An Investigation of (וְ)עַתָּה: Beyond the Temporal/Logical Bifurcation
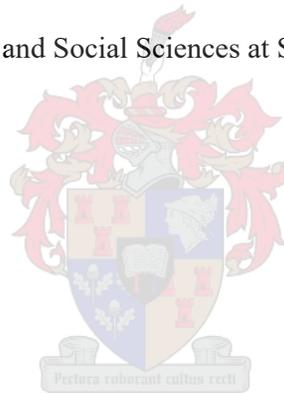
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Declaration

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Abstract

This study provides an investigation into the features and functions of עַתָּה(וְ), seeking to provide a complete account which progresses beyond the temporal/logical bifurcation which has characterized scholarship for much of the last century. This present work is part of a larger project to understand the various adverbs, conjunctions, and discourse markers (DM), those pesky small words which have puzzled translators due to their polysemous character (Van der Merwe et al 2017:379–382).

Recent developments in the fields of DM studies, linguistic typology, and grammaticalization promise explanatory insights to the problem presented by עַתָּה(וְ). Together, these disciplines make up our theoretical model, and they provide the framework, categories, and terminology, which equip us for the task of investigating עַתָּה(וְ).

We apply this theoretical model to the 431 tokens of עַתָּה(וְ) in BH. The various senses are identified, grouped together and described as distinct categories. This study posits fours senses: the predicate adverb, the sentential adverb, the structural DM, and the interactional DM. We substantiate each sense by tracing a profile of familial traits shared by most members with (syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics) and listing sub-functions with collocations and constructions. Then we relate the senses together on a grammaticalization path as clusters along a cline, demonstrating the fuzzy borders between senses with transitional cases.

The result is a unified account of עַתָּה(וְ) which explains its different functions, their corresponding features, and relates the senses together in a coherent, motivated way.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie is 'n ondersoek na die eienskappe en funksies van עַתָּה(וְ) wat daarop gemik is om 'n uitvoerige beskrywing te bied wat meer is as die temporele/logiese twee-deling wat die beskrywing van die konstruksie in die vakgebied vir die grootste deel van die vorige eeu gekenmerk het. Hierdie werk is deel van 'n groter projek om Bybels-Hebreeuse bywoorde, voegwoorde en diskoersmerkers (DM) te verstaan, daardie lastige klein woordjies wat vertalers as gevolg van hul polisemiese aard hoofbrekens gegee het (Van der Merwe et al 2017:379–382).

In die studie word gebruik gemaak van onlangse ontwikkelinge op die gebied van diskoersmerkernavorsing, taaltipologie en grammatikalisering. Hierdie ontwikkelinge bied verhelderende insigte tot die beter verstaan van עַתָּה(וְ). 'n Integrering van insigte uit al drie hierdie dissiplines bied die grondslag van die teoretiese model waarmee in hierdie studie gewerk word. Hulle voorsien die raamwerk, kategorieë en terminologie wat in hierdie studie gebruik word.

Ons pas hierdie teoretiese model toe in ons ondersoek van die 431 gevalle van עַתָּה(וְ) in BH. Die verskillende betekenisse word geïdentifiseer, gegroepeer en dan beskryf as verskillende betekeniskategorieë. Hierdie studie poneer vier betekenisse: die predikatiewe bywoord, die sinsbywoord, die strukturele DM en die interaktiewe DM. Ons begrond elke betekenisonderskeiding deur die familie-ooreenkomste na te spoor wat deur die meeste lede gedeel word (met verwysing na die ter sake sintaktiese, semantiese en pragmatiese kenmerke van elkeen). Die onderafdelings van elke kategorie word na aanleiding van die kollokasies en konstruksies daarvan onderskei. Ons groepeer dan die betekenisse saam op 'n grammatikaliseringspad as samebundelings op 'n gradiënt, wat ook die vae grense tussen betekeniskategorieë aantoon met verwysing na die grensgevalle.

Die resultaat is 'n samehorende oorkoepelende verduideliking van עַתָּה(וְ). Hierin word die verskillende funksies van die konstruksie, die ooreenstemmende eienskappe van die funksies en hul betekenisse op 'n koherente wys met mekaar in verband gebring.

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Finally, I am most grateful for my wife, Loren, and our children, Micah Mae and John Theodore. Loren, without you, none of this would have ever happened. Your unwavering support and constant encouragement propels me. I don't know what I would do without you.

Loren, Micah, Theo, you enrich my life and make it sweeter.

Dedication

To Forrest Henson, Jr. (1940-2019)

A dear friend whose faithful co-laboring in the Gospel was a constant encouragement to me and countless others across the globe.

Forrest, you planted well. May many harvesters follow in your footsteps.

Philippians 1:3–14

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

ASV	American Standard Version
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs Hebrew Lexicon
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CEB	Common English Bible
DCH	Dictionary of Classical Hebrew
DM	Discourse Marker
DP	Discourse Particle
ESV	English Standard Version
GKC	Gesenius, Kautsch, Crowley's Hebrew Grammar
HALOT	Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible
IDM	Interactional Discourse Marker
KJV	King James Version
LT	Linguistics Typology
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NET	New English Translation
NIV	New International Version
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
PA	Predicate Adverb
PM	Pragmatic Marker
SA	Sentential Adverb
SDM	Structural Discourse Marker
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
TLOT	Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

(וְ)עַתָּה is one of those pesky little words which beginning students often take for granted thanks to a relatively simplistic gloss like "now". As many students of Biblical languages soon discover it's the smallest words that at times pose the biggest challenges for translation because of their variety of usages and contexts.

1.1 The Problem

עַתָּה occurs approximately 433 times in the HB; וְעַתָּה accounts for at least 60% of these instances.[1] The landmark studies for (וְ)עַתָּה include Laurentin (1964) and Brongers (1965), substantiated by Jenni (1972). Since then, treatments of (וְ)עַתָּה have separated usages into two categories of use: temporal and logical.[2] And this is for good reason, the apparent temporal readings account for approximately 33% and the overtly logical instantiations account for approximately 50%. However, these two categories alone are insufficient to explain the cases which appear to be both logical and temporal (1–3), and the cases which are difficult to explain as either logical or temporal (4).[3]

(1)   2 Sam 15:33–34

33 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ דָּוִד אִם עָבַרְתָּ אִתִּי וְהָיִתָ עָלַי לְמַשָּׂא:	33 David said to him, "If you go on with me, you will be a burden to me.
34 וְאִם־הָעִיר תָּשׁוּב וְאָמַרְתָּ לְאַבְשָׁלוֹם עַבְדְּךָ אֲנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶהְיֶה עֶבֶד אָבִיךָ אֲנִי מֵאָז וְעַתָּה וַאֲנִי עַבְדֶּךָ וְהֵפַרְתָּה לִי אֵת עֲצַת אֲחִיתֹפֶל:	34 But if you return to the city and say to Absalom, 'I will be your servant, O king; as I have been your father's servant in time past, **so now** I will be your servant,' then you will defeat for me the counsel of Ahithophel. (ESV)

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[1] Jenni (1972:6) notes that out of the total 430 occurrences of עַתָּה, at least 272 of them are וְעַתָּה. The exact figure depends on how one reads textual variants (cf. 1 Sam 15:3, 30), but making textual decisions is outside the bounds of this thesis.

[2] Cf. Arnold and Choi (2018:150, 2003:139–140), Van der Merwe et al (2017:452–54, 2002:308–09), Waltke and O'Connor (1990:647–673).

[3] English translations are usually the ESV, as in (1–2). In the cases where the ESV is unhelpful for understanding (וְ)עַתָּה, the translation will be adjusted using the ESV as a base, as in (3–4). Where another translation is utilized because it better captures the meaning/function of (וְ)עַתָּה it is noted, as in (1).

	³³ David said to him, "If you go away with me, you'll be a burden to me, ³⁴ but if you return to the city and tell Absalom, 'I will be your servant, my king! Previously, I was your father's servant, **but now** I will be your servant,' then you can counteract Ahithophel's counsel for me. (NIV)

(2)   Exo 18:11

¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר֮ יִתְרוֹ֒ בָּר֣וּךְ יְהוָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֨ר הִצִּ֥יל אֶתְכֶ֛ם מִיַּ֥ד מִצְרַ֖יִם וּמִיַּ֣ד פַּרְעֹ֑ה אֲשֶׁ֤ר הִצִּיל֙ אֶת־הָעָ֔ם מִתַּ֖חַת יַד־מִצְרָֽיִם׃ ¹¹ **עַתָּ֣ה** יָדַ֔עְתִּי כִּֽי־גָד֥וֹל יְהוָ֖ה מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים כִּ֣י בַדָּבָ֔ר אֲשֶׁ֥ר זָד֖וּ עֲלֵיהֶֽם׃	¹⁰ Jethro said, "Blessed be the LORD, who has delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh and has delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. ¹¹ **Now** I know that the LORD is greater than all gods, because in this affair they dealt arrogantly with the people." (ESV)

(3)   Isa 44:1

¹ **וְעַתָּ֥ה** שְׁמַ֖ע יַעֲקֹ֣ב עַבְדִּ֑י וְיִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל בָּחַ֥רְתִּי בֽוֹ׃ ² כֹּה־אָמַ֨ר יְהוָ֤ה עֹשֶׂ֙ךָ֙ וְיֹצֶרְךָ֣ מִבֶּ֔טֶן יַעְזְרֶ֑ךָּ אַל־תִּירָא֙ עַבְדִּ֣י יַעֲקֹ֔ב וִישֻׁר֖וּן בָּחַ֥רְתִּי בֽוֹ׃	¹ "**But now** hear, O Jacob my servant, Israel whom I have chosen!² Thus says the LORD who made you, who formed you from the womb and will help you: Fear not, O Jacob my servant, Jeshurun whom I have chosen.

(4)   1 Sam 25:6–8

⁶ אֲמַרְתֶּ֥ם כֹּ֖ה לֶחָ֑י וְאַתָּ֣ה שָׁל֗וֹם וּבֵֽיתְךָ֣ שָׁל֔וֹם וְכֹ֥ל אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ֖ שָׁלֽוֹם׃ ⁷ **וְעַתָּ֣ה** שָׁמַ֔עְתִּי כִּ֥י גֹזְזִ֖ים לָ֑ךְ	⁶And thus you shall greet him: 'Peace be to you, and peace be to your house, and peace be to all that you have. ⁷ **Now**, I hear that you have

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| עַתָּ֣ה הָרֹעִ֤ים אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ֙
 הָי֣וּ עִמָּ֔נוּ לֹ֥א הֶכְלַמְנ֖וּם
 וְלֹֽא־נִפְקַ֥ד לָהֶ֖ם מְא֑וּמָה
 כָּל־יְמֵ֖י הֱיוֹתָ֥ם בַּכַּרְמֶֽל׃
 ⁸ שְׁאַ֙ל אֶת־נְעָרֶ֜יךָ וְיַגִּ֣ידוּ לָ֗ךְ
 וְיִמְצְא֙וּ הַנְּעָרִ֥ים חֵן֙ בְּעֵינֶ֔יךָ כִּֽי־עַל־י֥וֹם ט֖וֹב בָּ֑נוּ
 תְּנָה־נָּ֗א אֵת֩ אֲשֶׁ֙ר תִּמְצָ֤א יָֽדְךָ֙ לַעֲבָדֶ֔יךָ
 וּלְבִנְךָ֖ לְדָוִֽד׃ | shearers. **Now**, your shepherds have been with us, and we did them no harm, and they missed nothing all the time they were in Carmel. ⁸Ask your young men, and they will tell you. Therefore let my young men find favor in your eyes, for we come on a feast day. Please give whatever you have at hand to your servants and to your son David.' |

In this chapter, we will review the relevant contributions of lexica, grammars, and recent articles in understanding עַתָּה(וְ). In the following chapter, we will then peruse research outside the discipline of BH studies by incorporating insights from broader linguistic disciplines of linguistic typology, discourse marker (DM) studies, and grammaticalization.

We hypothesize that these disciplines can illuminate the problem presented by עַתָּה(וְ). Specifically, we expect that linguistic typology will demonstrate how *now*-words function in many languages, and that insights garnered from other similarly functioning words in other languages (both similar to and distinct from BH) will provide a clue as to how עַתָּה(וְ) might function in BH. Furthermore, we expect that DM studies will provide a framework for understanding עַתָּה(וְ) and its multidimensionality and diversity of functions. Finally, we expect that grammaticalization studies can postulate a synthesis of the BH data, the scholarly literature, and the insights from linguistic typology and from DM studies, providing potential grammaticalization paths which explain the development of עַתָּה(וְ).

1.2 עַתָּה(וְ) in Scholarly Literature

Before searching for insights outside BH studies, it will be useful to review existing scholarship within BH studies on עַתָּה(וְ). The following lexica, grammars, and articles while not exhaustive are deemed representative of the understanding of עַתָּה(וְ) in BH.

1.2.1 Lexica

Lexica provide readers limited guidance on the features or the functions of (וְ)עַתָּה. *BDB* (1906:774) offers the glosses "now," "and, now," and "therefore," and notes the function of "drawing a conclusion, especially a practical one." It does note the collocation of וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה, informing the reader that it can function to "[state] the grounds on which some conclusion or action is to be based" (*BDB* 1906:774). *HALOT* (2000:901–02) designates the primary function of וְעַתָּה as "introducing a new section" with the gloss "and now." It also notes that וְעַתָּה can occur before volitional verbs, and describes the function as "emphasizing." For the remaining uses, it offers glosses of "but now," "from now on," "henceforth," "yet," and "nevertheless."

DCH (2007:633–39) offers an overwhelming amount of data, attempting to categorize (almost) every occurrence of (וְ)עַתָּה, listing 10 different functions for עַתָּה and 16 different functions for וְעַתָּה. However, it does little to assist the reader in understanding how the categories are distinct from another even though the glosses overlap significantly.[4] Furthermore, *DCH* does not link the different of syntactic constructions with overlapping semantic and pragmatic contributions. The result is an unorganized list of glosses which leaves the reader no further in their understanding of the form.

TLOT (Jenni 1997:951–52) points out that the etymology of עַתָּה is disputed, but the etymology does not provide helpful insight into understanding its functions.[5] *TLOT* (Jenni 1997:957) lists two primary functions for וְעַתָּה: initiating discourse for an entire clause (most frequent) and modifying the predicate below the clause level. *TDOT* (Kronholm 2001:445) describes the functions of עַתָּה as activating a speech situation (governing "the next rhetorical unit") and modifying the predicate as a temporal adverb. *TDOT* (Kronholm 2001:445) understands וְעַתָּה as introducing a reaction to a speech situation. He also notes it can function as an adversative (Kronholm 2001:445). These resources distill information presented in older scholarly articles (cf. Lande (1949), Laurentin (1964), Brongers (1965), Jenni (1972)).

All of these lexica offer translation glosses, short explanations, common collocations and limited functions. However, none provide diagnostic clues for deciphering usages.

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[4] These critiques may be pervasive to *DCH* as a whole, cf. O'Connor (2002:191–204).
[5] וְעַתָּה is the fusing of וְ and עַתָּה, and עַתָּה derives from עת, but there is no consensus on the root, cf. *HALOT* (2000:899–900). The disputed etymology does not affect our analysis because we adopt a usage-based approach that seeks to explain the meanings and functions of (וְ)עַתָּה in BH.

1.2.2 Grammars

Neither Gesenius-Kautsch-Crowley (1910), hereafter GKC, nor Joüon-Muraoka (2006) offer a detailed treatment of עַתָּה. GKC contains sparse notes on עַתָּה as an adverb.[6] Joüon-Muraoka (2006:426–30, 550) describe how עַתָּה functions in three separate sections of their grammar: as a demonstrative adverb, as an accusative of temporal determination (or indirect accusative), and as a non-emphasized, clause-initial adverbial modifier.[7]

Waltke-O'Connor (1990:647–673) note that עַתָּה functions as a temporal adverb as well as a logical adverb. They also note that temporal adverbs frequently communicate logical relations. Likewise, Van der Merwe et al. (2002:333) split all uses of וְעַתָּה into two functions: temporal adverb and logical conclusion.

Arnold-Choi (2018, 2003)[8] cover (וְ)עַתָּה in the Particles chapter under the heading Adverb, listing two semantic (not syntactic) labels for עַתָּה, temporal and logical, noting that the latter is usually וְעַתָּה. וְעַתָּה, per Arnold-Choi (2003:140), "indicates a shift in the argument or flow of a discourse without a break in the theme" and that this is usually "also accompanied by a temporal shift as well, when one reflects on past events and commits to present or future action." They do not discuss frequency of usages or provide criteria to differentiate between the uses.

Schneider-McKinion (2016:234–37) takes a different approach, grouping וְעַתָּה with הֵן, הִנֵּה, and וְהִנֵּה as macrosyntactical signals which open and transition dialogues, while also noting that וְעַתָּה "still appears to have more of the character of an adverb of time." (237).[9]

In their second edition, Van der Merwe et al. (2017:452–54) build on their previous distillation of senses (temporal and logical) in numerous ways. First, they explain that conjunctions, adverbs, and discourse markers are blurry categories, noting that forms like עַתָּה operate in multiple categories (2017:379–82). Second, they describe several types of logical relations (2017:452–54), including how multiple instantiations work together. Additionally, they discuss the frequency of each function they describe. However, apart from adding a third category "introducing the main

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[6] GKC (1910:457), in 142g, is imprecise in comments about adverbs of time "as a rule" standing before the verb, cf. Van der Merwe et al. (2017:490–510), and 3.4–3.5.

[7] Joüon-Muraoka (2006:593) and GKC (1910:498) both make helpful comments on the construction כִּי עַתָּה in conditionals. They do not address וְעַתָּה, except once as on a rare feature of וְ (Joüon-Muraoka 2006:613).

[8] No substantive changes were made to the section on עַתָּה in the second edition (2018).

[9] Cf. Schneider (1974:261–264) for the original German.

body of a letter", they still distinguish only two major categories of use: the temporal adverb and the discourse marker where predominantly logical relationships are involved.

1.2.3 Articles

Other DMs have recently been investigated and described with great accuracy, clarity, and coherence by applying insights from DM studies and typological studies.[10] Two recent articles attempt to describe the discourse functions of וְעַתָּה incorporating insights from DM research. Garr (f.c.) provides a helpful description of the morphology, phonology, and syntax of וְעַתָּה. He (Garr f.c.) argues convincingly for וְעַתָּה's categorization as a DM, citing its "extra-sentential slot" at the beginning of a clause, the combination with other DMs, it being preceded by a pause, and its optionality. Garr (f.c.) concludes that וְעַתָּה functions as a "coherence marker that bridges and negotiates conversational disjointedness". However, he does not go far enough, failing to describe *how* (וְ)עַתָּה provides coherence. Furthermore, Garr (f.c.) does not offer a holistic description of the different functions nor does he provide criteria for distinguishing various usages, settling instead for vague generalizations.

