר אֲשֶׁ֥ר שָׁמַ֖עְתִּי בְּאַרְצִ֑י עַל־דְּבָרֶ֖יךָ וְעַל־חָכְמָתֶֽךָ׃ | And she said to the king, "The thing which I heard in my country about your words and your wisdom is *true*!" (1 Kgs. 10:6) |

In the solution that the lords of the Philistines formulate to determine the cause of their previous suffering, the text either construes their speech to confirm the coincidental nature of the Ark's affects, or to correct their previous assertion that it was indeed by the hand of Yahweh. In both halves of this complex verse, a conditional is in view with informing focus in the first protasis and confirming focus in the first apodosis, altering (rejecting) focus in the second apodosis followed by either and altering correction or a confirming focus.

| (40) | וּרְאִיתֶ֗ם אִם־דֶּ֜רֶךְ גְּבוּל֣וֹ יַעֲלֶה֮ בֵּ֣ית שֶׁ֒מֶשׁ֒ ה֚וּא עָשָׂ֣ה לָ֔נוּ אֶת־הָרָעָ֥ה הַגְּדוֹלָ֖ה הַזֹּ֑את וְאִם־לֹ֗א וְיָדַ֙עְנוּ֙ כִּ֣י לֹ֤א יָדוֹ֙ נָ֣גְעָה בָּ֔נוּ מִקְרֶ֥ה ה֖וּא הָ֥יָה לָֽנוּ׃ | "And you will see: if it goes up the way of *its border to Beth-Shemesh*, He [*indeed*] did this great evil to us. But if not, you will know that is *wasn't his hand* that touched us, it was [in fact] *an accident* [after all]. (1 Sam. 6:9a) |

Finally, when all the tribes of Israel finally recognise David's anointing, in the following three fronted clauses, they are either construed as altering their perception, that is was not in fact Saul, but was David all along, or as confirming what is expected to be CG between the two parties.

| (41) | גַּם־אֶתְמ֣וֹל גַּם־שִׁלְשׁ֗וֹם בִּהְי֤וֹת שָׁאוּל֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ עָלֵ֔ינוּ אַתָּ֗ה הָיִ֛יתָה מוֹצִ֥יא וְהַמֵּ֖בִי אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֜ה לְךָ֗ אַתָּ֞ה תִרְעֶ֤ה אֶת־עַמִּי֙ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וְאַתָּ֛ה תִּהְיֶ֥ה לְנָגִ֖יד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ | "Even in the past when Saul was king over us, it was *you* who brought Israel out and in, and Yahweh said to you, "*You* will shepherd my people Israel, and *you* will be ruler over Israel."" (2 Sam. 5:2) |

The previous examples represent a judgment call between confirming and altering focus. There are also cases where the reader's understanding of the CG can sway a reading between confirming and informing focus. When Hezekiah repeatedly comforts the people with the assurance that Yahweh will save them from the hand of the Sennacherib, the text is either selecting Yahweh from the implicit list of possible suitors, i.e., "*x* will rescue us", or

Hezekiah's speech is being construed to confirm what he considers the people to know, yet might need reminding of in the present circumstances, i.e., Rabshakeh's incitory speech.

(42)	וְאַל־תִּשְׁמְעוּ֙ אֶל־חִזְקִיָּ֔הוּ כִּֽי־יַסִּ֥ית אֶתְכֶם֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר יְהוָ֖ה יַצִּילֵֽנוּ׃	"Don't listen to Hezekiah, because he will lead you astray, saying, "*Yahweh* will rescue us / [It is] Yahweh [who] will rescue us." (2 Kgs. 18:32)

Finally, when Achish declares that it is with him that David will go out to war against Saul, he could be providing a reminder by confirming the obvious, or alternatively informing David, in case he has other ideas.[234]

(43)	וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אָכִישׁ֙ אֶל־דָּוִ֔ד יָדֹ֣עַ תֵּדַ֗ע כִּ֤י אִתִּי֙ תֵּצֵ֣א בַֽמַּחֲנֶ֔ה אַתָּ֖ה וַאֲנָשֶֽׁיךָ׃	And Achish said to David, "You certainly know / You must know that you will go out to war *with me*, you and your men." (1 Sam. 28:1b)

4.2.2.5 Potential ambiguity between a topical and focal reading

Before bringing our discussion of categorical utterances to a close, it is necessary to illustrate some cases where the fronted constituent may be either read as a topic shift or focal fronting, of which I have identified 25 cases.[235] In the case of topic fronting, the fronted entity seems highly accessible and the content of the verbal predicate is deemed to differ too significantly from preceding clauses to call for a focal fronting reading. In the case of focal fronting (in these cases, prototypically *altering* focus as *additives*), the semantics of the clauses are deemed sufficiently similar to preceding clauses to where the fronted constituent is simply adding one more of the class as mentioned previously. As such a subjective enterprise, the ambiguity should come as no surprise. These examples should be considered peripheral, along the fuzzy boundaries between the two information structure types.

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[234] Alter opts for "the coercive edge of "you surely know"" (1999: 171), while Tsumura (2006: 614) and Long (2020: 254) seem prefer an informing reading, "You should surely know" and "surely you must know," respectively. Notice even the ambiguity in the English rendering, "You must know," between a deontic or evidential modal.

[235] See Appendix B. Van der Merwe (p.c.) entertains the possibility that there may indeed be a continuum between the prototypes of topical and focal reading on the one hand, and categorical and thetic utterances on the other (cf. section 4.2.3.7).

| (44) | וַיְצַ֤ו שָׁאוּל֙ אֶת־עֲבָדָ֔ו דַּבְּר֨וּ אֶל־דָּוִ֤ד בַּלָּט֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר הִנֵּ֨ה חָפֵ֤ץ בְּךָ֙ הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ וְכָל־עֲבָדָ֖יו אֲהֵב֑וּךָ וְעַתָּ֖ה הִתְחַתֵּ֥ן בַּמֶּֽלֶךְ׃ | And Saul commanded his servants: "Speak to David in secret saying, "Look, the king is pleased with you, and *all his servants* love you. Now, become the king's son-in-law.""" (1 Sam. 18:22) |

In (44) Saul is trying to trick David into taking his daughter Michal as his wife at a potentially perilous dowry cost, and sends messengers to encourage him to do so. It could either be the case that the king's servants are describing a separate state of affairs in which *his servants* (uncontroversially accessible) is meant as the topic (i.e., and *as for his servants*…), or that the semantics of *being pleased with* and *loving* someone so similar that the servant is adding another group of people who supposedly look favourably upon David (i.e., *also* his servants… *too*).

The next example recounts David's victory over Ammon and the action in the fronted clause is semantically identical to that in the preceding. Here, the problem arises with the elaboration with regards to the residents captured. They could either be understood as a new topic or simply represent an addition to the things David *brought out* of the city.

| (45) | וַיִּקַּ֣ח אֶת־עֲטֶֽרֶת־מַלְכָּם֮ מֵעַ֣ל רֹאשׁוֹ֒ וּמִשְׁקָלָ֞הּ כִּכַּ֤ר זָהָב֙ וְאֶ֣בֶן יְקָרָ֔ה וַתְּהִ֖י עַל־רֹ֣אשׁ דָּוִ֑ד וּשְׁלַ֥ל הָעִ֛יר הוֹצִ֖יא הַרְבֵּ֥ה מְאֹֽד׃ וְאֶת־הָעָ֣ם אֲשֶׁר־בָּ֗הּ הוֹצִ֞יא וַיָּ֣שֶׂם בַּמְּגֵרָ֗ה וּבַחֲרִצֵ֤י הַבַּרְזֶל֙ וּֽבְמַגְזְרֹ֣ת הַבַּרְזֶ֔ל וְהֶעֱבִ֥יר אוֹתָ֖ם בַּמַּלְבֵּ֑ן וְכֵ֣ן יַעֲשֶׂ֗ה לְכֹ֖ל עָרֵ֣י בְנֵֽי־עַמּ֑וֹן וַיָּ֧שָׁב דָּוִ֛ד וְכָל־הָעָ֖ם יְרוּשָׁלִָֽם׃ | And he took the crown of their king from his head - its weight was a talent of gold and a precious stone - and it was on David's head. And he brought out the *spoil of the city*, a great amount. And [also] *the people who were in it* he brought out and he put them with the saw [for stone working] and the iron hoe and the iron axe, and he made them cross over with the brick-mould. Thus he did with all the cities of the sons of Ammon. And David and all the people returned to Jerusalem. (2 Sam. 12:30-31) |

In the following passage, although very similar syntactically, we may have an example of each. The first seems more adequate as topic fronting, as an anchored point of departure (cf. example [16], though here the relative modifier is asyndetic), while the second (without כֹּל), though possibly an alternative construal for the same information structure, could in fact be confirming the initial directive. I have translated along these lines, with English rendering topic followed by focus (though see the previous discussion of example [15]).

156

| (46) | וַיֹּאמְרֹוּ כָּל־הַטֻּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה... | And they said, "*Everything that seems good to you*, do [it]." |
| | וַיֹּאמְרֹוּ הָעָם אֶל־שָׁאֹוּל הַטֻּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ עֲשֵׂה: | And the people said to Saul, "Do *whatever seems good to you*." (1 Sam. 14:36, 40) |

In the previous chapter we saw that fronted clauses indicate both topic and focus fronting, and thetic statements. It is to the latter we now turn.

4.2.3 Thetic utterances

There are a total of 329 clear cases of fronting indicating theticity in Samuel-Kings. The annuntiative and descriptive discourse functions are by far the most common, with a total of 133 and 115 cases respectively, while there are 47 explanatives, only 15 introductives and 5 interruptives. The remaining 14 could plausibly represent different discourse functions within theticity.[236]

4.2.3.1 Annuntiative utterances

As with all thetic utterances, in determining the annuntiative discourse function one must take care to ensure that the relation expressed is discourse-new or unexpected, that is, there is no pairing of an active topical constituent with obviously salient focal material.[237] This informational intuition is confirmed by the discourse, morphosyntactic and semantic considerations explored in the previous chapter (section 3.5). Furthermore, as discussed in the previous chapter (section 3.5.3.3.1), I have limited the application of theticity *a priori* to

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[236] For a full list see Appendix B.

[237] In other words, "nothing in the lexicogrammatical structure of this sentence evokes knowledge shared by the speaker and her audience, except for the "accommodated" presupposition" (Lambrecht 1994:60). The BH corpus undoubtedly attests to what Fujinawa considers *psuedocategoricals*: "sentence expressions that formally have a categorical appearance but semantically represent thetic statements" (2020: 286). Again, the syntax makes the fuzzy boundaries between thetics and categoricals all the less surprising.

subject-fronting or fronting of a spatiotemporal adverbial adjunct.[238] Hence, the following are some prototypical annuntiative utterances. We begin with subject-fronted clauses.

In 1 Kgs. 1, Bathsheba shares some *hot news* with David. Previously, we are told that David was unaware of Adonijah's self-proclamation as king (v. 11), the exact notion which is repeated by Bathsheba here, so we can imagine he still considered himself king. While they discuss his promises to Solomon, who is thus topical, she breaks the news with an inactive discourse subject and, for David, a highly surprising state of affairs.[239]

| (47) | וַתֹּ֤אמֶר לוֹ֙ אֲדֹנִ֔י אַתָּ֞ה נִשְׁבַּ֤עְתָּ בַּֽיהוָה֙ אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ לַֽאֲמָתֶ֔ךָ כִּֽי־שְׁלֹמֹ֥ה בְנֵ֖ךְ יִמְלֹ֣ךְ אַחֲרָ֑י וְה֖וּא יֵשֵׁ֥ב עַל־כִּסְאִֽי: וְעַתָּ֕ה הִנֵּ֥ה אֲדֹנִיָּ֖ה מָלָ֑ךְ וְעַתָּ֛ה אֲדֹנִ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ לֹ֥א יָדָֽעְתָּ: | And she said to him, "My lord, you swore by Yahweh your God to your maidservant, that 'Solomon, your son, will reign after me. And he will sit on my throne.' And now, look, *Adonijah reigns*! And now behold, my lord the king, you did not even know!" (1 Kgs. 1:17-18) |

Equally likely as an annuntiative candidate are statements of *hot news* that initiate a conversational exchange, such as the following, with the low-content verb אמר (Chafe 1994: 111; cf. Gilquin & De Knop 2016:11, Tanaka 2020: 346).

| (48) | וַיַּחְגְּרוּ֩ שַׂקִּ֨ים בְּמָתְנֵיהֶ֜ם וַחֲבָלִ֣ים בְּרָאשֵׁיהֶ֗ם וַיָּבֹ֙אוּ֙ אֶל־מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וַיֹּ֣אמְר֔וּ עַבְדְּךָ֧ בֶן־הֲדַ֣ד אָמַ֗ר תְּחִֽי־נָ֤א נַפְשִׁ֨י וַיֹּ֕אמֶר הַעוֹדֶ֥נּוּ חַ֖י אָחִ֥י הֽוּא: | And they (Ben-Hadad's servants) put sackcloth on their loins and rope on their heads, and they came to the king of Israel and said, "*Your servant, Ben-Hadad says, "Please grant me my life*."" And he responded, "Is he still alive? He is my brother." (1 Kgs. 20:32) |

After Mephibosheth's lengthy apology for not accompanying David in his Absalom-caused exile, and the attempt to clarify Ziba's supposed lies, David has heard enough and probably cannot determine who had told him the entire truth so comes to the following verdict.

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[238] Compare van der Merwe's approach: "it appears that when fronted constituents are not the subject or temporal adjunct of a clause, the semantic-pragmatic potential of the construction tends to be more restricted than when the subject or temporal adjunct is fronted. When a non-subject complement or adjunct is fronted, typically a shift in topic or the focus (or one of the foci) of an utterance is marked" (2013: 933), for which, see the previous two sections.

[239] A replacing altering focus reading could be possible were it not for the unexpectedness of the news that *anyone* else was ruling besides David himself.

Although both Mephibosheth and Ziba are accessible topical candidates, the proposition David determines is informationally complex and unexpected from their conversational CG.

| (49) | וַיֹּ֧אמֶר ל֣וֹ הַמֶּ֗לֶךְ לָ֤מָּה תְּדַבֵּר֙ ע֣וֹד דְּבָרֶ֔יךָ אָמַ֕רְתִּי אַתָּ֣ה וְצִיבָ֖א תַּחְלְק֥וּ אֶת־הַשָּׂדֶֽה: | And the king said to him, "Why are you still talking? I say: *You and Ziba shall divide the land.*" (2 Sam. 19:30) |

Likewise, the indefinite entity, verb of movement and irretrievable nature of the information indicates the annuntiative nature of the following statement.

| (50) | וַיֵּצְא֗וּ נַעֲרֵ֛י שָׂרֵ֥י הַמְּדִינ֖וֹת בָּרִֽאשֹׁנָ֑ה וַיִּשְׁלַ֣ח בֶּן־הֲדַ֗ד וַיַּגִּ֤ידוּ לוֹ֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר אֲנָשִׁ֥ים יָצְא֖וּ מִשֹּׁמְרֽוֹן: | And the servants of the governors of the districts went out first. And Ben-Hadad sent [them] and they spoke to him, saying, "*Men have come out from Samaria.*" (1 Kgs. 20:17) |

Existentials can also communicate an annuntiative state of affairs.

| (51) | וּמִלְחָמָ֨ה הָיְתָ֧ה בֵֽין־רְחַבְעָ֛ם וּבֵ֥ין יָרָבְעָ֖ם כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים: | And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually. (1 Kgs. 14:30) |

In the following examples, the highlighted clauses are unambiguously annuntiative, being absent from the previous CG, episode-initial, with semantically weak unaccusative verbs בּוֹא and הָיָה.[240]

| (52) | וְהַשְּׁמֻעָה֙ בָּ֣אָה עַד־יוֹאָ֔ב כִּ֣י יוֹאָ֗ב נָטָ֤ה אַחֲרֵ֣י אֲדֹנִיָּ֔ה וְאַחֲרֵ֥י אַבְשָׁל֖וֹם לֹ֣א נָטָ֑ה וַיָּ֤נָס יוֹאָב֙ אֶל־אֹ֣הֶל יְהוָ֔ה וַֽיַּחֲזֵ֖ק בְּקַרְנ֥וֹת הַמִּזְבֵּֽחַ: | Now, *the news reached Joab - because Joab had supported Adonijah* and he had not supported *Absalom* - Joab fled to the tent of Yahweh and grabbed hold of the horns of the alter. (1 Kgs. 2:28) |

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[240] I judge the second fronted clause to be a descriptive statement of Joab's previous actions and the third to be a topic shift, yet within the descriptive frame.

| (53) | וַיְהִי֙ יָמִ֣ים רַבִּ֔ים וּדְבַר־יְהֹוָ֗ה הָיָ֤ה אֶל־אֵלִיָּ֙הוּ֙ *בַּשָּׁנָ֣ה הַשְּׁלִישִׁ֔ית* לֵאמֹ֑ר לֵ֖ךְ הֵרָאֵ֣ה אֶל־אַחְאָ֑ב וְאֶתְּנָ֥ה מָטָ֖ר עַל־פְּנֵ֥י הָאֲדָמָֽה׃ | And it happened after many days and *the word of Yahweh came to Elijah in the third year*, saying, "Go, show yourself to Ahab, and I will give rain upon the face of the earth." (1 Kgs. 18:1) |

As indicated in the previous chapter, both locative and temporal adverbials are equally eligible candidates for fronted constituents of thetic utterances. In David's old age, his men are not too keen on the prospect of losing him in battle, so come to a decision.

| (54) | וַיַּֽעֲזׇר־לֹ֞ו אֲבִישַׁ֣י בֶּן־צְרוּיָ֗ה וַיַּ֛ךְ אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּ֖י וַיְמִיתֵ֑הוּ *אָ֣ז נִשְׁבְּעוּ֩ אַנְשֵׁי־דָוִ֨ד לֹ֜ו* לֵאמֹ֗ר לֹא־תֵצֵ֨א ע֤וֹד אִתָּ֙נוּ֙ לַמִּלְחָמָ֔ה וְלֹ֥א תְכַבֶּ֖ה אֶת־נֵ֥ר יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ | And Abishai the son of Zeruiah came to his aid and struck down the Philistine and killed him. *Then the men of David swore to him saying*, "You are not going out again with us to war; you shall not extinguish the light of Israel." (2 Sam. 21:17) |

Although the response of the men of Jabesh-Gilead to Nahash the Ammonite was mentioned above as *informing* focus, it was based on the following promise by Saul to that same population, none of which seems given in the current CG:

| (55) | וַיֹּאמְר֞וּ לַמַּלְאָכִ֣ים הַבָּאִ֗ים כֹּ֤ה תֹאמְרוּן֙ לְאִישׁ֙ יָבֵ֣ישׁ גִּלְעָ֔ד *מָחָ֛ר תִּהְיֶֽה־לָכֶ֥ם תְּשׁוּעָ֖ה בְּחֹ֣ם הַשָּׁ֑מֶשׁ* וַיָּבֹ֣אוּ הַמַּלְאָכִ֗ים וַיַּגִּ֛ידוּ לְאַנְשֵׁ֥י יָבֵ֖ישׁ וַיִּשְׂמָֽחוּ׃ | And they said to the messengers who had come, "Thus you will say to the men of Jabesh-Gilead: "*Tomorrow salvation will be yours, in the heat of the sun.*"" And the messengers came and told the men of Jabesh, and they rejoiced. (1 Sam. 11:9) |

In the following, although the king is definite and accessible and the clause transitive, the summary-style recounting of the magnitude of sacrifices offered during the festival necessitates the accommodation of the following relation (the previously unmentioned court is elaborated upon by the relative clause, avoiding a potentially defective CG):

| (56) | *בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֗וּא קִדַּ֨שׁ הַמֶּ֜לֶךְ אֶת־תּ֤וֹךְ הֶֽחָצֵר֙ אֲשֶׁר֙ לִפְנֵ֣י בֵית־יְהֹוָ֔ה* | *On that day the king consecrated the middle of the court which was before the house of Yahweh*. (1 Kgs. 8:64) |

Similarly, a fronted locative adverbial can provide the annuntiative reading.

| (57) | בְּגִבְעֹון נִרְאָ֧ה יְהֹוָ֛ה אֶל־שְׁלֹמֹ֖ה בַּחֲלֹ֣ום הַלָּ֑יְלָה וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֱלֹהִ֔ים שְׁאַ֖ל מָ֥ה אֶתֶּן־לָֽךְ׃ | *At Gibeon Yahweh appeared to Solomon in a dream at night,* and God said, "Ask me what I will give to you." (1 Kgs. 3:5) |

The annuntiative discourse function also seems to be at work when the surrounding co-text clearly indicates that the state of affairs referred to in the thetic utterance is synchronous with that of the preceding clause. 15% of the clear annuntiative clauses in the corpus (20/133) seem to indicate this synchronic reading. A similar fronted construction will be discussed below, in which the state of affairs referred to in a descriptive utterance is the first of two schematically concurrent events (just as the participial clause functions in 1 Kgs. 14:17).

| (58) | וַתָּ֩קָם֩ אֵ֨שֶׁת יָרָבְעָ֜ם וַתֵּ֗לֶךְ וַתָּבֹ֤א תִרְצָ֙תָה֙ הִ֚יא בָּאָ֣ה בְסַף־הַבַּ֔יִת וְהַנַּ֖עַר מֵֽת׃ | And the wife of Jeroboam got up and went and entered Tirzah. As she came to the door of the house *the boy died*. (1 Kgs. 14:17) |
| (59) | וַתַּעֲלֶ֤ה הַמִּלְחָמָה֙ בַּיֹּ֣ום הַה֔וּא וְהַמֶּ֗לֶךְ הָיָ֧ה מׇעֳמָ֛ד בַּמֶּרְכָּבָ֖ה נֹ֣כַח אֲרָ֑ם וַיָּ֥מׇת בָּעֶ֖רֶב | And [as] the battle went on that day [and] *the king was set in the chariot facing the Arameans.* And he died in the evening. (1 Kgs. 22:35) |

This synchronic construction becomes even more explicit with an initial וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה, as a reader-oriented aid in order to reconceptualise and correctly apprehend the temporal sequence of events, i.e., the conceived time (Langacker 2008: 79). Indeed, since "Events are widely acknowledged to be the units of perception" (Evans 2013: 151), as noted on pages 69-74, such entrenched constructions exhibit the semantic and formal selectional tendencies to adequately construe such conventional sequences.

| (60) | וַיְהִ֗י בְּצֵ֤את הַכֹּֽהֲנִים֙ מִן־הַקֹּ֔דֶשׁ וְהֶעָנָ֥ן מָלֵ֖א אֶת־בֵּ֥ית יְהֹוָֽה׃ | And when the priests exited the Holy place, *the cloud filled the house of Yahweh.* (1 Kgs. 8:10) |
| (61) | וְהָיָ֞ה אֲנִ֣י׀ אֵלֵ֣ךְ מֵאִתָּ֗ךְ וְר֤וּחַ יְהֹוָה֙׀ יִֽשָּׂאֲךָ֙ עַ֥ל אֲשֶׁ֖ר לֹֽא־אֵדָ֑ע | And when I leave you, *the Spirit of Yahweh will lift you up* to I don't know where. (1 Kgs. 18:12) |

(62)	וַיְהִי הַמֶּ֫לֶךְ עֹבֵ֔ר וְה֥וּא צָעַ֖ק אֶל־הַמֶּֽלֶךְ	And as the king passed by, *he (the prophet) cried out to the king* (1 Kgs. 20:39)

(63)	וַיְהִ֣י כְעָבְרָ֗ם וְאֵ֥לִיָּ֙הוּ אָמַ֜ר אֶל־אֱלִישָׁ֗ע שְׁאַל֙ מָ֣ה אֶֽעֱשֶׂה־לָּ֔ךְ בְּטֶ֖רֶם אֶלָּקַ֣ח מֵעִמָּ֑ךְ	And as they crossed over *Elijah said to Elisha*, "Ask what I will do for you before I am taken from you." (2 Kgs. 2:9a)

4.2.3.2 Introductive utterances

Introductive utterances have perhaps the strongest tendency to utilise verbs of *movement* or existentials, and begin new text-episodes or discourse complications (Auer & Maschler 2013).

(64)	וַיִּשְׁלַ֨ח יְהוָ֤ה אֶת־נָתָן֙ אֶל־דָּוִ֔ד וַיָּבֹ֖א אֵלָ֑יו וַיֹּ֣אמֶר ל֗וֹ שְׁנֵ֣י אֲנָשִׁים֩ הָי֨וּ בְּעִ֤יר אֶחָת֙ אֶחָ֣ד עָשִׁ֔יר וְאֶחָ֖ד רָֽאשׁ׃	And Yahweh sent Nathan to David, and he went in before him, and he said to him, "*Two men were in a certain city*. One was rich and the other poor." (2 Sam. 12:1)

We have already noted the following verse under synchronous annuntiative utterances. Here, however, we turn our attention to the introduction of the fictional comrade of the supposed soldier.[241]

(65)	וַיְהִי הַמֶּ֫לֶךְ עֹבֵ֔ר וְה֥וּא צָעַ֖ק אֶל־הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ וַיֹּ֗אמֶר עַבְדְּךָ֣ ׀ יָצָ֣א בְקֶֽרֶב־הַמִּלְחָמָ֗ה וְהִנֵּֽה־אִ֨ישׁ סָ֜ר וַיָּבֵ֧א אֵלַ֣י אִ֗ישׁ וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ שְׁמֹר֙ אֶת־הָאִ֣ישׁ הַזֶּ֔ה אִם־הִפָּקֵד֙ יִפָּקֵ֔ד וְהָיְתָ֤ה נַפְשְׁךָ֙ תַּ֣חַת נַפְשׁ֔וֹ א֥וֹ כִכַּר־כֶּ֖סֶף תִּשְׁקֽוֹל׃	And as the king passed by, *he (the prophet) cried out to the king* and said, "*Your servant went out in the middle of the battle*, and look, *a man turned* and brought to me a man, and he said, "Guard this man. If he goes missing, it will be your life for his, or you will pay *a talent of silver*."" (1 Kgs. 20:39)

As seen just above, introductive utterances seem to overlap with the mirativity conveyed by the use of discourse marker הִנֵּה.[242]

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[241] I understand the four fronted clauses of this verse to communicate a synchronous annuntiative statement, a descriptive statement, an introductive statement, and an informing focus, accommodating that there is a monetary price to be paid for the missing prisoner of war.