Lyavdansky (2012, 2010) provides a detailed analysis of וְעַתָּה's most common, or prototypical usage – signaling the transition from assertive discourse to directive discourse. The preceding discourse segment (assertive in nature) forms the grounds for the following discourse segment (directive or action-oriented in nature). What follows וְעַתָּה is most frequently an imperative, but it can also be a cohortative or a jussive. The semantics of the verbal forms can be a command, wish, or request. He substantiates this analysis by showing the similarities and differences in *now*-words in Hebrew, Akkadian, and Aramaic (Lyavdansky 2010:22–42). He also notes the other DMs/particles which fill a similar role in directive utterances: נָא, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר, לָכֵן, כִּי, הִנֵּה, הֲלֹא, רק (2012:9–28).[11] This analysis, congruent with the preceding studies of Jenni (1972), Brongers (1965), provides greater clarity to the prototypical function of (וְ)עַתָּה. However, it does not progress past the temporal – logical bifurcation, and it still lacks a holistic account which relates the prototypical function to the other uses.

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[10] Locatell (2017), Van der Merwe (2014, 2009), Miller-Naude and Van der Merwe (2011). In Biblical Greek, see Fresch (2015). Similar typological studies have yielded insights to other word classes as well, cf. Bivin (2017), Rodriguez (2017), Lyle (2014, 2012).
[11] Lyavdansky (2012:16) does not intend the list to be exhaustive, ignores the conjunction וְ, and restricts his corpus to Judg.

Together, the lexica, grammars, and articles provide a helpful introduction to the primary features and functions of (וְ)עַתָּה. However, they fall short of a comprehensive description of the features and functions of (וְ)עַתָּה. These resource lack either sufficient sense delineation, descriptive criteria for each sense, or an explanation of the relatedness of the senses, or both. In the absence of such a study, translators and commentators are forced to rely on the generalizations of the above resources and their own intuitions.

1.3   Challenges And A Way Forward

At the outset, it is important to note the challenges faced in this type of study: small sample size (fewer than 500 total tokens), small corpus (fewer than 4 million words),[12] no mother tongue speakers to consult, a diverse canon spanning centuries of composition which reflect an oral history, textual difficulties, and the interplay of compiled, edited narratives featuring recounted dialogues and crafted speeches (both spoken and written texts).

A comprehensive analysis of (וְ)עַתָּה would explain the features and function in a descriptive way which is also memorable, presenting readers, translators, and exegetes with interpretive options and identifying features to facilitate both understanding and translation. We hypothesize that the disciplines of DM studies, linguistic typology and grammaticalization will illuminate the problem and provide insights which, when combined with a thorough analysis of the data, will yield a more complete account.

In chapter 2 we will discuss these three disciplines and notate insights to implement in our analysis of (וְ)עַתָּה in BH. Chapter 3 will analyze and categorize the adverbial usages of (וְ)עַתָּה. Chapter 4 will analyze and categorize the DM usages. Then, chapter 5 will relate the senses together, providing a unified framework for (וְ)עַתָּה. Chapter 6 will summarize the findings of this study, discuss its advantages, and suggest further research opportunities.

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[12] While there might not be an established minimum number of tokens or corpus size for linguistic studies, the relatively small numbers of each, compared with those of Pons Borderia (2006:78), Waltereit (2006:62), and the features of the corpus noted above, the conclusions reached can be held tentatively. Lyavdansky (2010:25) notes the number of tokens (433) in the restricted corpus size (approximately 300,000 words) is "quite a figure".

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL MODEL

2   Theoretical Model

With an overview of the problem presented by (וְ)עַתָּה and the gaps in current scholarship in hand,

we now turn to the theoretical model which will assist in sharpening our understanding of the

features and functions of (וְ)עַתָּה. We hypothesize that an eclectic model featuring multiple linguistic

disciplines provides the tools necessary to illuminate solutions to the problem. The eclectic model

incorporated here includes discourse marker studies, linguistic typology, and grammaticalization.

DM studies is a subfield of pragmatics which is concerned with describing the features and

functions of DMs. Linguistic typology provides insight into how similar constructions function

across languages. Grammaticalization provides insight into how the use of linguistic constructions

develop and how their development affects the roles, meanings, and functions they may have.

These disciplines were selected because they have been combined in other studies with fruitful

results.[13] This chapter will offer overviews of each discipline and detail how each provides tools for

illuminating the issues at hand.

2.1   Overview of DM Studies

The first perspective we will incorporate is that of DM studies because this nascent field has

recently yielded helpful insights (fn10). This section provides an overview of representative

perspectives within the diverse field, detailing features, functions, and definitions of DMs.[14] These

will provide a clear picture for understanding what is (and what is not) a DM which in turn will

provide a framework for analyzing and describing (וְ)עַתָּה.

2.1.1   Two Perspectives: Coherence or Relevance

Within DM studies, there are two differing perspectives on how to analyze and explain the role of a

DM. The perspectives differ on what they are looking for in a discourse: coherence or relevance.[15]

In the search for coherence linguists analyze a discourse based on how the speaker/author constructs

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[13] See Locatell (2017), Fischer (2006a), Kryk-Kastovsky (1997), Brinton (1996).
[14] For a more detailed introduction see Crible (2017), Fischer (2006b), Müller (2005).
[15] For coherence approach, see Schiffrin et al. (2001:1–10). For a relevance approach, see Clark (2013); on relevance approaches to DMs, see Schourup (2011, 1999); Blakemore (2002), see also Fischer (2006b:1–20).

their discourse in such a way as to make it understandable for the audience. From the coherence perspective, DMs provide, among other things, structure to the discourse; they show relations between chunks or units of discourse. That is to say, DMs work with other aspects of the discourse to build coherence. In the relevance framework, DMs do not mark coherence for "coherence relations are regarded as derivative" (Schourup 2011:2115). Rather, they provide instructions to the hearer for how to process the information with the least amount of effort. DMs encode procedural constraints on the cognitive processing (Schourup 2011, 1999; Blakemore 2002).

In the coherence model, speakers utilize DMs to build coherence in the discourse, signaling kinds of relationship or development. In the relevance model, DMs provide procedural codes to the brain, directing the processing of utterances. A weakness of the coherence approach is a lack of a developed theory with guiding principles resulting in the linguist relying on their own intuition. A weakness of Relevance Theory is a lack of a developed semantic theory, leading to an overemphasis on pragmatics, leaving it ill-equipped to offer solutions to the problem of the polysemy of עַתָּה. Furthermore, relevance theory "does not explain [discourse] markers change over time or in different text types." (Aijmer 2013:11).

However, coherence and relevance approaches are not mutually exclusive. With the challenges faced in this study (1.3) and the polysemous nature of עַתָּה in mind, we will take a coherence approach while incorporating aspects of Relevance Theory where applicable.

2.1.2 DM Terminological Issues and Classification Problems

Discourse Markers (DMs) are referred to by many monikers.[16] The two most pervasive terms, discourse particle and discourse marker, are related in Figure 2.1 (Fischer 2006b:7).

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[16] Other terms: discourse particles, pragmatic particles and pragmatic markers, interpersonal markers, argumentative markers, presentative particles, parentheticality markers, modal particles, adverbial connectives, connectives, modal discourse particles, elusive particles, particles of truth, contrastive and set-evoking particles, sentence- structure particles, down-toners (Weydt 2006:205–206).

Figure 2.1: Discourse Marker vs. Discourse Particle
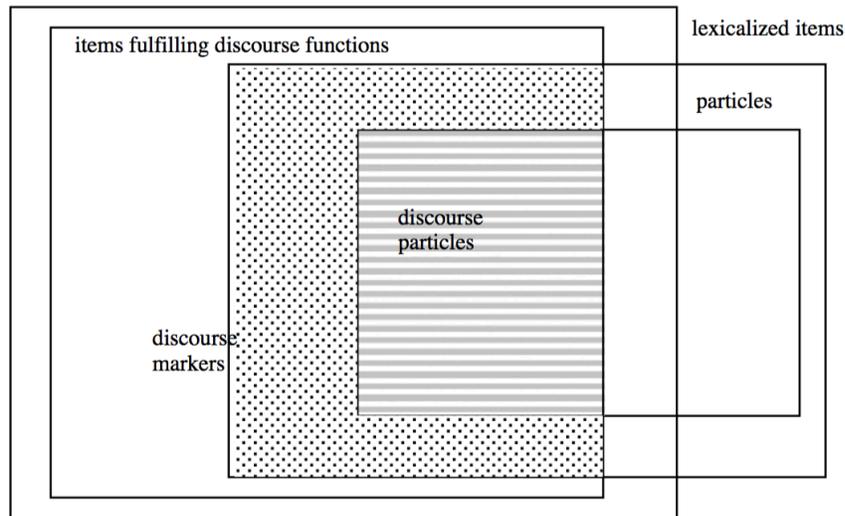
We will use the term DM for the following reasons:

a) DM is the broader term, incorporating particles, lexical items and phrases.

b) A DM's primary function is marking relations between discourse units. Since DMs are a functional class, a term which hints at a major function of the class is preferable.

c) DM is the more widely recognized term in Hebrew studies (van der Merwe et al. 2017:379–382, van der Merwe 2014:127–138; Lyavdansky 2012, 2010).

d) The notion "Particle" can be used to describe syntactic features within a clause, below the sentence level, (Arnold and Choi 2018:109; Müller 2005:3; Schourup 1999:229; GKC 1910:293). DMs are concerned with relations among clauses at the discourse level, above the sentence level (Aijmer 2013, Fischer 2006b, Fraser 2006.)

Linguists also generally agree that DMs are an open class composed of lexical items and expressions.[17] Fraser (2006:194) describes DMs as lexical expressions from one of these five syntactic categories: coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, adverbs, prepositions, or prepositional phrases. Van der Merwe (2014:135) notes that members are not determined based on morphological or syntactic features, but rather "on the basis of the function they fulfil in a text or discourse."

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[17] Hansen (2006:27), Fraser (2006:194).

10

In addition to disagreement on the term DM, linguists also disagree on what features DMs possess, what functions DMs fulfill, and how to define DM. The next three sections will cover these items in turn.

2.1.3   DM Features

In a broad survey of DM literature, Alami's (2015:7) posits the following generally recognized features of DMs:

a) They are almost used in all languages.

b) They are syntactically independent.

c) They are syntactically flexible, i.e. They may appear at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of an utterance. This flexibility contributes to their enormous usefulness and high frequency in discourse.

d) They do not affect the propositional meaning of utterance.

e) They make no contribution to the informational content of discourse.

f) They deal with the pragmatic aspects of discourse.

g) They are meaningful but non-truth conditional.

h) They are multifunctional.

i) They are short, consisting of one to three syllables. [sic]

Bazzanella (2006:449) adds the following points of agreement:

a) they are related to the speech situation;

b) they serve to indicate the mood of a sentence, and to express attitudes and emotions;

Fraser (2006:193–196) describes DMs thus:

a) Phonologically, DMs are usually monosyllabic lexical items, but phrases like "on the contrary" can be DMs.

b) Syntactically, DMs appear at the beginning of a clause.

c) Pragmatically, DMs signal a relationship between segments S2 and S1.
Rather than create a relationship, DMs mark a relationship which is
already present.

Furthermore, DMs can occur in spoken and written discourse and are particularly challenging to translate.[18] Perhaps the most interesting feature is the multifunctionality of DMs, and it is to the functions of DMs we now turn.

2.1.4 DM Functions

Before discussing functions, a note on the number and relation of functions is required. There are three basic approaches: monosemy, polysemy, and homonymy.[19] This study adopts a polysemy approach. We allow the data to display different functions, grouping similar functions into senses. We address the pitfalls of polysemy by applying insights from grammaticalization to posit reasons for the development of senses.

As noted above, linguists agree on the multifunctionality of DMs. Bazzanella (2006:449) describes two aspects of this multifunctionality. First, paradigmatic functionality holds the same DM can perform different functions in different contexts. Second, syntagmatic functionality is when several functions are formed by a single DM instantiation.

Müller (2005:9) outlines the following primary functions of DMs:

a) to initiate discourse

b) to mark a boundary in discourse (shift/partial shift in topic)

c) to preface a response or a reaction

d) to serve as a filler or delaying tactic

e) to aid the speaker in holding the floor

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[18] Aijmer et al. (2006); Bazzanella (2006); Pons Borderia (2006).
[19] Monosemy holds that each lexeme possesses a single invariant meaning. Variations of specific usages are attributed to context and pragmatics, not the form itself. Polysemy holds that there may be distinct senses of a lexeme but that each sense is related. Homonymy holds that each sense of a lexeme is distinct. In DM studies, sense/meaning is understood in terms of function (Fischer 2006b:13). A potential pitfall of the monosemy approach is an abstracted function to the point where description of the form is so general it is unhelpful and does not distinguish between DMs in meaningful ways. A potential pitfall of the homonymy approach is an overspecification of senses with insufficient attention paid to how the senses developed. A potential pitfall of polysemy is the (over)multiplication of senses with little attention paid to the unifying/shared elements.

f)   to effect an interaction or sharing between speaker and hearer

g)   to bracket the discourse either cataphorically or anaphorically

h)   to mark either foregrounded or backgrounded information

Fraser (2006:189–204) offers a model of pragmatic markers (PMs) in which DMs are a subset.[20] His overarching category of PMs includes four sub-categories represented in Figure 2.2. In his system, DMs (e.g. *and*, *but*, *so*, *then*) 'signal a relation' between the preceding discourse unit and the following discourse unit in one of four ways: elaboration, contrast, inference, and temporality.

Figure 2.2: Fraser's Model of Pragmatic Markers[21]
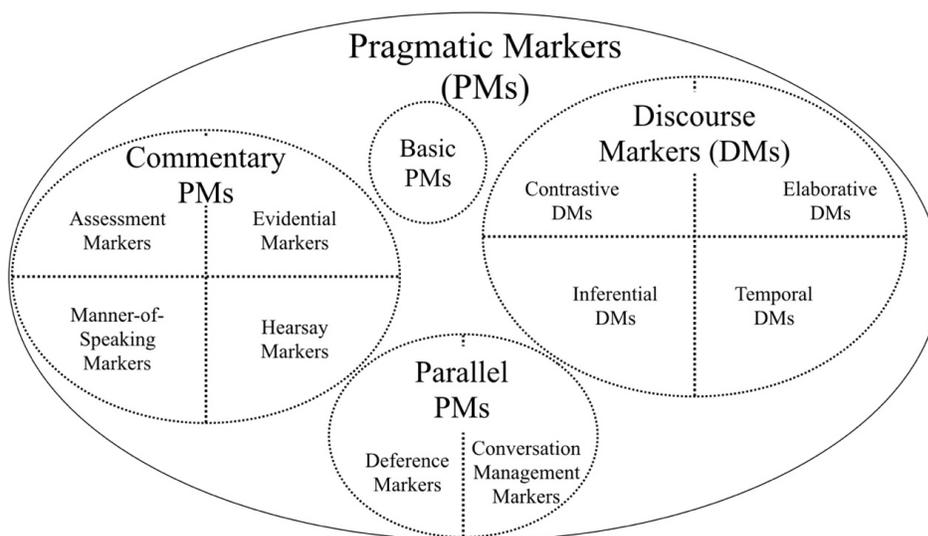
In an effort to address this multifunctionality, Bazzanella (2006:456–57) proposes a helpful taxonomy of three discourse domains in which DMs operate (cognitive, interactional, and

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[20] Basic PMs "signal the type of message (the illocutionary force) the speaker intends to convey" in a specific utterance (e.g. *I promise*, *please*) (Fraser 2006:189). Commentary PMs "signal a message separate from but in the nature of a comment on the basic message." (e.g. *fortunately*, *reportedly*) (Fraser 2006:189). Commentary PMs are divided into assessment markers, manner-of-speaking markers, evidential markers, and hearsay markers. Parallel PMs "signal a message separate from the basic message" (e.g. *well*, *now*) (Fraser 2006:190). Parallel PMs are divided into deference markers and conversation management markers. Explanations and examples are elided for the sake of space, cf. Fraser (2006:189–204).

[21] The size of the circles is not indicative of any function, meaning, or significance.

metatextual) and functions within those domains.[22] The cognitive functions include procedural marking, epistemic marking, and modulating. See Table 2.1:

Table 2.1: The Cognitive Functions of DMs

1.	Procedural markers (related to cognitive processes, e.g., inference)
2.	Epistemic markers (related to speaker's subjectivity and commitment)
3.	Modulation devices (related to propositional content and illocutionary force)

The interactional functions include turn taking and yielding, filling, attention-getting and confirming, hedging, comprehension checking and confirming, turn yielding, interrupting, back-channeling, agreeing and disagreeing. These functions can be delineated according to interlocutor roles (speaker-addressee), as in the Table 2.2:

Table 2.2: The Interactional Functions of DMs

Speaker	Addressee
1. Turn-taking devices	1. Interrupting devices
2. Fillers	2. Back-channels
3. Attention-getting devices	3. Attention confirmed
4. Phatic devices	4. Phatic devices
5. Hedges and boosters[22]	5. ———
6. Checking comprehension	6. Comprehension confirmed; requests for clarification
7. Requesting agreement, confirmation	7a. Agreement, confirmation, support
	7b. Partial or complete disagreement
8. Yielding the turn	8. ———

The meta-textual functions include textual structuring, quoting, focusing, and reformulating. These functions are represented in Table 2.3 (Bazzanella 2006:456–57).

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[22] Bazzanella's functions are similar to Brinton (1996:29–40), cf. Müller (2005:29–31).

Table 2.3: Meta-textual functions of DMs

1.	Textual markers
	1.1 Structuring the parts
	1.1.1 Introduction (as a frame device)
	1.1.2 Transition
	1.1.3 List
	1.1.4 Digression
	1.1.5 Ending
	1.2 Quotation and indirect speech markers
2.	Focusing devices
	2.1. Local
	2.2. Global
3.	Reformulation markers
	3.1. Paraphrase markers
	3.2. Correction markers
	3.3. Exemplification markers

A specific DM instantiation activates a function(s) by a range of parameters including textual, paralinguistic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, and emotive components (Bazzanella 2006:458).

DMs operate in different ways based on their text type. For example, certain interactional functions (e.g. turn taking, holding the floor) are less common in written discourse, and certain metatextual functions (e.g. structuring the parts) may be less common in spoken discourse (Aijmer 2013:1–19, Fischer 2006b). Therefore, investigations typically focus on one or the other. However, (וְ)עַתָּה in BH poses a challenge by possessing characteristics of both written and spoken discourse (1.3). Bazzanella's model navigates this challenge by enabling a DM instantiation to operate on multiple domains simultaneously. Fraser's classification is helpful in separating the textual organizing functions of DMs from other subjective and interactional functions of PMs (e.g. *now*). With this survey of the features and functions of DMs, a definition must now be established.

2.1.5 DM Definition

Although there is broad agreement on the features and functions typical of DMs, there is much discussion on the boundaries of the category and what does, and does not, constitute a DM (Fischer 2006b). How a DM is defined determines which constructions and usages fit. Because DMs are primarily pragmatic in their meanings, descriptions of DMs should be function-oriented. Given the lack of a widely-accepted definition for DMs, we utilize two complementary definitions which incorporate certain morphosyntactic features and pragmatic functions. Bazzanella's (2006:456) definition is primary:

> Discourse markers are items external to propositional content which are useful in locating the utterance in an interpersonal and interactive dimension, in connecting and structuring phrasal, inter-phrasal and extra-phrasal elements in discourse, and in marking some on-going cognitive processes and attitudes.

This functional definition specifies the three meta-functions DMs fulfill: interactional, metatextual and cognitive. It also hints at several features described above, namely that they are external to propositional content, that they are multifunctional, that they connect units of discourse. Onodera's (2011:1) description of DMs is a helpful corollary to the above definition:

> A discourse marker signals the speaker's view/attitude/judgement with respect to the relationship between the chunks of discourse that precede and follow it, typically in the sentence (utterance)-initial positions.

These definitions enable us to include textual/logical uses while at the same time incorporating subjective and interactional uses.

2.1.6 DM Studies Summary

With these complementary definitions we move on to summarize the key insights from DM studies which we will apply to (וְעַתָּה). Key features of DMs include their syntactic flexibility, sentence initial/extraclausal position, and lack of propositional contribution. Common functions for DMs include turn-taking, stance-taking, text-organizing, chunking, topic shifting, development marking, and procedural marking. Most importantly, DMs are multifunctional. These functions can be subsumed into three metafunctions: cognitive (aiding in processing), metatextual (organizing/structuring the discourse), and interactional (negotiating speaker-hearer/writer-reader

16

relations). We adopt Bazzanella's framework for descriptive analysis of the data (with insights of Fraser's model incorporated at certain points) because it best incorporates these features and functions.

DM studies are useful in analyzing and categorizing instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה. We will now investigate the functions of *now*-words in particular across many different languages to see what insights may be gleaned which complement those from DM studies.

2.2 Linguistic Typology

While DM studies zooms in on features and functions of forms, the next discipline, linguistic typology, zooms out to provide a broader perspective. LT suggests how עַתָּה might function in BH by describing how *now*-words function across languages. We begin this section by defining our terms. Then, we investigate how *now*-words function in different language families. Finally, we summarize the insights from this perspective.

2.2.1 LT Definition

The term linguistic typology can describe three areas of linguistic research: typological classification, typological generalization and typological functionalism (Croft 2003:1–3).[23] This study takes the last approach, typological functionalism; it examines how *now*-words function in diverse language families, including those similar to and different from Hebrew.

Cross-linguistically pervasive functions of *now*-words may be cognitively motivated, and therefore more likely to be expected of עַתָּה in BH. This study will examine *now*-words in the following languages and dialects: English, other Germanic languages, Finnish, Korean, Aramaic, Akkadian, and Hebrew. This study relies on the detailing of the functions of *now*-words by linguists experienced in those languages.[24] It is to these studies of *now*-words we now turn.

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[23] See Song (2010) for an overview of approaches and applications, see also Croft (2003). Typological classification involves comparing languages and grouping them according to language type. Typological generalization looks for language universals by examining languages for patterns and comparing patterns across languages. Typological functionalism is a theoretical framework which focuses on describing language use according to functional features as opposed to formal features (Croft 2003:1–3).

[24] For the sake of space, we will summarize the comments from each researcher and limit examples. All examples are from the studies cited. In each section, examples were culled from the source in

2.2.2 *Now*-Words in English

The uses of *now* in English is the subject of a handful of articles.[25] Schiffrin (1987:228–266) was the first to examine the discourse functions of *now* as part of her seminal work *Discourse Markers*. Schiffrin (1987:41–42) utilizes a corpus of recorded conversations, and she (1987:288) argues that *now* as an adverb is a temporal deictic which influences its meaning as a DM. She (Schiffrin 1987:230) asserts that *now* in a specific use is only an adverb or a discourse marker, though she acknowledges the difficulty in distinguishing between adverb and DM in specific instantiations.

Schiffrin (1987:266) primarily views *now* as "marker of discourse time" relating utterances to their progression in the discourse as in (20, from Schiffrin 1987:229).

(5)   (explicit identification of unit 1)

         (now) subordinate unit 1a

         ((now) subordinate unit 1b)

Summarizing her own view, Schiffrin (1987:261) claims *now* ''marks a speaker's progression through discourse by displaying upcoming attention to a new idea unit, speaker orientation and/or participation framework''.

Aijmer (1988:15–34) offers four functional categories for *now* as a discourse particle:

   a) Shifts from D-events to Evaluation[26]

   b) Organization and planning

   c) Topic switch

   d) Change of 'footing'

Aijmer (1988:16) concludes "the general function [. . .] of *now* is to establish and maintain textual coherence between parts in the discourse which seem at first sight to lack coherence". Thus, *now* operates "as a signal to the hearer to reconstruct a discourse structure in which the coherence of

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the author's explanation of the specific use. Examples may have been changed slightly or formatted differently to fit the standards adopted for this study.

[25] Schiffrin (1987), Aijmer (1988), Brinton (1996, 2010), Schourup (2011) were examined for this study, cf. Clancy and Vaughan (2012), Aijmer (2002). For the sake of space, we combined the overlapping functions discussed while also summarizing the main point(s) of each author.

[26] Aijmer (1988:19) describes a D-event as "an assertion which refers to a disputable state of affairs".

18

the utterances connected by *now* becomes apparent." (Aijmer 1988:16). Aijmer reconciles the use of *now* as a deictic temporal adverb and a DM by asserting the deictic component of the adverb shifts pointing to the discourse. In doing so, *now* signals to the audience to focus on a particular discourse element (Aijmer 1988:30–34).

In summarizing the findings of both Schiffrin and Aijmer, Schourup (2011:2115) consolidates the functions into the following list:[27]

a) a change to a new or resumed subtopic in an orderly progression through a sequence of such subtopics

b) a change within a larger structure to a new idea, argument, development, stage, reason, or list item

c) a shift from a general position in argument to a concrete one

d) a modification or qualification of the present speaker's opinions in relation to those expressed by another party

e) a contrasting or crucial move or point in an argument -a paraphrase or reformulation of a previous argument

f) a move following a disruption in the development of the main topic, or a return, after digression, to a point made earlier

g) a change in orientation/footing/alignment (e.g., a change to direct speech or to an afterthought, or from narrative to evaluation/interpretation) or in grammatical mood

h) an attempt to hold or take the turn

Schourup (2011:2115) takes a relevance approach for understanding the pragmatic effects of *now* as a DM that "occurs at points of contextual discontinuity." Schourup (2011:2121) offers the following procedural encoding for *now*: "Process the utterance in a context that is in part significantly ('noteworthily') new with respect to assumptions already highly accessible." Schourup states this encoding is helpful to the hearer in two ways. First, it can "reduce the effort required to access assumptions that would have been accessed anyway" (Schourup 2011:2121). Alternatively,

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[27] In addition to this summary of the functions listed by Schiffrin and Aijmer, Schourup has a helpful summary of their respective positions (2011:2112–15).

19

the encoding can "prompt the hearer to access assumptions that would not otherwise have been accessed" (Schourup 2011:2121). Either way, the DM enables the hearer to more readily access the relevant meaning than if the DM had been omitted.

Brinton (2010:288; 1996:12–13, 270) also investigates *now*, but from a diachronic perspective. Brinton notes that even in Old English the adverb *nu* (now) had a discourse function in addition to its temporal adverbial function. As English progressed into latter stages, the functions broadened incorporating text structuring, topic changing, interpersonal functions, and personal (epistemic) evaluations.

2.2.3 *Now*-Words in Other Languages[28]

Also incorporating a diachronic perspective, Kryk-Kastovsky (1997:319–328) investigates how *now*-words function in English and other Germanic languages. She demonstrates that English *now*, even in its early stages, possesses temporal adverbial function and a DM function, like Germanic *nun*. She argues this dual function developed from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) *nu*. She goes on to show that many other Indo-European languages including Swedish, Danish, Old Norse, Dutch, and Old Saxon all have discourse and adverbial functions for *now*-words. In some languages, the form has grammaticalized further developing what she calls a textual/emotive meaning.

Hakulinen (1998:83–96) investigates *nyt* in Finnish. Hakulinen (1998:93) argues against the common description of *nyt* as an empty filler and instead describes it as marking "the turn as one that presupposes a preceding context". She (1998:91) describes the discourse function as "marker of relevance with respect to the (immediately) preceding context". Hakulinen (1998:86) also states that *nyt* can have a logical component, though not as strong as *so then* in English.

Lee and Choi (2009:87–107) examine the two *now*-words in Korean, *icey* and *cikum*. While Lee and Choi demonstrate the similarities and differences in *icey* and *cikum*; both *icey* and *cikum* act as a temporal adverb and as a DM. Lee and Choi (2009:106) argue that *cikum* "takes an internal viewpoint, that is it describes something that is going on at the time of description". On the other hand, *icey* is predominantly used with "inchoative and resultative event descriptions" and focuses on the "dividing point between two different states" (Lee and Choi 2009:106).

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[28] Examples elided for space constraints.

These diverse languages illustrate the prevalence of *now*-words to function both temporally and logically as well as a tendency to specialize or develop additional DM functions.

2.2.4 *Now*-Words in Semitic Languages

Having investigated how *now*-words function in several modern languages, we consider how *now*-words function in ancient languages from the same family, region, and time period as BH, yet outside the corpus of BH. Lyavdansky (2010:22–42) examine *now*-words in the Semitic languages Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian.[29]

In Ancient Hebrew letters, וְעַתָּה demonstrates a different function.[30] "The particle וְעַתָּה is used very consistently in the letters, always marking the transition from the introductory part, usually containing the name of the addressee and greetings, to the body of the letter." (2010:29). Lyavdansky (2010:30) notes that employing a lexical item to signal a transition from "the introductory part of a letter to the body of the letter is a widespread phenomenon in Ancient Northwest Semitic epistolography".[31] Lyavdansky (2010:30) notes that the 'epistolary' usage of וְעַתָּה is frequently followed by a directive, as in (6) and (7).[32]

(6)   *ʔl ʔlyšb **wʕt** ntn lktym b 1 2 yyn lʔrbʕt hymm w 300 lḥm wmlʔ ḥḥmr yyn whsbt mḥr*
      ʔl tʔḥr wʔm ʕwd ḥmṣ wntt lhm

      To Eliyashib: **And now** — give to Kittiim 1 bat and 2 hins of wine for four days, and 300 [loaves of] bread, and a homer full of wine. You should send [it] out tomorrow, do not tarry. Also, if there is any vinegar left, give [it] to them. (Lyavdansky 2010:29–30)

(7)   *ʔl ʔdny ʔlyšb yhwh yšʔl lšlmk **wʕt** tn lšmryhw...*

      To my lord Eliyashib. May Yahweh ask for your peace! **And now** — give to Shemaryahu...

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[29] Here we deal with the extrabiblical material of Lyavdansky (2010), cf. 1.2.3 and 4.2.7 and Lyavdansky (2012:9–28) for BH.

[30] Lyavdansky's corpus for Ancient Hebrew letters is outside BH. He (2010:29) notes in 50 letters, of which only 20 are in good condition, there are 21 instances of וְעַתָּה.

[31] Van der Merwe et al. (2017:454) also mention this function.

[32] The examples are transliterated as that is how they appear in the source.

(Lyavdansky 2010:30)

Aramaic has three temporal deictic adverbs: *kʕn*, *kʕnt*, and *kʕt* (Lyavdansky 2010:30–31).[33] All three are likely etymologically related and are identical in meaning. Like עַתָּה in Hebrew, *kʕn*, *kʕnt*, and *kʕt* function adverbially and as a discourse marker. Similar to וְעַתָּה, it can mark the transition from assertive to directive discourse, but this function is not as dominant as in BH. Also similar to וְעַתָּה, it frequently transitions from greeting to body in letters (8).[34] The forms also exhibit a more general topic shifting role, both in letters and dialogue (9). Lyavdansky sees this generic topic shifting role as predominant.

(8) *šlm ʔwryh kʕn hlw tʔtʔ zylk rbtʔ mṭʔt lmgz ʕmrʔ zylh qdmʔ mtmrṭ bkbʔ kʕn ʔtʔ wgzh bywm zy tr ḥmnh tgznh...*

Greetings, Uriyah! **Now** your big ewe is ready for shearing. The one you sent over before is being combed. So you can come shear her whenever you please

(Lyavdansky 2010:32)

(9) Greetings to the temple of Bethel and the temple of Queen of Heaven. To my sister Nanaiham from your brother Nabusha. I bless you by Ptah — may he let me see you again in good health! Greetings to Bethelnetan. Greetings to Nikkai, Asah, Tashai, Anati, Ati, and Reia.

wkʕt The tunic you sent me has arrived. I found it all streaked; I just don't like it at all! Do you have plenty of other kinds? If I knew, I would exchange it for a dress for Ati.

wkʕt As to the tunic which you brought for me to Syene, I wear it.

wkʕt Please have some castor oil sent to us, so we can exchange it for olive oil.

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[33] Lyavdansky used Aramaic texts from the TAD corpus dated between seventh to third century BCE, with most around the fifth century BCE, from Egypt. He (2010:30–31) refers to the dialect as Egyptian Aramaic, but notes it is representative of the larger linguistic entity known as Imperial or Achaemenid Aramaic.

[34] Muraoka and Porten (1998:335) also note the letter usage and topic switching functions in of *wkʕt* and *kʕt* in Egyptian Aramaic.

wkʕt Don't worry about me and Makkebanit; let us worry about you instead! Take

care of Bethelnetan; keep Habib away from him!

wkʕt If I can find anyone dependable, I will send you something.

(Lyavdansky 2010:32)

When discussing the Biblical Aramaic corpus, he notes that the functions of *kʕn* in dialogue

are largely parallel to וְעַתָּה (Lyavdansky 2010:33).

In Akkadian, the picture is slightly different with two similar adverbs, *inanna* and *anumma*.[35]

Lyavdansky (2010:37–38) follows Loesov (2004:83–181) in distinguishing between the two.

Inanna is the more typical English *now* and functions as an adverb as well as a discourse marker.

Anumma is closer to *here* in English and הִנֵּה in Hebrew and functions strictly as a discourse

marker.[36] In discourse, *inanna* signals "the transition from one type of speech act to another" (e.g.

from assertive to interrogative, from interrogative to directive, etc.) as in (10) (Lyavdansky

2010:37).

(10)   *at-ti ᵈa-ru-ru tab-ni-[i amēla (lú)]* **[e]-nin-na** *bi-ni-i zi-kir-šú*

'You, O Aruru, created [man:] **now** create what he suggests!

This is similar to how the above Semitic *now*-words functions. In Akkadian, the transition between

greeting and body in a letter is usually unmarked (Lyavdansky 2010:35). However, *anumma* can

mark "the transition from the informative part of the letter ("Informieren") to "Initiative"."

(Lyavdansky 2010:36). (11) from Loesov (2004:160) is an example of topic switch or stance-

taking.

(11)   ***i-na-an-na*** *a-di-ni u₂-ul e-te-še-er u₃ ṣu₂-a-rum u₂-ul šu-X-ur- [dam]-ma u₂-ul aṭ-ru-da-*

aš-šu

Now I have not yet recovered, and a servant not ... and I have not dispatched him.

---

[35] Lyavdansky (2010:34–35) does not specify his corpus, but he cites studies including material
from Amarna and Old Babylonian letters as well as The Epic of Gilgamesh.
[36] *Anumma* is not discussed at length here because of its correlation to הִנֵּה. For more on *anumma*,
see Lyavdansky (2010:34–37) and Loesov (2004:83–181).

It is also noteworthy that *inanna* and *anumma* frequently appear together (12), illustrating their shared discourse prominence, "draw[ing] the attention of the addressee to what happens in the text." (Lyavdansky 2010:39).

(12)　　***i-na-an-na a-nu-um-m[a]*** *a-na GN šu-pu-ur-ma li-wa-aš-še- ru-nim*

　　　　　Now (HERE!) write to GN so that they release (them).

　　　　　(Loesov 2004:129)

Lyavdansky (2010:39) concludes that *inanna* has more diverse functions than both וְעַתָּה and *kʕt*.

2.2.5　LT Summary

We have investigated how *now*-words functions in several distinct language families including English, Germanic, Finnish, Korean, and Semitic languages. In all of the languages investigated, *now*-words exhibit a temporal adverbial usage and a discourse usage. Common discourse features in modern Germanic European languages include: update discourse time, topic shift, stance-taking, speech structuring, qualifying disjunctive statements, and turn taking. Limited examples show that *now*-words in Finnish and Korean exhibit similar functions. Common discourse features for *now*-words in Semitic languages include shifting from assertive to directive discourse (speech structuring), transitioning between sections of a letter (especially between the introductory greetings and the body), and topic shifting (both in letters and dialogue). This functional similarity illustrates that *now*-words cross-linguistically operate on all three domains of discourse functions, especially the metatextual domain (speech-structuring) and interactional domain (turn-taking). With this understanding of *now*-words, we move on to the final linguistic perspective of grammaticalization.

2.3　　Grammaticalization

With insights from discourse analysis and linguistic typology, we now move on to the third perspective: grammaticalization. Grammaticalization provides clues into how the insights from DM studies can be related together with those from linguistic typology. First, this section will establish a definition of grammaticalization and its main ideas as well as discuss how and why meaning shifts.

24

Then, the concepts of grammaticalization will be applied to DMs, including potential paths relevant to the problem. In conclusion, a summary of insights will then be provided.

2.3.1 Definition and Main Ideas

Grammaticalization is a term which can refer to a process whereby meanings change or a research discipline studying meaning change.[37] Traugott (1995:1) defines grammaticalization as "the process whereby lexical material in highly constrained pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts becomes grammatical".[38] As a research method, grammaticalization provides processes, mechanisms, tendencies, and predictive paths for explaining synchronic variation. Both the process and the research method are relevant to this study for solving the problem of (וְ)עַתָּה. The central idea is that less grammatical constructions[39] become more grammaticalized.[40] In this study, we adopt the broad definition of Traugott (above) acknowledging there are more narrow definitions,[41] and we will apply the method to the problem of (וְ)עַתָּה.

Grammaticalization is a diachronic perspective which seeks to explain synchronic variation. It is concerned with understanding how language is actually used, not with how it could be hypothetically used. When viewed from a historical perspective, grammaticalization typically exhibits most if not all of the following factors (Hopper and Traugott 2003:2–3):

  a) change occurs only in a local context,

  b) change is made possible by an inference,

  c) the shift involves reanalysis,

  d) reanalysis is discoverable as the result of generalization,

---

[37]Grammaticalization is one way to account for shifts in meaning. Others include lexicalization, pragmaticalization, generalization, specification, etc., cf. Onodera 2011, Traugott 1995.
[38]Consider the content word *back* (a) referring to the body part. The lexical item *back* also has a spatial sense separate from the human body and can be used as a spatial preposition (b). It also can be used in a temporal sense (c). (c) is more grammatical than (a). (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6)
(a) George injured his back playing basketball.
(b) George instructed Alex to go back to the car.
(c) George played soccer back in the day.
[39] We use the term 'construction' in the sense of Langancker (2008:161–167), that is a symbolic form-meaning pairing, cf. Grisborne and Patten (2011:1–2).
[40] This is often described, either implicitly or explicitly, as a unidirectional process, in that it does not go the other way around. This tenet is contested by some (Heine et al 1991:4). Rather than viewing lexical meaning as distinct from grammatical function, grammaticalization sees a continuum with lexical meaning on one end and grammatical structures on the other.
[41] Cf. discussions in Onodera (2011), Waltereit (2006), Hopper and Traugott (2003), Heine et al. (1991), Traugott and König (1991).

e) phonological reduction,

f) various stages of grammaticalization coexist,

g) earlier meanings constrain later meanings,

h) some earlier meanings fade, and

i) meanings progress from concrete to abstract.