[242] Recall that for García Macías the unexpectedness of the state of affairs is speaker-oriented for miratives (2016: 7), whereas Bianchi et al. appeal to the "shared commitments of the entire conversational community" (2016: 26). The fact that both miratives and thetics assert non-presupposed content and miratives seem pliable for either a topic-comment structure or a holistic profiling, the overlap between the two is somewhat inevitable.

(66)	וְהִנֵּה ׀ נָבִיא אֶחָד נִגַּשׁ אֶל־אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה הֲרָאִיתָ אֵת כָּל־הֶהָמוֹן הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה הִנְנִי נֹתְנוֹ בְיָדְךָ הַיּוֹם וְיָדַעְתָּ כִּי־אֲנִי יְהֹוָה:	*And look, a certain prophet approached Ahab, the king of Israel*, and said, "Thus says Yahweh, "Do you see this great multitude? Look, I am giving it into your hand today, so that you will know that I am Yahweh."" (1 Kgs. 20:13)

In the Samuel-Kings corpus, among other verbs of movement בוא seems especially prevalent.

(67)	וַיְהִי ׀ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וְהִנֵּה אִישׁ בָּא מִן־הַמַּחֲנֶה מֵעִם שָׁאוּל וּבְגָדָיו קְרֻעִים וַאֲדָמָה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיְהִי בְּבֹאוֹ אֶל־דָּוִד וַיִּפֹּל אַרְצָה וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ:	And then, on the third day, *look, a man came up from the battle, from with Saul*. And his clothes were torn and there was soil on his head. And it happened as he came to David, he fell to the ground and bowed down. (2 Sam. 1:2)

The next example represents a highly peripheral case syntactically, although regardless of constituent order, possessor statements are communicated by the *lamed* constructions in BH (Van der Merwe et al. 2017: 348). Yet, immediately after the introduction of Kish, our attention is turned to his son, who, excluding David, serves as the main protagonist throughout the rest of 1 Samuel. Although I find it preferable to limit thetic readings to clauses fronted with either a subject or spatiotemporal adverbial phrase, semantic roles are undoubtedly preferable than formal syntax (see Croft 2001) and the לוֹ הָיָה construction is prototypically used to communicate possessor, i.e., *he had* in English.[243] Here it is functioning in no uncertain terms to introduce a central discourse character.[244] If not for the unitary and unexpected nature of the statement as well as its discourse function and position (unambiguously episode-initial), a topic-chaining reading would perhaps be possible, though a focal interpretation under the presupposition '*x* had a son' is not warranted. Structurally, we could imagine that וַיְהִי לוֹ בֵן would communicate the same state of affairs, but it would be

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[243] As Chafe has noted, "A low-content verb may convey the possession of the referent expressed by the object noun" (1994: 111).

[244] Since Bailey's study treats thetics as prototypically introductives, possessor clauses fall under this function: "we interpret *I had a dog* as being functionally thetic-like because it functions like the dedicated thetic form *To me was a dog*: both serve to introduce a new entity into the discourse" (2009: 60).

163

read as topic-chaining. So the introductive utterance, as it stands, may indeed revoke such a categorical reading, indicating Saul's continued prominence throughout the ensuing text.[245]

| (68) | וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מִבִּן־יָמִין וּֽשְׁמוֹ קִישׁ בֶּן־אֲבִיאֵ֜ל בֶּן־צְרֹ֣ור בֶּן־בְּכֹורַ֣ת בֶּן־אֲפִ֑יחַ בֶּן־אִ֣ישׁ יְמִינִ֖י גִּבֹּ֥ור חָֽיִל וְלֹו־הָיָ֥ה בֵ֖ן וּשְׁמֹ֥ו שָׁאֽוּל | And there was a man from Benjamin, and his name was Kish, the son of Abiel, son of Zeror, son of Becorath, son of Aphiah, a Benjamite, a man of means. *He had a son*, and his name was Saul. (1 Sam. 9:1-2a) |

Syntactically distinct and thus perhaps more prototypically introductive is the following possessor clause, which likewise introduces an entity - the possessed - that becomes central to the ensuing discourse.

| (69) | וַֽיְהִ֗י אַחַר֙ הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֔לֶּה כֶּ֧רֶם הָיָ֣ה לְנָבֹ֣ות הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִ֗י אֲשֶׁ֤ר בְּיִזְרְעֶ֙אל֙ אֵ֣צֶל הֵיכַ֣ל אַחְאָ֔ב מֶ֖לֶךְ שֹׁמְרֹֽון׃ | Now it happened after these things, that *Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard*, which was in Jezreel, beside the palace of Ahab the king of Samaria (1 Kgs. 21:1) |

More straightforwardly are episode-initial existentials, prototypically הָיָה clauses.

| (70) | וְ֠נַעֲמָן שַׂר־צְבָ֨א מֶֽלֶךְ־אֲרָ֜ם הָיָ֣ה אִישׁ֩ גָּדֹ֨ול לִפְנֵ֤י אֲדֹנָיו֙ וּנְשֻׂ֣א פָנִ֔ים כִּֽי־בֹ֛ו נָֽתַן־יְהוָ֥ה תְּשׁוּעָ֖ה לַאֲרָ֑ם וְהָאִ֗ישׁ הָיָ֛ה גִּבֹּ֥ור חַ֖יִל מְצֹרָֽע׃ | *Now Naaman, the commander of the army of the king of Aram, was a great man before his master*, and of high esteem, because it was by him that Yahweh had given victory to Aram. And the man, a great warrior, was struck with a skin disease. (2 Kgs. 5:1) |
| (71) | וְאַרְבָּעָ֧ה אֲנָשִׁ֛ים הָי֥וּ מְצֹרָעִ֖ים פֶּ֣תַח הַשָּׁ֑עַר וַיֹּֽאמְרוּ֙ אִ֣ישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵ֔הוּ מָ֗ה אֲנַ֤חְנוּ יֹשְׁבִים֙ פֹּ֖ה עַד־מָֽתְנוּ׃ | *Now there were four men struck with a skin disease at the entrance of the gate*. And each of them said to his friend, "Why are we sitting here until we die?" (2 Kgs. 7:3) |

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[245] On the other hand, García Macías argues that this type of existential would be thetic regardless of formal encoding, as the two following examples (2016: 54):

a.   There is a God

b.   God exists

Alternatively, the following descriptive statement fronts the *possessed*, וְשָׁל֨וֹם הָיָ֥ה לֹ֛ו מִכָּל־עֲבָרָ֖יו מִסָּבִֽיב׃ (1 Kgs. 5:4b), perhaps as confirming focus, while a very similar *wayyiqtol* closely follows וַיְהִ֣י לִשְׁלֹמֹ֗ה אַרְבָּעִ֣ים אֶ֤לֶף אֻרְוֹת֙ סוּסִ֣ים לְמֶרְכָּבֹ֔ו (1 Kgs. 5:6a). More straightforwardly topic-chaining is Gen. 4:26a, וּלְשֵׁ֤ת גַּם־הוּא֙ יֻלַּד־בֵּ֔ן וַיִּקְרָ֥א אֶת־שְׁמֹ֖ו אֱנֹ֑ושׁ.

164

The following verse contains three examples of introductives with הָיָה, preceding a temporal/ conditional כִּי in each case. Albeit within subordinate clauses, analogously, they coincide both with typological prevalence of both *there + be* existentials and weather statements.

(72)	רָעָ֣ב כִּֽי־יִהְיֶ֣ה בָאָ֗רֶץ דֶּ֣בֶר כִּֽי־יִ֠הְיֶה שִׁדָּפֹ֨ון יֵרָקֹ֜ון אַרְבֶּ֤ה חָסִיל֙ כִּ֣י יִהְיֶ֔ה כִּ֧י יָֽצַר־לֹ֛ו אֹיְבֹ֖ו בְּאֶ֣רֶץ שְׁעָרָ֑יו כָּל־נֶ֖גַע כָּל־מַחֲלָֽה׃	*If there is a famine in the land, if there is pestilence or if there is blight, or mildew or grasshopper or locust, and if their enemies oppress them at their gates in the land*, all affliction and all sickness… (1 Kgs. 8:37)

4.2.3.3 Interruptive utterances

Probably on the border of both annuntiative and introductives are interruptive utterances, which often favour either הִנֵּה or בּוֹא or both. Their interruptive nature depends on their unexpectedness, often indicated by הִנֵּה, the tempo of the surrounding discourse and their climactic role. On the other hand, their situational triggers are highly restricted typologically (Sasse 2006: 297) and their limited role in BH narrative (which contains very few phone calls and door-knockings) may not warrant a separate consideration from the preceding two types of thetic utterances. In 1 Kgs. 1:22 and 1:42, for example, the interruptive nature is indicated by the initial participial clauses, and heightens the tension in Bathsheba and Nathan's appeal to the aged king David in the former, and the race for the throne resulting in Adonijah's failed *coup d'état* in the latter.

(73)	הִנֵּ֨ה עֹודָ֥ךְ מְדַבֶּ֛רֶת שָׁ֖ם עִם־הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ וַאֲנִי֙ אָבֹ֣וא אַחֲרַ֔יִךְ וּמִלֵּאתִ֖י אֶת־דְּבָרָֽיִךְ׃	"Look, while you are still talking there with the king, *I'll [suddenly] come in after you*, and I'll complete your words" (1 Kgs. 1:14)
	וְהִנֵּ֛ה עֹודֶ֥נָּה מְדַבֶּ֖רֶת עִם־הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ וְנָתָ֥ן הַנָּבִ֖יא בָּֽא׃	And look, while she was still talking to the king, *Nathan the prophet came in*. (1 Kgs. 1:22)

(74)	עֹודֶ֣נּוּ מְדַבֵּ֔ר וְהִנֵּ֛ה יֹונָתָ֥ן בֶּן־אֶבְיָתָ֖ר הַכֹּהֵ֣ן בָּ֑א וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אֲדֹנִיָּ֨הוּ֙ בֹּ֔א כִּ֣י אִ֥ישׁ חַ֛יִל אַתָּ֖ה וְטֹ֥וב תְּבַשֵּֽׂר׃	While he was still talking, look, *Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came*. And Adonijah said, "Come, because you are a worthy man and you will bring *good* news. (1 Kgs. 1:42)

In the next example, the tension is building as Saul and his army are in pursuit of David the outlaw. David and his men circle the mountain from one side while Saul and his army are hot on his heels, on the other side of the very same mountain. They are closing in and surely there is no escape. Suddenly an unnamed messenger arrives.[246]

(75)	וּמַלְאָ֣ךְ בָּ֗א אֶל־שָׁאוּל֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר מַהֲרָ֖ה וְלֵ֑כָה כִּי־פָשְׁט֥וּ פְלִשְׁתִּ֖ים עַל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃	*And [suddenly] a messenger came to Saul*, saying, "Hurry, go! Because the Philistines are raiding the land." (1 Sam. 23:27)

A similar moment of tension involves an earlier Saulide episode, in which he had already been instructed by Samuel to wait seven days for him (1 Sam. 10:8). However, after Saul chooses to take matters into his own hands instead of waiting, Samuel suddenly shows up.

(76)	וַיְהִ֗י כְּכַלֹּתוֹ֙ לְהַעֲל֣וֹת הָעֹלָ֔ה וְהִנֵּ֥ה שְׁמוּאֵ֖ל בָּ֑א וַיֵּצֵ֥א שָׁא֛וּל לִקְרָאת֖וֹ לְבָרֲכֽוֹ׃	It just as he finished offering up the sacrifice of ascent, look, *Samuel suddenly arrived*, and Saul went out to meet him and to bless him. (1 Sam. 13:10)

The following verse could possibly be read as simply synchronous, being syntactically equivalent to those annuntiative utterances above, yet the urgency of the woman's subsequent appeal of the entire siege situation in Samaria favour an interruptive interpretation (again, as there are a number of peripheral and overlapping cases, it is not always essential to distinguish between the two).

(77)	וַיְהִי֩ מֶ֨לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל עֹבֵ֣ר עַל־הַחֹמָ֗ה וְאִשָּׁ֤ה צָעֲקָ֤ה אֵלָיו֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר הוֹשִׁ֖יעָה אֲדֹנִ֥י הַמֶּֽלֶךְ	And the king of Israel was walking along the city wall, and [suddenly] *a woman cried out to him*, saying, "Help, O lord, the king!" (2 Kgs. 6:26)

4.2.3.4 Descriptive utterances

As discussed in the previous chapter, descriptive utterances provide extra information in order to 'set the scene', and thus encompass any type of background information, comment

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[246] Alter renders, "Just then a messenger came to Saul" (1999: 145), and Long rightly notes, "By virtue of its timing, this interruption hints at the hand of providence at work" (2020: 226).

or necessary CG update on the part of the author. In the first example, the specific location of Yahweh's messenger is unquestionably significant for the future construction of the temple.

(78)	וַיִּשְׁלַח֩ יָד֨וֹ הַמַּלְאָ֥ךְ ׀ יְרוּשָׁלִַ֜ם֙ לְשַׁחֲתָ֗הּ וַיִּנָּ֨חֶם יְהוָ֤ה אֶל־הָֽרָעָה֙ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר לַמַּלְאָ֤ךְ הַמַּשְׁחִ֣ית בָּעָ֗ם רַ֤ב עַתָּה֙ הֶ֣רֶף יָדֶ֔ךָ **וּמַלְאַ֤ךְ יְהוָה֙ הָיָ֔ה עִם־גֹּ֖רֶן הָאֲוַ֥רְנָה הַיְבֻסִֽי׃**	And the messenger sent his hand against Jerusalem to destroy it, but Yahweh relented of the calamity and said to the messenger who was working a great destruction among the people, "Enough. Stop your hand." *Now the messenger of Yahweh was with the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite*. (2 Sam. 24:16)

Being informed that the prophet Ahijah had all but lost his sight makes his recognition of Jeroboam's wife all the more incredible, despite her attempts to disguise herself (1 Kgs. 14:2).

(79)	וַתַּ֤עַשׂ כֵּן֙ אֵ֣שֶׁת יָרָבְעָ֔ם וַתָּ֨קָם֙ וַתֵּ֣לֶךְ שִׁלֹ֔ה וַתָּבֹ֖א בֵּ֣ית אֲחִיָּ֑ה **וַאֲחִיָּ֨הוּ֙ לֹא־יָכֹ֣ל לִרְא֔וֹת** כִּ֛י קָ֥מוּ עֵינָ֖יו מִשֵּׂיבֽוֹ	And Jeroboam's wife did thus: she got up and went to Shiloh and went into the house of Ahijah. *Now Ahijah was not able to see* because his eyes had dimmed from old age. (1 Kgs. 14:4)

The descriptive utterance can be used to communicate ongoing actions or a state that is pertinent to the background of the story, before the event of current interest is mentioned. In 1 Sam. 3 the descriptive statement accompanies two participial clauses to sets the stage for Yahweh's call of Samuel, and the presence of His Word with His people. In 2 Kgs. 3 it sets the stage for Mesha's rebellion as a vassal against Israel, while a *weqatal* clause continues the descriptive frame. Notice, again, the prevalence of הָיָה clauses in such contexts.

(80)	וְהַנַּ֗עַר שְׁמוּאֵ֛ל מְשָׁרֵ֥ת אֶת־יְהוָ֖ה לִפְנֵ֣י עֵלִ֑י **וּדְבַר־יְהוָ֗ה הָיָ֤ה יָקָר֙ בַּיָּמִ֣ים הָהֵ֔ם** אֵ֥ין חָז֖וֹן נִפְרָֽץ׃	Now the boy Samuel was serving Yahweh before Eli. *And the word of Yahweh was rare in those days*; there was no frequent vision. (1 Sam. 3:1)
(81)	**וּמֵישַׁ֤ע מֶֽלֶךְ־מוֹאָב֙ הָיָ֣ה נֹקֵ֔ד** וְהֵשִׁ֧יב לְמֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל מֵאָה־אֶ֥לֶף כָּרִ֖ים וּמֵאָ֥ה אֶ֛לֶף אֵילִ֖ים צָֽמֶר׃	*Now Mesha, the king of Moab, was a sheep-breeder*, and he used to return a hundred thousand young rams and a hundred thousand ram's wool to the king of Israel. (2 Kgs. 3:4)

167

Causal כִּי very often introduces explanatory utterances (see the following section), but it is not impossible with descriptives, as this next example shows.

(82)	וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת־הַחֲנִית וְאֶת־צַפַּחַת הַמַּיִם מֵרַאֲשֹׁתֵי שָׁאוּל וַיֵּלְכוּ לָהֶם וְאֵין רֹאֶה וְאֵין יוֹדֵעַ וְאֵין מֵקִיץ כִּי כֻלָּם יְשֵׁנִים כִּי *תַּרְדֵּמַת יְהוָה נָפְלָה עֲלֵיהֶם*׃	And David took the spear and the jar of water from beside Saul's head, and they left. But no one saw and no one knew and no one woke up because all of them were sleeping, as *a deep sleep of Yahweh had fallen upon them*. (1 Sam. 26:12)
(83)	וְכִתַּת נְחַשׁ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה מֹשֶׁה כִּי *עַד־הַיָּמִים הָהֵמָּה הָיוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מְקַטְּרִים לוֹ* וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ נְחֻשְׁתָּן	And he (Hezekiah) demolished the bronze serpent which Moses had made because *up until those days the sons of Israel were sacrificing to it* and they call it Nehushtan. (2 Kgs. 18:4b)

The second clause in the following verse likewise begins with causal כִּי. The verse begins with an unambiguous annuntiative (see above), followed by what seems like two descriptives. Here we see the possible tension between clause level information structure and discourse pragmatics. The third clause seems to be read quite clearly as descriptive, following the second clause, yet it is functioning as corrective in that he may have followed Adonijah, but he did not follow the topicalised *Absalom*, so the verbal negation is probably to be read as focal (see section 4.2.1).

(84)	וְהַשְּׁמֻעָה בָּאָה עַד־יוֹאָב כִּי יוֹאָב נָטָה אַחֲרֵי אֲדֹנִיָּה וְאַחֲרֵי אַבְשָׁלוֹם לֹא נָטָה וַיָּנָס יוֹאָב אֶל־אֹהֶל יְהוָה וַיַּחֲזֵק בְּקַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ׃	*And the news came to Joab* - because *Joab had turned after Adonijah*, though he had not turned *after Absalom* - and Joab fled to the tent of Yahweh and he took hold of the horns of the alter. (1 Kgs. 2:28)

Although descriptives normally function as CG updates on the author-reader level, they also occur in direct speech and inner dialogue,[247] as seen in the following two examples respectively.

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[247] Long notes regarding 1 Sam. 25, that "Verse 21 digresses to recount what David has *just said*, whether to his men or to himself" (2020: 237). I have tended to read it as David's inner thoughts, as attested elsewhere (1 Sam. 27:1). Nevertheless, Long's comment that it reflects what David has 'just said' displays its anterior character.

(85)	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־יְהוֹנָתָן הִנֵּה־חֹדֶשׁ מָחָר וְאָנֹכִי יָשֹׁב־אֵשֵׁב עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ לֶאֱכוֹל וְשִׁלַּחְתַּנִי וְנִסְתַּרְתִּי בַשָּׂדֶה עַד הָעֶרֶב הַשְּׁלִשִׁית:	And David said to Jonathan, "Look, the new moon is tomorrow, and *I am surely supposed to sit with the king to eat*. But you will send me and I will stay hidden until the third evening." (1 Sam. 20:5)
(86)	וְהָיָה הִיא ׀ רֹכֶבֶת עַל־הַחֲמֹור וְיֹרֶדֶת בְּסֵתֶר הָהָר וְהִנֵּה דָוִד וַאֲנָשָׁיו יֹרְדִים לִקְרָאתָהּ וַתִּפְגֹּשׁ אֹתָם: וְדָוִד אָמַר אַךְ לַשֶּׁקֶר שָׁמַרְתִּי אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר לָזֶה בַּמִּדְבָּר וְלֹא־נִפְקַד מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לֹו מְאוּמָה וַיָּשֶׁב־לִי רָעָה תַּחַת טוֹבָה: כֹּה־יַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים לְאֹיְבֵי דָוִד וְכֹה יֹסִיף אִם־אַשְׁאִיר מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לֹו עַד־הַבֹּקֶר מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר: וַתֵּרֶא אֲבִיגַיִל אֶת־דָּוִד וַתְּמַהֵר וַתֵּרֶד מֵעַל הַחֲמֹור וַתִּפֹּל לְאַפֵּי דָוִד עַל־פָּנֶיהָ וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ אָרֶץ:	And when she [Abigail] was riding upon her donkey and going down in the refuge of the mountain, and look, David and his men were going down to greet her. And she met them. *Now David had been saying*, "Surely in vain did I guard everything that was this man's in the desert. Nothing was lost from any of his things, and he has returned evil to me in the place of good. Thus will God do to the enemies of David and this will he add if I leave alive until the morning any of his men." And Abigail saw David and she rushed and got off her donkey and fell on her face before David and bowed down to the ground. (1 Sam. 25:20-23)

As in the previous example, often descriptive utterances refer to a state of affairs which is unambiguously anterior to that communicated in the surrounding discourse (the mention of inner dialogue is placed between Abigail meeting David and his men and her seeing them, i.e., the same time, so must be describing his reflection during the journey up to that point). On some occasions, such as the prototypical examples surveyed in the present section, the schematic recognition of succession is fairly straightforward. As Evans states, "Without the means of recognising succession, and hence event sequences, humans would be unable to distinguish between causes and their effects, with potentially disastrous consequences for learning and survival" (2013: 114-115).

These anterior constructions make up about 31% (36/115) of the descriptive clauses in the corpus. 2 Sam. 24:2, for example, harkens all the way back to Josh. 9:15! Note how, as in

this passage, a descriptive idea can be continued with the usual sequence of *wayyiqtols* after being initiated by the fronted clause.[248]

| (87) | וַיִּקְרָ֤א הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ לַגִּבְעֹנִ֔ים וַיֹּ֖אמֶר אֲלֵיהֶ֑ם וְהַגִּבְעֹנִ֗ים לֹ֤א מִבְּנֵ֤י יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ הֵ֔מָּה כִּ֛י אִם־מִיֶּ֥תֶר הָאֱמֹרִ֖י וּבְנֵ֤י יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ נִשְׁבְּע֣וּ לָהֶ֔ם וַיְבַקֵּ֤שׁ שָׁאוּל֙ לְהַכֹּתָ֔ם בְּקַנֹּאת֥וֹ לִבְנֵֽי־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל וִיהוּדָֽה׃ | And the king called to the Gibeonites and spoke to them. Now the Gibeonites were not from the sons of Israel, but they were from the remnant of the Amorites. *And the sons of Israel had sworn to them* [their safety], but Saul had sought to strike them in his zeal for the sons of Israel and Judah. (2 Sam. 24:2) |

After the Ark of the Covenant is captured (1 Sam. 4:11), the narrative turns to the report of the events of the battle in Shiloh, Eli's death and the birth of Ichabod. At the beginning of the following chapter, we turn back to the Philistines' dealing with the Ark, so its capture must be recapped (recall that thetic statements are discourse-unexpected, not necessarily informationally new). Here again, the *wayyiqtol* clause may be continuing the descriptive discourse.

| (88) | וּפְלִשְׁתִּים֙ לָֽקְח֔וּ אֵ֖ת אֲר֣וֹן הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים וַיְבִאֻ֛הוּ מֵאֶ֥בֶן הָעֵ֖זֶר אַשְׁדּֽוֹדָה׃ | *Now the Philistines had taken the Ark of God*, and they [had] brought it from Ebenezer to Ashdod. (1 Sam. 5:1) |

Likewise, when the lepers dare to venture out to the Syrian camp outside of Samaria, there was no one there. The descriptive utterances gives the necessarily anterior events, continued by a sequence of *wayyiqtols* and explicitly indicated by the adverbial, בַּנֶּ֫שֶׁף, the same time the lepers are said to have left the city (v. 5).