We will briefly survey the processes and patterns of grammaticalization before discussing how these affect DMs and by extension עַתָּה(וְ).

2.3.2 Processes and Patterns Behind Meaning Shifts

Grammaticalization contends the following regarding meaning shift:

a) is motivated by pragmatic effect

b) is gradual

c) extends by means of reanalysis, analogy, metaphor, and metonymy

d) progresses from concrete to abstract

e) proceeds along cross-linguistically attested clines

The primary motivation of meaning shift is the desire to communicate new meanings using old forms achieving optimum communicative significance. Old forms are used in new ways, attracting attention to their significance, and thereby achieving desired effect. Linguists refer to this desire as pragmatic effect.[42] In the course of language use, pragmatic usages become conventionalized. New meanings become entrenched over time through use. What originates as pragmatic becomes semanticized, which in turn becomes syntacticized, which in turn becomes grammaticalized. Meaning shifts are gradual, not immediate.[43]

The usual pattern is a weakening or loss of "semantic complexity, pragmatic significance, syntactic freedom, and phonetic substance" (Heine and Reh 1984:15, quoted in Traugott 1995:2). In the process, original meanings fade, and new meanings are acquired. When original meanings do persist, they tend to limit the later uses (Hopper and Traugott 2003:81–98).

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[42] Heine et. al. (1991:32) surmises grammaticalization begins with "individual creativity, which, in specific instances, leads to community creativity."

[43] Cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003:71–74); Heine et al. (1991:22–32).

These gradual shifts are shaped by the processes of reanalysis and analogy and the mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy. Reanalysis redefines the borders of a construction. (13a) becomes (13b):

(13)   a. [(A, B) C]

       b. [A, (B, C)]

The change is silent, and undetected until the meaning shifts by means of analogy, also known as generalization. Analogy is the process whereby a construction becomes unbound to a specific context. Consider the examples in (14). Hamburger undergoes reanalysis, but this reanalysis is not apparent until (14b) is divorced/analogized/generalized away from its original context of a meat dish originating from Hamburg.

(14)   a. [(Hamburg) er]

       b. [ham (burger)]

       c. [cheese (burger)]

       d. [ostrich (burger)]

       e. [salmon (burger)]

Reanalysis is responsible for generating new grammatical constructions. Analogy is responsible for expanding the use of those constructions to more generalized contexts and usages. These processes work together with the mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy to shape and direct meaning shifts.[44]

2.3.3   Tendencies of Meaning Shifts

In addition to the processes described above, grammaticalization describes some tendencies which are characteristic of meaning shifts. Subjectification is the process whereby meanings extend from concrete to abstract, attending to the speaker's own beliefs, reactions, attitudes, opinions, etc. It is

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[44] For more on this, see Hopper and Traugott (2003:81–98) and Heine et al. (1991:65–76), cf. Taylor and Littlemore (2014), Evans et al. (2007), Kövecses (2002).

the process whereby meanings become more speaker-oriented. Traugott and König (1991:208–09) outline three tendencies of subjectification:

> a) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I: Meanings based in the external described situation > meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation
>
> b) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II: Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > meanings based in the textual situation
>
> c) Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III: Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation

As a result of these tendencies, Traugott (1995:2) argues that in the early stages of grammaticalization, pragmatic strengthening may occur, as opposed to bleaching or weakening. She (Traugott 1995:2) goes further to state that "in early stages of grammaticalization, pragmatic significance and subjective expressiveness increase."

Another tendency described by grammaticalization is that meanings develop along particular paths or clines. A cline is a cross-linguistically attested path from one construction to a more grammaticalized or subjectivized one. [45] The concept of a cline is essential in grammaticalization. "The term 'cline' is a metaphor for the empirical observation that cross-linguistically forms tend to undergo the same kinds of changes or have similar sets of relationships, in similar orders." (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6).[46] As a construction journeys along a cline, patterns of use congregate in clusters. Clusters are groups of similar usages or meanings and are usually represented with specific labels as seen in the clines in (15–16).

(15)   demonstratives > articles > agreement markers > gender markers[47]

(16)   Resultative cline for verb forms: perfect > perfective past > resultative > present[48]

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[45] This study will use the terms path and cline interchangeably.
[46] Other scholars refer to the same set of ideas with similar metaphors including continuums, pathways, channels and chains (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6; cf. Heine et al. 1991:220–25). Each of these metaphors is intended to communicate that forms tend to develop in a predictable way.
[47] Hopper and Traugott (2003:29)
[48] For more on grammaticalization of verbs, see Andrason and Locatell (2016) on the Greek perfect (*leluka*) and Andrason (2015, 2011) for BH.

Although cluster labels may appear to separate categories, they are not wholly distinct. Specific instantiations may blur the lines between the categories. The clusters represent different senses of meaning which a construction may communicate, As a construction moves down the cline, it may exhibit features of two bordering clustering. Rather than posing a problem, these 'exceptions' are to be expected.

Diachronically, a cline is the path along which a form develops. Synchronically, a cline is a continuum in which the lexical meaning is on one end and the grammatical meaning/function on the other. A particular use of a construction can function anywhere in the continuum. Clines illustrate several key tenets:

a) meanings change slowly over time

b) old meanings persist

c) old meanings (or semantic cores) can and often do influence potential uses.

d) boundaries between clusters are blurry.

With a general outline of the terms, processes, and tendencies important in grammaticalization, we turn to how grammaticalization studies are applied to DMs.

2.3.4   Grammaticalization of DMs

We will now examine how these tenets of grammaticalization apply to DMs. The case of grammaticalization of DMs is somewhat disputed (Onodera 2011:1–5).[49] This study adopts a broader understanding of grammaticalization in line with Onodera (2011:1–5) and Brinton (1996, 2001) whereby a violation of one typical principle (e.g. bonding or coalescence) does not automatically disqualify a construction from the label of grammaticalization.[50] Moreover, the principles of grammaticalization offer explanatory power to the problem of synchronic variation exhibited by DMs (Brinton 1996).

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[49] On the one hand, the development from lexical items (i.e. *now*, *well*, *indeed*) of DMs is evidence of their grammaticalization. On the other hand, the development of DMs breaks the usual patterns involving a weakening of complexity, scope, and significance. DMs seem to increase in all three areas. Pragmatic strengthening violates the principle of bonding – the process of decreased syntactic freedom. DMs are clearly an instance of lexical material becoming more grammatical which exhibit "most if not all of the characteristic signs of grammaticalization" (Onodera 2011:3), so they should not be excluded. How strictly one defines grammaticalization affects one's categorization of DMs.
[50] Cf. Waltereit (2006), Aijmer (2002), and Brinton (1996).

There are several clines which are important to our investigation. It is common for temporal markers to develop into markers of "logical" grammatical relations (17) such as adversative, causal, concern, concessive, and conditional relations (Heine and Kuteva 2002:291–294).[51]

(17)   temporal marker > logical marker (e.g. *while*, *although*, *since*)

The studies covered in 2.2 further substantiate the cline of (17) as well as (18). Traugott (1995:1) was the first to posit a cline for DMs (18):

(18)   clause-internal adverb > sentential adverb > discourse marker

The clause-internal adverb cluster features a post-verbal position, appearance in adverbial phrases, and a small syntactic scope. The sentential adverb cluster exhibits increased pragmatic prominence, sentence initial position, and syntactic scope over the entire clause. The DM cluster is characterized by increased subjectification and generalized meaning.[52]

Brinton (1996:6) argues that syntactic change is linked with semantic pragmatic change. As a construction moves from adverbial phrase, to sentential adverb, to discourse marker, it can change in several ways — syntactically, semantically, pragmatically and intonationally — and that these changes are often linked. The change in syntactic position for a predicate adverb, bound inside of a clause (adverbial stage), to the beginning of the sentence (sentential adverb), to the left periphery where it is dislocated (discourse marker), is tied to an increase in pragmatic prominence in each stage.

Brinton (2006:311–24, 2001:177–99) posits two other paths to which can apply to conjunctions and expressions which become DMs:

(19)   adverb/preposition > conjunction > discourse marker

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[51] For more on this cline, cf. Traugott and König (1991:195–97), Fagard and Degand (2010:179–82).

[52] Brinton (2006:315–17) notes that some adverbs develop from nouns, which results in another cluster at the beginning of the cline: noun > clause-internal adverb > sentential adverb > discourse marker.

(20)   matrix clause > matrix clause/parenthetical disjunct > discourse marker

As a construction moves down the cline, it exhibits the semantic-pragmatic tendencies described above. Whereas adverbs, prepositions, and matrix clauses are concerned with external and real-world relations, DMs and logical markers are concerned with textual relations. Furthermore, DMs can also represent the speaker's viewpoint on the discourse and their role in it, meaning the subjectification tendency is active.

2.3.5   Grammaticalization Summary

This survey of the key tenets of grammaticalization offers explanatory power to the multi-functionality of DMs. Grammaticalization provides a diachronic perspective of meaning change which explains synchronic variation. The clusters along a cline offer a way to relate the different sense of (וְ)עַתָּה together. The subjectification tendencies provide intimations as to the innovative functions (וְ)עַתָּה may exhibit. The cross-linguistically attested clines (17–20) illustrate how DMs develop as well as the persistence of old meanings.

2.4   Conclusion of Theoretical Model

In this chapter we explored three linguistic perspectives which we hypothesize will illuminate the problem of עַתָּה. We have looked at the characteristics of DMs, how they contribute to meaning in discourse, and how they operate at multiple levels and in multiple ways. We have examined how *now*-words function in a variety of languages both ancient and modern. Finally, we have explored how meanings change over time from lexical to grammatical, from propositional to textual to expressive, through the processes, mechanisms and tendencies of grammaticalization. We have also seen how DMs develop along predicable paths.

In the following three chapters these insights will be applied to עַתָּה. Before doing so, we will restate the original hypothesis and augment it with expectations from the above disciplines. It is hypothesized that the insights from DM studies, linguistic typology, and grammaticalization noted above will bring greater clarity to the understanding of individual instantiations and how those functions can be pieced together to provide a complete picture of עַתָּה. עַתָּה can be expected to:

31

a) to operate at multiple levels, including on the cognitive, metatextual, and interactional domains.

b) to exhibit characteristics of both written and spoken DMs.

c) perform most if not all of the following functions: turn taking, structuring/organizing discourse, topic shifting, transitioning from preliminary to primary elements of a speech or letter, and stance-taking.

d) develop along a cline from clause-internal adverb > sentential adverb/conjunction > discourse marker.

e) extend from propositional function, to textual function, to expressive function.

f) exhibit phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes simultaneously.

g) eventually exhibit functions related to speaker's orientation or stance, becoming increasingly speaker-oriented.

With his in mind, we turn to analyzing the data in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3: DATA SET, METHODOLOGY, TERMINOLOGY, AND ADVERBIAL SENSES

3 Data Set, Methodology, Terminology, & Adverbial Senses

Equipped with insights from DM studies, linguistic typology and grammaticalization, we move towards an analysis of (וְ)עַתָּה. In what follows, four broad senses will be enumerated: predicate adverb (PA), sentential adverb (SA), structural DM (SDM), and interactional DM (IDM). We will distinguish these four broad categories, provide diagnostic features, and discuss particular functions within the broad categories, all with the aid of examples. In this chapter, after detailing the data set, methodology and terms, we will describe the adverbial senses of עַתָּה according to their syntax, semantics, and pragmatics.[53] The (וְ)עַתָּה's DM senses are the topic of chapter 4. In chapter 5, these senses will be related to one another on a grammaticalization path.

3.1 Data Set

Before describing these senses, some observations on the data set are in order. (וְ)עַתָּה occurs approximately 433x in the Hebrew Bible.[54] By number of occurrences, (וְ)עַתָּה appears most frequently in 1 Samuel (46x), Genesis (40x), 2 Samuel (30x), Isaiah (29x) and 2 Chron (29x). By hits per 1000 words, Haggai (4.35x), Micah (3.77x), Hosea (3.33x), Malachi (2.29x), and 1 Samuel (2.21) rank in the top five for frequency.[55] עַתָּה occurs on its own 97x, וְעַתָּה occurs 256x. עַתָּה also occurs in the following collocations and constructions: כִּי עַתָּה (28x), with הִנֵּה (20x),[56] מֵעַתָּה (13x), עַד־עָתָּה (9x), גַּם־עַתָּה (5x), with לָכֵן (3x),[57] לֹא עַתָּה (2x), and אַךְ־עַתָּה (1x).

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[53] See the following section on Terminology for more.

[54] *HALOT* (2000:901) states there are 433 occurrences, but it disputes the textual occurrences in Eze 23:43 and Psa 74:6. *BDB* (1906:773) states there are 435 occurrences. Accordance tags 433 occurrences in 423 verses in the BHS. A critical evaluation of the Masoretic text is outside the scope of this thesis, but some decisions must be made on which instantiations to include and which to exclude. In order that the statistical results would not be skewed in the eyes of some, the aforementioned instantiations (Eze 23:43 and Psa 74:6) have been excluded. This leaves the final count at 431 tokens, cf. Appendix A.

[55] Accordance Bible Software frequency analysis, "Book Chapter Stats", see Appendix B. עַתָּה does not occur in Leviticus, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Song of Songs, Qoholeth, Lamentations, or Esther.

[56] גַּם־עַתָּה הִנֵּה (1x), and עַתָּה הִנֵּה (1x), וְהִנֵּה עַתָּה (2x), הִנֵּה עַתָּה (15x), וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה (1x)

[57] וְעַתָּה לָכֵן (2x) and לָכֵן עַתָּה (1x)

3.2   Methodology

In the analysis, we began with the two widely-accepted functions: temporal adverb and logical *now*.
Sensitized by the cross-linguistic features and functions of *now*-words described in 2.2, this
researcher analyzed every occurrence of עַתָּה(וְ) in the HB. Initially three groupings were used:
temporal adverb, logical *now*, and other. Features analyzed include (but not limited to) word order,
syntax, verbal constructions, collocations, accents, thematic developments, speech length,
pragmatic considerations, scope of influence, discourse structuring, and temporal nature. From the
analysis, a sense emerged between temporal adverb and logical *now*, what Traugott (1995:8–9)
terms a sentential adverb. A non-logical, subjective, interactional discourse use also became
evident, what Fraser (2006:189–91) terms a pragmatic marker. In this chapter, the two adverbial
(predicate adverb - PA, sentential adverb - SA) will be described. In the following chapter, the two
discourse uses (structural DM - SDM, and interactional DM - IDM) will be elucidated. All four
senses will be argued for on the basis of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. In the process, we will
establish a profile for each sense consisting of defining features, sub-functions, constructions and
collocations, and common 'familial' traits shared by most members. Before progressing, we must
define some relevant terms.

3.3   Terminology (Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics)

It is difficult to progress too far in analysis of a particular linguistic phenomenon without
advocating for a particular view of how language works. This researcher generally ascribes to the
commitments and methodologies of cognitive linguistics as opposed to a generative or relevance
approach.[58] These commitments impact the analysis in that sharp boundary lines between grammar
and syntax or semantics and pragmatics are not drawn.[59] We assume that syntax, semantics, and
pragmatics work together to construe meaning and function, and we define how we use them to
describe the features and functions of עַתָּה(וְ).[60]

Syntax describes the structure and relationships among the forms within a clause. In this
thesis, the term syntax will be used as the umbrella for describing word order and relationships

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[58] Locatell (2018), Janda (2015), Evans (2014, 2012), Taylor and Littlemore (2014), Evans et al.
(2007), Taylor (2007), Geeraerts (2006). Cf. Aijmer (2013), Blakemore (2002), Schourup (1999).
[59] Cf. Evans and Green (2006:27–40).
[60] The definitions and delineations of syntax, semantics, and pragmatics are debated.

within the clause along with the collocations and constructions.[61] Semantics is concerned with the meaning(s) of a word, and is generally described in terms of encoded meaning, which is to say it is inherent within the form. If a form has multiple meanings (polysemy), these meanings are referred to as senses.[62] Pragmatics is concerned with the meanings of words in context, the implied or received meaning.[63]

In examining a word like (וְ)עַתָּה which transcends word class boundaries and exhibits a host of different functions, it is important to acknowledge the co-dependent relationship between semantics and pragmatics. When describing instantiation *A*, it is difficult to say *X* element is related to semantics and *Y* element is pragmatically derived. Innovative/pragmatic uses bleed into the semantics of the form and become entrenched/semanticized through repeated use. The point at which an innovative use becomes an entrenched use is debatable and somewhat arbitrary. Thus, semantics and pragmatics should be viewed as poles on a continuum.

Another important concept for understanding (וְ)עַתָּה is deixis or deictics. Deictics are a category of referential words which derive their meanings by pointing to a time or place in the context of the utterance/narrative. Indexicals and demonstratives are sub-categories of deictics and in older works the terms can be used interchangeably.[64] The function of a deictic is to ground an utterance in a real or perceived scenario or state. A temporal deictic places an utterance in a specific point (or period) in time.[65]

Since the inherent meaning of (וְ)עַתָּה is of a deictic nature, its deictic reference will be discussed as a semantic category. Over time and through a variety of usages, the deictic reference of עַתָּה changes from grounding an utterance in time, to grounding it in the discourse, to grounding it

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[61] On approaches to Hebrew syntax and grammar, cf. Arnold and Choi (2018:xvii–4), Van der Merwe et al (2017:47–65, 379–382) Waltke and O'Connor (1990:44–80); for linguistic approaches which inform our perspective, cf. Radden and Dirven (2007:1–170), Evans and Green (2006:108–201).

[62] For a recent overview of the disciple of semantics, see Riemer (2010).

[63] For a recent overview of the disciple of pragmatics, see Ariel (2010).

[64] Cf. Akmajian et al. (2001). Indexicals include *I*, *now*, and *here*. "An indexical expression is one that has an indexical use, a literal use to refer to something in virtue of its relation to the actual physical utterance." (Akmajian et al. 2001:255). "Demonstratives involve a supplementary gesture (demonstration) or special setting in order to determine reference" and examples include *this*, *that*, *he*, *she*, *you*. (Akmajian et al. 2001:256). Joüon-Muraoka (2006:305–06) calls עַתָּה a demonstrative adverb, comparing it with זֶה. Other examples include אָז, כֹּה and כֵּן, הִנֵּה and שָׁמָּה, פֹּה and שָׁם. These words are all referential in their meaning pointing to other known aspects. Deixis is the more appropriate term for these constructions.

[65] Riemer (2010:98–100), Radden and Dirven (2007:96–105).

in participants themselves. Pragmatics will be discussed according to implied meanings, discourse function, and the domain(s) in which the form operates.