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[248] Bailey labels these phenomena *subsequent predications* (2009: 66), that is, "several states constituting a complex scene-description" (Sasse 2006: 288). Khan and van der Merwe note, "A thetic S-*qaṭal* clause that presents the resultative situation of a prior event as the circumstances of the main narrative line is in some cases followed by a series of *wayyiqtol* categorical clauses that do not continue the main narrative line but rather express actions that were sequential to the prior event" (2020: 381).

| (89) | וַאדֹנָ֞י הִשְׁמִ֣יעַ׀ אֶת־מַחֲנֵ֣ה אֲרָ֗ם ק֣וֹל רֶ֠כֶב ק֥וֹל ס֨וּס ק֚וֹל חַ֣יִל גָּד֔וֹל וַיֹּאמְר֞וּ אִ֣ישׁ אֶל־אָחִ֗יו הִנֵּ֣ה שָֽׂכַר־עָלֵ֩ינוּ֩ מֶ֨לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל אֶת־מַלְכֵ֧י הַחִתִּ֛ים וְאֶת־מַלְכֵ֥י מִצְרַ֖יִם לָב֥וֹא עָלֵֽינוּ׃ וַיָּק֣וּמוּ֩ וַיָּנ֨וּסוּ֙ בַנֶּ֔שֶׁף וַיַּעַזְב֣וּ אֶת־אָהֳלֵיהֶ֗ם | *The LORD had made the camp of Aram hear the voice of chariots, the voice of horses and the voice of a great force,* and each of them had said to his brother, "Look, the king of Israel has hired against us the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians to come against us. And they had risen and fled at dusk and had left their tents… (2 Kgs. 7:6-7a) |

The first of a pair of synchronous events, both in fronted clauses, are treated as descriptive (in contrast to the annuntiative reading discussed above, in which the fronted clause comes second). As discussed in section 3.2.2.3, CG judgments based on event perception (Chafe 1994, Evans 2013), temporal iconicity (Langacker 2008) and repeated causal frames (Lascarides & Asher 1993) allow the identification of 9 quite unambiguous examples of this type (about 8% of the total number of descriptives).

| (90) | וַהֲדַ֣ד שָׁמַ֣ע בְּמִצְרַ֗יִם כִּֽי־שָׁכַ֤ב דָּוִד֙ עִם־אֲבֹתָ֔יו וְכִי־מֵ֖ת יוֹאָ֣ב שַׂר־הַצָּבָ֑א וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הֲדַד֙ אֶל־פַּרְעֹ֔ה שַׁלְּחֵ֖נִי וְאֵלֵ֥ךְ אֶל־אַרְצִֽי׃ | *But when Hadad heard in Egypt that David had slept with his fathers, and that Joab, the commander of the army, was dead,* Hadad said to Pharaoh, "Send me and I will go to my land." (1 Kgs. 11:21) |

The division into descriptive-followed-by-annuntiative seem appropriate when the synchronous state of affairs are indicated by two fronted clauses. In theory, both clauses could indicate topic shifting, but such a reading would miss the temporal nuance of the discourse, while forcefully applying a topic-comment construction where a thetic reading more adequately accounts for the CG necessities and the discourse-unexpectedness of the entire state of affairs.

| (91) | וּשְׁמוּאֵ֖ל רָאָ֣ה אֶת־שָׁא֑וּל וַיהוָ֣ה עָנָ֔הוּ הִנֵּ֤ה הָאִישׁ֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר אָמַ֣רְתִּי אֵלֶ֔יךָ זֶ֖ה יַעְצֹ֥ר בְּעַמִּֽי׃ | And as *Samuel saw Saul, Yahweh answered him,* "Look, the man who I said to you, 'This one will rule over my people.'" (1 Sam. 9:17) |

| (92) | וַיִּרְדְּפ֤וּ יוֹאָב֙ וַאֲבִישַׁ֔י אַחֲרֵ֖י אַבְנֵ֑ר וְהַשֶּׁ֣מֶשׁ בָּ֔אָה וְהֵ֗מָּה בָּ֚אוּ עַד־גִּבְעַ֣ת אַמָּ֔ה אֲשֶׁר֙ עַל־פְּנֵי־גִ֔יחַ דֶּ֖רֶךְ מִדְבַּ֥ר גִּבְעֽוֹן׃ | And Joab and Abishai went down after Abner. As *the sun went down they entered the hill of Ammah,* which is in front of Giah, on the way to the wilderness of Gibeon. (2 Sam. 2:24) |

On the fuzzy boundary of annuntiatives and descriptives is the following verse, which structurally seems annuntiative, yet schematically the event must be read as anterior (they certainly did not carry out the raid in the presence of David and his men, as indicated by their later arrival, repeated in v. 3).[249] Notice once again how a *wayyiqtol* can continue an anterior clause-group headed by a thetic.

| (93) | וַיְהִ֞י בְּבֹ֨א דָוִ֧ד וַאֲנָשָׁ֛יו צִֽקְלַ֖ג בַּיּ֣וֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁ֑י וַעֲמָלֵקִ֣י פָשְׁט֗וּ אֶל־נֶ֙גֶב֙ וְאֶל־צִ֣קְלַ֔ג וַיַּכּוּ֙ אֶת־צִ֣קְלַ֔ג וַיִּשְׂרְפ֥וּ אֹתָ֖הּ בָּאֵֽשׁ׃ | And as David and his men came to Ziklag, on the third day, [and look / they found out that] *the Amalekites had made a raid on the Negeb and on Ziklag.* They had struck Ziklag and burned it with fire. (1 Sam. 30:1) |

4.2.3.5 Explanative utterances

As discussed in the previous chapter, explanative utterances provide the elaboration or grounds for a certain presupposition (even if implicit). I have found in Samuel-Kings that they often follow a previous CG narrowing (interrogative) or expression of CG preference (imperative). They may or may not be accompanied by a causal כִּי.[250]

(94)	וַיֹּ֨אמֶר שָׁא֜וּל לְנַעֲר֗וֹ וְהִנֵּ֣ה נֵלֵךְ֮ וּמַה־נָּבִ֣יא לָאִישׁ֒ כִּ֤י הַלֶּ֙חֶם֙ אָזַ֣ל מִכֵּלֵ֔ינוּ וּתְשׁוּרָ֥ה אֵין־לְהָבִ֖יא לְאִ֣ישׁ הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים מָ֖ה אִתָּֽנוּ׃	And Saul said to his boy, "Look, if we go, what shall we bring for the man? Because *the bread has gone from our supplies*, and there is nothing left to bring to the man of God. What have we got?" (1 Sam. 9:7)
(95)	וְעַתָּ֗ה הוֹאֵל֙ וּבָרֵךְ֙ אֶת־בֵּ֣ית עַבְדְּךָ֔ לִהְי֥וֹת לְעוֹלָ֖ם לְפָנֶ֑יךָ כִּֽי־אַתָּ֞ה אֲדֹנָ֤י יְהוִה֙ דִּבַּ֔רְתָּ וּמִבִּרְכָ֣תְךָ֔ יְבֹרַ֥ךְ בֵּית־עַבְדְּךָ֖ לְעוֹלָֽם׃	"And now, Please bless the house of your servant, to be before your face forever, because *you, Lord Yahweh, have spoken*, and from your blessing may the house of your servant be blessed forever." (2 Sam. 7:29)
(96)	לֹא־כֵ֣ן הַדָּבָ֗ר כִּ֡י אִישׁ֩ מֵהַ֨ר אֶפְרַ֜יִם שֶׁ֧בַע בֶּן־בִּכְרִ֣י שְׁמ֗וֹ נָשָׂ֤א יָדוֹ֙ בַּמֶּ֣לֶךְ בְּדָוִ֔ד תְּנֽוּ־אֹת֣וֹ לְבַדּ֔וֹ וְאֵלְכָ֖ה מֵעַ֣ל הָעִ֑יר וַתֹּ֤אמֶר הָֽאִשָּׁה֙ אֶל־יוֹאָ֔ב הִנֵּ֥ה רֹאשׁ֛וֹ מֻשְׁלָ֥ךְ אֵלֶ֖יךָ בְּעַ֥ד הַחוֹמָֽה	"The thing is not like that, *but a man from the hill of Ephraim - Sheba the son of Bichri is his name - lifted his hand against king David.* Give him alone, and I will go away from the city." And the woman said to Joab, "Look, his head is being thrown to you over the wall." (2 Sam. 20:21)

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[249] "Notice of the Amalekite raid having already been given to the reader (vv. 1-2), *David and his men* witness the devastation for themselves in verse 3… *wĕhinnê* … signals that the reader is now 'seeing' what David and his men witnessed, as if through their own eyes" (Long 2020: 267).

[250] For an example of an unambiguous explanative thetic statement without כִּי see 1 Sam. 14:18.

172

A less prototypically fronted subject is the referent denoted by אֲשֶׁר, as seen in the following example. It nonetheless provides the reasoning behind David's encouragement to Abiathar to stay with him and not to fear, a reason most likely CG-unexpected before being uttered.

| (97) | שְׁבָה אִתִּי אַל־תִּירָ֫א כִּי אֲשֶׁר־יְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי יְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת־נַפְשֶׁךָ כִּי־מִשְׁמֶרֶת אַתָּה עִמָּדִי׃ | "Stay with me. Do not fear because *the one who seeks my life seeks your life*. But you are in safe hands with me." (1 Sam. 22:23) |

Judging by the current CG and discourse criteria, 1 Sam. 28:15 is best read as explanative, illustrating that a causal כִּי may be prototypical, but not essential.

| (98) | וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאָלֵנִי וַיהוָה סָר מֵעָלֶיךָ | And Samuel said, "Why are you asking me, since *Yahweh has turned away from you*?" (1 Sam. 28:16) |

As with the other discourse functions, explanatives can be indicated by a fronted temporal adverbial phrase.

| (99) | וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל לֹא־יוּמַת אִישׁ בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה־יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל׃ | And Saul said, "No one will die today, because *today Yahweh has worked salvation for Israel*." (1 Sam. 11:13) |
| (100) | וַיַּעַן נָבָל אֶת־עַבְדֵי דָוִד וַיֹּאמֶר מִי דָוִד וּמִי בֶן־יִשָׁי הַיּוֹם רַבּוּ עֲבָדִים הַמִּתְפָּרְצִים אִישׁ מִפְּנֵי אֲדֹנָיו׃ | And Nabal answered the servants of David and said, "Who is David? And who is the son of Jesse? *Today the servants who break away, each from his master, have become many*." (1 Sam. 25:10) |

Finally, although more common in introductive and interruptive utterances, הִנֵּה can also introduce explanatives. Note also the repetition of הַיּוֹם, once in the introductory thetic formula and once in the content of what Saul was witnessed with his own eyes.

173

| (101) | וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד לְשָׁאוּל לָמָּה תִשְׁמַע אֶת־דִּבְרֵי אָדָם לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה דָוִד מְבַקֵּשׁ רָעָתֶךָ׃ הִנֵּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאוּ עֵינֶיךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר־נְתָנְךָ יְהוָה ׀ הַיּוֹם ׀ בְּיָדִי בַּמְּעָרָה | And David said to Saul, "Why do you listen to the words of man, saying, "Look, David is seeking your harm"? *Behold,* this day your eyes have seen how Yahweh gave you today into my hand in the cave." (1 Sam. 24:10-11a) |

Before we examine some potentially ambiguous cases of thetic categorisation, consider the thetic cluster of five fronted clauses in the following verse.

| (102) | וְאִשָּׁה אַחַת מִנְּשֵׁי בְנֵי־הַנְּבִיאִים צָעֲקָה אֶל־אֱלִישָׁע לֵאמֹר עַבְדְּךָ אִישִׁי מֵת וְאַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ כִּי עַבְדְּךָ הָיָה יָרֵא אֶת־יְהוָה וְהַנֹּשֶׁה בָּא לָקַחַת אֶת־שְׁנֵי יְלָדַי לוֹ לַעֲבָדִים׃ | *Now a certain woman from the wives of the sons of the prophets cried out to Elisha,* saying, "*Your servant, my husband, is dead. And you know* that *your servant feared Yahweh,* and *the debt-collector is coming to take my two sons for himself as servants.*" (2 Kgs. 4:1) |

Evidently, with such frequency of fronting, we are in need of a model to adequately account for the development of the CG, givenness-unexpectedness, the projected presuppositions, and the discourse contours which would result in such a short passage consisting of only fronted clauses. The first clause seems annuntiative, being episode-initial and intransitive (with the same verb, צָעַק, as 2 Kgs. 6:22 seen above). The state of affairs with which the woman begins her speech is also "out-of-the-blue," and so annuntiative, even though the anchored subject would be accessible after a brief accommodation. The entire phrase could be considered as a response to the implicit question-under-discussion: 'Why are you here?', resulting in a what others have considered 'sentence focus', though I have rejected such a term on theoretical grounds in the previous chapter. On the other hand, morphologically, the *qatal* מֵת could also be read as an adjective. The third fronted clause begins the grounds for the request that is to come, and is thus explanative. This is followed by the content of what Elisha is supposedly aware of, that the woman's husband feared Yahweh, and is thus a descriptive reminder, followed by an annuntiative statement introducing the *narrative complication* (Auer & Maschler 2013: 160, cf. Fokkelman 1999) of the woman and her family's current peril - the arrival of the debt-collector. Again, the בָּא could be read as a

participle, "The debt-collector is coming" or as a *qatal*, "The debt-collector has come," which seems more likely.

To treat these five clauses as cases of topic shifts would impoverish both the author's and speaker's communicative perspective and intentional presentation of events, especially in the light of the verse's placement within the discourse, opening the pericope of 2 Kgs. 4:1-7, and Elisha's implicit understanding of the woman's request: "What shall I do for you?" (4:2).

4.2.3.6 Difficult-to-classify thetic utterances

Although it is not crucial for our model to differentiate between them, a number of thetic statements seem equally likely to communicate different discourse functions.[251] In light of our previous discussion of theticity as a family-resemblance network (Sasse 2006: 304), fuzzy boundaries are exactly what should be expected. Indeed, some thetic utterances seem equally likely to communicate one discourse function as another. This can be seen in the following verse, which shares features prototypically introductive and synchronous descriptive.

| (103) | וְהִנֵּה ׀ אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים בָּא מִיהוּדָה בִּדְבַר יְהוָה אֶל־בֵּית־אֵל וְיָרָבְעָם עֹמֵד עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לְהַקְטִיר׃ | *And look, a man of God came from Judah with a word of Yahweh to Beth-el* while Jeroboam was standing upon the alter to sacrifice. (1 Kgs. 13:1) |

Similarly, the next example seems to be both annuntiative (synchronous) and introductive. Because of the indefinite and discourse unexpectedness of their entry, the appearance of the boys is plausibly read as introductive, yet the preceding participle clause makes the synchronous reading just as plausible.

| (104) | וַיַּעַל מִשָּׁם בֵּית־אֵל ׀ וְהוּא עֹלֶה בַדֶּרֶךְ וּנְעָרִים קְטַנִּים יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעִיר | And he went up from there to Bethel, and when he was on the way *some young boys came out of the city.* (2 Kgs. 2:23) |

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[251] Besides the following examples, see 1 Sam. 10:27, 2 Sam. 13:35, 1 Kgs. 9:24, 10:22, and 2 Kgs. 6:26, 8:9, 10:13 and 13:20.

Likewise, the following appearance of David's servants and Joab returning from a raid seems to occur in dangerously close proximity to Abner's being sent away without harm, which would indicate an interruptive reading ('*Just then*', Long 2020: 302). The בָּא ... הִנֵּה construction also seems to indicate such a reading (although the early translations diverge from such an entrenched construction, employing a plural indicative). On the other hand, the state of affairs could be synchronous to that of the following text and would thus be read as descriptive. Again, as previously noted (see pages 69-74), our perception of events and the communication of either sequential temporal frames of references or the temporal quality synchronicity probably also relies on conventional experiences and selectional tendencies, so in the current example, perhaps verbal semantics and phasal aspect (see Cook 2012: 25-26) is determinant in favouring an interruptive reading, i.e., succession of events, rather than triggering "an awareness of two experiences or experience types occurring at the same temporal moment" (Evans 2013: 68). The surrounding discourse also seems to confirm such an understanding of the event sequences.

(105)	וְהִנֵּה֩ עַבְדֵ֨י דָוִ֤ד וְיוֹאָב֙ בָּ֣א מֵֽהַגְּד֔וּד וְשָׁלָ֥ל רָ֖ב עִמָּ֣ם הֵבִ֑יאוּ וְאַבְנֵ֗ר אֵינֶ֤נּוּ עִם־דָּוִד֙ בְּחֶבְר֔וֹן כִּ֥י שִׁלְּח֖וֹ וַיֵּ֥לֶךְ בְּשָׁלֽוֹם׃	Look, *[when] the servants of David and Joab arrived from a raid*, [and] they brought a great amount of plunder with them, and Abner was not with David in Hebron because he had sent him away and he went in peace. (2 Sam. 3:22).

Example (106) is also dependent upon narrative time but perhaps more difficult to determine. Note the text division immediately preceding the clause, which would indicate a *setting* (Tsumura 2019), yet the fronted clause could possibly be rendered as a simple past, i.e., annuntiative (Tsumura 2019) or as anterior, i.e., descriptive (Alter 1999, Long 2020).[252]

(106)	וַיָּ֥קָם דָּוִ֖ד בַּבֹּ֑קֶר פ וּדְבַר־יְהוָ֗ה הָיָה֙ אֶל־גָּ֣ד הַנָּבִ֣יא חֹזֵ֥ה דָוִ֖ד לֵאמֹֽר׃	And David got up in the morning. *Now the word of Yahweh came to Gad the prophet / And the word of the Lord had come to Gad the prophet*, a seer of David, saying… (2 Samuel 24:11).

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[252] Long asserts, "As David arises *the next morning* (v. 11), a prophet named Gad is already on his way to present David with a difficult choice (v. 12)" (2020: 470).

Similarly, the next fronted clause is either communicating a synchronous event with the group's hearing (as Wiseman 1993 and DeVries 2003), or anterior (as Hentschel 1984 and Alter 1999).

(107)	וַיִּשְׁמַע אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ וְכָל־הַקְּרֻאִים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ וְהֵם כִּלּוּ לֶאֱכֹל	And Adonijah and all the guests who were with him heard, *as they finished eating / after they had finished eating*. (1 Kgs. 1:41a)

In the following example, although 'the king of Moab' is prototypical as a universally accessible entity, the entire event is unexpected *hot news* to Jehoshaphat. Nevertheless, it perhaps lies between a prototypical annuntiative event, seemingly out-of-the-blue, and a prototypical explanative, laying the grounds for the following request.[253]

(108)	וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה לֵאמֹר מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב פָּשַׁע בִּי הֲתֵלֵךְ אִתִּי אֶל־מוֹאָב לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֶעֱלֶה כָּמוֹנִי כָמוֹךָ כְּעַמִּי כְעַמֶּךָ כְּסוּסַי כְּסוּסֶיךָ׃	And he (Jehoram) went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, "*The king of Moab has rebelled against me*. Will you go out with me to Moab to battle?" And he said, "I will go up. I am as you, my people are as your people and my horses are as your horses" (2 Kgs. 3:7)

Again it must be stressed, fuzzy boundaries and peripheral cases are exactly what we would expect in the light of prototype theory and human categorisation.

4.2.3.7 Potential ambiguity between a categorical and thetic reading

Our final consideration will be those cases of fronting which could equally be read as either topical/focal fronting or a thetic utterance, depending on what is considered to be the implicit question-under-discussion, or how much of the utterance is judged to be present in the CG between the author-reader pair (or speaker-listener pair in the case of embedded discourse). Their high frequency (113 cases)[254] is to be expected, since,

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[253] Sasse notes that annuntiative and explanative thetic utterances can "be seen as a continuum. On the extreme explanative end, a presupposition of an "open" situation ("something happened") is explicitly built up in the discourse. However we also admitted cases in which explanative utterances are evoked implicitly, for instance, by means of interrogative gesture. From these, it is only a very small step to situations where a speaker just announces or exclaims a bit of information without caring whether or not the addressee is explicitly asking for it" (2006: 289).

[254] See Appendix B.

"this "expectability of the subjects' topical status can only be taken as a possibility of *post festum* interpretation and not as a predictive rule, given the fact that there is a considerable range of optionality to be expected here. This depends on the individual assumptions of speakers or writers with respect to what knowledge their addressees share in each special case." (Sasse 2006: 283)

Due to the distinct discourse styles and purposes, I have noted much less ambiguity in 2 Kings compared to the rest of the corpus. However, the following two examples may prove ambiguous between an annuntiative / informing focus reading and an annuntiative / topic shift reading. In the first case, the event is surely known to readership, so a date selected for when it occurs would trigger a focal reading. Yet it seems altogether discourse-unexpected, so may be annuntiative.[255]

(109)	בִּימֵי פֶּ֙קַח֙ מֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל בָּ֗א תִּגְלַת֙ פִּלְאֶ֙סֶר֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ אַשּׁ֔וּר וַיִּקַּ֣ח אֶת־עִיּ֡וֹן וְאֶת־אָבֵ֣ל בֵּֽית־מַעֲכָ֣ה וְאֶת־יָ֠נוֹחַ וְאֶת־קֶ֨דֶשׁ וְאֶת־חָצ֤וֹר וְאֶת־הַגִּלְעָד֙ וְאֶת־הַגָּלִ֔ילָה כֹּ֖ל אֶ֣רֶץ נַפְתָּלִ֑י וַיַּגְלֵ֖ם אַשּֽׁוּרָה	*In the days of Pekah, the king of Israel,* Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria, came and took Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali, and he carried them away to Assyria. (2 Kgs. 15:29)

In the following, the fronted subject הוא may either represent a simple topic shift from the direct object of the previous clause, a corrective altering focus (due to the previous discourse), or the entire clause may be considered somewhat 'out-of-the-blue'.

(110)	כִּ֣י אִם־אֶת־יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֛ם תִּירָ֑אוּ וְהוּא֙ יַצִּ֣יל אֶתְכֶ֔ם מִיַּ֖ד כָּל־אֹיְבֵיכֶֽם׃	But instead you shall fear *Yahweh, your God,* and *He* will rescue you from the hand of all your enemies. (2 Kgs. 17:39)

In the following example, it is debatable whether the preceding description of David's old age is enough to trigger the presupposition '*x* will take his place as king', or Adonijah's claim may be preemptive and somewhat unexpected. Under the focal reading, Adonijah would simply be confirming his destiny as the oldest son.

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[255] For clarity, I have only highlighted the fronted constituent in each example of this section, in contrast to the entire clause as in the unambigious thetic examples above.

178

(111)	וַאֲדֹנִיָּה בֶן־חַגִּית מִתְנַשֵּׂא לֵאמֹר אֲנִי אֶמְלֹךְ וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים וַחֲמִשִּׁים אִישׁ רָצִים לְפָנָיו׃	And Adonijah the son of Haggith exalted himself saying, "*I* will be king." And he made for himself a chariot and horses, and five men running before him. (1 Kgs. 1:5)

There is a common ambiguity between simple topic shifts and descriptive / annuntiative (synchronous) readings, demonstrated by the following example. Evidently, the Ammonites would be accessible as a topic, yet our schematic understanding of causality leads to a synchronous reading of the discourse, resulting in a descriptive scene-setting of the following *wayyiqtol*.[256]

(112)	וּבְנֵי עַמּוֹן רָאוּ כִּי־נָס אֲרָם וַיָּנֻסוּ מִפְּנֵי אֲבִישַׁי וַיָּבֹאוּ הָעִיר	And [when] *the Ammonites saw that the Arameans had fled*, [and] they also fled from before Abishai and went into the city. (2 Sam. 10:14)

In (113), the anterior interpretation the discourse seems to indicate does not fit well with my exclusion of object-fronting for thetics (but see section 4.3 and 4.4.1.3).[257] On the other hand, an additive focus is more or less satisfying, i.e., "David also took *x* as a wife," regardless of whether this was probably prior to his marriage to Abigail or not. Another argument in favour of additive focus is the continuation of the list of David's wives in verse 44 (cf. Long 2020: 242).

(113)	וְאֶת־אֲחִינֹעַם לָקַח דָּוִד מִיִּזְרְעֶאל וַתִּהְיֶיןָ גַּם־שְׁתֵּיהֶן לוֹ לְנָשִׁים׃	David also took / had also taken Ahinoam from Jezreel (as a wife), and the two of them became his wives. (1 Sam. 25:43)

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[256] cf. 1 Sam. 13:6, 20:36, 2 Sam. 15:37, 17:23.

[257] Anteriority would indicate a descriptive reading. Tsumura, on the other hand, treats it with a somewhat explanative flavour: "Since David had taken Ahinoam (as a wife) from Jezreel, both of them became his wives" (2006: 593). Alter (1999) and Long (2020) both likewise prefer an anterior reading, however the reasoning may be limited to Tsumura's: "Since Ahinoam is always mentioned before Abigail and became the mother of his eldest son Ammon, it is likely that David had married her before he married Abigail" (2006: 593-594).

The following example could be read either as confirming focus or as an annuntiative / explanative thetic, depending on the status of the Yahweh's help for his people in the CG after the declaration of the name of the stone's placement.

(114) וַיִּקַּ֨ח שְׁמוּאֵ֜ל אֶ֣בֶן אַחַ֗ת וַיָּ֤שֶׂם בֵּֽין־הַמִּצְפָּה֙ וּבֵ֣ין הַשֵּׁ֔ן וַיִּקְרָ֥א אֶת־שְׁמָ֖הּ אֶ֣בֶן הָעָ֑זֶר וַיֹּאמַ֕ר עַד־הֵ֖נָּה עֲזָרָ֥נוּ יְהוָֽה׃	And Samuel took a stone and he put it between Mizpah and Shen and he called it 'Ebenezer,' and he said, "*Up to this point* Yahweh has helped us." (1 Sam. 7:12)

Furthermore, as an exception to the topic-fronted negative clauses mentioned in section 4.2.1 (examples [13] -[15]), a confirming focus reading could be preferable for the following jussives and imperatives, as in 'Let *x* do *y*' for *x* = no one. On the other hand, it is also possible that such constructions have become entrenched as fixed thetic constructions (cf. 1 Sam. 21:3 and the declarative in 1 Sam. 27:11) indicated by the fronted אִישׁ. and lack of presuppositional material in the CG.

(115) וַיֹּ֨אמֶר אֵלִיָּ֜הוּ לָהֶ֗ם תִּפְשׂ֣וּ׀ אֶת־נְבִיאֵ֤י הַבַּ֙עַל֙ אִ֤ישׁ אַל־יִמָּלֵ֣ט מֵהֶ֔ם וַֽיִּתְפְּשׂ֖וּם	And Elijah said to them, "Seize the prophets of Baal, let *no one* escape from them." And they seized them. (1 Kgs. 18:40)

(116) וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ הַנִּ֣יחוּ ל֔וֹ אִ֖ישׁ אַל־יָנַ֣ע עַצְמֹתָ֑יו	And he (Josiah) said, "Let him rest. Let *no one* remove his bones" (2 Kgs. 23:18)

Finally, in the young women's explanation of Samuel's whereabouts, it is unclear whether Saul was supposed to understand the presupposition, '*x* will bless the sacrifice' with the meal frame invoked, and thus informing focus, or whether was it serves as descriptive thetic, preparing for the specification that only after such an act the people would eat.