This brings us to another terminological clarification: meaning/function. An instantiation of (וְ)עַתָּה can add to *meaning* to the utterance, provide some kind of organizational *function* in order to interpret the utterance, or a combination of both. A sharp line between meaning and function will not be drawn. In the case of DM uses, the construction's semantic content has (mostly) eroded, and its *function* of relating together discourse chunks is its *meaning*. This is sometimes referred to as procedural or functional meaning (2.1.1–2.1.4). Entrenched meanings will be assumed to be semantic, and implied meanings will be discussed as pragmatic.

The remainder of this chapter will explore the two senses of עַתָּה as a deictic, temporal adverb: the predicate adverb (PA) and the sentential adverb (SA). Each section will offer defining features in terms of its syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the form. These features will be demonstrated through examples.

3.4   Adverbial Senses of (וְ)עַתָּה

We begin our analysis with עַתָּה as a temporal deictic predicate adverb, the PA, as it is the most basic and most universally accepted function of עַתָּה.

3.4.1   Predicate Adverb

עַתָּה as a PA is the most established function; all grammars which discuss עַתָּה describe it as a temporal deictic predicate adverb.[66] As we will argue below this sense forms the basis for the others. We will limit our discussion to highlighting main descriptors and demonstrating these with examples.

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[66] Cf. 1.2. Though they use different terms, this function is described in most dictionaries and grammars. *BDB* (1906:774): "adverb of time". Jenni (1997:957): "modify the predicate below the clause level." Arnold-Choi (2003:139–40): "places the focus on time that is concurrent with the perspective of the discourse, and is most often rendered 'now'". Waltke-O'Connor (1990:658,171): a "stative temporal deictic" and "accusative of time". GKC (1910:457) "adverb of time". Joüon-Muraoka (2006:305–06, 430) "demonstrative adverb" and an "accusative of temporal determination". Van der Merwe et al. (2017:454) "refer to a point in time simultaneous with the speech time of an utterance" and (2002:308–09) "[i]ndicates the *time* of the action to which the verb refers."

3.4.1.1 PA Profile

Syntactically, the scope of עַתָּה is limited to the main verb, and it is always clause-internal. עַתָּה modifies the main verb and always appears after the verb it modifies. Since the PA is the only sense where עַתָּה appears after the verb, the post-verbal position is a helpful diagnostic feature. It occurs in the following constructions: עַד־עַתָּה and מֵעַתָּה.

Semantically, עַתָּה is a temporal deictic. It grounds the verbal idea in a moment in time or a given situation. That situation can refer to the present 'here and now', or it can begin now and extend into the future (as with מֵעַתָּה), or it can refer to a past action/event/state that continues up until now (as with עַד־עַתָּה). As a deictic temporal adverb, עַתָּה contributes to the proposition content by grounding the utterance in a specific time frame, usually the present or recent past. Pragmatically, the force of עַתָּה comes in providing new information.

3.4.1.2 PA Constructions

We will now examine specific instantiations of עַתָּה beginning with its use in temporal phrases: עַד־עַתָּה (x9) and מֵעַתָּה (x13). Then, we will examine post-verbal occurrences of עַתָּה (x10) and עַתָּה in nominal constructions when it is not clause-initial (4x). Lastly, we will examine the single post-verbal occurrence of גַּם־עַתָּה. We will describe characteristics of these constructions with the help of examples.

3.4.1.2.1   עַד־עַתָּה [67]

עַד־עַתָּה appears nine times, and every occurrence can be categorized as a temporal deictic PA. It always occurs post verbal, and it always refers to a period of time beginning in the past up to the present with the translations like "until now" or "as yet". The word order is somewhat flexible, sometimes appearing at the end of the clause (21), sometimes directly after the verb (22–23) (Van der Merwe 2017:493–94).

(21)   Exo 9:18

הִנְנִי מַמְטִיר כָּעֵת מָחָר בָּרָד כָּבֵד מְאֹד ¹⁸	¹⁸ Behold, about this time tomorrow I will
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הָיָה כָמֹהוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם	cause very heavy hail to fall, such as never

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[67] Gen 32:5, 46:34; Exo 9:18; Deut 12:9; 2 Sam 19:8; 2 Kgs 8:6, 13:23; Eze 4:14; Ruth 2:7.

לְמִן־הַיּ֤וֹם הִוָּֽסְדָהּ֙ **וְעַד־עָֽתָּה**׃	has been in Egypt from the day it was founded **until now**. (ESV)

(22)   Deut 12:9

⁹ כִּ֥י לֹא־בָּאתֶ֖ם **עַד־עָ֑תָּה** אֶל־הַמְּנוּחָ֖ה֙ וְאֶל־הַֽנַּחֲלָ֔ה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ נֹתֵ֥ן לָֽךְ׃	⁹ for you have not **as yet** come to the rest and to the inheritance that the LORD your God is giving you. (ESV)

(21, 23) illustrate a particular construction of עַד־עַתָּה following מִן + *temporal phrase*.⁶⁸ The מִן phrase introduces the beginning of a period of time which continues until the present, עַד־עַתָּה.

(23)   Ruth 2:7

⁷ וַתֹּ֗אמֶר אֲלַקֳטָה־נָּא֙ וְאָסַפְתִּ֣י בָֽעֳמָרִ֔ים אַחֲרֵ֖י הַקּוֹצְרִ֑ים וַתָּב֣וֹא וַֽתַּעֲמ֗וֹד **מֵאָ֤ז הַבֹּ֙קֶר֙ וְעַד־עַ֔תָּה** זֶ֛ה שִׁבְתָּ֥הּ הַבַּ֖יִת מְעָֽט׃	⁷ She said, 'Please let me glean and gather among the sheaves after the reapers.' So she came, and she has continued **from early morning until now,** except for a short rest." (ESV)

This usage bears similarities with מֵעַתָּה, the subject of the next section.

3.4.1.2.2   מֵעַתָּה ⁶⁹

The other prepositional phrase is מֵעַתָּה. The expression מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם (8x) always occurs at the end of the clause. Syntactically, it modifies verb describing when the events will take place. In this expression עַתָּה refers to a specific time in the future when an event will take commence and never cease as in (24).

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⁶⁸ See also Gen 46:34; 2 Sam 19:8; 2 Kgs 8:6; Eze 4:14.
⁶⁹ מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם: Isa 9:6, 59:21; Mic 4:7; Psa 113:2, 115:18, 121:8, 125:2, 131:3.
מֵעַתָּה: Isa 48:6, Jer 3:4*; Hos 2:9; Dan 10:17*; 2 Chr 16:9*. The examples marked with * are discussed in 5.3.1

(24)   Mic 4:6–7

בַּיּ֨וֹם הַה֜וּא נְאֻם־יְהֹוָ֗ה אֹֽסְפָה֙ ⁶	⁶ In that day, declares the LORD, I will assemble the lame and gather those who have been driven away and those whom I have afflicted; ⁷ and the lame I will make the remnant, and those who were cast off, a strong nation; and the LORD will reign over them in Mount Zion **from this time forth and forevermore.** (ESV)
הַצֹּ֣לֵעָ֔ה וְהַנִּדָּחָ֖ה אֲקַבֵּ֑צָה וַאֲשֶׁ֖ר הֲרֵעֹֽתִי׃	
וְשַׂמְתִּ֤י אֶת־הַצֹּֽלֵעָה֙ לִשְׁאֵרִ֔ית וְהַנַּהֲלָאָ֖ה לְג֣וֹי עָצ֑וּם ⁷	
וּמָלַ֨ךְ יְהֹוָ֤ה עֲלֵיהֶם֙ בְּהַ֣ר צִיּ֔וֹן מֵעַתָּ֖ה וְעַד־עוֹלָֽם׃	

מֵעַתָּה can act as a shortened form of the longer expression, מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם, and communicate the same meaning. Consider (25).

(25)   Isa 48:6

שָׁמַ֣עְתָּ חֲזֵ֣ה כֻּלָּ֔הּ וְאַתֶּ֖ם הֲל֣וֹא תַגִּ֑ידוּ ⁶	⁶ You have heard; now see all this; and will you not declare it? **From this time forth** I announce to you new things, hidden things that you have not known. (ESV)
הִשְׁמַעְתִּ֤יךָ חֲדָשׁוֹת֙ **מֵעַ֔תָּה** וּנְצֻר֖וֹת וְלֹ֥א יְדַעְתָּֽם׃	

The מִן in מֵעַתָּה can function comparatively, as in (26), ⁷⁰ but עַתָּה still refers to the speech time, just as above.

(26)   Hos 2:9 (7)

וְרִדְּפָ֤ה אֶת־מְאַהֲבֶ֙יהָ֙ וְלֹֽא־תַשִּׂ֣יג אֹתָ֔ם ⁹	⁷ She shall pursue her lovers but not overtake them, and she shall seek them but shall not find them. Then she shall say, 'I will go and return to my first husband, for it was better for me **then than now**.' (ESV)
וּבִקְשָׁ֖תַם וְלֹ֣א תִמְצָ֑א	
וְאָֽמְרָ֗ה אֵלְכָ֤ה וְאָשׁ֙וּבָה֙ אֶל־אִישִׁ֣י הָֽרִאשׁ֔וֹן	
כִּ֣י ט֥וֹב לִ֛י אָ֖ז **מֵעָֽתָּה**׃	

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⁷⁰ Cf. van der Merwe et al. (2017:360–64).

These constructions where עַתָּה is the object of a preposition illustrate the syntax and semantics of עַתָּה as a temporal deictic PA. The flexible word order also hints at later developments.

3.4.1.2.3   עַתָּה [71]

עַתָּה occurs independently as a temporal deictic PA fourteen times and has the meaning "here and now". In (27), עַתָּה appears at the end of the short verbal clause.

(27)   Judg 9:38

38 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו זְבֻל אַיֵּה אֵפוֹא פִיךָ אֲשֶׁר תֹּאמַר מִי אֲבִימֶלֶךְ כִּי נַעַבְדֶנּוּ הֲלֹא זֶה הָעָם אֲשֶׁר מָאַסְתָּה בּוֹ צֵא־נָא **עַתָּה** וְהִלָּחֶם בּוֹ:	38 Then Zebul said to him, "Where is your mouth now, you who said, 'Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him?' Are not these the people whom you despised? Go out **now** and fight with them." (ESV)

In (28), עַתָּה appears at the end of the question (What have I done now?), referring to a time period which includes the recent past and the present.

(28)   1 Sam 17:29

29 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד מֶה עָשִׂיתִי **עָתָּה** הֲלוֹא דָּבָר הוּא:	29 And David said, "What have I done **now**? Was it not but a word?" (ESV)

In (29), עַתָּה follows the imperative רְאוּ.

(29)   Deut 32:39

39 רְאוּ | **עַתָּה** כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי אֲנִי אָמִית וַאֲחַיֶּה מָחַצְתִּי וַאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדִי מַצִּיל:	39 See **now** that I, even I, am he, and there is no god beside me; I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal; and there is none that can

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[71] In verbal clauses: Num 24:17; Deut 32:39; Judg 8:2, 9:38, 11:7; 1 Sam 9:12, 17:29; Jer 27:16; Hag 2:3; 1 Chr 28:10. In nominal clauses: Exo 5:5; Josh 14:11; Judg 8:6, 15.

	deliver out of my hand. (ESV)

In each of these examples, עַתָּה appears immediately after the verb and points to a time frame that includes the present.

In (30), עַתָּה appears near the end of the clause followed by another temporal adjunct מְהֵרָה. Together, they communicate the idea of any day now or sometime very soon.

(30)   Jer 27:16

וְאֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים֙ וְאֶל־כָּל־הָעָ֤ם הַזֶּה֙ דִּבַּ֣רְתִּי לֵאמֹ֔ר 16	16 Then I spoke to the priests and to all this
כֹּ֚ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה אַֽל־תִּשְׁמְעוּ֙ אֶל־דִּבְרֵ֣י נְבִֽיאֵיכֶ֔ם	people, saying, "Thus says the LORD: Do not
הַֽנִּבְּאִ֥ים לָכֶ֖ם לֵאמֹ֑ר	listen to the words of your prophets who are
הִנֵּ֨ה כְלֵ֤י בֵית־יְהוָה֙ מוּשָׁבִ֣ים מִבָּבֶ֔לָה **עַתָּ֖ה מְהֵרָ֑ה**	prophesying to you, saying, 'Behold, the
כִּ֣י שֶׁ֔קֶר הֵ֖מָּה נִבְּאִ֥ים לָכֶֽם:	vessels of the LORD's house will **now**
	shortly be brought back from Babylon,' for it
	is a lie that they are prophesying to you.
	(ESV)

These representative examples illustrate that עַתָּה's position after the verb is flexible.

In nominal constructions, עַתָּה is positioned after the predicate element as in (31) and (32).[72] Its function is the same as in the verbal clauses, grounding the situation in the present time.

(31)   Exo 5:5

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר פַּרְעֹ֔ה הֵן־רַבִּ֥ים **עַתָּ֖ה** עַ֣ם הָאָ֑רֶץ וְהִשְׁבַּתֶּ֥ם 5	5 And Pharaoh said, "Behold, the people of
אֹתָ֖ם מִסִּבְלֹתָֽם:	the land are **now** many, and you make them
	rest from their burdens!" (ESV)

In (32), עַתָּה is parallel with אָז.

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[72] See also Judg 8:6, 15, where 15 is a restatement of 6; the עַתָּה clause is identical with respect to content and order.

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(32)   Josh 14:11

¹¹ עוֹדֶ֣נִּי הַיּ֗וֹם חָזָק֙ כַּֽאֲשֶׁ֣ר בְּי֔וֹם שְׁלֹ֥חַ אוֹתִ֖י מֹשֶׁ֑ה כְּכֹ֤חִי אָז֙ וּכְכֹ֣חִי **עַ֔תָּה** לַמִּלְחָמָ֖ה וְלָצֵ֥את וְלָבֽוֹא	¹¹ I am still as strong today as I was in the day that Moses sent me; my strength **now** is as my strength was then, for war and for going and coming. (ESV)

3.4.1.2.4   גַּם־עַתָּה

גַּם־עַתָּה occurs five times in the HB, but only in (33) can it be considered a PA. [73]

(33)   1 Kgs 14:14

¹⁴ וְהֵקִים֩ יְהֹוָ֨ה ל֥וֹ מֶ֙לֶךְ֙ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל אֲשֶׁ֥ר יַכְרִ֛ית אֶת־בֵּ֥ית יָרָבְעָ֖ם זֶ֣ה הַיּ֑וֹם וּמֶ֖ה **גַּם־עָֽתָּה** :	¹⁴ Moreover, the LORD will raise up for himself a king over Israel who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam today. And **henceforth**, ¹⁵ the LORD will strike Israel as a reed is shaken in the water, … (ESV) ¹⁴ The LORD will raise up for himself a king over Israel who will cut off the family of Jeroboam. **Even now** this is beginning to happen. (NIV) ¹⁴ The LORD will raise up for Himself a king over Israel, who will eliminate the house of Jeroboam. This is the day, **yes, even today!** (HCSB)

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[73] גַּם־עַתָּה is another collocation. It occurs 4 times. Other uses of גַּם־עַתָּה are discussed according to their uses, see 3.4.2.2.4, 4.2.2.4, and Appendix A.

	¹⁴ The LORD will raise up a king over Israel who will cut off Jeroboam's dynasty. It is **ready to happen!** (NET)
	¹⁴ Moreover the LORD will raise up for himself a king over Israel, who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam today, **even right now!** (NRSV)
	¹⁴ For this reason the LORD will raise up a king over Israel who will eliminate the house of Jeroboam. This begins today. What's that? **Even now!** (CEB)

Translators differ on how to handle this phrase, and there are complicating textual issues.[74] The ESV placement of גַּם־עַתָּה at the beginning of v15 is very unlikely because v15 begins with a *weqatal* verb. The consensus among the translations is that גַּם־עַתָּה is a temporal adjunct indicating when the events will transpire. גַּם־עַתָּה's position at the end of the clause indicates it should be categorized as a temporal PA.

3.4.1.3 PA Summary

The temporal predicate adverb sense is the simplest, most concrete usage. As such, it forms the foundation for each sense that follows. Syntactically, עַתָּה modifies the verb, and appears in the main-clause after the verb. The constructions עַד־עַתָּה and מֵעַתָּה are not uncommon. Semantically, עַתָּה is a temporal deictic and grounds the utterance to a specific point in time, usually in the recent past, the present or the impending future.

The expected position of עַתָּה as a deictic temporal adverb is in the main field of the clause. When עַתָּה is by itself, it typically appears close to the verb it modifies, but when it is in a

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[74] The BHS Apparatus call the entire final clause זֶה הַיּוֹם וּמֶה גַּם־עַתָּה dubious. There is no LXX parallel to these verses in Rahlfs. The NRSV, NET, NIV, HCSB, and CEB all contain notes saying the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain.

prepositional phrase, it usually appears towards the end of the clause (cf. Van der Merwe et al. 2017:493–94; 2002:337–43).

The primary identifying features of the temporal predicate adverb are:

1) Post-verbal position, usually towards the end of the clause.

2) Syntactic function of modifying the main verb.

3) Appearance in temporal prepositional phrases.

These features help distinguish עַתָּה from the other adverbial function, the sentential adverb, discussed next.

3.4.2 Sentential Adverb

The previous section detailed how עַתָּה functions as a PA. This section details the next step in its development: a clause-initial, sentential adverb (SA). As an SA, עַתָּה retains the temporal deictic adverbial aspects, but its pre-verbal position is correlated with increased pragmatic prominence, a syntactic scope over the whole clause, and new constructions. This SA category is recognized in other languages as a distinct sense in transition to DMs (Traugott 1995, Brinton 2006). The dividing line between PA and SA can be drawn at different points based on the interpretation of the data. We selected עַתָּה's move to the beginning of the clause as the point of separation for the following reasons:

a) The move to the front of the clause is objectively demonstrable.

b) Traugott (1995) and Brinton (2006) draw the line between PA and SA when the construction moves to the front of the clause.

c) Changes in word order are a pragmatic choice and a communicative clue in BH (Van der Merwe et al. 2017:490–510).

d) In a pre-verbal position, עַתָּה comes in contact with other DMs.

e) When (וְ)עַתָּה co-occurs with other DMs, logical and structural implications for (וְ)עַתָּה are inferred. These inferences, through continued use, become entrenched and semanticized.

3.4.2.1 SA Profile

Syntactically, עַתָּה is still a temporal deictic adverb, but now it initiates a temporal frame for the entire clause. As the below examples will elucidate, the clause-initial position for עַתָּה could be considered fronting for the purpose of constituent focus. Its preverbal clause position yields new collocations and constructions: כִּי עַתָּה, וְעַתָּה, and עַתָּה with other DMs. Semantically, it still grounds the utterance in time, but the new collocations and constructions yield expanded meanings. Pragmatically, these new meanings are associated with new functions, including logical and structural elements.[75]

3.4.2.2 SA Constructions

As with the PA and prepositions, the SA is best understood in its collocations with other DMs. We will begin examining instantiations of וְעַתָּה, the most frequent SA construction. Then, we examine independent עַתָּה as an SA followed by constructions and collocations with other DMs, most notably כִּי.

3.4.2.2.1   וְעַתָּה [76]

The most frequent SA construction is וְעַתָּה. The hallmark feature of וְעַתָּה as an SA is a contrast between past and present. The contrast is present without וְעַתָּה, but וְעַתָּה highlights the distinction. The contrast between past and present as seen in (34–36):

In (34), the contrast is explicit with מֵאָז.

(34)   Isa 16:13–14

¹³ זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־מוֹאָב מֵאָז׃	¹³ This is the word that the LORD spoke concerning Moab in the past. **¹⁴ But now** the LORD has spoken, saying, "In three years, like the years of a hired worker, the glory of
¹⁴ **וְעַתָּה** דִּבֶּר יְהוָה לֵאמֹר בְּשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים כִּשְׁנֵי שָׂכִיר	
וְנִקְלָה כְּבוֹד מוֹאָב בְּכֹל הֶהָמוֹן הָרָב	
וּשְׁאָר מְעַט מִזְעָר לוֹא כַבִּיר׃	

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[75] Relations of contrast are typical of וְעַתָּה as a sentential adverb. כִּי עַתָּה exhibits relations of condition and cause, cf. 2.3.4; Heine and Kuteva (2002:293).

[76] Gen 3:22, 32:11; Num 11:6; Deut 10:22; Josh 22:4; Judg 6:13, 15:18; 1 Sam 2:30, 13:14; 2 Sam 2:6, 12:23, 15:34, 19:10; 1 Kgs 1:18 (x2), 3:7, 5:18, 18:11, 14; Isa 1:21, 16:14, 48:16; Jer 2:18; Eze 19:13; Hos 13:2; Nah 1:13; Zech 8:11; Mal 3:15; Psa 27:6, 74:6, 119:67; Job 30:1,9,16, 35:15, 37:21, 42:5; Dan 10:20, 11:2; Ezra 9:8, 10:2; Neh 5:5; 2 Chr 13:8, 28:10.

	Moab will be brought into contempt, in spite of all his great multitude, and those who remain will be very few and feeble." (ESV)

(35)   Deut 10:22

<div dir="rtl">²² בְּשִׁבְעִים נֶפֶשׁ יָרְדוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ מִצְרָיְמָה וְעַתָּה שָׂמְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לָרֹב:</div>	²² Your fathers went down to Egypt seventy persons, **and now** the LORD your God has made you as numerous as the stars of heaven. (ESV)

In (35), 22a refers to a past state with a *qatal* verb. וְעַתָּה switches to the present in 22b, also by means of a *qatal* form but one with a present perfect sense. The contrast is present and would be discernable without the וְעַתָּה, but its presence increases the likelihood the reader will comprehend the point being made.

(36)   1 Sam 2:30

<div dir="rtl">³⁰ לָכֵן נְאֻם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָמוֹר אָמַרְתִּי בֵּיתְךָ וּבֵית אָבִיךָ יִתְהַלְּכוּ לְפָנַי עַד־עוֹלָם וְעַתָּה נְאֻם־יְהוָה חָלִילָה לִּי כִּי־מְכַבְּדַי אֲכַבֵּד וּבֹזַי יֵקָלּוּ:</div>	³⁰ Therefore the LORD, the God of Israel, declares: 'I promised that your house and the house of your father should go in and out before me forever,' **but now** the LORD declares: 'Far be it from me, for those who honor me I will honor, and those who despise me shall be lightly esteemed. (ESV)

In 30a, לָכֵן introduces a past declaration of YHWH. In 30b, וְעַתָּה initiates a new declaration חָלִילָה לִּי. The contrast in time between 30a and 30b is grammatically encoded in the verbal stems and as well semantically encoded in the content of the utterances. וְעַתָּה highlights this contrast by drawing the focus to the present.

46

Occasionally, the distinction is more subtle as in (37).

(37)   1 Kgs 3:6–8

⁶ וַיֹּ֣אמֶר שְׁלֹמֹ֗ה אַתָּ֨ה עָשִׂ֜יתָ עִם־עַבְדְּךָ֩ דָוִ֨ד אָבִ֜י חֶ֣סֶד גָּד֗וֹל כַּאֲשֶׁר֩ הָלַ֨ךְ לְפָנֶ֜יךָ בֶּאֱמֶ֧ת וּבִצְדָקָ֛ה וּבְיִשְׁרַ֥ת לֵבָ֖ב עִמָּ֑ךְ וַתִּשְׁמָר־ל֗וֹ אֶת־הַחֶ֤סֶד הַגָּדוֹל֙ הַזֶּ֔ה וַתִּתֶּן־ל֥וֹ בֵ֛ן יֹשֵׁ֥ב עַל־כִּסְא֖וֹ כַּיּ֥וֹם הַזֶּֽה׃ ⁷ **וְעַתָּה֙** יְהֹוָ֣ה אֱלֹהָ֔י אַתָּה֙ הִמְלַ֣כְתָּ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ֔ תַּ֖חַת דָּוִ֣ד אָבִ֑י וְאָֽנֹכִי֙ נַ֣עַר קָטֹ֔ן לֹ֥א אֵדַ֖ע צֵ֥את וָבֹֽא׃ ⁸ וְעַ֨בְדְּךָ֜ בְּת֣וֹךְ עַמְּךָ֗ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בָּחָ֑רְתָּ עַם־רָ֕ב אֲשֶׁ֧ר לֹֽא־יִמָּנֶ֛ה וְלֹ֥א יִסָּפֵ֖ר מֵרֹֽב׃	⁶ And Solomon said, "You have shown great and steadfast love to your servant David my father, because he walked before you in faithfulness, in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart toward you. And you have kept for him this great and steadfast love and have given him a son to sit on his throne this day. ⁷ **And now**, O LORD my God, you have made your servant king in place of David my father, although I am but a little child. I do not know how to go out or come in. ⁸ And your servant is in the midst of your people whom you have chosen, a great people, too many to be numbered or counted for multitude. (ESV)

The subtle distinction is between God's faithfulness shown to David in the past and God's faithfulness shown to Solomon in the present. This function of וְעַתָּה could also be described as elaborative. וְעַתָּה grounds the subsequent dialogue in the present scenario.

In each of these instances, וְעַתָּה is clearly still a temporal deictic adverb grounding the utterance in the present. וְעַתָּה, though, always appears before the verb, so it is never a PA.[77] The preverbal position gives it scope over the whole clause providing a temporal frame (as opposed to modifying only the verb). The fronted word order brings the temporal aspect into greater focus. By appearing in the clause-initial position (or focal position), it also highlights the contrast between the past and present.

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[77] Isa 1:21 is a possible exception to this, but this instantiation better fits the profile of a sentential adverb, assuming ellipsis typical in poetry and prophecy.

By appearing at the border of past and present, וְעַתָּה is associated with chunking/structuring utterances. It's not just an adverb, but it's not fully a DM. It is both temporal and logical. This is part of the justification for separating the SA from the PA. Before drawing conclusions on these features and functions, we examine other constructions which also fit into this SA sense. The need for this category should become more obvious as we continue to look at examples.

3.4.2.2.2   עַתָּה [78]

עַתָּה functions in a similar way to וְעַתָּה, though the relationships between past and present are slightly different.[79]

In (38) and (39), עַתָּה initiates a present temporal frame which separates the clause which follows from the preceding one. In both (38) and (39) there is a distinction between past and present, but this distinction may better be characterized as result than contrast.

(38)   2 Kgs 19:25 / Isa 37:26

Hebrew	English
25 הֲלֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ לְמֵרָחוֹק אֹתָהּ עָשִׂיתִי לְמִימֵי קֶדֶם וִיצַרְתִּיהָ עַתָּה הֲבֵיאתִיהָ וּתְהִי לַהְשׁוֹת גַּלִּים נִצִּים עָרִים בְּצֻרוֹת׃	25 " 'Have you not heard? Long ago I ordained it. In days of old I planned it; **now** I have brought it to pass, that you have turned fortified cities into piles of stone. (NIV)

עַתָּה heads clause b and contrasts לְמֵרָחוֹק from clause a. The punctuation and sentence structure of the NIV accurately reflects this.

(39)   Hos 5:7

Hebrew	English
7 בַּיהוָה בָּגָדוּ כִּי־בָנִים זָרִים יָלָדוּ עַתָּה יֹאכְלֵם חֹדֶשׁ אֶת־חֶלְקֵיהֶם׃	7 They have dealt faithlessly with the LORD; for they have borne alien children. **Now** the

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[78] Gen 19:9; 26:29; 29:34; Num 11:23; 1 Kgs 21:7; 2 Kgs 19:25; Isa 37:26; 48:7; Eze 7:3, 8; 26:18; Hos 4:16; 5:7; 7:2; 8:8, 10, 13; 10:2; Mic 7:4, 10; Psa 17:11.

[79] Some may contest that עַתָּה contrasts. It is difficult, if not impossible, to delineate a given contextual meaning as a feature of the context solely or if it is part of the form itself. The position of this researcher is that repeated use in similar contexts bleeds into the meaning/function of the form itself. The frequency of this function indicates to this researcher that it was common enough to bleed into the form. Furthermore, it is common for temporal constructions to develop contrastive (along with other logical) meanings, cf. 2.3.4.

	new moon shall devour them with their fields. (ESV)

In (39), 7a discusses past actions with *qatal* verbs, and 7b discusses present consequences with a *yiqtol* verb. עַתָּה, as a temporal deictic, grounds the utterance in the impending future.

Simple עַתָּה in the clause-initial position can also set a temporal frame for the unit, drawing attention to the present situation, where there is no contrast, as in (40).

(40) Isa 48:6–7

שָׁמַעְתָּ חֲזֵה כֻּלָּהּ וְאַתֶּם הֲלוֹא תַגִּידוּ 6 הִשְׁמַעְתִּיךָ חֲדָשׁוֹת מֵעַתָּה וּנְצֻרוֹת וְלֹא יְדַעְתָּם: **עַתָּה** נִבְרְאוּ וְלֹא מֵאָז וְלִפְנֵי־יוֹם וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתָּם 7 פֶּן־תֹּאמַר הִנֵּה יְדַעְתִּין:	6 You have heard; now see all this; and will you not declare it? From this time forth I announce to you new things, hidden things that you have not known. 7 **Now**, they are created, not long ago; before today you have never heard of them, lest you should say, 'Behold, I knew them.'

In v7 the speaker (YHWH) utilizes several temporal phrases: עַתָּה, לֹא מֵאָז and לִפְנֵי־יוֹם. Together these emphasize the present nature and newness of the work. All of this comes in a temporal frame began by עַתָּה in a position of focus at the front of the clause.

In both (41) and (42), עַתָּה used to refer to the future.

(41) Eze 7:1–3

וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר: 1 וְאַתָּה בֶן־אָדָם כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה 2 לְאַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל קֵץ בָּא הַקֵּץ עַל־אַרְבַּעַת כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ: **עַתָּה** הַקֵּץ עָלַיִךְ וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי אַפִּי בָּךְ 3 וּשְׁפַטְתִּיךְ כִּדְרָכָיִךְ וְנָתַתִּי עָלַיִךְ אֵת כָּל־תּוֹעֲבֹתָיִךְ:	1 The word of the LORD came to me: 2 "And you, O son of man, thus says the Lord GOD to the land of Israel: An end! The end has come upon the four corners of the land. 3 **Now** the end is upon you, and I will send my anger upon you; I will judge you according to

| | your ways, and I will punish you for all your abominations. (ESV) |

(42)   Eze 7:5–8

| ⁵ כֹּ֤ה אָמַר֙ אֲדֹנָ֣י יְהוִ֔ה רָעָ֛ה אַחַ֥ת רָעָ֖ה הִנֵּ֥ה בָאָֽה׃
 ⁶ קֵ֣ץ בָּ֔א בָּ֥א הַקֵּ֖ץ הֵקִ֣יץ אֵלָ֑יִךְ הִנֵּ֖ה בָּאָֽה׃
 ⁷ בָּ֧אָה הַצְּפִירָ֛ה אֵלֶ֖יךָ יוֹשֵׁ֣ב הָאָ֑רֶץ בָּ֣א הָעֵ֗ת קָר֛וֹב הַיּ֥וֹם מְהוּמָ֖ה וְלֹא־הֵ֥ד הָרִֽים׃
 ⁸ **עַתָּ֣ה** מִקָּר֗וֹב אֶשְׁפּ֤וֹךְ חֲמָתִי֙ עָלַ֔יִךְ וְכִלֵּיתִ֤י אַפִּי֙ בָּ֔ךְ וּשְׁפַטְתִּ֖יךְ כִּדְרָכָ֑יִךְ וְנָתַתִּ֣י עָלַ֔יִךְ אֵ֖ת כָּל־תּוֹעֲבוֹתָֽיִךְ׃ | ⁵ "Thus says the Lord GOD: Disaster after disaster! Behold, it comes. ⁶ An end has come; the end has come; it has awakened against you. Behold, it comes. ⁷ Your doom has come to you, O inhabitant of the land. The time has come; the day is near, a day of tumult, and not of joyful shouting on the mountains. ⁸ **Now** I will soon pour out my wrath upon you, and spend my anger against you, and judge you according to your ways, and I will punish you for all your abominations. (ESV) |

In (41) עַתָּה, in focal position, introduces a temporal frame sometime in the near future. (42) with מִקָּרוֹב clarifies the first, indicating the time is very near. The repeated use of עַתָּה in the clause initial position reflects a pragmatic choice of the speaker to draw attention to the temporal frame introduced. This increased pragmatic prominence is part of the speaker's construal to view the impending doom as a result of past abominations.

The temporal frame introduced by עַתָּה is frequently in the contextual frame of judgment for past transgressions, especially in the prophetic literature (43).

(43)   Hos 7:2

| ² וּבַל־יֹֽאמְרוּ֙ לִלְבָבָ֔ם כָּל־רָעָתָ֖ם זָכָ֑רְתִּי **עַתָּה֙** סְבָב֣וּם מַֽעַלְלֵיהֶ֔ם נֶ֥גֶד פָּנַ֖י הָיֽוּ׃ | ² But they do not consider that I remember all their evil. **Now** their deeds surround them; they are before my face. (ESV) |

50

However, עַתָּה also introduces a temporal frame with a promise of hope and restoration (40). It is not as strongly linked to pronouncements of doom as לָכֵן.[80]

As with וְעַתָּה, simple עַתָּה in the preverbal position still contributes to the propositional content of the utterance by grounding it in the present time. It does so in a different way than a PA, setting a temporal frame for the whole clause, distinguishing it from the preceding content in some way. The fronted word order gives greater pragmatic prominence (focus) to the temporal frame.

The clause-initial position also brings עַתָּה into the functional orbit of other DMs. It is to these constructions involving other DMs which we now turn.

3.4.2.2.3   כִּי עַתָּה [81]

In its collocation כִּי, עַתָּה can function independently or as a special construction within a specific contextual frame. When independent, כִּי governs the dependent clause, and עַתָּה sets the temporal frame as in (44).[82]

(44)   Gen 22:12

¹² וַיֹּאמֶר אַל־תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ אֶל־הַנַּעַר	¹² He said, "Do not lay your hand on the boy
וְאַל־תַּעַשׂ לוֹ מְאוּמָה	or do anything to him, **for now** I know that
כִּי | עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים אַתָּה	you fear God, seeing you have not withheld
וְלֹא חָשַׂכְתָּ אֶת־בִּנְךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ מִמֶּנִּי:	your son, your only son, from me." (ESV)

כִּי and עַתָּה are joined by the accent *legarmeh* as part of the clause "For now I know . . .".[83] The כִּי is causal indicating the motivation for the preceding command. עַתָּה is in constituent focus, appearing before the verb יָדַעְתִּי, setting the temporal frame for the clause.

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[80] Cf. Van der Merwe (2014). Other hopeful instances include Isa 43:1; 44:1; 52:5; Jer 32:36; Mic 4–5. See 5.4.2 for more on the challenge of interpreting (וְ)עַתָּה in prophetic texts.
[81] See footnotes 81 and 83 for a list of occurrences for the two functions of this construction.
[82] Gen 22:12; 26:22; 29:32; 1 Sam 2:16; 14:30; 16:11; 18:3; Isa 49:19; Hos 5:3; 10:3; Mic 4:10; 5:3; Zech 9:8; Job 4:5; 6:21; 7:21; Dan 10:11.
[83] For more on this construction, see 5.4.1.

(45)   Gen 26:22

| 22 וַיַּעְתֵּק מִשָּׁם וַיַּחְפֹּר בְּאֵר אַחֶרֶת וְלֹא רָבוּ עָלֶיהָ וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמָהּ רְחֹבוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר **כִּי־עַתָּה** הִרְחִיב יְהוָה לָנוּ וּפָרִינוּ בָאָרֶץ: | 22 And he moved from there and dug another well, and they did not quarrel over it. So he called its name Rehoboth,⁴ saying, "**For now** the LORD has made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land." (ESV) |

In (45), כִּי and עַתָּה, even though they are joined together by *maqqef*, function independently. עַתָּה is in marked position and draws the focus onto the present moment in time.

(46)   Zech 9:8

| 8 וְחָנִיתִי לְבֵיתִי מִצָּבָה מֵעֹבֵר וּמִשָּׁב וְלֹא־יַעֲבֹר עֲלֵיהֶם עוֹד נֹגֵשׂ **כִּי עַתָּה** רָאִיתִי בְעֵינָי: | 8 Then I will encamp at my house as a guard, so that none shall march to and fro; no oppressor shall again march over them, **for now** I see with my own eyes. (ESV) |

(47)   Job 6:20–21

| 20 בֹּשׁוּ כִּי־בָטָח בָּאוּ עָדֶיהָ וַיֶּחְפָּרוּ: 21 **כִּי־עַתָּה** הֱיִיתֶם לֹא [לוֹ] תִּרְאוּ חֲתַת וַתִּירָאוּ: | 20 They are ashamed because they were confident; they come there and are disappointed. 21 **For** you have **now** become nothing; you see my calamity and are afraid. (ESV) |

Each of these examples illustrates עַתָּה in a marked position at the front of the clause, just after כִּי, setting the temporal frame for the entire כִּי clause.

כִּי עַתָּה also has a specialized function in the context of conditional clauses: marking the apodosis in a hypothetical situation.[84] In (48), לוּ יֵשׁ introduces a hypothetical situation and כִּי עַתָּה indicates what would have happened in that scenario.

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[84] Gen 31:42; 43:10; Exo 9:15; Num 22:29, 33; 1 Sam 13:13; Job 3:13; 6:3; 8:6; 13:19; 14:16. Cf. Joüon-Muraoka (2006:593), Jenni (1997:957–58, 1972:12), GKC (1910:498), *BDB* (1906:774).

52

(48)   Num 22:29

²⁹ וַיֹּ֤אמֶר בִּלְעָם֙ לָֽאָת֔וֹן כִּ֥י הִתְעַלַּ֖לְתְּ בִּ֑י לֻ֤ו יֶשׁ־חֶ֙רֶב֙ בְּיָדִ֔י **כִּ֥י עַתָּ֖ה** הֲרַגְתִּֽיךְ׃	²⁹ And Balaam said to the donkey, "Because you have made a fool of me. I wish I had a sword in my hand, **for then** I would kill you." (ESV)

A very similar use is just a few verses later in v33. אוּלַי introduces the hypothetical conditional, and כִּי עַתָּה indicates the theoretical result.