(117) כִּֽי־ה֨וּא֙ יְבָרֵ֣ךְ הַזֶּ֔בַח אַחֲרֵי־כֵ֖ן יֹאכְל֣וּ הַקְּרֻאִ֑ים	Because *he*['s the one who] will bless the sacrifice. After that the guests will eat. (1 Sam. 9:13)

180

4.2.4 Results of the data

The table below summarizes the Samuel-Kings data of fronted clauses.

	1 Samuel	2 Samuel	1 Kings	2 Kings	Total	
Topic shift	80	67	98	68		313
Alt. focus	37	36	35	34		142
Inf. focus	28	14	38	50		130
Conf. focus	20	19	13	13		65
				Total focus:		337
				Total categorical:		650
Annunitiative	24	21	50	38		133
Introductive	2	6	3	4		15
Interruptive	2	1	2	0		5
Descriptive	41	27	26	20		114
Explanative	10	12	15	10		47
				Total thetic:		314

Table 4.1: The breakdown of discourse-pragmatic functions

The total count for our areas of potential ambiguity is repeated below:

Between focus readings: 15 clauses

Between topic and focus: 25 clauses

Between thetic and categorical: 117 clauses

Between thetic readings: 14 clauses

It is interesting to note that pragmatic motivations within categorical utterances account for 52.3% of the data, although if we allow for possible borderline cases within focus reading, between topic and focus, and between thetic and categorical reading, the total comes to 803 clauses, about 64.7% of the data, a similar range to Moshavi's (2010) findings for Genesis. From another angle, those cases I have classified under thetic discourse functions, as well as those possibly to be read as one or another, amount to 328, or 26.4% of the data.

Besides each category's individual treatment above, the results of the 1241 fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings can also be summarised along the following parameters. First, I divide the data into narrative and direct speech registers, then between categorical and thetic clauses (excluding ambiguous and borderline cases), and finally, dividing both categorical and thetic clauses into their compositions of narrative and direct speech registers. Table 4.2 below divides them into the composition of narrative and direct speech in each of the four books analysed.

	Narrative	Direct Speech
1 Samuel	137 (42%)	192 (58%)
2 Samuel	127 (47%)	146 (53%)
1 Kings	163 (46%)	188 (54%)
2 Kings	187 (65%)	101 (35%)

Table 4.2: the division of fronted clauses into narrative and direct speech

We see that, with the exception of 2 Kings, the percentages are reasonably uniform across the corpus. Each genre presents its own challenges, and constitute a fairly balanced proportion of the difficult cases discussed below, in section 4.4. Nevertheless, a higher proportion of narrative material has seemed to result in less ambiguity of discourse-pragmatic function and communicative force, therefore Samuel (and, to an extent, 1 Kings) has resulted in slightly more ambiguity than 2 Kings.[258] Table 4.3 displays the data divided into unambiguously categorical (topical and focal) and unambiguously thetic clauses. Again, the proportions are remarkably uniform across the four books, with ranges of only 5% and 2%.

	Categorical	Thetic
1 Samuel	186 (57%)	84 (26%)
2 Samuel	153 (56%)	71 (26%)
1 Kings	205 (58%)	98 (28%)
2 Kings	179 (62%)	80 (28%)

Table 4.3: the proportion of categorical and thetic fronted clauses

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[258] For example, 1 Samuel contains 39 cases (11.9%) of fronting appearing to be unclear between a thetic or categorical reading, whereas 2 Kings shows only 23 (8%) of the same.

It can be seen that in total, unambigiously categorical clauses more than double the numbers of thetics. Yet when divided into register type, as table 4.4 below, we see that direct speech contains a higher number of categorical fronted clauses, due to its more complex workload of CG management, whereas thetic clauses are relatively more common in narrative texts in comparison to direct speech. In other words, the distinction is much starker within fronted clauses of direct speech. The total number of unambiguous categorical and thetic examples are displayed as percentages of the fronted clauses of narrative and direct speech respectively in each book. If theticity was to provide the key to a larger proportion of direct speech fronted clauses in Genesis, as Moshavi's 'residue' seems to indicate, the same cannot be said of the Samuel-Kings corpus.

	N - categorical	N - thetic	DS - categorical	DS - thetic
1 Samuel	64 (46%)	50 (36%)	122 (64%)	34 (18%)
2 Samuel	58 (46%)	42 (33%)	94 (64%)	27 (18%)
1 Kings	81 (50%)	58 (36%)	106 (56%)	40 (21%)
2 Kings	112 (60%)	56 (30%)	67 (66%)	23 (23%)

Table 4.4: separate breakdown of thetic and categorical composition within narrative and direct speech registers

4.3. Comparison with Khan & van der Merwe (2020)

Khan and van der Merwe follow a very similar framework to the present study, dividing their examples into topic-fronting, focus-fronting and theticity. Their understanding of the nature of theticity as a unitary situation as laid out in Sasse (1987) is the same as that developed in the previous chapter. They also consider CG a crucial parameter.[259] In contrast to their framework, I do not make use of the distinction between event-central and entity-central dichotomy (although certainly not invalid), instead opting for the discourse functions adopted by Sasse (2006).

The result of having such a similar framework is that the majority of our analysis coincides. Our notions of topic and focus are virtually identical, though I reject the notion of 'stage-topic' (see section 3.2.1.1) and do not consider thetics as sentence focus structures (see section 3.2.1.2). The other main difference in the area of theticity is simply terminological. Utterances I view as *descriptive* are treated as 'supporting mainline narrative', and 'laying the ground for a foreground event', while *introductive* and *explanatives* as 'presenting the circumstances' or 'explanatory circumstances'. Utterances I have labelled *annuntiative* are analysed as 'performatives' and 'prayers and commands' while *introductives* can also communicate their 'perceived situations'. Concerning 'prayers' and 'wishes,' I follow Paillard (2009), Roberts (2012) and Murray's (2014) understanding of imperatival statements as "imposing a preference relation on the context" (Murray 2014: 4), concerning the relational content of the entire utterance as a unitary situation, and thus directing the addressee to adjust their conceptual world accordingly (see section 3.2.2.4). I have treated such wishes - often morphologically ambiguous between a yiqtol and jussive reading - as annuntiative utterances, an informationally-unexpected unit irretrievable from the previous discourse.[260] Another area where our metalanguage differs concerns 'conclusive' or

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[259] They state, "Human communication, in both spoken and written communication, entails the ongoing alignment and modification of the common ground of the conceptual worlds of interlocutors. This may be called the common ground management and takes place mainly in the short-term memory. Interlocutors typically try to accomplish a shared common ground" (2020: 350).

[260] See, for example, 1 Sam. 17:37, 20:42, 24:20.

'resultative' sentences, neither of which seem to fit prototypical cross-linguistic discourse characteristics of thetic sentences.[261]

Perhaps the most obvious difference in our analysis is Khan & van der Merwe's notion that the fronted constituent in a thetic sentence is nonetheless somehow profiled or functioning as a pivot, introducing a significant entity for the ensuing discourse.[262] Although this result seems to hold on occasion, such as Samuel's robe (see example [121]) or the book of the law in 1 Kgs. 22 (see examples [138] and [139]), it is difficult to account for theoretically under the notion of thetic utterances as unified wholes, construed to profile the entire state of affairs. Khan & van der Merwe also apply this notion of *pivot* to object-fronted thetic clauses, which apparently "express unitary situations in which the object referent is the pivot or figure" (2020: 387). However, the lack of cross-linguistic verification for object-fronted thetics has prohibited me from treating them as such.[263] This question will be investigated at length below in our application of Bianchi et al.'s model of narrow focus + mirativity (see section 4.4.1.3), which seems to fit the data strikingly well, and its application to the entire Samuel-Kings corpus. For our present purposes I simply offer a few examples where their model (as laid out in section 3.5.2) is applied to the text of 1 Samuel.

In 1 Sam. 1:5, the temptation is to read the final two clauses as explanative and descriptive respectively, yet due to my hesitation to read object-fronting as thetic, the aforementioned mirative reading with narrow focus fronting is preferred. Recall García Macías' characterisation of miratives as "schema-discrepant" (2016: 248) and Bianchi et al.'s insistence upon the focused entity being more unexpected than the alternatives of a set introduced into the CG at the time of utterance (2016: 11). In this case, Hannah was the least likely to receive Elkanah's love out of his two wives, having no children. Klein's rendering of

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[261] On the one hand, this semantic result may be 'incidental' (Revell 1985: 421), in a family resemblance relationship with explanatory thetic statements. However, Sasse tentatively discusses a "connective" feature of thetics, whereby the state of affairs is "somewhat more intimately connected to the preceding texts. This presuppositional tie is not one of referent continuity, but a more complex one in terms of consequences of the preceding events," that is, "*X did a - thereupon Y did b*" (2006: 295).

[262] It is inescapably similar to topic as the "pivot for truth value assessment" (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 15).

[263] Albeit in a topic-prominent language, Lee's recent study of OSV sentences in Chinese supports this position. Returning to the basic weather example, *Xià yǔ le* ('It's raining') is prototypically thetic, whereas in the alternative, *Yǔ xià le*, 'rain' is "strongly referential due to its position. We can understand the sentence like this: the rain that you have been waiting for is finally coming" (2020: 169), therefore the entire state of affairs is not discourse unexpected.

the final clause makes this clear: "*though* Yahweh had closed her womb" (1983:1, emphasis added).[264]

(118)	וּלְחַנָּ֗ה יִתֵּ֛ן מָנָ֥ה אַחַ֖ת אַפָּ֑יִם כִּ֤י אֶת־חַנָּה֙ אָהֵ֔ב וַֽיהוָ֖ה סָגַ֥ר רַחְמָֽהּ׃	And he gave a double portion *to Hannah* because he loved *Hannah* (the most? / and not Peninah?), and *Yahweh had closed her womb.* (1 Sam. 1:5)

Secondly, in 1 Sam. 16:2, Yahweh directs Samuel to take a heifer to Bethlehem in case Saul would be suspicious of Samuel's behaviour. Recall Bianchi et al.'s refinement of García Macías' approach to mirative as being surprising/unexpected for the speaker, instead expanding this optionality to apply to the entire conversational community, i.e., speaker and addressee. Here, Yahweh is clearly not surprised by His own suggestion, but the communicative perspective of the utterance may be construed and projected in such a manner since Samuel would probably not have expected this advice. Out of the set of options that he could have taken to Bethlehem with him, which becomes part of the CG as the entire mirative is pronounced, a heifer may have been less expected than alternative objects to anoint a future king, until the sacrificial frame becomes evident.

(119)	וַיֹּ֤אמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל֙ אֵ֣יךְ אֵלֵ֔ךְ וְשָׁמַ֥ע שָׁא֖וּל וַהֲרָגָ֑נִי ס וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהוָ֗ה עֶגְלַ֤ת בָּקָר֙ תִּקַּ֣ח בְּיָדֶ֔ךָ וְאָ֣מַרְתָּ֔ לִזְבֹּ֥חַ לַֽיהוָ֖ה בָּֽאתִי׃	And Samuel said, "How will I go up? Saul will hear and he will kill me." And Yahweh said, "You will take with you *a heifer* and you will say, "I have come *to sacrifice to Yahweh.*" (1 Sam. 16:2)

Later, when David is in exile among the Philistines, Achish ensures that he will go out to battle with him against Saul. After (diplomatically?) confirming that this is the case, seemingly out of nowhere, Achish announces the position that David would take up for the rest of his life as a recompense for his loyalty. This particular position was surely less expected than other options Achish could have offered, so the entire utterance is surprising. Nevertheless, how David would function in battle (and in future battles) could plausibly have become part of the CG.

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[264] He later adds, "Although Hannah, being childless, received only one portion, *she was the one whom Elkanah really loved*. The word order in v 5b emphasizes that Hannah was the object of his love" (ibid. 7, emphasis added).

| (120) | וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־אָכִישׁ לָכֵן אַתָּה תֵדַע אֵת אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה עַבְדֶּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר אָכִישׁ אֶל־דָּוִד לָכֵן שֹׁמֵר לְרֹאשִׁי אֲשִׂימְךָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים׃ | And David said to Achish, "Therefore *you* will know what your servant will do." And Achish said to David, "Then I'll make you *my bodyguard* forever." (1 Sam. 28:2) |

This final sentence is perhaps a more difficult case as there seems to be no propositional presupposition and the habitual nature of the entire verse seems to hint at a descriptive reading. On the other hand, Samuel's entire wardrobe situation needs to be resolved after the mention of him only wearing a linen ephod in the previous verse and it is not beyond the reader's imagination that Samuel's mother would occasionally bring him gifts. The unexpected mention of the robe introduces an important motif throughout the book, which turns out to "figure importantly in Samuel's life, and even in his afterlife" (Alter 1999: 12).

| (121) | וּמְעִיל קָטֹן תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ אִמּוֹ וְהַעַלְתָה לוֹ מִיָּמִים׀ יָמִימָה בַּעֲלוֹתָהּ אֶת־אִישָׁהּ לִזְבֹּחַ אֶת־זֶבַח הַיָּמִים׃ | And his mother would make him *a small robe*, and she brought it to him each year when she went up with her husband to sacrifice the scheduled sacrifice. (1 Sam. 2:19) |

As mentioned, this narrow-focus + mirative model is applied to the remaining Samuel-Kings corpus in section 4.4.1.3. Before moving on, it should be noted that all of the remaining differences in our treatment of the data reflect the ambiguities discussed throughout this chapter -their status of topic *or* focus (see section 4.2.2.5), categorical *or* thetic (section 4.2.3.7) depend on one's understanding of the current CG and the CG effects of the utterance pronounced, with only a handful of exceptions.[265] In sum, these discrepancies represent a remarkably small number (about 1%) of fronted clauses from a total of 329 found in 1 Samuel.

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[265] These include the following:
- 1 Sam. 9:9a and 20:5 are treated as topic, which I read it as descriptive.
- In the opposite direction, Khan and van der Merwe mark 17:28a as thetic, while I prefer a focal reading, along the lines of, "[These other soldiers might not know why you are here asking questions, and our father might think you are simply delivering the supplies, but] I (on the other hand) know what you are up to ..."
- Finally, while agreeing on a categorical interpretation, I read 1 Sam. 17:9 as topic-fronting, while their analysis marks it as replacing focus.

4.4. Remaining questions

4.4.1 Peripheral cases with tentative solutions

There are 140 fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings with quite plausible solutions, though not as clear as the preceding sections. Only 53 of these are found in direct speech, compared to 87 in narrative text, though this balance is probably skewed due to the inclusion of regnal formulae and summaries (a total of 52), as surveyed below.

4.4.1.1 Regnal formulae

Throughout the books of Kings, there are numerous examples of regnal formulae. These could possibly be considered under macrostructure in redactional terms, perhaps outside of the scope of the model developed here (see especially Wiseman 1993:49-55; cf. Heimerdinger 1999: 204, Tsumura 2006: 331, and Long 2020: 279, among others) and under considerations of *Textebene* (Gross 1996). Nevertheless, I have treated them as annuntiative thetics, as they are either episode-initial or summaries and thus discourse-unexpected. They can be either subject-fronted or with a temporal adverbial construction. The latter is more common:

| (122) | בִּשְׁנַ֨ת שְׁלֹשִׁ֤ים וּשְׁמֹנֶה֙ שָׁנָ֔ה לַעֲזַרְיָ֖הוּ מֶ֣לֶךְ יְהוּדָ֑ה מָלַ֛ךְ זְכַרְיָ֥הוּ בֶן־יָרָבְעָ֖ם עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל בְּשֹׁמְר֖וֹן שִׁשָּׁ֥ה חֳדָשִֽׁים׃ | *In the thirty-eighth year of Azariah, king of Judah,* Zechariah the son of Jeroboam reigned over Israel in Samaria for six months. (2 Kgs. 15:8) |

But subject-fronting is equally possible:

| (123) | שַׁלּ֤וּם בֶּן־יָבֵישׁ֙ מָלַ֔ךְ בִּשְׁנַ֨ת שְׁלֹשִׁ֤ים וָתֵ֨שַׁע֙ שָׁנָ֔ה לְעֻזִיָּ֖ה מֶ֣לֶךְ יְהוּדָ֑ה וַיִּמְלֹ֥ךְ יֶֽרַח־יָמִ֖ים בְּשֹׁמְרֽוֹן׃ | *Shallum, the son of Jabesh,* reigned in thirty-ninth year of Uzziah, the king of Judah. And he reigned for a month in Samaria. (2 Kgs. 15:13) |

On the other hand, if the successor is mentioned immediately before, an informing focus reading may be preferred (despite the clear Masoretic indications of a new text-episode), indicating either the year of their succession or the length of time they reigned:

(124)	בֶּן־שָׁנָה שָׁאוּל בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים מָלַךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:	A certain year of age was Saul when he became king, and for just two years he ruled over Israel. (1 Sam. 13:1, Tsumura 2006: 330)
(125)	וַיִּשְׁכַּב מְנַחֵם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ פְּקַחְיָה בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו: פ בִּשְׁנַת חֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה לַעֲזַרְיָה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה מָלַךְ פְּקַחְיָה בֶן־מְנַחֵם עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן שְׁנָתָיִם:	And Menahem slept with his fathers and Pekahiah, his son, reigned in his place. *In the fiftieth year of Azariah, the king of Judah,* Pekahiah, the son of Menahem reigned over Israel in Samaria for two years. (2 Kgs. 15:22-23)

The length of a king's reign and their dating with reference to the other kingdoms (primarily, but not exclusively Judah-Israel, Israel-Judah) had probably become conventional constructions in regnal formulae, simply filling in the implicit questions of '*X reigned for y years*' and '*X began to reign in* the *year y*'. However, the over-identification and formulaic redundancy indicate a level of text-redaction which may lie outside the model proposed here.

4.4.1.2 Summary statements

At a similar textual level as the regnal formula are summary statements in general, functioning as a *terminus* in Tsumura's (2006, 2014) discourse model. These could possibly be considered as annuntiative thetics, yet do not seem to be informationally unexpected whatsoever as they are often redundant, confirming or repeating previously mentioned concepts. Perhaps, on a discourse-organisational level, their inclusion (as *Textgliederungsfunktionen* and often a structural *inclusio*) is unexpected as it closes the current question-under-discussion. Ozerov's proviso is worth repeating here:

> "People often verbally repeat a successful joke (or just the punchline of it) to evoke a second round of laughter; redundantly admit well-known romantic feelings to trigger bonding or passion; or share again their emotions by repeatedly and redundantly summarising and re-summarising a remarkable incident discussed and re-discussed in the immediately preceding conversation. Nonetheless, these concepts have not been incorporated yet into the core field of the study of Information Structure" (2018: 94).

We begin by considering a list of David's sons, at the end of which we find the following fronted utterance:

189

| (126) | וַיֵּלְד֧וּ לְדָוִ֛ד בָּנִ֖ים בְּחֶבְר֑וֹן וַיְהִ֤י בְכוֹרוֹ֙ אַמְנ֔וֹן לַאֲחִינֹ֖עַם הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִֽת׃ ... וְהַשִּׁשִּׁ֣י יִתְרְעָ֔ם לְעֶגְלָ֖ה אֵ֣שֶׁת דָּוִ֑ד **אֵ֣לֶּה יֻלְּד֥וּ לְדָוִ֖ד בְּחֶבְרֽוֹן׃** | And sons were born to David in Hebron. And his firstborn was Amnon, born to Ahinoam the Jezreelite…. … And the sixth was Ithream, born to Eglah, David's wife. *These were born to David in Hebron.* (2 Sam. 3:2, 5) |

A similar list recounts victories in battle, explicitly mentioning the defeat of four giants from Gath. It concludes with the following *terminus*, which is seemingly unnecessary from an informational point of view.

| (127) | אֶת־אַרְבַּ֥עַת אֵ֛לֶּה יֻלְּד֥וּ לְהָרָפָ֖ה בְּגַ֑ת וַיִּפְּל֥וּ בְיַד־דָּוִ֖ד וּבְיַ֥ד עֲבָדָֽיו׃ | *These four were born to giants in Gath* and they fell by the hand of David and by the hand of his servants. (2 Sam. 21: 22) |

Later, when David's warriors deeds are summarised, we find the following statements. Their discourse position as episode-final is not disputed. However, they are object-fronted, so an annuntiative reading seems inappropriate and they may be better considered confirming focus. It is likely that אֵלֶּה has become entrenched and conventionalised in *terminus* constructions regardless of the surrounding syntax.

(128)	אֵ֥לֶּה שְׁמ֖וֹת הַגִּבֹּרִ֣ים אֲשֶׁ֣ר לְדָוִ֑ד	These are the names of David's mighty men…
	…	
	אֵ֥לֶּה עָשׂ֖וּ שְׁלֹ֥שֶׁת הַגִּבֹּרִֽים	The three mighty men did *these things*.
	וּבְנָיָ֨הוּ בֶן־יְהוֹיָדָ֧ע בֶּן־אִֽישׁ־חַי[ל] רַב־פְּעָלִ֖ים מִקַּבְצְאֵ֑ל	And Benaiah the son of Jehoida was a warrior, doing great deeds, from Kabzeel…
	…	
	אֵ֥לֶּה עָשָׂ֖ה בְּנָיָ֥הוּ בֶּן־יְהוֹיָדָֽע	Banaiah the son of Jehoida did *these things*. (2 Sam. 23:8a, 17b, 20a, 22a)

When the murder of Ish-Bosheth at the hands of Rechab and Baanah is narrated, these two are discourse active from their formal introduction in 2 Sam. 4:2 and are topical in vv. 5-6. Yet, instead of the simple pronominal form, as in v. 6's first clause, or pro-drop, as in the

second, their names are fronted and repeated as the *terminus* of the episode (Tsumura 2019: 89), i.e., to be read as discourse-final annuntiative.

| (129) | וְהֵנָּה בָּאוּ עַד־תּוֹךְ הַבַּיִת לֹקְחֵי חִטִּ֫ים וַיַּכֻּהוּ אֶל־הַחֹ֫מֶשׁ וְרֵכָב וּבַעֲנָה אָחִיו נִמְלָֽטוּ׃ | And they entered the midst of the house as collectors of wheat, and they struck him in the belly. *And Rechab and Bannah his brother escaped*. (2 Sam. 4:6) |

Our final example of a *terminus*, 2 Sam. 13:38, is perhaps more difficult to account for within a CG model, even allowing for textual organisation and discourse structuring. Admittedly, Absalom's flight and ensuing exile and revolt are central discourse concerns for a large part of the remainder of 2 Samuel. Yet its repetition becomes more confusing as we reach the third occurrence in v. 38. For convenience I will only note v.34's *wayyiqtol* besides vv. 37-38, yet the entire passage could be examined. Due to the intervening discourse between v.34 and v. 37, a descriptive anterior reading seems suitable for v.37, yet an identical construction in v.38 is perplexing. Perhaps 'thematic terminus' is the best tentative solution, despite the continued interest in David's emotional response to Absalom's exile in the following chapter.

| (130) | וַיִּבְרַח אַבְשָׁלֽוֹם ... | And Absalom fled… |
| | וְאַבְשָׁל֣וֹם בָּרַח וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־תַּלְמַי בֶּן־עַמִּיחוּר מֶלֶךְ גְּשׁוּר וַיִּתְאַבֵּל עַל־בְּנוֹ כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים׃ וְאַבְשָׁל֣וֹם בָּרַח וַיֵּלֶךְ גְּשׁוּר וַיְהִי־שָׁם שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִֽים׃ | *And Absalom had fled* and had gone to Talmai, the son of Ammihud, king of Geshur, and [David] mourned for his son every day. *And Absalom had fled* and went to Geshur, and he was there for three years. (2 Sam. 3:14, 17-18) |

4.4.1.3 Mirative statements with object fronting

As noted in section 4.3, Khan & van der Merwe note the following regarding object-fronted thetic clauses: "They express unitary situations in which the object referent is the pivot or figure" (2020: 387). Although it is often the case that the fronted object becomes highly thematic in the following discourse, from a theoretical linguistic point of view, a uniquely-profiled entity is difficult to account for in thetic statements, in which the entire state of affairs is profiled. Further research would be necessary to determine whether a 'pivot'

or 'profile' is possible in such cases or necessarily results in a topic-comment structure.[266] Both García Macías and Sasse seem, on occasion, to argue in this direction, especially when discussing English stress pattern variation. Since we have no access to BH prosody and are reliant upon constituent order, we have already noted the analogy between information structure formulations communicated by sentence stress in English and fronting in BH (see especially examples found in Sasse 1987, Lambrecht 1994 and Rochemont 2013).

García Macías (2016: 32-33) provides a lengthy discussion of English accentuation examples in which the relatively unexpected content is more likely to be accentuated. Both of the following two cases represent thetic utterances, construing a more or less unexpected state of affairs (bear in mind Sasse's [1987] understanding of thetic statements as the *communicative perspective* whereby the utterance expresses the speaker's judgment of the current state of the CG).

(131)   Truman *died*.

(132)   *Johnson* died.

Sasse remarks, "it is not the entity's degree of givenness which makes the difference, but the background of expectation which embraces the entire information rather than merely the entity… [132] presupposes expectation of information about what happened rather than about Johnson, but [131] presupposes expectation of information about Truman's condition rather than about what happened" (1987: 523). Discourse expectations are key here. Otherwise, in example (131), we very close to a categorical statement concerning the active topic Truman. This is certainly a possibility for a focal reading of 1 Sam. 1:5b, as mentioned above. Perhaps the idea of Hannah being the exclusive object of Elkanah's love (or as a correction), or possibly a scalar interpretation should be considered by translators:

(133)   … it was *Hannah* who he *loved* [and not Peninah]

(134)   … it was *Hannah* who he loved [the most]

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[266] Another explanation, if read as thetic, could be to disambiguate such cases where the subject being fronted (which is the more prototypically fronted constituent in thetic statements), would give rise to a topical or focal interpretation in the current CG.