(49)   Num 22:33[85]

³³ וַתִּרְאַ֙נִי֙ הָֽאָת֔וֹן וַתֵּ֣ט לְפָנַ֔י זֶ֖ה שָׁלֹ֣שׁ רְגָלִ֑ים אוּלַי֙ נָטְתָ֣ה מִפָּנַ֔י **כִּ֥י עַתָּ֛ה** גַּם־אֹתְכָ֥ה הָרַ֖גְתִּי וְאוֹתָ֥הּ הֶחֱיֵֽיתִי׃	³³ The donkey saw me and turned aside before me these three times. If she had not turned aside from me, **surely just now** I would have killed you and let her live." (ESV)

In (50), the hypothetical condition introduced is a negative one, marked with כִּי לוּלֵא. כִּי עַתָּה has the same function of indicating the hypothetical result if the conditional would have been met.

(50)   Gen 43:10

¹⁰ כִּ֖י לוּלֵ֣א הִתְמַהְמָ֑הְנוּ **כִּֽי־עַתָּ֥ה** שַׁ֖בְנוּ זֶ֥ה פַעֲמָֽיִם׃	¹⁰ If we had not delayed, we **would now** have returned twice." (ESV)

The author of Job makes use of this specialized function of כִּי עַתָּה in the philosophical arguments among Job and his so-called friends. In these hypothetical conditionals, כִּי עַתָּה sets a temporal frame in theoretical/hypothetical time. It could be translated as 'for then'.[86]

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[85] Not all would agree that אוּלַי here indicates a hypothetical condition (see Levine 2000:159), but on this use of כִּי עַתָּה, cf. Jenni (1972:12).
[86] כִּי עַתָּה in hypothetical conditionals: Job 3:13; 6:3; 8:6; 13:19; 14:16. כִּי עַתָּה in present temporal SA: Job 4:5; 6:21; 7:21. See 3.4.2.5 and Appendix A for discussion on other Job instantiations.

A related use is found in (51).

(51)   1 Sam 14:30

³⁰ אַ֗ף כִּ֤י לוּא֙ אָכֹ֤ל אָכַ֣ל הַיּ֔וֹם הָעָ֗ם מִשְּׁלַ֥ל אֹיְבָ֖יו אֲשֶׁ֣ר מָצָ֑א **כִּ֥י עַתָּ֛ה** לֹֽא־רָבְתָ֥ה מַכָּ֖ה בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּֽים׃	³⁰ How much better if the people had eaten freely today of the spoil of their enemies that they found. **For now** the defeat among the Philistines has not been great." (ESV)

Here, אַף כִּי לוּא introduces a hypothetical situation; כִּי עַתָּה returns to present, actual situation.

A final example brings together two SA usages into one segment (52):

(52)   1 Sam 13:13–14

¹³ וַיֹּ֤אמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל֙ אֶל־שָׁא֔וּל נִסְכָּ֑לְתָּ לֹ֣א שָׁמַ֗רְתָּ אֶת־מִצְוַ֞ת יְהוָ֤ה אֱלֹהֶ֙יךָ֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר צִוָּ֔ךְ **כִּ֣י עַתָּ֗ה** הֵכִ֨ין יְהוָ֧ה אֶת־מַֽמְלַכְתְּךָ֛ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל עַד־עוֹלָֽם׃ ¹⁴ **וְעַתָּ֖ה** מַמְלַכְתְּךָ֣ לֹא־תָק֑וּם בִּקֵּשׁ֩ יְהוָ֨ה ל֜וֹ אִ֣ישׁ כִּלְבָב֗וֹ וַיְצַוֵּ֤הוּ יְהוָה֙ לְנָגִ֣יד עַל־עַמּ֔וֹ כִּ֚י לֹ֣א שָׁמַ֔רְתָּ אֵ֥ת אֲשֶֽׁר־צִוְּךָ֖ יְהוָֽה׃	¹³ And Samuel said to Saul, "You have done foolishly. You have not kept the command of the LORD your God, with which he commanded you. **For then** the LORD would have established your kingdom over Israel forever. ¹⁴ **But now**, your kingdom shall not continue. The LORD has sought out a man after his own heart, and the LORD has commanded him to be prince over his people, because you have not kept what the LORD commanded you." (ESV)

In v13 in the context of Samuel's judgment of Saul, כִּי עַתָּה introduces a hypothetical situation, indicating what would have happened had Saul obeyed. With the special function of כִּי עַתָּה in hypothetical situations in mind, one can imagine an elided conditional "if you had obeyed…" If Saul had obeyed YHWH, כִּי עַתָּה, then, YHWH would have established his kingdom forever. Then, in v14, וְעַתָּה contrasts this hypothetical, or imagined result, returning the scene to the actual situation.

54

Both of these usages ground the utterance in a specific time frame, and both also exert an organizing function on the discourse. This organizing function is related to the DMs it occurs with. In the next section, examples with other DMs are discussed.

3.4.2.2.4 עַתָּה with other DMs and Adverbs

Similar to כִּי, עַתָּה appears in collocation with other DMs and adverbs before the verb. These appearances are rare, so little can be said definitively. They are grouped together because they appear to function similarly to one another and similarly to עַתָּה as an SA. We will briefly look at representative examples.

הִנֵּה and עַתָּה co-occur frequently, but only three times does הִנֵּה precede עַתָּה.[87] In (53), there is a temporal contrast between old info (stolen birthright) and new info (stolen blessing). וְהִנֵּה draws attention to the new situation; עַתָּה initiates a temporal frame.

(53)   Gen 27:36

<div dir="rtl">36 וַיֹּאמֶר הֲכִי קָרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעְקְבֵנִי זֶה פַעֲמַיִם אֶת־בְּכֹרָתִי לָקָח וְהִנֵּה **עַתָּה** לָקַח בִּרְכָתִי וַיֹּאמַר הֲלֹא־אָצַלְתָּ לִּי בְּרָכָה:</div>	36 Esau said, "Is he not rightly named Jacob? For he has cheated me these two times. He took away my birthright, and behold, **now** he has taken away my blessing." Then he said, "Have you not reserved a blessing for me?" (ESV)

When עַתָּה follows immediately לָכֵן, לָכֵן serves as a DM and עַתָּה as an SA (54).[88]

(54)   Amos 6:7

<div dir="rtl">7 לָכֵן **עַתָּה** יִגְלוּ בְּרֹאשׁ גֹּלִים וְסָר מִרְזַח סְרוּחִים:</div>	7 Therefore, **now** they shall be the first of those who go into exile, and the revelry of

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[87] Gen 27:36; 2 Kgs 5:22; 2 Sam 17:9. When הִנֵּה appears *after* (וְ)עַתָּה, (וְ)עַתָּה functions as the connecting DM and הִנֵּה draws attention to a situation (e.g. the 'here and now' present situation when following עַתָּה). These instances are discussed at various points in chapters 4–5.

[88] לָכֵן עַתָּה also in Judg 11:8. See 5.4.2 for when לָכֵן follows (וְ)עַתָּה.

	those who stretch themselves out shall pass away."

עַתָּה also serves as an SA in conjunction with other SAs, initiating a temporal frame for the whole clause. In (55), it is twice negated by לֹא. In (56), it co-occurs with גַּם.[89] (57) illustrates אַךְ־עַתָּה.

(55)	Isa 29:22

²² לָכֵ֞ן כֹּֽה־אָמַ֤ר יְהוָה֙ אֶל־בֵּ֣ית יַעֲקֹ֔ב אֲשֶׁ֥ר פָּדָ֖ה אֶת־אַבְרָהָ֑ם **לֹֽא־עַתָּ֤ה** יֵבוֹשׁ֙ יַעֲקֹ֔ב **וְלֹ֥א עַתָּ֖ה** פָּנָ֥יו יֶחֱוָֽרוּ׃	²² Therefore thus says the LORD, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob: "Jacob shall **no longer** be ashamed, **no longer** shall his face grow pale.

(56)	Gen 44:10[90]

¹⁰ וַיֹּ֕אמֶר **גַּם־עַתָּ֥ה** כְדִבְרֵיכֶ֖ם כֶּן־ה֑וּא אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִמָּצֵ֤א אִתּוֹ֙ יִֽהְיֶה־לִּ֣י עָ֔בֶד וְאַתֶּ֖ם תִּהְי֥וּ נְקִיִּֽם׃	¹⁰ He said, "**Let it be** as you say: he who is found with it shall be my servant, and the rest of you shall be innocent." (ESV)

(57)	Job 16:7

⁷ **אַךְ־עַתָּ֥ה** הֶלְאָ֑נִי הֲ֝שִׁמּ֗וֹתָ כָּל־עֲדָתִֽי׃	⁷ **Surely now** God has worn me out; he has made desolate all my company. (ESV)

In each of these occurrences, the other DMs and adverbs work in conjunction with עַתָּה to organize the utterance and ground the statements in the present or impending future. These usages can be peculiar, but they involve a pre-verbal, temporal עַתָּה.

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[89] In Job 16:19, גַּם־עַתָּה also acts as an SA.
[90] This verse is not easy to interpret or translate, cf. HCSB, NET, NIV, NRSV. What is clear is that גַּם־עַתָּה fits the profile of an SA.

3.4.2.3 SA Summary

In the second adverbial use, the Sentential Adverb, עַתָּה functions with a syntactic (and pragmatic) scope over the entire clause, evidenced by its fronted position. The SA sense is characterized by עַתָּה's collocation with the connectives וְ and כִּי, while still retaining its temporal deictic core. As a temporal deictic, עַתָּה grounds the utterance to a place in time and initiates a temporal frame for the content of the rest of the clause.

Logical implications and structural connections emerge as a result of its pre-verbal clausal position and collocations with DMs. וְעַתָּה marks a contrast between past and present. כִּי עַתָּה implies logical relations present as a result of past actions. A specialized function of כִּי עַתָּה marks the apodosis of hypothetical condition phrases. עַתָּה as an SA can occur with other DMs and adverbs, and עַתָּה can also appear on its own. The SA function of עַתָּה is prominent in poetic and prophetic texts, especially in Isaiah, Job, and The Twelve.[91]

3.4.3 Conclusion of Adverbial Senses

Before moving on to the discourse usages in the next chapter, we will compare and contrast the two adverbial senses. Both the PA and the SA senses of עַתָּה possess a temporal deictic function and ground the utterance in time. The time to which עַתָּה points can range from the recent past, to the present situation, to the impending future, to even a hypothetical scenario.

However, the syntax and pragmatics of the PA and SA differ significantly. Syntactically, the PA and SA senses differ in their clause position and their constructions. The PA occurs after the verb and frequently in prepositional phrases. The SA always occurs in a preverbal position and frequently with DMs. The PA modifies the main verb whereas the SA initiates a temporal frame for entire clause. Pragmatically, the SA exhibits logical and structural implication which are not present in the PA.

The senses and their identifying features may be compared and contrasted by the following table:

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[91] The prominence of the SA use of עַתָּה is likely due to the temporal nature of prophetic texts. The prophets are concerned with connecting past covenant disobedience with present day perils in an effort to spur the people on toward covenant faithfulness.

Table 3.1: Adverbial Senses of (וְ)עַתָּה

(וְ)עַתָּה		PA	SA
Syntax	**Position**	Inside Clause	Front of Clause
	Scope	Verb	Clause
	Constructions	עַד־עַתָּה מֵעַתָּה	כִּי עַתָּה וְעַתָּה
Semantics & Pragmatics	**Deictic Reference**	Event	Event
	Primary Function	Temporal	Temporal
	Secondary Function		Logical / Structural

The logical and structural implications, which first appear in the SA sense, become the primary feature of the discourse functions, to which we now turn in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4: DM SENSES OF (וְ)עַתָּה

4   DM Senses of (וְ)עַתָּה

In the previous chapter we discussed the adverbial senses of עַתָּה – the predicate adverb and the

sentential adverb. These adverbial senses share a temporal deictic reference. The DM functions

discussed in this chapter possess a deictic reference that is (primarily) discourse related, either to

the text of the discourse or the participants in the discourse. This chapter describes two DM senses,

structural DMs (SDM) and interactional DMs (IDM), named for and distinguished by their

respective deictic reference. In what follows, we will establish a profile for each sense according to

their syntax, semantics, and pragmatics, identifying shared familial traits, key features, and

subfunctions. עַתָּה and וְעַתָּה can both be used as SDM and IDM, in each of the functions discussed

below.

4.1   Introduction to DM Senses

Before describing these senses, we will assist readers with a review of what constitutes DMs and

what DMs do. The functional definition of DMs we will use for this section is as follows (repeated

from 2.1.5):

> Discourse markers are items external to propositional content which are useful
>
> in locating the utterance in an interpersonal and interactive dimension, in
>
> connecting and structuring phrasal, inter-phrasal and extra-phrasal elements in
>
> discourse, and in marking some on-going cognitive processes and attitudes.
>
> (Bazzanella 2006:456)

The definition of Onodera (2011:1) below serves as a corollary to the above.

> A discourse marker signals the speaker's view/attitude/judgement with respect
>
> to the relationship between the chunks of discourse that precede and follow it,
>
> typically in the sentence (utterance)-initial positions.

Crucially, DMs are multifunctional. This means that a single instantiation of (וְ)עַתָּה can operate on

multiple discourse levels simultaneously, and (וְ)עַתָּה can perform different functions in different

contexts. On a metatextual level, DMs structure a text by breaking up the discourse into

manageable chunks or segments. On an interactional level, DMs guide participants in their role in

the conversation. Both the SDM and the IDM can and do operate on the metatextual, interactional, and cognitive domains.[92] The SDM and IDM senses share common DM functions of organizing or segmenting discourse into smaller (easily comprehendible) chunks and signaling relations among the segments. The SDM sense connotes a logical connection of some kind between the preceding and the following discourse units operating primarily in the metatextual domain. The IDM sense does not possess a strong logical sense, but it is more participant related, managing discourse roles and signaling significant developments.[93] With these definitions, features, and functions of DMs in hand, we progress to describing the discourse senses, beginning with the SDM.

4.2   Structural DM Sense

The third sense is a textual-organizing SDM, often termed the "logical *now*"; this is the most frequent use accounting for more than 50% of usages. As an SDM, עַתָּה(וְ) segments discourse into understandable chunks indicating a logical connection between the preceding and following units. Grammars have identified this function, but they have not described it in detail.[94] We describe the SDM by establishing a profile of shared syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics and expounding upon the sub-functions which make up the sense.

4.2.1   SDM Profile

The SDM profile sketches the familial traits which SDM instantiations share. Syntactically, עַתָּה(וְ) has detached from the clause. Rather than modifying the verb, it governs clausal relations. This development is indicated by the clause position and accent markings. עַתָּה as an SDM is always in the clause initial position and usually represents a separate intonation unit.[95] Semantically, the

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[92] On a cognitive level, DMs aid in the processing of the discourse for the audience/reader. This function is true for all DMs, and as such is helpful in distinguishing between adverbial/temporal usages and discourse usages. However, it is not helpful in distinguishing between discourse functions. How a DM operates on a cognitive level is also difficult to demonstrate, especially for an ancient language with no mother tongue speakers. For these reasons, the cognitive level will not be considered in this chapter.

[93] We will argue below that the IDM developed out of the SDM. The SDM sense is frequently accompanied by interactional elements, like vocatives and politeness particles. However, in the IDM sense that interactional component is a characteristic of the form itself, cf. 5.3.3.

[94] Van der Merwe et al. (2017:452–45), Waltke-O'Connor (1990:578–79, 658, 667, 676), Arnold-Choi (2003:140).

[95] In 85% of SDM/IDM usages, עַתָּה is followed by a disjunctive accent, the most common being *revia*, *pasta*, *zaqef gadol*, and *tiphah*. In the cases where it is not a separate intonation unit, one of two things is true: 1) either, it is followed by a noun of address, or 2) it is in the same intonation unit with an impv. In the case of the latter, it does not disqualify it from being a DM.

60

deictic reference point shifts from a point in time to a point in the discourse. עַתָּה indicates a logical development in the discourse. A temporal aspect may still be present, but the logical meaning is primary.[96] With its deixis in the discourse, עַתָּה signals a logical connection between the preceding and the following discourse units. The logical connections derive from a basic formula: *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *speech act* about which we will elaborate below.

The pragmatics of the SDM center on the structuring effects it has on the discourse. (וְ)עַתָּה segments the discourse into chunks and typically relates multiple clauses. Rather than governing only the clause it fronts (as in the SA sense), עַתָּה as an SDM governs multiple clauses, exerting a textual organizing force over the preceding unit to the trailing unit. In fact, scope of governance can be quite large, as we will detail below. (וְ)עַתָּה signals a shift from assertive to directive discourse, from background to present concern, and from informative to conclusive discourse, all in the frame of the logical *now* formula.

In order to understand עַתָּה as a structuring DM, we need to detail the prototypical pattern on which the structuring pragmatics are built. The formula is described by Lyavdansky (2010:27) as follows:

> There are two most important issues to be noted here: first, *we`attā* appears on the border between two discourse units within direct speech (DU1, DU2); DU1 and DU2 are related, the text before *we`attā* being a background or motivation for the text after *we`attā*; second, the texts (discourse units) before *we`attā* and after it are different in their mood — indicative changes to imperative.

This pattern is so pervasive that is should be regarded as a fixed construction with the formula: *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive*, and this formula is the foundation for understanding the SDM sense and its sub-functions.

4.2.2   SDM Sub-functions

The sub-functions of the SDM use – the logical *now* transition to directive, the logical *now* formula in covenantal contexts, the large scope structural use, the logical *now* transition to conclusion,

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[96] The logical relations, foreshadowed in the SA, have developed into the primary meaning of the SDM, cf. ch 2.3.4 and Heine and Kuteva (2002:293).

"logical *now*" chains and strings, and the letter writing use – all make use of the logical *now* formula in some way. We will now proceed to describing each of these SDM sub-functions and how they make use of the logical *now* formula, beginning with the most common use.

4.2.2.1 The "Logical *Now*" Transition to Directive[97]

The prototypical use[98] of the "logical *now*" appears at the border of the transition from assertive to directive discourse where עַתָּה(וְ) signals the following action should be done on the basis of the preceding shared context. This signaling is built upon the following formula: *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive*. עַתָּה(וְ) signals the transition (metatextual), prepares the audience for the transition (interactional), and assists the hearer in processing the information (cognitive).