Applied to supposed object-fronted thetics, the theory would involve the least-expected constituent of a thetic statement being the object, and thus fronted. However, we have now come full circle, to Bianchi et al.'s territory of narrow focus + mirative statements.[267] Recall example (41) from the previous chapter, repeated here for convenience:

(135)   Non ci posso credere! *Due bottiglie* ci siamo bevuti!

'I can't believe it! We drank *two bottles*!'   (Bianchi et al. 2016: example [10a])

Their model involved the constituent *two bottles* being the least expected in a closed set of alternatives, and thus focused. Yet the entire state of affairs is surprising, and thus mirative.

In the following examples, the entire proposition seems surprising, yet the object-fronting leads to a topic-comment reading. The fronted object causes this unexpectedness to be "compared with at least on distinct focus alternative: there may be salient alternatives in the context, or else relevant alternatives may be drawn from general background knowledge" (ibid.: 11). However, mirative fronting reading differs from the prototypical focus fronting due to (1) the surprising nature of the entire proposition, (2) the alternative set not necessarily being discourse-present, and, as argued later, (3) the accommodation of this presupposition set *subsequent to* the utterance's introduction into the CG (ibid.: 36). Furthermore, Bianchi et al. argue that *surprise* is not the only emotion expressed by mirative statements, but also *disgust* or *discontent* (ibid.: 16).

These texts seem most likely to exhibit mirative fronting, i.e., an unexpected state of affairs, led by an even less expected candidate for the object than possible alternatives. In the first example, the unexpected proposition also communicates disgust or discontent on the part of the narrator, compared with alternatives which could be burned as sacrifices. The particle *gam* could be operating on the sentence-level, yet even as constituent-focus, it is not incompatible with the mirative reading.

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[267] Nevertheless, recalling our discussion of categorization and prototype theory in the previous chapter, where peripheral cases and overlap abound, as well as García Macías' (2016) formulation of miratives as an information-structural hybrid somewhere in between prototypical thetics and prototypical topic-comment structures, these fuzzy boundaries are not surprising.

| (136) | וַיֵּ֙לֶךְ֙ בְּדֶ֣רֶךְ מַלְכֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וְגַ֤ם אֶת־בְּנוֹ֙ הֶעֱבִ֣יר בָּאֵ֔שׁ כְּתֹֽעֲבוֹת֙ הַגּוֹיִ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֣ר הוֹרִ֤ישׁ יְהוָה֙ אֹתָ֔ם מִפְּנֵ֖י בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ | And he (Ahaz) walked in the way of the kings of Israel. He even made *his son[s]* pass through the fire as the detestable practices of the nations whom Yahweh had driven out from before the sons of Israel (2 Kgs. 16:3) |

The following verse similarly presents an unexpected state of affairs with a fronted object quite probably less likely than other possible alternatives.[268]

| (137) | וְהָיָ֖ה מֵהַנַּ֣חַל תִּשְׁתֶּ֑ה וְאֶת־הָעֹרְבִ֣ים צִוִּ֔יתִי לְכַלְכֶּלְךָ֖ שָֽׁם׃ | "And it will be that you will drink from the river, and I will command *the ravens* to bring you food there." (1 Kgs. 17:4) |

In 2 Kgs. 22, besides becoming thematically central in the ensuing discourse (*Textthema*; Disse 1998: 299-316), the presence of a *book* is less likely than other items that could be taken from the temple, especially under the present discourse concern of collecting money for its repairs. In both cases the mirative import could plausibly be speaker-orientated, though its surprising nature for the entire conversational community (in this case only Hilkiah and Shaphan, and then Shaphan and king Josiah) is equally possible.[269] In 22:8, the implicit question, "What have you found?" is plausibly already in the CG, but in 22:10, "Hilkiah the priest gave me *x*" would more likely require accommodation.[270]

| (138) | וַיֹּ֣אמֶר חִלְקִיָּ֣הוּ הַכֹּהֵ֣ן הַגָּדוֹל֮ עַל־שָׁפָן֒ סֵ֤פֶר הַתּוֹרָה֙ מָצָ֣אתִי בְּבֵ֣ית יְהוָ֔ה וַיִּתֵּ֧ן חִלְקִיָּ֛ה אֶת־הַסֵּ֖פֶר אֶל־שָׁפָ֥ן וַיִּקְרָאֵֽהוּ׃ | And Hilkiah the high priest said to Shaphan the secretary, "*The book of the Torah* I have found in the house of Yahweh." And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan and he read it. (2 Kgs. 22:8). |

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[268] The same unexpected nature could probably be posited for the fronted prepositional phrase, מֵהַנַּחַל, as drinking from a נַחַל, "a stream that flows only after rain" (Snijders 1998) would certainly be surprising during a drought.

[269] Disse maintains that the indefinite nature of '*a book*' (22:10) as opposed to '*the book of the Torah*' (22:8) expresses Shaphan's personal perspective (1998: 309), and thus, the mirative nature of his statement. For the interpretive possibilities of the definite form in 22:8, see Disse (ibid.: 310-313), the most probable proposal being that the existence of the book was known to Hilkiah the high priest.

[270] It seems a stretch to propose, as Disse is forced to do, "In the context of Shaphan's report to the king (see v. 9) I understand the sentence as an answer to the question: "What else happened Hilkiah in the temple?" Then the verb would also be focused and the rest of the sentence in the background" (1998: 303; Im Kontext des Schafan-Berichts an den König (vgl. V.9) fasse ich den Satz als Antwort auf die frage auf: "Was hat sich sonst noch im Tempel bei Hilkija zugetragen?"; dann wäre das Verb mitfokussiert und der Restsatz im Hintergrund).

(139)	וַיַּגֵּד שָׁפָן הַסֹּפֵר֙ לַמֶּ֣לֶךְ לֵאמֹ֔ר סֵ֚פֶר נָ֣תַן לִ֔י חִלְקִיָּ֖ה הַכֹּהֵ֑ן וַיִּקְרָאֵ֥הוּ שָׁפָ֖ן לִפְנֵ֥י הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃	And Shaphan the secretary spoke to the king, saying, "Hilkiah the priest gave me *a book*." And Shaphan read it before the king. (2 Kgs. 22:10)

The narrow focus + mirative framework seems to fit well with the following example. David appeals to the men of Jabesh-Gilead to be loyal to him as they had been loyal to Saul, and uses Judah's confirmation of his kingship as the precedent. The information communicated is newsworthy and leads to hear-orientated surprise, while the *gam* could easily govern the entire proposition. David may have been the lesser expected candidate to rule over Judah in the case of Saul's death as Ish-Bosheth was still alive and Abner had already set him as king over other regions (according to an anterior reading, as Alter 1999: 203), or was expected to do so under these circumstances.

(140)	וְעַתָּ֣ה ׀ תֶּחֱזַ֣קְנָה יְדֵיכֶ֗ם וִֽהְיוּ֙ לִבְנֵי־חַ֔יִל כִּי־מֵ֖ת אֲדֹנֵיכֶ֣ם שָׁא֑וּל וְגַם־אֹתִ֞י מָשְׁח֧וּ בֵית־יְהוּדָ֛ה לְמֶ֖לֶךְ עֲלֵיהֶֽם׃ **וְאַבְנֵ֣ר בֶּן־נֵ֔ר שַׂר־צָבָ֖א אֲשֶׁ֣ר לְשָׁא֑וּל לָקַ֗ח אֶת־אִ֥ישׁ בֹּ֙שֶׁת֙ בֶּן־שָׁא֔וּל וַיַּעֲבִרֵ֖הוּ מַחֲנָֽיִם׃** וַיַּמְלִכֵ֙הוּ֙ אֶל־הַגִּלְעָ֔ד וְאֶל־הָאֲשׁוּרִ֖י וְאֶֽל־יִזְרְעֶ֑אל וְעַל־אֶפְרַ֙יִם֙ וְעַל־בִּנְיָמִ֔ן וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל כֻּלֹּֽה׃	But now strengthen your hands and be men of war, because your lord Saul is dead, and also the house of Judah has anointed *me* as king over them. *Now Abner, the son of Ner and leader of Saul's army, took / had taken Ish-Bosheth, the son of Saul*, and he brought him to Mahanaim. And he [had] made him king over Gilead and the Ashurites and Jezreel and Ephraim and Benjamin and all Israel. (2 Sam. 2:7-9)

Similarly, out of all the promises Yahweh could have made David after he had expressed desire to build a temple, a house, i.e., royal line, with no precedent in Israel's history (though perhaps hinted at by texts such as Gen. 49:10, Num. 24:17), would probably not have been top of the expected list. The promise is certainly surprising and hearer-orientated mirative, while the importance of the *house* concept in this passage and throughout the biblical theology of later prophets is evident.[271]

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[271] Admittedly, the *house* theme precedes this verse, and could thus be taken as topical, as in, "as for a house, the LORD will make one for you!" (Tsumura 2019: 131). Though the clear switch in the sense of house is certainly unexpected, possibly reflected in Tsumura's use of an exclamation mark.

| (141) | וּלְמִן־הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי שֹׁפְטִים֙ עַל־עַמִּ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל וַהֲנִיחֹ֥תִי לְךָ֖ מִכָּל־אֹיְבֶ֑יךָ וְהִגִּ֤יד לְךָ֙ יְהוָ֔ה כִּי־בַ֖יִת יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ֥ יְהוָֽה׃ | And from the days when I commanded judges over my people Israel, I have given you rest from all your enemies. And Yahweh says to you, "Yahweh will make you *a house*!" (2 Sam. 7:11) |

In this final example, we find ourselves on the more obviously topic-comment end of the spectrum, yet a simple informing focus does not seem adequate. The demonstrative of the altar, after the description of the sacrifices mentioned in the first clause results in the sheer quantity of sacrifices mentioned being the only surprising element.

| (142) | וַיֵּ֨לֶךְ הַמֶּ֤לֶךְ גִּבְעֹ֨נָה֙ לִזְבֹּ֣חַ שָׁ֔ם כִּ֥י הִ֖יא הַבָּמָ֣ה הַגְּדוֹלָ֑ה אֶ֤לֶף עֹלוֹת֙ יַעֲלֶ֣ה שְׁלֹמֹ֔ה עַ֖ל הַמִּזְבֵּ֥חַ הַהֽוּא׃ | And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, because this was the great high place. He used to sacrifice *a thousand burnt offerings* on this altar. (1 Kgs. 3:4) |

4.4.2 Remaining doubts

In the remainder of this section, I will illustrate a number of areas left unaccounted for under the current model. In total, there are 65 problem cases of fronted clauses (5.2% of the corpus), 29 of them in narrative and only a slightly higher 36 in direct speech. This result does not seem to coincide with Moshavi's result that the majority of her 'residue' was found in direct speech. It is possible that a CG model that integrates theticity neutralises this skew, even though, as seen above, we have found a slightly larger proportion of thetic clauses in narrative texts rather than direct speech.

4.4.2.1 Disfluencies in spontaneous speech

Our first subsection of problematic areas is the possibility of representing the dynamics of spoken language in a written text. The result is not always conducive to a linear production and processing of information (Ozerov 2018). There is little doubt that the direct discourse in biblical narrative is presented in a somewhat literary fashion and may not represent word for word what was actually communicated. Nonetheless, on certain occasions the contrast between language use in narrative and direct discourse is stark, and a necessary area of further research (but see Polak 2016). The pertinent question is the accuracy with which the transmission of the given conversation has been maintained in the text. Because the

following conversations have provided difficult cases of fronting to account for under a CG model and they do not apply to the general groupings of problem areas which follow, I have placed them here. Particularly difficult are the interactions between the messenger from the Philistine battle and Eli (1 Sam. 4) and that of Saul, his assistant, and the young women at the well (1 Sam. 9). These may be issues of false starts, restarts, or rhetoric repetition. As Matthews argues,

> "If written dialogue is to flow, it is necessary for the storyteller to simulate some aspects of a live dialogue by creating a sense of disjointedness through half-voiced phrases and preemptory interruptions or commands... there are preexisting conditions such as heightened emotions that will affect the speech and actions of the person(s)" (2008: 13, 77)

Apart from exhibiting double-fronting, the following verse is informationally redundant, while confirmation seems equally unnecessary. In a tense and urgent moment of bringing news, one would expect a slightly more economical announcement.[272]

| (143) | וַיֹּ֧אמֶר הָאִ֣ישׁ אֶל־עֵלִ֗י אָֽנֹכִי֙ הַבָּ֣א מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָ֔ה וַאֲנִ֕י מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָ֖ה נַ֣סְתִּי הַיּ֑וֹם וַיֹּ֕אמֶר מֶֽה־הָיָ֥ה הַדָּבָ֖ר בְּנִֽי׃ | And the man said to Eli, "I am the one who came from the battle lines, and I have fled from the battle today." And he said, "What happened, my son?" (1 Sam. 4:16) |

Though densely clustered with fronted clauses, the following detailed answer to Saul's enquiry concerning the seer is not difficult to account for until the final clause.[273] The MT could be read as left-dislocation, were it not for the conjunctive accent. Since the initial pronoun is absent in the major translations, the MT may be in error, if not considered a false start or disjointed phrase.

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[272] However, "This odd repetition [see previous clause] may reflect a stammer of nervousness or confusion" (Alter 1999: 24). Other possible explanations include: "The repetitious expression, with variation of the first person personal pronouns, reflects the real situation when someone tries to explain something to a totally blind person" (Tsumura 2006: 199), "the stammering of a person in total confusion" (Polak 2016: 7), or the traditional source-critical solution, "Perhaps this clause and the next result from an ancient conflation" (Klein 1983: 37).

[273] Alter proposes, "The clues in the immediately preceding narrative context suggest... seeing the evident signs of confusion and incomprehension in (sic) Saul's face, the women take elaborate measures to spell out where Samuel is to be found and what Saul should do in order to be sure not to miss him" (1999: 49).

| (144) | וַתַּעֲנֶינָה אוֹתָם וַתֹּאמַרְנָה יֵשׁ הִנֵּה לְפָנֶיךָ מַהֵר ׀ עַתָּה כִּי הַיּוֹם בָּא לָעִיר כִּי זֶבַח הַיּוֹם לָעָם בַּבָּמָה׃ כְּבֹאֲכֶם הָעִיר כֵּן תִּמְצְאוּן אֹתוֹ בְּטֶרֶם יַעֲלֶה הַבָּמָתָה לֶאֱכֹל כִּי לֹא־יֹאכַל הָעָם עַד־בֹּאוֹ כִּי־הוּא יְבָרֵךְ הַזֶּבַח אַחֲרֵי־כֵן יֹאכְלוּ הַקְּרֻאִים וְעַתָּה עֲלוּ כִּי־אֹתוֹ כְהַיּוֹם תִּמְצְאוּן אֹתוֹ׃ | And they answered them and said, "There is [a seer]. Look, he is in front of you. Hurry now, because he has [just] come into the city *today* as there is a sacrificial meal today to the people on the mount. *As you go into the city*, thus you will find him, before he goes up to the mount to eat, because the people will not eat until he comes in, because *he will bless the sacrificial meal*, [only] *after that* will the guest eat. Now go up, because him, *as today* you will find him. (1 Sam. 9:12-13) |

4.4.2.2 Fronted independent personal pronouns

As we have already seen in a number of very different treatments (Chafe 1994, Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007, Langacker 2008 and Stalnaker 2014), both first and second person independent pronouns are prototypically identifiable entities, and, especially in pro-drop languages, need not be explicitly encoded. For this reason, their appearance must be accounted for, but on a number of occasions it has been difficult to do so under a CG model of fronting. Instead of a satisfactory discourse-pragmatic or information structure explanation, I have identified a number of common characteristics which may be at play, and which may indeed lead to an adequate linguistic model in the future.[274]

The first person singular independent pronoun seems to occur in contexts of promising, agreement making, and personal involvement in general. In this first example, perhaps the positioning of the prepositional phrase before the direct object has some influence on this construction, but space precludes an examination of post-verbal constituent order in this study.

| (145) | וַיִּשְׁלַח אַבְנֵר מַלְאָכִים ׀ אֶל־דָּוִד תַּחְתָּו לֵאמֹר לְמִי־אָרֶץ לֵאמֹר כָּרְתָה בְרִיתְךָ אִתִּי וְהִנֵּה יָדִי עִמָּךְ לְהָסֵב אֵלֶיךָ אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ וַיֹּאמֶר טוֹב אֲנִי אֶכְרֹת אִתְּךָ בְּרִית | And Abner sent messengers to David in his place, saying, "Whose is the land?" [and saying,] "Cut your covenant with me. Look, my hand is with you to return all Israel to you." And he said, "Good, *I* will cut a covenant with you." (2 Sam. 3:12-13a) |

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[274] As noted in chapter 2, Robar proposes that on occasion a fronted independent pronoun "seems to indicate modality" (2018: 82-86), either deontic or interrogative. Some of her examples also suggest a mirative reading as discussed above.

Often they communicate personal commitment to action (cf. Moshavi 2010), perhaps as a performative idiom along the lines of, *I hereby swear to do x*.

(146)	וַיֹּ֧אמֶר הַמֶּ֣לֶךְ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁ֗ה לְכִ֣י לְבֵיתֵ֔ךְ וַאֲנִ֖י אֲצַוֶּ֥ה עָלָֽיִךְ׃	And the king said to the woman, "Go to your house, and *I* will give orders concerning you." (2 Sam. 14:8)
(147)	יֻתַּן־לָ֜נוּ שִׁבְעָ֤ה אֲנָשִׁים֙ מִבָּנָ֔יו וְהוֹקַעֲנוּם֙ לַֽיהוָ֔ה בְּגִבְעַ֖ת שָׁא֣וּל בְּחִ֣יר יְהוָ֑ה ס וַיֹּ֥אמֶר הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ אֲנִ֥י אֶתֵּֽן׃	"Let seven men from among his sons be given to us and we will impale them before for Yahweh in Gibeah of Saul, chosen by Yahweh." And the king said, "*I* will give [them]." (2 Sam. 21:6)
(148)	נֵֽלְכָה־נָּ֣א עַד־הַיַּרְדֵּ֗ן וְנִקְחָ֤ה מִשָּׁם֙ אִ֣ישׁ קוֹרָ֣ה אֶחָ֔ת וְנַעֲשֶׂה־לָּ֥נוּ שָׁ֛ם מָק֖וֹם לָשֶׁ֣בֶת שָׁ֑ם וַיֹּ֖אמֶר לֵֽכוּ׃ וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ הָֽאֶחָ֔ד ה֥וֹאֶל נָ֖א וְלֵ֣ךְ אֶת־עֲבָדֶ֑יךָ וַיֹּ֖אמֶר אֲנִ֥י אֵלֵֽךְ׃	"Let us go to the Jordan and each of us will take from there one log, and we will make for ourselves there a dwelling to live there." And he said, "Go." And one of them said, "Please agree to go with your servants." And he said, "*I* will go." (2 Kgs. 6:2-3)

A similar example to the preceding three may be explained by recourse to an intentional parallel discourse structure, i.e., larger than clause-level (cf. Gross 1996: 102). The difficulty here is the number of topic shifts found *within* the *inclusio* of the *I will do* … and *you will do* section in these two verses, somewhat blurring the intended parallel.[275] In the text below I have only highlighted to the two pronouns in question.

(149)	וַיִּשְׁלַ֣ח חִירָ֔ם אֶל־שְׁלֹמֹ֖ה לֵאמֹ֑ר שָׁמַ֕עְתִּי אֵ֚ת אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַ֣חְתָּ אֵלָ֔י אֲנִ֣י אֶעֱשֶׂ֔ה אֶת־כָּל־חֶפְצְךָ֖ בַּעֲצֵ֣י אֲרָזִ֑ים וּבַעֲצֵ֖י בְרוֹשִֽׁים׃ עֲבָדַ֞י יֹרִ֨דוּ מִן־הַלְּבָנוֹן֙ יָ֔מָּה וַ֠אֲנִי אֲשִׂימֵ֨ם דֹּבְר֤וֹת בַּיָּם֙ עַד־הַמָּק֞וֹם אֲשֶׁר־תִּשְׁלַ֤ח אֵלַי֙ וְנִפַּצְתִּ֣ים שָׁ֔ם וְאַתָּ֖ה תִשָּׂ֑א וְאַתָּה֙ תַּעֲשֶׂ֣ה אֶת־חֶפְצִ֔י לָתֵ֖ת לֶ֥חֶם בֵּיתִֽי׃	And Hiram sent to Solomon saying, "I have heard what you sent to me, and *I* will do everything pleasing to you with the cedar trees and the juniper trees. *My servants* will go down from Lebanon to the sea, and *I* will make them rafts in the sea until the place where you send to me, and I will break them up there, and *you* will take them. And *you* will do what is pleasing to me, to give bread to my house." (1 Kgs. 5:22)

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[275] "V 22 places Hiram's "I" foremost for emphasis; its chiastic counterpart is the second "and you" in v 23. Hiram will give timber; Solomon will give bread. Within this outer structure there appears an internal contrast in the foremost "my servants" over against the first "and you" of v 23" (DeVries 2003: 80).

More straightforwardly, the following may simply be a case of topic shift or replacing focus, i.e., 'Naboth will not give it to you, but *I* will', but nonetheless involves personal commitment to action.

| (150) | וַתֹּ֤אמֶר אֵלָיו֙ אִיזֶ֣בֶל אִשְׁתּ֔וֹ אַתָּ֕ה עַתָּ֕ה תַּעֲשֶׂ֥ה מְלוּכָ֖ה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל ק֤וּם אֱכָל־לֶ֙חֶם֙ וְיִטַ֣ב לִבֶּ֔ךָ אֲנִי֙ אֶתֵּ֣ן לְךָ֔ אֶת־כֶּ֖רֶם נָב֥וֹת הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִֽי׃ | And Jezebel, his wife, said to him, "Do you now reign over Israel? Get up and eat bread, and let your heart be glad; *I* will give you the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite. (1 Kgs. 21:7) |

On other occasions a fronted independent pronoun might communicate personal responsibility for one's actions.[276]

| (151) | יָדַ֣ע עַבְדְּךָ֔ כִּ֥י אֲנִ֖י חָטָ֑אתִי | Your servant knows that *I* have sinned. (2 Sam. 19:21a) |

The following rhetorical question could also function similarly, with the implicit, but cleverly omitted, "I will serve you."[277]

| (152) | וְהַשֵּׁנִ֗ית לְמִי֙ אֲנִ֣י אֶֽעֱבֹ֔ד הֲל֖וֹא לִפְנֵ֣י בְנ֑וֹ כַּאֲשֶׁ֤ר עָבַ֙דְתִּי֙ לִפְנֵ֣י אָבִ֔יךָ כֵּ֖ן אֶהְיֶ֥ה לְפָנֶֽיךָ׃ | "Again, whom shall *I* serve? Will it not be before his son? Just as I served before your father, so I will be before your face." (2 Sam. 16:19) |

On the other hand, the following example probably communicates additive focus, in the sense of "[You know and] I [also] know." Pragmatically it seems to confirm Elisha's awareness and thus the unnecessary (and unwanted!) nature of their announcement, so in English we could render Elisha's answer as *I do indeed know* or *I know this all too well*.

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[276] Though not obligatorily, cf. 2 Sam. 24:10.

[277] "Hushai's own answer to his rhetorical question in verse 19, *whom should I serve?*, is the ultimate evidence of his clever deception. His words can easily be taken by Absalom as expressing Hushai's commitment to shift his loyalty from the father to the son, but Hushai's exact phrasing leaves room for a very different construal" (Long 2020: 408).

| (153) | וַיֵּצְא֨וּ בְנֵֽי־הַנְּבִיאִ֤ים אֲשֶׁר־בֵּֽית־אֵל֙ אֶל־אֱלִישָׁ֔ע וַיֹּאמְר֣וּ אֵלָ֗יו הֲיָדַ֙עְתָּ֙ כִּ֣י הַיּ֔וֹם יְהוָ֗ה לֹקֵ֛חַ אֶת־אֲדֹנֶ֖יךָ מֵעַ֣ל רֹאשֶׁ֑ךָ וַיֹּ֛אמֶר גַּם־אֲנִ֥י יָדַ֖עְתִּי הֶחֱשֽׁוּ׃ | And the sons of the prophets who we in Bethel came out to Elisha and said to him, "Do you [not] know that today Yahweh is taking your lord from you?" And he said, "*I, too, know.* Be quiet." (2 Kgs. 2:3 = 2:5) |

On other occasions, the clause including the independent pronoun seems to provide necessary background information or grounds for a following question or command, possibly to be read as either a descriptive or explanative thetic. Often these are treated as informing focus, though the mirative reading is absent and no presupposition of focal alternatives seem present in the CG.[278]

| (154) | וְעַתָּ֗ה כֹּֽה־תֹאמַ֤ר לְעַבְדִּ֣י לְדָוִ֔ד כֹּ֤ה אָמַר֙ יְהוָ֣ה צְבָא֔וֹת אֲנִ֤י לְקַחְתִּ֙יךָ֙ מִן־הַנָּוֶ֔ה מֵאַחַ֖ר הַצֹּ֑אן לִֽהְי֣וֹת נָגִ֔יד עַל־עַמִּ֖י עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃ | "Now, thus you shall say to my servant David: "Thus says Yahweh of armies: "*I took you from the pasture, from after the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel.*""" (2 Sam. 7:8) |

If to be classified as thetic, the next example is also probably descriptive (the argument could possibly be made that וַאֲנִ֣י שְׂנֵאתִ֗יו simply indicates a topic shift). Matthews notes that the statement serves as a "warning… to the audience of a charged scene to come" (2008: 118), while Auer & Maschler are more sensitive to discourse contours, considering such thetics as "a contextualization cue… that builds up a contrast between previous talk (with the verb in the unmarked position) and upcoming talk (the beginning of a narrative (complication) episode)" (2013: 160).

| (155) | וַיֹּ֣אמֶר מֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֣ל ׀ אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁפָ֗ט ע֣וֹד אִישׁ־אֶחָ֡ד לִדְרֹשׁ֩ אֶת־יְהוָ֨ה מֵאֹת֜וֹ וַאֲנִ֣י שְׂנֵאתִ֗יו כִּ֠י לֹֽא־יִתְנַבֵּ֙א עָלַ֥י טוֹב֙ כִּ֣י אִם־רָ֔ע מִיכָ֖יְהוּ בֶּן־יִמְלָ֑ה וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ יְה֣וֹשָׁפָ֔ט אַל־יֹאמַ֥ר הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ כֵּֽן | And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "There remains one man to enquire of Yahweh from him. But *I hate him* because he does not prophesy good over me but only evil: Micaiah the son of Imlah." And Jehoshaphat said, "Do not let the king speak such." (1 Kgs. 22:8) |

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[278] As the following renderings would indicate: "I myself took you from the pasture" (Alter 1999: 233), "I am the one who took you from the pasture" (Tsumura 2019: 130).

Khan and van der Merwe note, "The fronting is not primarily conditioned by information structure of the common ground, but rather is the outcome of the subjective strategy of discourse structuring of the narrator. The narrator exploits the information structure of the context to select a pragmatically appropriate topic" (2020: 374). In this case the explicitly repeated personal pronoun would function similarly to the summary statements discussed above. We could possibly appeal to Chafe's observation:

> It is interesting to observe that first-person referents, which might be thought active throughout a conversation and therefore always given, are sometimes judged by a speaker to have receded into the listener's semiactive state and are thus treated as accessible rather than given. Such cases are recognizable from the occurrence of accented *I* under circumstances where contrastiveness is ruled out. (1994: 87)

Such an understanding remains inconclusive without direct access to the speaker's mental conceptualisation.

Nevertheless, seemingly redundant personal pronouns are not limited to the first person. The following texts, with explicit third person pronouns, have also been difficult to account for. The first example is found within Jonathan's explanation of David's excuse for not attending the new moon festival. It is slightly strange syntactically. If it is a case of left-dislocation, it would be more natural to introduce the discourse-inactive entity, and resume their topical status with the pronoun, rather than vice-versa. Alternatively, imitating the dynamics of interaction, his identification could be an after-thought, as right-dislocation, in order to repair a potentially defective CG, if it was not immediately clear who *he* referred to in the first place.[279]

(156)	וַיֹּאמֶר שַׁלְּחֵנִי נָא כִּי זֶבַח מִשְׁפָּחָה לָנוּ בָּעִיר וְהוּא צִוָּה־לִי אָחִי וְעַתָּה אִם־מָצָאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אִמָּלְטָה נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה אֶת־אֶחָי עַל־כֵּן לֹא־בָא אֶל־שֻׁלְחַן הַמֶּלֶךְ׃	"And he said, "Please send me, because there is a sacrificial meal of my family for us in the city, and *he* ordered me[, that is,] my brother. And now, if I have found favour in your eyes, please let me be exempt so that I can see my brothers." So he is not coming to the table, O king." (1 Sam. 20:29)

The following two examples are more straightforward, yet in light of Grice's maxim of quantity, a solution should be pursued to explain their seemingly redundant explicit encoding. In 2 Kgs. 12, the pronoun could explicitly encode topic continuation in order to disambiguate

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[279] For other examples of difficult syntax within fronted clauses see 1 Sam. 14:35, 18:5, 20:38.

between the possibility of the donors being activated as topic. The second example is less clear.

(157)	יִקְחוּ לָהֶם הַכֹּהֲנִים אִישׁ מֵאֵת מַכָּרוֹ וְהֵם יְחַזְּקוּ אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבַּ֫יִת לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יִמָּצֵא שָׁם בָּֽדֶק׃	The priests will take for themselves, each from his donor, and *they* will repair the cracks of the house, everywhere there is found a crack. (2 Kgs. 12:6)
(158)	וַיְהִי הוּא מִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בֵּית׀ נִסְרֹךְ אֱלֹהָיו וְֽאַדְרַמֶּ֫לֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצֶר הִכֻּהוּ בַחֶרֶב וְהֵמָּה נִמְלְטוּ אֶרֶץ אֲרָרָט וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֵֽסַר־חַדֹּן בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּֽיו׃	And as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer struck him with the sword, and *they* fled to the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon, his son, reigned in his place. (2 Kgs. 19:37)

Numerous linguistic models have been proposed to account for the explicit encoding of redundant personal pronouns as allosentences (Lambrecht 1994) such as Optimality Theory (Sæbo 2007), altruistic movement (Erteschik-Shir 2007), or frozen archaic constructions (Lunn 2006) in order to avoid ambiguity which may result from competition for the anticipated topical entity (Chafe 1994: 75-77). As foundational as these studies have been for the current thesis, they may expect a naïve simplicity that has been exposed in later informational studies (Ozerov 2018: 94). Nevertheless, in the examples cited above, it is doubtful that such an ambiguity should refer to the identity of the sentence constituent under discussion, rather than the construction as a whole, as Revell seems to indicate:

> the use of an independent pronoun as the subject of a verb, or the placing of the subject before the verb, is not always intended to focus attention on it. There is no visible purpose in the repetition of *hmh* [in Judges 18:3] except to provide a subject-*qāṭal* structure. (1985: 421)

Revell understands such a clause to be a 'contextualizing clause', as opposed to a 'narrative clause.' *Mutatis mutandis* this framework may be comparable to the categorical-thetic distinction and would indicate that the explicit encoding of an independent pronoun would indicate theticity. Although it is doubtful that these studies have offered the last word, as an *opposition* (in Dikian terms) or simply alternative constructions (Croft 2001, Evans 2013, Hilpert 2014, Herbst & Hoffman 2018), it appears that wider discourse functions are present and Revell is indeed correct to consider the entire clause as revoking a categorical reading (Schwarz 2016), rather than profiling a single constituent.

4.4.2.3 Textual issues

On a few occasions, textual problems have affected fronted clauses to such an extent that they are difficult to account for under the current model. A pair of examples will suffice.

In 1 Sam. 20:41 we are concerned with the final clause, which has been understood in a variety of ways.[280] Before David finally self-exiles for his own safety, he hugs, kisses, and weeps with his friend Jonathan, but possibly weeps *more than* Jonathan? Van der Merwe et al. note that the preposition עַד "Indicates that an event or state of affairs *extends to an extreme dimension*" (2017: 370). On the other hand, the Vulgate reads *autem* and the Syriac *brm*, both indicating the sense of *however* or *nonetheless*, in place of the preposition עַד.

(159)	וַיִּשְּׁק֣וּ ׀ אִ֣ישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵ֗הוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ֙ אִ֣ישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵ֔הוּ עַד־דָּוִ֖ד הִגְדִּֽיל׃	And each kissed his friend, and each wept with his friend, until David increased his weeping (?) (1 Sam. 20:41b)

In the summary recounting of David's warriors we find the following verse. Apart from the ambiguity of the references of the pronominal suffix of the infinitive בְּחָרְפָ֤ם and the agent of נֶאֱסְפוּ, both the LXX and the MT of the synoptic passage, 1 Chronicles 11:12, contain הוּא הָיָה, so would indicate an informing focus. Yet as the verse stands, the next idea begins with the temporal infinitive phrase and would thus be annuntiative.[281]

(160)	וְאַחֲרָ֛יו אֶלְעָזָ֥ר בֶּן־דֹּדִ֖י בֶּן־אֲחֹחִ֑י בִּשְׁלֹשָׁ֧ה גִבֹּרִ֛ים עִם־דָּוִ֖ד בְּחָֽרְפָ֣ם בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים֙ נֶאֱסְפוּ־שָׁ֣ם לַמִּלְחָמָ֔ה וַיַּעֲל֖וּ אִ֥ישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	And after him was Eleazar, the son of Dodo, the son of Ahohi, among three mighty men … with David. When they defied the Philistines, they gathered there for battle and the men of Israel went up / … He was with David when they defied the Philistines, [and?/so?] they gathered there for battle and the men of Israel went up. (2 Sam. 23:9)

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[280] For example, "Though David the longer" (Alter 1999: 130), "until David cried louder" (Tsumura 2006: 523), and ""*but David wept the most*, or perhaps 'until David gained control of himself' (Long 2020: 205).

[281] For other examples where textual issues affect a fronted clause see 1 Sam. 9:13, 9:24; 2 Sam. 7:7, 8:10; 1 Kgs. 9:24, 10:28, 10:29, 11:34, 15:6, 16:29, 21:7, 22:30, 22:49; 2 Kgs. 5:13, and where their inclusion in the data is thus even questionable, see 1 Sam. 5:8, 21:4; 1 Kgs. 6:19, 8:31, 15:32, 16:29.

4.4.2.4 Outside of the current model

Our final grouping of problem cases concerns fronted clauses which simply cannot be accounted for under the current CG model. These include (1) apparent cases of "sentence focus," (2) apparent "stage topics", especially where there is a parallel between two clauses, (3) cases of narrow focus where there seems to be no plausible set of alternatives retrievable from the CG and no mirative sense in the statement, and (4) apparent topic-chaining utilizing a repeated explicit pronoun or proper noun.

As discussed in the previous chapter, our CG model, including theticity, has left no room for the notion of 'sentence focus,' in which the entire contents of a statement could be viewed as selecting the necessary information from a set of alternatives. Although I have rejected this view of theticity based on Krifka's (2007) and van der Wal's (2016; among others) understanding of focus and Sasse's understanding of thetic statements as outside the realm of topic-comment consideration, there are a few cases which could well presuppose the entire situation. I have considered the following descriptive thetic, but the open presupposition, 'You have come here because *x*' in 1 Sam. 25 and 'You have come to greet me because *x*' in 2 Kgs. 8 could plausibly be part of the situational CG. That is, the question-under-discussion would be, "Why are you here?" and "Why have you come to greet me?" and the entire sentence thus fills in the missing information. In the first example, if the post-verbal infinitival phrase, i.e., the reason of their visit, was absent, the presupposition could well have been, '*x* sent you', and David's fronting would have been constituent-focused.[282]

(161)	וַיָּבֹאוּ עַבְדֵי דָוִד אֶל־אֲבִיגַיִל הַכַּרְמֶלָה וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלֶיהָ לֵאמֹר דָּוִד שְׁלָחָנוּ אֵלַיִךְ לְקַחְתֵּךְ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה:	And the servants of David came to Abigail at Carmel, and they spoke to her saying, "David has sent us to you to take you to him for a wife." (1 Sam. 25:40)

(162)	וַיֵּלֶךְ חֲזָאֵל לִקְרָאתוֹ וַיִּקַּח מִנְחָה בְיָדוֹ וְכָל־טוּב דַּמֶּשֶׂק מַשָּׂא אַרְבָּעִים גָּמָל וַיָּבֹא וַיַּעֲמֹד לְפָנָיו וַיֹּאמֶר בִּנְךָ בֶן־הֲדַד מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם שְׁלָחַנִי אֵלֶיךָ לֵאמֹר הַאֶחְיֶה מֵחֳלִי זֶה:	And Hazael went to greet him and he took a gift in his hand and all of the good things of Damascus, forty camel loads, and he went and stood before him and said, "*Your son, Ben-hadad, the king of Aram, has sent me to you* saying, "Will I survive this illness?"" (2 Kgs. 8:9)

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[282] Van der Merwe (p.c.) has pointed out that throughout the corpus, such cases of *sending* are always carried out by an authoritative figure, propelling adherence to the following request or order. This observation would seem to lend weight to a constituent-focus reading, the utterance would identify the authoritative figure among alternatives.

Nevertheless, the vast majority of thetic statements enjoy no such reasonable presupposition in the CG before the utterance.

Another common theoretical stance rejected in the previous chapter was the idea of 'stage-topic'. As discussed, these do not complete the role of the "about" topic in the clause, and therefore a thetic reading for spatiotemporal adverbial-fronted clauses has been preferred. A small minority involve a parallel pairing of such clauses, which makes the idea of 'stage topics' 'topic frames', 'frame setters' etc., quite attractive. A possible distinction could be made based on the Masoretic accents. In the case of locative-fronting in the first two examples below, the accents are conjunctive, favouring a thetic reading, while the temporal constituents in the third and fourth examples have disjunctive accents, favouring a frame-like reading.[283]

(163)	בְּחֶבְרוֹן מָלַךְ עַל־יְהוּדָ֔ה שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים וְשִׁשָּׁה חֳדָשִׁים וּבִירוּשָׁלִַ֙ם מָלַךְ שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנָ֔ה עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה:	He ruled over Judah *in Hebron* for seven years and six months, and he ruled *in Jerusalem* for thirty three years over all Israel and Judah. (2 Sam. 5:5)
	וְהַיָּמִ֗ים אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ דָּוִד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בְּחֶבְרוֹן מָלַךְ שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים וּבִירוּשָׁלִַם מָלַךְ שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים:	And the days which David ruled over Israel were forty years. He ruled *in Hebron* for seven years and he ruled *in Jerusalem* for thirty three years. (1 Kgs. 2:11)
(164)	בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית יֻסַּד בֵּית יְהוָה בְּיֶרַח זִו: וּבַשָּׁנָה הָאַחַת עֶשְׂרֵה בְּיֶרַח בּוּל הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי כָּלָה הַבַּיִת לְכָל־דְּבָרָיו וּלְכָל־מִשְׁפָּטָיו וַיִּבְנֵהוּ שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים:	*In the fourth year*, the house of Yahweh was founded, in the month of Ziv. *In the eleventh year*, in the month of Bul (that is, the eighth month) the house was finished, with all its parts and its specifications. And he built it in seven years. (1 Kgs. 6:37-38)
	וַיְהִי אִתָּהּ בֵּית יְהֹוָה מִתְחַבֵּא שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וַעֲתַלְיָה מֹלֶכֶת עַל־הָאָרֶץ: פ וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית שָׁלַח יְהוֹיָדָע וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת לַכָּרִי וְלָרָצִים וַיָּבֵא אֹתָם אֵלָיו בֵּית יְהוָה	And he was with her in the house of Yahweh, hidden for six years, while Athaliah was reigning over the land. *And in the seventh year* Jehoiada sent and took the captains of the hundred of the Carites and of the runners, and he brought them to him in the house of Yahweh. (2 Kgs. 11:3-4a)

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[283] Another similar example is 2 Kgs. 18:5. Song rightly states that such "frame-setting topics are universally associated with sentence-initial adjuncts… though not all sentence-initial adjuncts are necessarily frame-setting topics (i.e., the relation is not bidirectional)" (2017: 25).

Nevertheless, besides these four examples, annuntiative thetics are preferable for spatiotemporal adverbial fronting throughout the Samuel-Kings corpus.

On the other hand, there are a number of seemingly focal-fronted clauses which do not contain a plausible set of alternatives in the context set of the CG nor do they communicate a mirative sense. As discussed above, this is the only exception I have made for accommodating the set of alternatives as part of a mirative statement, following Bianchi et al. (2016).[284]

The following clause seems descriptive, but subject fronting would be preferred in that case. As an informing focus it is difficult to see what set of alternatives could be elicited in the CG, yet there is no mirative implicature.

| (165) | וַיִּשְׁלַח תֹּעִי אֶת־יוֹרָם־בְּנוֹ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ־דָּוִד לִשְׁאָל־לוֹ לְשָׁלוֹם וּלְבָרֲכוֹ עַל אֲשֶׁר נִלְחַם בַּהֲדַדְעֶזֶר וַיַּכֵּהוּ כִּי־אִישׁ מִלְחֲמוֹת תֹּעִי הָיָה הֲדַדְעָזֶר וּבְיָדוֹ הָיוּ כְּלֵי־כֶסֶף וּכְלֵי־זָהָב וּכְלֵי נְחֹשֶׁת׃ | And Toi sent Joram, his son, to king David to greet him, and he blessed him on account of his warring with Hadadezer and striking him (*because Hadadezer was a man of war against Toi*) and he brought silver and gold and bronze products. (2 Sam. 8:10) |

Likewise, Absalom's incomparable physical appearance seems descriptive, but a fronted prepositional phrase seems unlikely. In this case, there may have been a reason to intentionally retain a topical reading even where the discourse would point in a thetic direction.

| (166) | וּכְאַבְשָׁלוֹם לֹא־הָיָה אִישׁ־יָפֶה בְּכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַלֵּל מְאֹד מִכַּף רַגְלוֹ וְעַד קָדְקֳדוֹ לֹא־הָיָה בוֹ מוּם׃ | *Now there was not a man as handsome as Absalom in all Israel to be greatly praised*. From the sole of his foot to the crown of his head, there was not a blemish on him. (2 Sam. 14:25) |

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[284] For further texts which seem to read as focal fronting, yet no plausible set of alternatives seems to be present in the CG, see 1 Sam. 13:12, 20:8, 20:9; 2 Sam. 15:8; 1 Kgs. 6:6, 6:8, 6:17, 11:34, 2 Kgs. 7:12.

The final clause in the next verse seems descriptive.[285] However, even under a focal reading, as in 2 Sam. 8:10 above, the fronted הָיָה predicate offers no plausible set of alternatives nor mirativity. Then, the fronted constituent would be understood as the most surprising of an accommodated set of alternatives.

(167)	וַיִּשְׁלַח חִירָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹור אֶת־עֲבָדָיו אֶל־שְׁלֹמֹה כִּי שָׁמַע כִּי אֹתֹו מָשְׁחוּ לְמֶלֶךְ תַּחַת אָבִיהוּ כִּי **אֹהֵב** הָיָה חִירָם לְדָוִד כָּל־הַיָּמִים:	And Hiram the king of Tyre sent his servants to Solomon when he heard that they had anointed *him* as king in the place of his father, because *a friend* was Hiram to David all his days. (1 Kgs. 5:15)

This last example seems explanative, but may be better read a confirming focus due to the fronted prepositional phrase. Again, its inclusion in the CG would have to be highly accommodated, since no presupposition seems present in the current context set.

(168)	וְעָשִׂיתָ חֶסֶד עַל־עַבְדֶּךָ כִּי **בִּבְרִית יְהֹוָה** הֵבֵאתָ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ עִמָּךְ וְאִם־יֶשׁ־בִּי עָוֹן הֲמִיתֵנִי אַתָּה וְעַד־אָבִיךָ לָמָּה־זֶּה תְבִיאֵנִי:	And you will show faithfulness to your servant because *into a covenant of Yahweh* you made your servant enter into with you. And if there is guilt in me, kill me yourself! But why would you bring me to your father? (1 Sam. 20:8)

Finally, there are a number of apparently clear cases of topic-chaining. However, as already discussed, this defeats the necessity of the repetition of explicit pronouns or proper nouns. Perhaps they provide disambiguity where competition for the anticipated topic is at play, reactivation where the speaker deems necessary (Chafe 1994: 76, 87), or cataphoric highlighting (Runge 2007: 168-174).

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[285] The entire clause serving as the grounds for the previous statement, commentators typically convey the unitary nature of the proposition, perhaps by intuition: "Hiram was nämlich zeitlebens ein Freund Davids gewesen" (Hentschel 1984: 40); "Hiram was on friendly terms with David" (Wiseman 1993: 107); "Hiram had always been friends with David" (DeVries 2003: 77). DeVries continues, "Had … been friends …": אהב היה, lit., "friendly was," with emphasis on the foremost participle. The ptcp in effect makes this a technical expression, and apparently the root has a political sense here" (ibid. 81), but unfortunately does not explain how so.

(169)	וְאֶת־הַדָּבָ֤ר הַזֶּה֙ עֲשֵׂ֔ה הָסֵ֤ר הַמְּלָכִים֙ אִ֣ישׁ מִמְּקֹמ֔וֹ וְשִׂ֥ים פַּח֖וֹת תַּחְתֵּיהֶֽם׃ וְאַתָּ֣ה תִֽמְנֶה־לְךָ֣׀ חַ֡יִל כַּחַ֣יִל הַנֹּפֵל֩ מֵאוֹתָ֨ךְ וְס֧וּס כַּסּ֣וּס׀ וְרֶ֣כֶב כָּרֶ֗כֶב וְנִֽלָּחֲמָ֤ה אוֹתָם֙ בַּמִּישׁ֔וֹר אִם־לֹ֥א נֶחֱזַ֖ק מֵהֶ֑ם וַיִּשְׁמַ֥ע לְקֹלָ֖ם וַיַּ֥עַשׂ כֵּֽן׃	"And do this thing: Remove the kings, each from his place, and put commanders in their place. And *you* shall count for yourself the army as the army that has fallen from you, and horses as the horses and chariots as the chariots, and we will fight them in the plain, [and see] if we do not overcome them." And he listened to their voice and did so. (1 Kgs. 20:24-25)
(170)	וְעַתָּ֗ה הִנֵּ֨ה נָתַ֤ן יְהוָה֙ ר֣וּחַ שֶׁ֔קֶר בְּפִ֖י כָּל־נְבִיאֶ֣יךָ אֵ֑לֶּה וַֽיהוָ֔ה דִּבֶּ֥ר עָלֶ֖יךָ רָעָֽה׃	"And now look, Yahweh has put a spirit of falsehood in the mouth of all these your prophets, and *Yahweh* has spoken evil over you." (1 Kgs. 22:23)

4.4.3 Counter examples

Before we conclude this section, it is necessary to briefly consider some examples of verb-initial clauses which seem to communicate the same discourse functions as the thetic statements surveyed above. The verb-initial construction may have been chosen to stress the sequentiality of events, where a thetic construction could leave such an interpretation in doubt.

The following clause is seemingly introductive due to the indefinite reference and unaccusative verb. Perhaps, in this case, the *wayyiqtol* displays the ease of accessibility of 'man of God' in the ancient Israelite mind, being accommodated into the CG 'without fuss.'

(171)	וַיָּבֹ֥א אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִ֖ים אֶל־עֵלִ֑י וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֵלָ֗יו כֹּ֚ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה הֲנִגְלֹ֤ה נִגְלֵ֙יתִי֙ אֶל־בֵּ֣ית אָבִ֔יךָ בִּהְיוֹתָ֥ם בְּמִצְרַ֖יִם לְבֵ֥ית פַּרְעֹֽה׃	*And a man of God came to Eli*, and he said to him, "Thus says Yahweh, "Did I indeed reveal myself to the house of your fathers when they were in Egypt, to the house of Pharoah?" (1 Sam. 2:27)

The next verse seems to function as descriptive, indicated by Michal's first discourse-mention and the verb of affection. This same sentiment is repeated as a summary *inclusio* in verse 28b. Nevertheless, Michal's introduction is anchored as Saul's daughter and the text follows Saul's failed plan to marry off Merab for David, so perhaps the *wayyiqtol* is indicating the discourse-continuity of the set of Saul's daughters that the narrator is keen to present.

| (170) | וַתֶּאֱהַב מִיכַל בַּת־שָׁאוּל אֶת־דָּוִד וַיַּגִּדוּ לְשָׁאוּל וַיִּשַׁר הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינָיו: | *And Michal the daughter of Saul loved David,* and they told Saul and it was good in his eyes. (1 Sam. 18:20) |

Similarly, the following *wayyiqtol* seems uncontroversially annuntiative (cf. example [108] above). However, perhaps the *wayyiqtol* is functioning to undermine any thematic break that could be expected after the summary of Ahaziah's reign (1 Kgs. 22:51-53), continuing the narrative's concern for the days 'after the death of Ahab'.

| (171) | וַיִּפְשַׁע מוֹאָב בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרֵי מוֹת אַחְאָב: | And Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab. (2 Kgs. 1:1) |

The first mention of Samuel's death is presented by a *wayyiqtol* clause, though he has not been mentioned in recent discourse and his death seems rather inconsequential to the current discourse, sandwiched between David's first opportunity to kill Saul (1 Sam. 24) and his interaction with Nabal (1 Sam. 25:1b-13). It will be mentioned again later (1 Sam. 28:3) as a fronted descriptive clause. In the present text, the statement could seem descriptive, so a fronted clause would be expected. However, since David is going to continue as the protagonist of the present chapter, a fronted clause may have indicated Samuel's ongoing importance in the discourse (as is the case in chapter 28).[286]

| (172) | וַיָּמָת שְׁמוּאֵל וַיִּקָּבְצוּ כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּסְפְּדוּ־לוֹ וַיִּקְבְּרֻהוּ בְּבֵיתוֹ בָּרָמָה | *And Samuel died* and all Israel gathered and they mourned him and they buried him in his house in Ramah (1 Sam. 25:1a) |

We could consider the following clause as explanative, containing the familiar הִנֵּה בָא construction, but this time with no intervening fronted constituent.[287]

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[286] "In chapter 28, Samuel will appear from the grave, and so the death notice early in *that* chapter prepares for what follows. Mentioning Samuel's death in the *present* chapter establishes the approximate timing of Samuel's death but also raises the question of how David will behave now that he is no longer supported by Samuel and is left to his own devices" (Long 2020: 232-233). Parallel, although in neither case fronted, is the news of Ahab's death in 1 Kgs. 22:35 and repeated as "resumptive" (DeVries 2003: 269) in v. 37, opening a distinct text unit.

[287] Khan and van der Merwe rightly remark concerning this verse, "We acknowledge that thetic sentences may be expressed by constructions other than constituent fronting and have different contours" (2020: 361). The lack of fronting on this occasion may reflect the fact that Abner is discourse active for the reader, though almost conversation-initial not within the Joab-David direct discourse and thus inactive.

(173)	וַיָּבֹא יוֹאָב אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה עָשִׂיתָה הִנֵּה־בָא אַבְנֵר אֵלֶיךָ לָמָּה־זֶּה שִׁלַּחְתּוֹ וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ׃	And Joab came to the king and said, "What have you done? *Look, Abner came to you.* Why did you send him and he went?" (2 Sam. 3:24)

Finally, although asyndetic, the clause-initial *qatal* in the following verse seems prototypically annuntiative both semantically, and in light of its discourse position. Syntactically we would expect either the absence of the וַיְהִי so that the temporal adverbial phrase would be fronted, or a synchronous construction in which the second clause would show *waw*-X + *qatal*.

(174)	וַיְהִי בַּשָּׁנָה הַחֲמִישִׁית לַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעָם עָלָה שׁוּשַׁק מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עַל־יְרוּשָׁלָםִ׃	And in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, the king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem. (1 Kgs. 14:25)

Furthermore, even topic shifts seem to be communicated by *wayyiqtol* pairings, but very rarely indeed, fronted clauses being the prototypical construction for such a purpose.

(175)	וַיֶּחֱזַק הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרֵי עָמְרִי אֶת־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרֵי תִּבְנִי בֶן־גִּינַת וַיָּמָת תִּבְנִי וַיִּמְלֹךְ עָמְרִי׃ פ	And the people who were on Omri's side overcame the people who were on the side of Tibni, son of Ginath. And *Tibni* died, and *Omri* became king. (1 Kgs. 16:22)

I find it doubtful that such examples weaken the model's explanatory adequacy. In light of our discussion of both polysemy and polyfunctionality in chapter 3, it seems uncontroversial to claim that fronted clauses remain onomasiologically salient for these discourse functions.[288]

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[288] Other constructions that, on occasion, seem to be able to communicate thetic statements are participial clauses (1 Sam. 3:1a,c; 1 Kgs. 14:17c), verbless clauses (1 Sam. 17:12a) and וַיְהִי clauses (1 Sam. 9:1a).

4.5 Conclusion

I began this chapter by clarifying some methodological concerns before examining the fronted categorical utterances of topic fronting and focal fronting, displaying informing, altering, and confirming focus. We saw some areas of fuzzy boundaries and possible overlap both among focal categories and between topic/focal fronting readings. We then moved on to illustrate five discourse functions of thetics as formulated by Sasse (2006). We saw that both introductives and interruptives are the least common in the Samuel-Kings corpus, probably due to the literary genres that would prototypically necessitate such functions. After examining a number of ambiguous thetic categorisations, we compared the results found here with Khan & van der Merwe's (2020) model applied to 1 Samuel, which turned out to be almost identical. Finally, we explored some potentially problematic areas, first where I have suggested tentative solutions, and later where further study is evidently needed.

Those cases left unexplained are relatively few, though language is evidently messy, so peripheral, ambiguous and overlapping examples abound, while counter-examples can be shown to achieve the same discourse functions with a *wayyiqtol*. I see no need to avoid this reality in light of a cognitive linguistics approach to categorization and semasiological flexibility. Further development in linguistics - to account for areas traditional information structure frameworks are lacking - would be illuminating indeed (see the directives in Matić and Wedgwood 2013 and Ozerov 2018, for example). Such advances would hopefully account for both clause-level concerns, such as 'redundant' pronouns or explicit lexicalisation of already active entities, as well as higher level of text organisation, such as 'summary statements', relying upon a linguistically robust modeling of the grammar-discourse continuum and the relationship between focus and emotive implicatures such as mirativity. In many cases of theticity, an *entrenched construction* used to revoke a categorical reading may be our safest conclusion, though this will also require further study. An inevitable 'weakness' of the present study is the subjective enterprise of identifying information structure elements and a reader-orientated perspective of the evolving CG, while neither accommodation nor frames/scripts/conventions are falsifiable.

We have already seen in the previous chapter that fronting would provide an attested typological morphosyntactic construction for theticity, though further corroborating evidence among Semitic languages remains desirable. Nonetheless, the examples in this chapter have

212

shown that the discourse and semantic hypotheses also fit, i.e. on the one hand, Sasse's discourse functions, enhanced by clear episode-initial, complication or summary positions, and on the other, semantically weak verbs and the paucity and peripheral nature of transitive clauses in our data. Verbs of movement and of mental experience, unaccusatives, statives and nonrelational statements have shown up time and time again in the analysis.

Testing this model on the entire Classical BH corpus would confirm its adequacy, yet from more than 1200 fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings, theticity seems to be a promising, typologically attested explanatory phenomenon for a comprehensive framework of BH fronting when understood within the ever-evolving CG status. Summing both the tentative solutions (140) and the resilient problem cases (65) results in 16.5% of the corpus, thus I am confident of between 83.5% and 94.8% of the results of the adequacy of a CG model to account for fronting in the Samuel-Kings corpus (all ambiguity and overlapping categories considered).

5. Conclusion

"the worst fate to befall conversational narrators is to have
the audience ask "So what?" when they have finished."

(Chafe 1994: 121)

After bearing with a lengthy theoretical framework and observing the results borne out in the BH data, we have reached the 'So what?' moment. As we bring our study to a close, it can be appreciated how the family-resemblance network of thetic discourse functions and their effects on the CG has accounted for a significant number of previously unexplained fronted BH clauses.

In our brief introduction, I highlighted both the lack of adequate explanation for such a large number of these clauses, as well as the lack of connection between well-established models and numerous other explanations. This took the form of the information structure model, including both topic and focus fronting, and its relation to the disparate and varied semantic affects such as backgrounding, anteriority, simultaneity, narrative explanation and parenthesis, among others. Following the initiative of Khan & Van der Merwe (2020), I hypothesised that theticity could account for these "sentence-level concerns" (Hornkohl 2018: 44), while a close eye on both CG management and CG content (and thus the interrelationship between information structure and information status) would provide a robust and economical linguistic framework for a more comprehensive understanding of fronting. I hypothesised the need for a cognitively realistic understanding of human categorisation applied to linguistic categories, with prototype theory playing a large role in understanding metalinguistic categories and their interfaces. I also appealed to the superior adequacy of usage-based linguistics in such a pursuit of models for the BH corpus, as well as the notion of construal, arguing for the perspectival nature of all communication.

In chapter 2 I surveyed the work of previous BH scholars as they relate both to fronting and clausal constituent order in general. It was seen that in the last thirty years much progress has been made beyond 'emphasis-based' models, and, with the increasing use of functional linguistics, information structure has provided solid ground on which to place the majority of fronted clauses in Classical BH prose. The same is true today. We observed the

214

contribution of studies both within functional frameworks and generative frameworks, while also noting insights from studies seemingly indirectly related (Zewi 2007 and Robar 2015). Yet, the results of such an overview only led to an extensive taxonomy of semantic effects arrived at on numerous occasions by scholars throughout recent decades, with a 'systematic and economical account' still lacking. Hornkohl 2018 and Robar 2018 hinted at 'discontinuity' as providing a way forward, while Khan & van der Merwe's (2020) illustrated the explanatory potential of theticity.

The aim of chapter 3 was to flesh out a theoretical linguistic framework, incorporating theticity as well as its potential for gathering the various strains of semantic effects of sentence-level fronted clauses. I began with a brief overview of the particular characteristics of generative and functional linguistic perspectives, as the fruit of both generative-orientated and functional-orientated linguists in the areas of both syntax and information structure informed the current model. Yet, in the main, my framework was built on a functional, and, more specifically, cognitive/constructionist understanding of language. The importance of such a usage-based approaches to linguistic enquiry, as well as the meaningfulness of all grammar (Langacker 2008: 3), not being explored in depth until section 3.4, was foundational to the entire chapter. Under the conviction that all language is discourse-embedded and communicative, used to inform the conceptual world of the conversational community (contra Abraham 2020), I briefly surveyed the linguistic literature on both topic and focus, defined as the point of departure or 'aboutness' of an utterance and the selection from a set of alternatives, respectively. I noted the inadequacy of both 'stage-topics', which fail any test for 'aboutness,' and 'sentence-focus', which, if understood within a model of selection from among alternatives (Krifka 2007) ultimately becomes meaningless (Sasse 1987: 573, Bianchi et al. 2016: 38, van der Wal 2016: 260). Such apparent discrepancies with commonly-understood notions of both topic and focus left room for how theticity would ultimately account for such constructions in section 3.5.

Moving on from CG management, with topic and focus the primary concerns, I connected information structure with information status, a highly correlated yet distinct linguistic plane (as noted by Vallduví 1990, Goldberg 2004 and Erteschik-Shir 2007, among others). The notions of *givenness* and *unexpectedness* accounted for the dynamic development of the CG content along its linear dimension, as preferred to old-new, in light of

the speaker's freedom in communicative perspective (Sasse 1987) and construal (Langacker 2006, 2008), intersubjectivity (Verhagen 2005, Geeraerts 2016) and the complexity of models of information status and discourse arising from more recent studies (such as Roberts 2012, Auer & Maschler 2013 and Ozerov 2018). As much as an author might try to cooperatively orient the reader towards a correct representation of the discourse, without the possibility of backtracking and repair of a defective CG, possible ambiguities will remain, especially as readers of ancient literature. We are bounded, in the sense of our situated perspective as readers, while an author may take cultural clues for granted, evoking commonly-understood frames, scripts and schemas or appealing to the accommodation of an entity or event into the CG, which was not previously present.

All of these communicative realities are addressed by the cognitive linguistics enterprise. In our brief survey we saw how all language is construed in a certain way by the speaker, and this construal can profile, as a trajectory, either one entity or events against surrounding background (landmark), or profile the entire state of affairs holistically. The contribution that construal and profiling offer to a general linguistic understanding of theticity has not, to my knowledge, been previously explored. I further showed how Cognitive Linguistics informs such a model which can account for theticity, in our discussion of prototype theory. It was shown that categories have fuzzy boundaries, with more prototypical and more marginal members, while even the factors determining membership status are more or less prototypical. The numerous borderline constructions as form-function pairings result in polysemy and polyfunctionality developed diachronically as constructions come to be grammaticalised, entrenched, and then used creatively in new contexts as semantic mappings and constructional networks are extended. Under such an understanding of linguistic categorisation the ambiguities which result in the analysis both across categorical and thetic utterances, and within different types of thetic utterance, are exactly what should be expected. To my knowledge, the concept of a continuum between thetic and categorical utterances has not been explored in the literature, but should be taken seriously. Our investigation of Cognitive Linguistics also placed language use within the general cognitive capacities of humans, in the sense that we are embodied beings, and thus the perspectival nature of communication is inevitable, while also supporting the notion that only *actually-occurring*

language events should be the object of linguistic enquiry, since exposure to such events seems to be how L1 acquisition comes about in the first place (Tomasello 2006).

Our final section in chapter 3 concerned theticity, with all of the previous discussion providing a foundation. I surveyed previous treatments of theticity and its fundamental nature, of which little consensus has been found. In recent years, however, scholars have noted the CG effects of a thetic utterance (Rochemont 2013, Khan 2019, Wilson 2020). As such, the alternative construal of the state of affairs was shown to appeal to CG accommodation. Yet, its category status is questionable without taking prototype theory into account. The following sections showed how thetic utterances comprise a family-resemblance network of discourse-pragmatic strategies, related to miratives, indicated by their discourse positioning, semantic and morphosyntactic characteristics. This was supported typologically by a brief survey of the inversion strategy seen among other pro-drop languages, especially with single-argument verbal constructions.

Finally, in chapter 4 I applied this linguistic model to the BH data of Samuel-Kings. I illustrated prototypical examples of topic and focus fronting, with potentially ambiguous examples between, on the one hand, topicality and focality, and, on the other, the informing, confirming and altering functions of focus fronting. I then illustrated each of Sasse's (2006) five discourse functions of thetics from the BH data, with areas of significant overlap both between them, and between categorical and thetic utterances, as predicted. Similarly to Moshavi's (2010) study of Genesis, topic and focus fronting accounted for between 52.3% and 64.7% of the data, whereas clear cases of fronted thetic utterances made up 26.4% of the data. The explanatory power of theticity to account for more than a quarter of the corpus is significant. The distribution of categoricals and thetics among the four books of Samuel-Kings was remarkably uniform, while direct speech was not found to be significantly more complicated than narrative (as in Moshavi 2010). Comparison with Khan & van der Merwe's (2020) study showed strikingly similar results with regards to the 1 Samuel data, despite slightly different models of theticity, the most significant of which being object-fronted clauses. Although not considered thetic in this study, Bianchi et al.'s (2016) model of focus fronting + mirativity in Italian offers a promising model to investigate similar object-fronted constructions in Semitic languages.

Such a construction was among the tentative solutions found in a number of areas in the data, including regnal formulae and summary statements. In light of the grammar-discourse continuum (Langacker 2008, Auer & Maschler 2013), it is difficult to know where to place such constructions which seem to operate on a higher level of textual organisation. I then discussed further problem areas, including disfluencies and repetition in spontaneous speech, seemingly 'redundant' personal pronouns and textual difficulties, as well as confronting the possibility of sentence focus, stage topics, the lack of a set of alternatives for a focused constituent to be chosen, and the repetition of a proper noun or pronoun within a topic-chained stretch of discourse. Finally, I illustrated a number of verb-initial clauses which seems to communicate the same discourse functions as fronted thetics.

The benefit of the approach used in this study is an economic organising principle by which a large number of fronted clauses can be understood, viz. as thetic construals, understood within prototype theory. Of course, if a binary set of conditions for category membership is sought, the approach loses its appeal for efficiency. Yet, as has been shown, this is an unlikely view of human, and indeed linguistic, categorisation. Related to this organising factor is the contribution to general linguistic inquiry illustrated by the possible areas of overlap between thetics and categoricals in the BH examples and the continuum that may exists between the two. *Mutatis mutandis*, Fujinawa's understanding of Marty's (1918) *pseudocategoricals* as "sentence expressions that formally have a categorical appearance but semantically represent thetic statements" (2020: 286), may be a step in this direction. Another area of contribution, yet open for further typological and theoretical research, is the nature of thetics as an alternative construal, profiling the entire state of events rather than only one entity. Thus it seems that research of theticity from a cognitive linguistics perspective holds much promise.

Transparently, the problem areas highlighted in section 4.4.2 remain open for further research. Particularly necessary are models to account for so-called redundant first person independent pronouns and lexicalised active topics, especially when not in a parallel or contrastive topical/focal relationship. Developments in information structure and discourse (as called for by Roberts 2012, Matić & Wedgwood 2013 and Ozerov 2018) could also provide avenues for which summary statements and macrostructure concerns could be accounted for informationally, as well as repetitions and disfluencies in spontaneous speech.

218

Studies along the discourse-grammar interface could perhaps better explain the connection between, on the one hand, thetics and miratives and, on the other, miratives and focus-structures. The latter could result in firmer understanding of object-fronting when no set of focal alternatives seems to be present in the CG. Furthermore, research on the interplay between information structure and status on the one hand, and pragmatics and argument structure on the other (Goldberg 2004), would elucidate important elements of the CG model as developed here.

Within BH research, questions unanswered in the present dissertation include whether theticity plays a role in poetic texts. Judging by van der Merwe & Wendland's observation that fronting can signal the opening of a new strophe (2010: 123), it would seem probable, yet the discourse structure and CG development would no doubt be distinct from prose texts. If this is indeed the case, are fronted constructions the syntactic tool chosen to communicate such perspective? Furthermore, from a diachronic perspective, does Mishnaic Hebrew exhibit the same inversion as commonly seen among subject-initial languages, as seems to appear in Modern Hebrew (see Auer & Maschler 2013)? Related to this last question is the need for more data on theticity in other Semitic languages, especially in narrative contexts, to illuminate and perhaps nuance the current findings.

With regard to textual processing and CG content, the contribution of Masoretic markings and intonation units (à la Chafe 1994) would seem to lead to fruitful results regarding cognitive and processing models of constituent order and discourse structure. A final question involves the possibility of not only fronting (inversion), but also subject-incorporation (Sasse 1987, 2006) as indicating thetic constructions. If such was a possibility, one would expect the Masoretic markings to primarily indicate a conjunctive accent between the subject and verb in subject-fronted thetic constructions, while disjunctive accents would be the most common among topic or focus fronted constructions.

On the whole, Cognitive approaches to usage-based linguistic investigation, especially closed-corpus studies such as BH hold much potential for future insight into our understanding of Constructions, as well as tracing perspective and construal throughout a discourse to the end of better exegesis.

Appendix A: Double and Triple Fronting

Double Fronting

Gross (2001) treats double fronting at length, though primarily investigating poetic texts, his framework contributes to our understanding of double-fronted clauses in Samuel-Kings. There are 20 such cases (1.6% of the entire dataset).[289] I have treated cases of double fronting as unambiguously categorical utterances, with their pragmatic function often depending on the syntactic constituent in first and second position,[290] which Gross labels P1 and P2, following Dik's (1997) functional framework.[291]

In the case of fronted [subject + direct object], Gross argues that P1 could be either focused or not, and may function as the topic, though not necessarily. P2 then represents the focused constituent of the clause. A topic + focus reading seems appropriate for the only such case in our corpus:

| (1) | וַיְהִ֗י כְּב֣וֹא דָוִד֮ מַחֲנָ֒יְמָה֒ וְשֹׁבִ֣י בֶן־נָחָ֢שׁ מֵרַבַּ֣ת בְּנֵֽי־עַמּ֡וֹן וּמָכִ֣יר בֶּן־עַמִּיאֵל֙ מִלֹּ֣א דְבָ֔ר וּבַרְזִלַּ֥י הַגִּלְעָדִ֖י מֵרֹגְלִֽים: מִשְׁכָּ֤ב וְסַפּוֹת֙ וּכְלִ֣י יוֹצֵ֔ר וְחִטִּ֥ים וּשְׂעֹרִ֖ים וְקֶ֥מַח וְקָלִ֖י וּפ֥וֹל וַעֲדָשִׁ֖ים וְקָלִֽי: וּדְבַ֣שׁ וְחֶמְאָ֗ה וְצֹאן֙ וּשְׁפ֣וֹת בָּקָ֔ר הִגִּ֛ישׁוּ לְדָוִ֥ד וְלָעָ֛ם אֲשֶׁר־אִתּ֖וֹ לֶאֱכ֑וֹל כִּ֣י אָמְר֔וּ הָעָ֗ם רָעֵ֧ב וְעָיֵ֛ף וְצָמֵ֖א בַּמִּדְבָּֽר: | And when David came to Menahaim, [Shobi the son of Nahash from Rabbah of the sons of Amon, and Machir the son of Ammiel from Lo-debar, and Barzillai the Gileadite from Rogelim]TOP, brought [beds, basins, clay vessels, wheat, barley, flour, grain, beans, lentils, grain, honey, curds, sheep, cheese and cattle]FOC to David and to the people who were with him, so they could eat, because they said, "The people are hungry and weary and thirsty in the wilderness" (2 Sam. 17:27-29) |

If the order is reversed, i.e. direct object + subject, either only P1, or both P1 and P2 are focused, though in this case the subject is considered a constrastive-focus, overlapping with a

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[289] A minor discrepancy is Gross' inclusion of 2 Kgs. 25:10's fronted direct object + adv. locative (וְאֶת־חוֹמֹ֡ת יְרוּשָׁלִַ֣ם סָבִ֗יב נָֽתְצוּ֙ כָּל־חֵ֣יל כַּשְׂדִּ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֖ר רַב־טַבָּחִֽים:), which I do not consider as double, considering the use of סָבִיב (cf. Ex. 19:12, Lev. 1:5), as well as 25:30 (וַאֲרֻחָת֗וֹ אֲרֻחַ֤ת תָּמִיד֙ נִתְּנָה־לּ֣וֹ מֵאֵ֣ת הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ), which seems appositive (as Disse [1998: 197] concludes, *contra* Gross [2001: 24]).

[290] "Therefore, primarily only the pragmatic functions of these pre-verbal constituents, not the entire sentence, are analysed (Gross 2001: 105; Daher, werden zumeist nur diese Vorfeldkonstituenten, night der ganze Satz auf ihre pragmatischen Funktionen hin analysiert).

[291] There appears to be a tendency of double-fronting to appear in asyndetic clauses (2 Sam. 7:7), especially those initiating a direct discourse (2 Sam. 11:10, 15:34, 1 Kgs 20:40, 21:7, 2 Kgs 5:13).

topic-switch function (*Wechsel des Topik*; 2001: 128). Under the current model only the direct object would be focused in this case, which the following seems to favour:

(2)	וַיִּגְּשׁ֣וּ עֲבָדָיו֮ וַיְדַבְּר֣וּ אֵלָיו֒ וַיֹּאמְר֗וּ אָבִי֙ דָּבָ֣ר גָּד֗וֹל הַנָּבִ֤יא דִּבֶּ֣ר אֵלֶ֔יךָ הֲל֖וֹא תַעֲשֶׂ֑ה וְאַ֛ף כִּֽי־אָמַ֥ר אֵלֶ֖יךָ רְחַ֥ץ וּטְהָֽר׃	And his servants approached him and spoke to him and said, "My father, if [a great thing]FOC [the prophet]TOP spoke to you, would you not do it?" (2 Kgs. 5:13a)

However, 1 Kgs. 10:28[292] and 20:40[293] both favour the reverse, viz. a [direct object]TOP + [subject]Foc reading.

(3)	וּמוֹצָ֧א הַסּוּסִ֛ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר לִשְׁלֹמֹ֖ה מִמִּצְרָ֑יִם וּמִקְוֵ֕ה סֹחֲרֵ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ יִקְח֥וּ מִקְוֵ֖ה בִּמְחִֽיר׃	And as for [the import of horses which were for Solomon from Egypt and Kue]TOP, [the king's traders]FOC took them from Kue at a discount. (1 Kgs. 10:28)
(4)	וַיְהִ֣י עַבְדְּךָ֗ עֹשֶׂ֤ה הֵ֙נָּה֙ וָהֵ֔נָּה וְה֖וּא אֵינֶ֑נּוּ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר אֵלָ֧יו מֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל כֵּ֥ן מִשְׁפָּטֶ֖ךָ אַתָּ֥ה חָרָֽצְתָּ׃	"And your servant was doing this and that, and he was not found!" And the king of Israel said to him, "Thus [your judgment]TOP [you]FOC have determined." (1 Kgs. 20:40)

If P1 is the subject and P2 a locative adverbial or directional prepositional phrase (*Orts-/Richtungsbestimmung*), Gross posits that either P1 is topic and the adverbial focus, or both are focused. Again, under the current model, only Gross' first suggestion is adequate, and accounts for the following two examples:

(5)	וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הָאִישׁ֙ אֶל־עֵלִ֔י אָנֹכִי֙ הַבָּ֣א מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָ֔ה וַאֲנִ֕י מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָ֖ה נַ֣סְתִּי הַיּ֑וֹם וַיֹּ֕אמֶר מֶֽה־הָיָ֥ה הַדָּבָ֖ר בְּנִֽי׃	And the man said to Eli, "I am the one coming from the battle line, [I]TOP fled [from the battle line]FOC today." And he said, "What is the news, my son?" (1 Sam. 4:16)
(6)	וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ אֶל־עֲמָשָׂ֔א הַזְעֶק־לִ֥י אֶת־אִישׁ־יְהוּדָ֖ה שְׁלֹ֣שֶׁת יָמִ֑ים וְאַתָּ֖ה פֹּ֥ה עֲמֹֽד׃	And the king said to Amasa, "Call for me the men of Judah in three days, and [you]TOP stand [here]FOC." (2 Sam. 20:4)

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[292] Despite its textual difficulties.

[293] Alternatively, the Masoretic marking in this verse could indicate two distinct clauses: Thus [is] your judgment; you have determined [it].

221

If the order is reversed, sometimes the deictic temporal adverb or prepositional phrase is topical while the subject is focus, while on other occasions the adverbial is focused and the subject topic.

Whenever P1 is the direct object and P2 any other constituent, Gross posits a topic + focus reading, which could account for the following.

(7)	וּדְבִיר בְּתוֹךְ־הַבַּיִת מִפְּנִימָה הֵכִין לְתִתֵּן שָׁם אֶת־אֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה׃	And [the sanctuary in the middle of the house]TOP, [from the inside]FOC he prepared, to put there the ark of the covenant of Yahweh. (1 Kgs. 6:19)
(8)	וַיֹּאמֶר חֲזָאֵל מַדּוּעַ אֲדֹנִי בֹכֶה וַיֹּאמֶר כִּי־יָדַעְתִּי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־תַּעֲשֶׂה לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רָעָה מִבְצְרֵיהֶם תְּשַׁלַּח בָּאֵשׁ וּבַחֻרֵיהֶם בַּחֶרֶב תַּהֲרֹג וְעֹלְלֵיהֶם תְּרַטֵּשׁ וְהָרֹתֵיהֶם תְּבַקֵּעַ׃	And Hazael said, "Why is my lord weeping?" And he said, "Because I knot the evil which you will do to the sons of Israel: their fortifications you will burn with fire, and [their young men]TOP [with the sword]FOC you will kill, and their children you will dash to pieces and their pregnant women you will rip open." (2 Kgs. 8:12)
(9)	וַיְצַוֵּהוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ־אָחָז אֶת־אוּרִיָּה הַכֹּהֵן לֵאמֹר עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַגָּדוֹל הַקְטֵר אֶת־עֹלַת־הַבֹּקֶר וְאֶת־מִנְחַת הָעֶרֶב וְאֶת־עֹלַת הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת־מִנְחָתוֹ וְאֵת עֹלַת כָּל־עַם הָאָרֶץ וּמִנְחָתָם וְנִסְכֵּיהֶם וְכָל־דַּם עֹלָה וְכָל־דַּם־זֶבַח עָלָיו תִּזְרֹק וּמִזְבַּח הַנְּחֹשֶׁת יִהְיֶה־לִּי לְבַקֵּר׃	And king Ahaz commanded him, Uriah the priest, saying, "Upon the great altar you will offer the burnt offering of the morning and the grain offering of the evening, and the burnt offering of the king and his grain offering, and the burnt offering of all the people of the land and their grain offering, and their libations, and [all the blood of the offering and all the blood of the sacrifice]TOP you shall dash [upon it]FOC. And the bronze altar shall be for me to inquire. (2 Kgs. 16:15)

On other occasions the direct object can be focused, which makes better sense of the next verse:

(10)	וְהִנֵּה עַבְדֵי דָוִד וְיוֹאָב בָּא מֵהַגְּדוּד וְשָׁלָל רָב עִמָּם הֵבִיאוּ וְאַבְנֵר אֵינֶנּוּ עִם־דָּוִד בְּחֶבְרוֹן כִּי שִׁלְּחוֹ וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּשָׁלוֹם׃	And look, the servants of David and Joab came in from the raid, and [a great loot]FOC they brought [with them]TOP. But Abner was not with David in Hebron, because he had sent him and he went in peace. (2 Sam. 3:22)

If the order is revered, i.e. P1 a non-subject constituent and P2 the direct object, Gross proposes either both constituents focused or P1 topic and the P2 direct object focused. The latter accounts for example (11):

| (11) | בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי֙ בְּכָל־בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵל֒ הַדָּבָ֗ר דִּבַּ֜רְתִּי אֶת־אַחַד֩ שִׁבְטֵ֨י יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל אֲשֶׁ֣ר צִוִּ֗יתִי לִרְע֤וֹת אֶת־עַמִּי֙ אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל לֵאמֹ֑ר לָ֛מָּה לֹא־בְנִיתֶ֥ם לִ֖י בֵּ֥ית אֲרָזִֽים׃ | [In all which I walked with all the sons of Israel]TOP, did I say [one thing]FOC with even one tribe of Israel, which I commanded to shepherd my people, Israel, saying "Why have you not built for me a house of cedar"? (2 Sam. 7:7) |

For cases in which a subject is followed by a pre-verbal temporal adverbial phrase, Gross posits that either both constituents are focused, or P1 is topic and P2 focus, as the following:

| (12) | וַתֹּ֨אמֶר אֵלָ֜יו אִיזֶ֣בֶל אִשְׁתּ֗וֹ אַתָּ֕ה עַתָּ֛ה תַּעֲשֶׂ֥ה מְלוּכָ֖ה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל ק֤וּם אֱכָל־לֶ֙חֶם֙ וְיִטַ֣ב לִבֶּ֔ךָ אֲנִי֙ אֶתֵּ֣ן לְךָ֔ אֶת־כֶּ֖רֶם נָב֥וֹת הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִֽי׃ | And Jezabel his wife said to him, "[You]TOP are [now]FOC making a kingdom over Israel. Get up, eat bread and let your heart be glad; I will give you the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite." (1 Kgs. 21:7) |

Such a model is not adequate for 1 Sam. 10:19, and the reverse order, also difficult to account for under Gross' framework, is possibly found in 1 Sam. 13:14.[294]

| (13) | וְאַתֶּ֨ם הַיּ֜וֹם מְאַסְתֶּ֣ם אֶת־אֱלֹהֵיכֶ֗ם אֲשֶׁר־ה֣וּא מוֹשִׁ֣יעַ לָכֶם֮ מִכָּל־רָעוֹתֵיכֶ֣ם וְצָרֹֽתֵיכֶם֒ וַתֹּ֣אמְרוּ ל֔וֹ כִּי־מֶ֖לֶךְ תָּשִׂ֣ים עָלֵ֑ינוּ וְעַתָּ֗ה הִֽתְיַצְּבוּ֙ לִפְנֵ֣י יְהוָ֔ה לְשִׁבְטֵיכֶ֖ם וּלְאַלְפֵיכֶֽם׃ | You have today rejected your God who delivered you from all your disasters and your troubles. And you said to him, "But you will put a king over us." So now, present yourselves before Yahweh according to your tribes and thousands. (1 Sam. 10:19) |
| (14) | וְעַתָּ֖ה מַמְלַכְתְּךָ֣ לֹא־תָק֑וּם בִּקֵּשׁ֩ יְהוָ֨ה ל֜וֹ אִ֣ישׁ כִּלְבָב֗וֹ וַיְצַוֵּ֤הוּ יְהוָה֙ לְנָגִיד֙ עַל־עַמּ֔וֹ כִּ֚י לֹ֣א שָׁמַ֔רְתָּ אֵ֥ת אֲשֶֽׁר־צִוְּךָ֖ יְהוָֽה׃ | And now your kingdom will not stand. Yahweh sought for Himself a man after His heart and he commanded him to be the leader over His people but you did not keep that which Yahweh commanded you. (1 Sam. 13:14) |

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294 Unless the עַתָּה is consider logical, rather than adverbial.

Unfortunately, Gross' work does not include הָיָה clauses, which he does not consider verbal clauses.

(15)	וּבְנָיָ֙הוּ֙ בֶּן־יְה֣וֹיָדָ֔ע וְהַכְּרֵתִ֖י וְהַפְּלֵתִ֑י וּבְנֵ֥י דָוִ֖ד כֹּהֲנִ֥ים הָיֽוּ׃	And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada and the Kerethites and the Pelethites, and [the sons of David]ᴛᴏᴘ were [priests]ꜰᴏᴄ. (2 Sam. 8:18)
(16)	וְאִם־הָעִ֣יר תָּשׁ֗וּב וְאָמַרְתָּ֤ לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם֙ עַבְדְּךָ֙ אֲנִ֤י הַמֶּ֨לֶךְ֙ אֶֽהְיֶ֔ה עֶ֣בֶד אָבִ֤יךָ וַֽאֲנִי֙ מֵאָ֔ז וְעַתָּ֖ה וַאֲנִ֣י עַבְדֶּ֑ךָ וְהֵפַרְתָּ֣ה לִ֔י אֵ֖ת עֲצַ֥ת אֲחִיתֹֽפֶל׃	And if you return to the city and say to Absalom, "[I]ᴛᴏᴘ will be [your servant]ꜰᴏᴄ, O King. I was previously a servant of your father, and now I am your servant," so that you will frustrate for me the counsel of Ahithophel. (2 Sam. 15:34)

Nor does it include indirect objects,

(17)	וַֽתַּעֲלֶ֣ה וַתֵּצֵ֡א מֶרְכָּבָה֩ מִמִּצְרַ֙יִם בְּשֵׁ֣שׁ מֵא֣וֹת כֶּ֗סֶף וְס֖וּס בַּחֲמִשִּׁ֣ים וּמֵאָ֑ה וְ֠כֵן לְכָל־מַלְכֵ֧י הַחִתִּ֛ים וּלְמַלְכֵ֥י אֲרָ֖ם בְּיָדָ֥ם יֹצִֽאוּ׃	And a chariot would be exported from Egypt for six hundred pieces of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty. And in this way [by their hand]ꜰᴏᴄ they were exported [to all the kings of the Hittites and the Syrians]ᴛᴏᴘ. (1 Kgs. 10:29)

or adverbs of manner, means or cause.

(18)	וְגַ֡ם בְּיַד־יֵה֣וּא בֶן־חֲנָ֠נִי הַנָּבִ֨יא דְּבַר־יְהֹוָ֜ה הָיָ֗ה אֶל־בַּעְשָׁא֙ וְאֶל־בֵּית֔וֹ וְעַ֥ל כָּל־הָרָעָ֣ה׀ אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂ֣ה׀ בְּעֵינֵ֣י יְהֹוָ֗ה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ֙ בְּמַעֲשֵׂ֣ה יָדָ֔יו לִהְי֖וֹת כְּבֵ֣ית יָרָבְעָ֑ם וְעַ֥ל אֲשֶׁר־הִכָּ֖ה אֹתֽוֹ׃	And also [by means of Jehu the prophet, son of Hanani]ꜰᴏᴄ, [the word of Yahweh]ᴛᴏᴘ came against Baasha and his house, upon all the evil which he had done in the sight of Yahweh provoking him to anger by the works of his hands, and being like the house of Jeroboam, and because he destroyed it. (1 Kgs. 16:7)
(19)	וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֵלָ֗יו הֶעָרִ֞ים אֲשֶׁר־לָקַ֤ח אָבִי֙ מֵאֵ֣ת אָבִ֔יךָ אָשִׁ֕יב וְ֠חוּצוֹת תָּשִׂ֙ים לְךָ֤ בְדַמֶּ֨שֶׂק֙ כַּאֲשֶׁר־שָׂ֤ם אָבִי֙ בְּשֹׁ֣מְר֔וֹן וַאֲנִ֖י בַּבְּרִ֣ית אֲשַׁלְּחֶ֑ךָ וַיִּכְרָת־ל֥וֹ בְרִ֖ית וַֽיְשַׁלְּחֵֽהוּ׃	And he said to him, "I will return the cities which my father took from your father, and you may put markets for yourself in Damascus as my father put in Samaria. And [I]ᴛᴏᴘ will send you [with a covenant]ꜰᴏᴄ." And he cut a covenant with him and sent him. (1 Kgs. 20:34)

(20)	וְאֶת־בְּנֵ֤י הַמַּכִּים֙ לֹ֣א הֵמִ֔ית כַּכָּת֖וּב בְּסֵ֣פֶר תּֽוֹרַת־מֹ֠שֶׁה אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּ֨ה יְהֹוָ֜ה לֵאמֹ֗ר לֹא־יוּמְת֨וּ אָב֤וֹת עַל־בָּנִים֙ וּבָנִים֙ לֹא־יוּמְת֣וּ עַל־אָב֔וֹת כִּ֛י אִם־אִ֥ישׁ בְּחֶטְא֖וֹ יָמֽוּת׃	And the sons of the murderers he did not kill, as is written in the book of the Torah of Moses, which Yahweh commanded, saying, "Fathers will not die on account of sons and sons will not die on account of fathers, but instead, [each]TOP will die [for his own sin]FOC." (2 Kgs. 14:6)
(21)	וְהַכֶּ֣סֶף וְהַזָּהָ֗ב נָתַ֤ן יְהוֹיָקִים֙ לְפַרְעֹ֔ה אַ֚ךְ הֶעֱרִ֣יךְ אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ לָתֵ֥ת אֶת־הַכֶּ֖סֶף עַל־פִּ֣י פַרְעֹ֑ה אִ֣ישׁ כְּעֶרְכּ֗וֹ נָגַ֞שׂ אֶת־הַכֶּ֣סֶף וְאֶת־הַזָּהָ֗ב אֶת־עַ֤ם הָאָ֙רֶץ֙ לָתֵ֣ת לְפַרְעֹ֣ה נְכֹֽה׃	And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh, but he taxed the land in order to give the silver according to the command of Pharaoh. [Each]TOP [according to his assessment]FOC brought the silver and gold of the people of the land to give to Pharaoh Neco. (2 Kgs. 23:35)

Triple Fronting

In Samuel-Kings, there are very few examples of triple fronting, including the following. The first utterance is spoken by Jonathan as he devises a plan with David regarding his absence from Saul's presence at the new moon festival, and whether he should flee or not. The importance of having the details clear in both of their minds (since no further communication would be possible) is perhaps the communicative motivation of this triple-fronted clause.[295]

(22)	וַאֲנִ֗י שְׁלֹ֤שֶׁת הַחִצִּים֙ צִדָּ֣ה אוֹרֶ֔ה	*As for me*, I will shoot *three arrows by its side.*" (1 Sam. 20:20)

From an information structure perspective, the following final example is particularly difficult (though its function as a CG update and textual orientation is quite transparent - see section 3.2.2.3).

(23)	לְפָנִ֣ים ׀ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל כֹּֽה־אָמַ֤ר הָאִישׁ֙ בְּלֶכְתּ֜וֹ לִדְר֣וֹשׁ אֱלֹהִ֗ים לְכ֤וּ וְנֵלְכָה֙ עַד־הָרֹאֶ֔ה כִּ֤י לַנָּבִיא֙ הַיּ֔וֹם יִקָּרֵ֥א לְפָנִ֖ים הָרֹאֶֽה׃	Previously in Israel, this is what a man said when he went to seek God: "Let us go to the seer." Because the prophet of today was previously called "the seer." (1 Sam. 9:9)

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[295] However, the adverbial "by its side" is absent in both the Syriac and LXX (except Origen's version). In that case, Gross (2001) would propose a topic shift + informing focus.

The Masoretic markings attempt to detach the first two constituents from a prototypical כֹּה־אָמַר clause. Their spatiotemporal orientative nature indicates a potential descriptive thetic reading, yet the presence of both adverbials before the כֹּה is difficult to account for syntactically under the current model. However, they could be grouped as a single spatiotemporal orientation, as in *That very night in Max's room a forest grew*. This example may represent a rare case where the spatiotemporal orientation is indeed topical, as the utterance is surely not 'about' people in general, but the *time* (and place) in which people referred to prophets as seers, or alternatively, simply a descriptive utterance, profiling the previous state of affairs entirely.

Appendix B: Classification of Fronted Clauses

Discourse-Pragmatic Function	References
Topic	1 Sam. 1:5a, 1:13, 1:15, 1:22, 1:28, 2:11, 2:14, 2:30x2, 4:1, 5:12, 6:8, 6:10, 6:14b, 6:15, 6:16, 8:11b, 9:6, 9:9b, 9:19, 9:27b, 10:16, 12:2a, 13:2x2, 13:3, 13:4, 13:7b, 13:16, 13:17, 13:18x2, 14:1, 14:22, 14:23, 14:40a, 14:40b, 14:41, 14:46, 15:8, 15:9, 15:11, 15:15b, 15:20, 15:34, 16:3, 16:7x2, 17:2, 17:9, 17:18a, 17:25b, 17:54, 18:8, 18:12, 19:3a, 19:10, 21:1, 23:17x2, 23:18, 24:8, 24:13, 24:14b, 24:18x2, 24:23, 25:13, 25:14, 25:19, 25:25, 25:39x2, 26:10b, 26:10c, 26:25, 28:2, 29:11, 30:3, 30:9, 30:14b, 31:10, 2 Sam. 2:13, 2:29, 2:30, 3:36, 4:1, 4:12, 5:18, 7:14x2, 7:15, 7:25, 7:26, 7:28, 8:8, 8:10b, 9:9, 9:10, 10:10, 10:11, 11:11, 11:13, 12:2, 12:6, 12:9x3, 12:12x2, 12:21, 12:22, 12:23, 12:30, 13:13x2, 13:19, 14:24x2, 14:28, 15:31, 15:35, 16:1, 17:6b, 17:17, 17:24x2, 18:4b, 18:9, 18:13b, 18:17, 18:19, 18:20, 19:5, 19:9a, 19:12a, 19:14a, 19:19, 19:25x2, 19:32, 19:41, 20:2, 20:3, 20:10b, 20:11, 20:22, 21:4, 23:19, 23:23, 24:14, 1 Kgs. 1:8, 1:10, 1:11, 1:14, 1:19, 1:26, 2:7, 2:12, 2:26a, 2:28c, 2:33, 2:45, 3:12x2, 3:20, 5:20a, 5:20b, 5:23a, 5:23b, 5:23c, 5:25, 6:7b, 6:29, 6:30, 6:31, 7:39, 7:51, 8:15, 8:31, 8:32, 8:34, 8:35, 8:36, 8:39a, 8:43a, 9:7, 9:8x2, 9:16b, 9:22, 10:27, 11:2a, 12:4b, 12:10b, 12:10c, 12:11x4, 12:14x4, 12:18, 12:29, 14:3, 14:9, 14:11a, 14:11b, 14:12, 15:14x2, 15:22, 16:4x2, 16:21b, 16:21c, 17:13, 17:14x2, 17:16x2, 18:6x2, 18:23b, 18:23c, 18:24, 18:25, 18:42, 19:4, 19:10x2, 19:14x2, 19:16x2, 19:17x2, 20:9x2, 20:27b, 20:34a, 21:24x2, 22:44, 2 Kgs. 2:7b, 3:3, 3:19x3, 3:25x4, 4:4, 4:38, 5:18x2, 6:28b, 8:12a, 8:12c, 8:12d, 8:29, 9:10, 9:11a, 9:24, 10:18x2, 10:19a, 10:19c, 11:8, 11:20, 12:4, 12:5-6, 12:17a, 14:4, 14:6a, 14:6b, 14:13, 15:4, 15:35a, 16:6b, 16:9, 16:15c, 16:17, 16:18, 17:30x3, 17:31, 17:38, 18:7, 19:20, 23:11, 23:12, 23:13, 23:34, 23:35a, 25:5, 25:7, 25:11, 25:12, 25:13, 25:19

Discourse-Pragmatic Function	References
Informing Focus	1 Sam. 1:27, 2:34, 4:20, 5:4, 5:8, 6:9a, 6:12, 8:11a, 10:8, 11:2, 11:10, 13:12, 15:15a, 16:2, 16:5, 17:28b, 18:17a, 18:24, 21:10, 24:14a, 26:6, 28:11, 28:13, 2 Sam. 1:3, 2:27, 5:4, 5:24a, 13:32c, 14:20, 17:6a, 17:15x2, 18:27, 1 Kgs. 1:6, 2:23, 2:24, 2:35, 5:15, 5:28, 6:7a, 7:26, 7:46, 8:43b, 10:16, 10:17, 11:16, 11:32, 12:1, 14:2, 14:5b, 15:4, 17:4, 20:5, 20:6b, 20:18a, 20:18b, 20:24, 20:39d, 22:11, 22:21, 2 Kgs. 5:1b, 5:4, 9:12, 9:20, 12:22, 14:7, 14:22, 14:25, 15:35b, 16:5, 16:6a, 16:15a, 17:3, 18:4a, 18:8, 18:22a, 20:14, 20:15, 21:4, 21:7, 24:20, 25:30
Altering Focus	1 Sam. 1:16, 2:15, 2:16, 2:25, 2:35, 6:9c, 7:14, 8:7x2, 9:13c, 10:19, 10:26, 11:12, 12:12b, 14:15, 14:45b, 16:8, 16:9, 17:18b, 17:18c, 17:25a, 17:28a, 17:47, 19:13, 21:3c, 21:9, 22:7x2, 22:10x2, 22:19, 26:10a, 26:19, 30:24, 2 Sam. 1:4x2, 2:3, 2:6, 2:19, 2:26x2, 3:13b, 3:25, 7:5, 7:13, 8:11, 10:3, 10:18, 11:21b, 11:24, 13:32, 13:32b, 13:33x2, 15:4, 15:20, 15:34a, 16:18a, 17:10, 19:31, 19:37, 19:38, 19:40, 20:6, 20:26, 21:20, 24:17x2, 1 Kgs. 1:52, 2:26b, 2:30, 3:13, 3:26, 5:8, 5:19, 6:22b, 7:7, 7:8b, 7:16, 8:19x2, 8:27a, 9:4, 10:11, 11:12x2, 11:13x2, 11:18x2, 12:24, 14:24, 17:24, 18:31, 18:35, 18:38, 20:18c, 20:34b, 21:23a, 21:29, 22:14, 2 Kgs. 6:12, 12:8, 12:15, 12:17b, 13:6b, 13:19, 14:3, 15:16b, 17:19, 17:33x2, 17:36x3, 17:39a, 17:41, 18:5, 18:22b, 18:25a, 18:27, 19:11b, 20:18, 22:19, 23:15, 23:18, 23:19, 23:23, 23:24, 23:27, 25:9, 25:14, 25:15
Confirming Focus	1 Sam. 1:20, 3:18, 6:9b, 7:12, 8:19, 15:1, 17:36, 20:12, 20:17, 20:39b, 21:12, 21:16, 25:21b, 27:11, 28:19, 30:5, 30:18, 30:19, 2 Sam. 3:17b, 3:38, 7:3, 7:21, 7:24, 7:27b, 7:29b, 8:14, 11:21a, 11:25, 14:19x2, 14:25b, 15:21, 16:18b, 18:4a, 19:39a, 24:23a, 1 Kgs. 1:35x2, 1:42b, 2:15c, 7:8a, 7:37, 11:2b, 13:2, 13:31, 14:26, 17:6, 17:36b, 2 Kgs. 10:5x2, 10:25, 10:30a, 13:6a, 13:11, 13:25, 15:34, 18:14, 19:15, 20:3, 24:3

Discourse-Pragmatic Function	References
Annuntiative Thetic	1 Sam. 1:11, 1:17, 2:36, 3:12, 3:19, 4:18, 9:11, 9:16, 9:27a, 10:22, 15:29, 17:46, 18:1, 18:19, 18:28, 18:30, 19:17, 20:41b, 20:42, 21:3a, 21:3b, 23:6, 24:20, 25:28, 26:23, 2 Sam. 1:6, 1:16b, 2:24b, 3:6, 5:5x2, 5:8, 9:7, 10:12, 13:30, 13:36, 14:22, 16:3, 17:9, 19:30, 19:39b, 21:17, 24:23b, 1 Kgs. 1:18, 1:43, 1:51, 2:11x2, 2:28a, 3:5, 5:1, 8:10, 8:64, 11:1, 11:4, 11:7, 11:29, 13:3, 13:33, 14:1, 14:17, 14:21a, 14:30, 15:7, 15:16, 15:23, 15:25, 16:21a, 18:1, 18:12b, 18:45, 19:2, 20:1, 20:6a, 20:15, 20:7, 20:23, 20:32, 20:35, 20:39a, 21:19, 21:23b, 22:32, 22:34, 22:35, 2 Kgs. 1:3, 1:9, 2:9, 3:1, 3:22, 4:1a, 4:1b, 4:1d, 4:40, 5:27, 6:5, 7:18, 8:22, 9:36, 10:32, 12:18, 14:9, 15:37, 18:13, 19:37a, 20:1, 20:4, 20:12, 23:29, 24:1, 24:10, 25:8
Introductive Thetic	11:5, 14:16, 2 Sam. 1:2, 4:2a, 12:1, 18:24, 18:26, 20:21, 1 Kgs. 20:13, 20:39c, 21:1, 2 Kgs. 1:6, 4:42, 5:1a, 7:3
Interruptive Thetic	1 Sam. 13:10, 23:27, 2 Sam. 18:31, 1 Kgs. 1:22, 1:42a
Descriptive Thetic	1 Sam. 1:5c, 2:22, 3:1, 3:3, 3:7, 3:15, 4:6, 5:1, 6:15, 9:5a, 9:15, 9:17a, 12:12a, 12:20, 13:19, 14:3, 14:21, 14:24, 14:25, 14:27, 14:47, 16:14, 17:34, 17:55, 18:17b, 18:25, 19:1, 19:18, 20:5, 20:39a, 20:41a, 24:19, 25:21a, 25:40, 25:44, 26:12, 28:3x2, 30:1, 30:14a, 2 Sam. 1:1, 2:8, 2:24a, 2:31x2, 3:26, 3:30, 4:2b, 4:4, 4:10, 7:1, 12:24, 13:37, 14:27, 16:15, 17:14, 18:5, 18:18, 19:9b, 19:33x2, 20:8b, 20:10a, 21:2, 21:9, 24:16, 1 Kgs. 1:1, 1:4, 1:15, 1:24a, 2:28b, 2:32, 4:11, 4:15, 5:4, 5:26, 8:12, 9:11, 9:16a, 11:21, 11:27, 14:4, 14:5a, 18:3, 18:12a, 20:39b, 22:13, 22:31, 2 Kgs. 3:4, 3:21, 5:1c, 5:2, 6:8, 6:32, 7:6, 7:17, 8:1, 9:14, 9:16, 10:19d, 10:24, 10:31, 13:14, 13:22, 18:4b, 20:19
Explanative Thetic	9:7, 11:13, 15:6, 16:1, 17:10, 20:31, 24:11, 25:7, 25:10, 28:16, 2 Sam. 3:18a, 5:24b, 7:20, 7:27a, 7:29a, 12:7x2, 18:13a, 19:12b, 19:27, 20:21, 1 Kgs. 1:13a, 1:17a, 2:8x2, 2:15a, 3:6, 3:7, 5:17, 5:20c, 8:27b, 8:39b, 8:53, 13:18, 2 Kgs. 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 4:1c, 4:27, 5:22, 8:18, 17:26, 19:11a
Unclear focal categorisation	1 Sam. 6:9d, 12:25, 19:3b, 28:1, 2 Sam. 3:18b, 5:2x3, 6:22, 17:22, 1 Kgs. 2:15b, 2:15c, 6:22a, 10:6, 18:15, 10:19b, 18:32
Possibly topic or focus	7:1, 8:13, 8:14, 8:15, 8:16, 8:17x2, 14:36, 14:40c, 18:22, 2 Sam. 12:31, 15:30, 23:10a, 1 Kgs. 1:50, 6:12, 7:1, 7:6, 11:36, 11:37, 18:23a, 21:7, 22:47, 11:18x2, 17:37

Discourse-Pragmatic Function	References
Possibly thetic or categorical	1 Sam. 1:18, 2:33, 3:2, 4:11x2, 4:13, 4:14, 4:15, 4:17x3, 6:14a, 7:10, 7:17, 8:5x2, 9:2, 9:5b, 9:12, 9:13b, 9:17b, 10:18, 11:9, 12:2b, 13:5, 13:6, 13:7a, 13:11, 17:32, 17:37x2, 20:36x2, 22:22, 22:23, 23:13, 25:8, 25:37, 28:15, 29:9, 2 Sam. 1:16a, 3:17a, 3:23, 4:6a, 6:16, 7:16, 10:14, 11:12, 12:3x3, 13:20, 13:21, 13:28, 15:37, 17:8, 17:23, 19:10x2, 19:16, 20:8a, 21:18, 23:10b, 23:11, 23:20x2, 23:21, 1 Kgs. 1:5, 1:13b, 1:13c, 1:17b, 1:17c, 1:24b, 1:24c, 1:30a, 1:30b, 8:37x3, 8:66, 10:13, 12:4a, 12:10a, 13:5, 16:34a, 18:22, 18:44, 20:19, 20:27a, 20:30, 20:33, 22:38, 2 Kgs. 2:7a, 3:17, 4:31, 5:25, 6:28a, 8:20, 9:1, 9:27, 9:30, 9:31, 10:4, 10:9, 10:10, 10:30b, 13:13, 15:12, 15:16a, 15:29, 17:39b, 18:16, 18:25b, 23:18
Unclear thetic categorisation	1 Sam. 10:27, 2 Sam. 3:22a, 13:35, 24:11, 1 Kgs. 1:41, 9:24, 10:22, 13:1, 2 Kgs. 2:23, 3:7, 6:26, 8:9, 10:13, 13:20

230

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237

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