    (58)   Gen 27:2–4[99]

² וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה־נָא זָקַנְתִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי יוֹם מוֹתִי: ³ **וְעַתָּה** שָׂא־נָא כֵלֶיךָ תֶּלְיְךָ וְקַשְׁתֶּךָ וְצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה וְצוּדָה לִּי צֵידָה [צָיִד:] ⁴ וַעֲשֵׂה־לִּי מַטְעַמִּים כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהַבְתִּי וְהָבִיאָה לִּי וְאֹכֵלָה בַּעֲבוּר תְּבָרֶכְךָ נַפְשִׁי בְּטֶרֶם אָמוּת:	² He said, "Behold, I am old; I do not know the day of my death. ³ **Now then,** take your weapons, your quiver and your bow, and go out to the field and hunt game for me, ⁴ and prepare for me delicious food, such as I love, and bring it to me so that I may eat, that my soul may bless you before I die." (ESV)

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[97] עַתָּה: Gen 31:13; Exo 18:19; Num 22:11; Deut 2:13; Judg 16:10; 1 Sam 8:5; 9:6; 15:3; 2 Sam 24:13, 16; 1 Kgs 12:4, 16; 19:4; 2 Kgs 4:26; Isa 30:8; Mic 4:14, 1 Chr 21:15; 22:19; 2 Chr 1:9, 10; 10:16; 25:19; 29:11; 30:8; 35:3.
וְעַתָּה: Gen 12:19; 20:7; 21:23; 24:49; 27:3, 8, 43; 31:16, 44; 37:20; 41:33; 45:5; 47:4; 50:5, 17, 21; Exo 3:10, 18; 4:12; 5:18; 9:19; 10:17; 32:10, 34; 33:5, 13; Num 14:17; 22:6, 19; 24:11, 14; 31:17; Deut 4:1; 31:19; Josh 1:2; 2:12; 3:12; 9:6, 11; 13:7; 14:12; 22:4; 24:14, 23; Judg 7:3; 9:32; 11:13; 13:4, 7; 14:2; 18:14; 20:13; 1 Sam 6:7; 8:9; 9:13; 10:19; 12:7, 10; 15:1, 25; 18:22; 19:2; 20:29, 31; 21:4; 23:20; 24:22; 25:17; 26:8, 11, 19, 20; 28:22; 29:7, 10; 2 Sam 2:7; 3:18; 7:25, 29; 12:28; 13:13, 20, 33; 14:32; 17:16; 19:8; 24:10; 1 Kgs 1:12; 2:9; 5:20; 8:25, 26; 18:19; 2 Kgs 1:14; 3:15, 23; 5:15; 7:4, 9; 9:26; 10:19; 12:8; 18:23; 19:19; Isa 5:3; 28:22; 36:8; 37:20; Jer 18:11; 26:13; 37:20; Amos 7:16; Jonah 4:3; Hag 1:5, 2:4, 15; Mal 1:9; Psa 2:10; Job 6:28; 42:8; Prov 5:7; 7:24; 8:32; Ruth 3:11; Dan 9:17; Ezra 10:3, 11; Neh 9:32; 1 Chr 17:23; 21:8, 12; 28:8; 2 Chr 2:6; 6:16, 17; 10:4; 19:7; 28:11; 32:15.
[98] Prototypical is used in two ways here: 1) it is the most frequently and widely distributed use, and 2) it is the type upon which other SDM subfunctions of עַתָּה(וְ) are built.
[99] Due to the features and functions of DMs, a reader must understand the context of the utterance, and pay special attention to the clauses preceding and following the DM (Fraser 2006:191; Lyavdansky 2010:24). For this reason, examples given below will attempt to concisely provide adequate context for the reader, except where space limitations prevent this.

(59)   Gen 27:6–10

⁶ וְרִבְקָה אָמְרָה אֶל־יַעֲקֹב בְּנָהּ לֵאמֹר	⁶ Rebekah said to her son Jacob, "Behold, I
הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי אֶת־אָבִיךָ	heard your father speak to your brother Esau,
מְדַבֵּר אֶל־עֵשָׂו אָחִיךָ לֵאמֹר׃	⁷ 'Bring me game and prepare for me
⁷ הָבִיאָה לִּי צַיִד וַעֲשֵׂה־לִי מַטְעַמִּים וְאֹכֵלָה	delicious food, that I may eat it and bless you
וַאֲבָרֶכְכָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לִפְנֵי מוֹתִי׃	before the LORD before I die.' ⁸ **Now**
⁸ וְעַתָּה בְנִי שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי לַאֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוָּה אֹתָךְ׃	**therefore,** my son, obey my voice as I
⁹ לֶךְ־נָא אֶל־הַצֹּאן	command you. ⁹Go to the flock and bring me
וְקַח־לִי מִשָּׁם שְׁנֵי גְּדָיֵי עִזִּים טֹבִים	two good young goats, so that I may prepare
וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אֹתָם מַטְעַמִּים לְאָבִיךָ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָהֵב׃	from them delicious food for your father, such
¹⁰ וְהֵבֵאתָ לְאָבִיךָ וְאָכָל	as he loves. ¹⁰And you shall bring it to your
בַּעֲבֻר אֲשֶׁר יְבָרֶכְךָ לִפְנֵי מוֹתוֹ׃	father to eat, so that he may bless you before
	he dies." (ESV)

Grounds usually consist of background information, events that happened in the past, and, they are sometimes marked by הִנֵּה, as in (58) and (59).[100] The verb forms used to describe the grounds are typically *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* verbs, past tense, and 3ʳᵈ person.

(וְ)עַתָּה is almost always in a separate intonation unit apart from the main clause. In (58) it occurs in an intonation unit by itself, marked by *pashta*. In (59) it is with an intonation unit along with בְנִי, a vocative. The separation from the clause in pronunciation is a clue to its syntactic separation as well. Rather than modifying the verb, וְעַתָּה links the discourse segments together, strengthening the relationship between them.

The directives following (וְ)עַתָּה are usually 2ⁿᵈ person and present tense with a volitional mood, but actions may also be referred to by means of cohortatives, jussive or short *yiqtols*, long *yiqtols*, or negated *yiqtols*. Most often, the action slot is filled with an impv, a series of impvs, or an *impv + weqatal* construction. The semantics of the impv(s) may be commands or requests,

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[100] For uses of הִנֵּה, see Van der Merwe et al. (2017:407–18), Van der Merwe (2011), Miller-Naudè and van der Merwe (2011), Garr (2004). Cf. The NET Bible (2005, tn 6), translating הִנֵּה as "Since" identifies the function as "introduc[ing] a logically foundational statement, upon which the coming instruction will be based."

sometimes marked with נָא (as in (58)). Usually the directive verb immediately follows (וְ)עַתָּה, but it can be interrupted by a vocative, a question, or some other relevant detail (see below).

In (60), עַתָּה functions the same way as וְעַתָּה above.[101]

(60)   1 Sam 8:5

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו הִנֵּה אַתָּה זָקַנְתָּ וּבָנֶיךָ לֹא הָלְכוּ בִּדְרָכֶיךָ **עַתָּה** שִׂימָה־לָּנוּ מֶלֶךְ לְשָׁפְטֵנוּ כְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִם: ⁵	⁵ and said to him, "Behold, you are old and your sons do not walk in your ways. **So now,** appoint for us a king to judge us like all the nations."

(וְ)עַתָּה as a former temporal deictic is uniquely suited to construe the switch from assertive to volitional discourse, from past events to present response. However, the presence of the DM is optional; the formula appears without עַתָּה as in (61).[102]

(61)   Gen 42:2

וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֶשׁ־שֶׁבֶר בְּמִצְרָיִם רְדוּ־שָׁמָּה וְשִׁבְרוּ־לָנוּ מִשָּׁם וְנִחְיֶה וְלֹא נָמוּת: ²	²And he said, "Behold, I have heard that there is grain for sale in Egypt. Go down and buy grain for us there, that we may live and not die." (ESV)

Since it is optional, the presence of (וְ)עַתָּה appears to strengthen the relationship between the grounds and the action.[103]

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[101] Furthermore, there is no functional difference between וְעַתָּה and עַתָּה as an SDM (or an IDM). As it pertains to the DM senses, we do not differentiate between them or treat them as separate constructions, cf. fn97 and the examples discussed in this chapters 4–5.

[102] It is beyond the scope of this project to examine all possible places where (וְ)עַתָּה could have been but does not appear, cf. Lyavdansky (2012:9–28). Here are a few locations which we identified: Exo 6:6; Deut 10:16; Judg 10:14; 2 Sam 15:19; 16:11; 19:27; 1 Kgs 2:6; Psa 13:3.

[103] Without the data to compare when עַתָּה does and does not appear, and without native speakers to consult, we are unable to provide a full explanation of why עַתָּה would be used or not. Nevertheless, the formulaic pattern persists and is used pervasively, so we must describe its features and functions. We hypothesize that עַתָּה strengthens the connection between grounds and actions and the construal with the DM may increase the hearer's comprehension and motivation.

(62)   1 Sam 28:21–22

| <div dir="rtl">²¹ וַתָּבוֹא הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־שָׁאוּל וַתֵּרֶא כִּי־נִבְהַל מְאֹד
וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הִנֵּה שָׁמְעָה שִׁפְחָתְךָ בְּקוֹלֶךָ וָאָשִׂים
נַפְשִׁי בְכַפִּי וָאֶשְׁמַע אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלָי:
²² וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע־נָא גַם־אַתָּה בְּקוֹל שִׁפְחָתֶךָ
וְאָשִׂמָה לְפָנֶיךָ פַּת־לֶחֶם וֶאֱכוֹל
וִיהִי בְךָ כֹּחַ כִּי תֵלֵךְ בַּדָּרֶךְ:</div> | ²¹And the woman came to Saul, and when she saw that he was terrified, she said to him, "Behold, your servant has obeyed you. I have taken my life in my hand and have listened to what you have said to me. ²² **Now therefore,** you also obey your servant. Let me set a morsel of bread before you; and eat, that you may have strength when you go on your way." (ESV) |

The construal of the situation presented by the construction *grounds* + עַתָּה + *directive* is that the action should be performed on the basis of the grounds presented. Lyavdansky (2010:27):

> But there is another type of cohesion between [Discourse Unit] DU1 and DU2: the text immediately preceding *(we) ʿattā* serves as a justification or motivation for the imperative utterance in DU2. In this and many other cases the text before *(we) ʿattā* describes a state of affairs which is supposed to urge the addressee to undertake an action. Or it may be said that the speaker presents his request or order as justified or motivated by the preceding discourse unit.

The construction is used in a variety of social contexts: including parents to children (Gen 27), older to younger people (Exo 18:19), by those of equal status to one another (Gen 31:44), by those in power to their subjects (Deut 2:13), and by a subject to a sovereign (1 Sam 28:21–22), and by people to God in prayer (Neh 9:32). When the construction is being used by a subject to a sovereign, there is often a change in the kind of verb used for the desired action. Rather than an imperative, the speaker addresses the office or a term of respect (but rarely the person) and make the request with a *yiqtol* or jussive verbs. [104] A subject can also employ the logical *now* formula

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[104] 1 Sam 25:26–27; 26:19. Additionally, the self-reference is usually in 2ⁿᵈ and 3ʳᵈ person, instead of first person.

when approaching a sovereign and asking for permission.[105] While most frequent in narratives, this formula is also found in poetry (63)[106] and in prophecy (64).[107]

(63) Psa 2:9–11[108]

⁹ תְּרֹעֵם בְּשֵׁבֶט בַּרְזֶל כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תְּנַפְּצֵם׃	⁹ You shall break them with a rod of iron and dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.
¹⁰ **וְעַתָּה** מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ׃	¹⁰ **Now therefore**, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth.
¹¹ עִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיִרְאָה וְגִילוּ בִּרְעָדָה׃	¹¹ Serve the LORD with fear, and rejoice with trembling. (ESV)

(64) Isa 5:1–3

¹ אָשִׁירָה נָּא לִידִידִי שִׁירַת דּוֹדִי לְכַרְמוֹ כֶּרֶם הָיָה לִידִידִי בְּקֶרֶן בֶּן־שָׁמֶן׃	¹ Let me sing for my beloved my love song concerning his vineyard: My beloved had a vineyard on a very fertile hill.
² וַיְעַזְּקֵהוּ וַיְסַקְּלֵהוּ וַיִּטָּעֵהוּ שֹׂרֵק וַיִּבֶן מִגְדָּל בְּתוֹכוֹ וְגַם־יֶקֶב חָצֵב בּוֹ וַיְקַו לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים וַיַּעַשׂ בְּאֻשִׁים׃	² He dug it and cleared it of stones, and planted it with choice vines; he built a watchtower in the midst of it, and hewed out a wine vat in it; and he looked for it to yield grapes, but it yielded wild grapes.
³ **וְעַתָּה** יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה שִׁפְטוּ־נָא בֵּינִי וּבֵין כַּרְמִי׃	³ **So now**, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge between me and my vineyard.

This widespread use, across social classes, and across literary types, indicates just how pervasive and entrenched the formula was.

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[105] 1 Sam 20:29; 26:8.
[106] See also Job 6:28; 42:8; Prov 5:7; 7:24; 8:32.
[107] See also Isa 44:1; 47:8; Eze 43:9; Hag 1:5; 2:4, 15; Mal 1:9.
[108] The grounds include at least vv7–9, and the action extends from vv10–12. For the sake of space, fewer verses were included.

66

The base formula: *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive* can be supplemented in a variety of ways. A כִּי clause can follow the imperative clause and provide further justification for carrying out the action as in (65).

(65)   1 Sam 9:13

עָתּוֹ תִּמְצְא֣וּן כֵּ֣ן הָעִ֗יר כְּבֹאֲכֶ֣ם¹³	¹³As soon as you enter the city you will find
לֶאֱכֹ֑ל הַבָּמָ֖תָה יַעֲלֶ֥ה בְּטֶ֩רֶם	him, before he goes up to the high place to eat.
עַד־בֹּא֗וֹ הָעָם֙ לֹֽא־יֹאכַ֤ל כִּ֣י	For the people will not eat till he comes, since
הַקְּרֻאִֽים יֹאכְל֖וּ אַֽחֲרֵי־כֵ֣ן הַזֶּ֔בַח יְבָרֵ֣ךְ כִֽי־הוּא֩	he must bless the sacrifice; afterward those
כְהַיּ֖וֹם כִּֽי־אֹת֥וֹ עֲל֔וּ וְעַתָּ֣ה	who are invited will eat. **So now**, go up, for
אֹתֽוֹ׃ תִּמְצְא֥וּן	you will meet him immediately.”

The typical formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive* is so well attested, that the formula can be briefly interrupted (66), yet still communicate the same effect.

(66)   Deut 2:8–13

מוֹאָֽב׃ מִדְבַּ֥ר דֶּ֖רֶךְ וַֽנַּעֲבֹ֔ר וַנֵּ֙פֶן֙ ...⁸	⁸“And we turned and went in the direction of
אֶת־מוֹאָ֔ב אַל־תָּ֙צַר֙ אֵלַ֗י יְהֹוָ֜ה וַיֹּ֨אמֶר⁹	the wilderness of Moab. ⁹And the LORD said
מִלְחָמָ֑ה בָּ֖ם וְאַל־תִּתְגָּ֥ר	to me, ‘Do not harass Moab or contend with
לִבְנֵֽי־ל֔וֹט כִּ֣י יְרֻשָּׁ֔ה מֵֽאַרְצוֹ֙ לְךָ֤ כִּ֠י לֹֽא־אֶתֵּ֨ן	them in battle, for I will not give you any of
יְרֻשָּֽׁה׃ אֶת־עָ֖ר נָתַ֥תִּי	their land for a possession, because I have
בָ֑הּ יָשְׁב֣וּ לְפָנִ֖ים הָאֵמִ֥ים¹⁰	given Ar to the people of Lot for a possession.’
כָּעֲנָקִֽים׃ וָרָ֖ב וְרַ֥ב גָּד֛וֹל עַ֣ם	¹⁰(The Emim formerly lived there, a people
כָּעֲנָקִ֑ים אַף־הֵ֖ם יֵחָשְׁב֥וּ רְפָאִ֛ים¹¹	great and many, and tall as the Anakim. ¹¹Like
אֵמִֽים׃ לָהֶ֖ם יִקְרְא֥וּ וְהַמֹּ֣אָבִ֔ים	the Anakim they are also counted as Rephaim,
יִֽירָשׁ֗וּם עֵשָׂ֜ו וּבְנֵ֙י לְפָנִ֑ים הַחֹרִ֖ים יָשְׁב֥וּ וּבְשֵׂעִ֞יר¹²	but the Moabites call them Emim. ¹²The
תַּחְתָּ֔ם וַיֵּשְׁב֣וּ מִפְּנֵיהֶם֙ וַיַּשְׁמִידוּם֙	Horites also lived in Seir formerly, but the
יְרֻשָּׁת֑וֹ לְאֶ֣רֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל עָשָׂ֥ה כַּאֲשֶׁ֛ר	people of Esau dispossessed them and
לָהֶֽם׃ יְהֹוָ֖ה אֲשֶׁר־נָתַ֥ן	destroyed them from before them and settled

67

עַתָּה קֻמוּ וְעִבְרוּ לָכֶם אֵת־נַחַל זָרֶד 13 וַנַּעֲבֹר אֶת־נַחַל זָרֶד:	in their place, as Israel did to the land of their possession, which the LORD gave to them.) 13'**So now**, rise up and go over the brook Zered.' So we went over the brook Zered.

The immediately preceding verses (vv10–12) do not form the grounds on which the imperative should be followed. Rather, they offer background or parenthetical information (cf. ESV, NRSV, NIV, NET). It is the verses before the parenthetical comment (vv8b–9) which form the justification for the commands following עַתָּה. עַתָּה reconnects the directive with its justification a few verses earlier and signals to the reader the parenthetical comment has ceased.

Short interruptions between עַתָּה and the actions are not infrequent. The most common separation between (וְ)עַתָּה and the directive is a vocative of address. Examples above include (59) and (63–64). In (67) וְעַתָּה is separated from the dual imperatives by a short הִנֵּה clause. Also, the grounds are rhetorical questions rather than declarative statements. [109]

(67)   Gen 12:18–19

וַיִּקְרָא פַרְעֹה לְאַבְרָם וַיֹּאמֶר מַה־זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָ לִּי 18 לָמָּה לֹא־הִגַּדְתָּ לִּי כִּי אִשְׁתְּךָ הִוא: לָמָה אָמַרְתָּ אֲחֹתִי הִוא וָאֶקַּח אֹתָהּ לִי לְאִשָּׁה 19 וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ קַח וָלֵךְ:	[18] So Pharaoh called Abram and said, "What is this you have done to me? Why did you not tell me that she was your wife? [19] Why did you say, 'She is my sister,' so that I took her for my wife? **Now then**, here is your wife; take her, and go." (ESV)

Other examples of interruptions include a conditional clause (68) and a complement clause fronted for focus (69). These slight modifications to the typical formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive* demonstrate its acceptance as a fixed construction.

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[109] Rhetorical questions can be used pragmatically to make a strong assertion, as in (67) and in 2 Sam 24:13 where rhetorical questions form the grounds in the typical logical *now* formula.

(68)　　　1 Sam 20:29

²⁹ וַיֹּאמֶר שַׁלְּחֵנִי נָא כִּי זֶבַח מִשְׁפָּחָה לָנוּ בָּעִיר וְהוּא צִוָּה־לִי֙ אָחִ֔י **וְעַתָּ֗ה** אִם־מָצָ֤אתִי חֵן֙ בְּעֵינֶ֔יךָ אִמָּ֣לְטָה נָּ֔א וְאֶרְאֶ֖ה אֶת־אֶחָ֑י עַל־כֵּ֣ן לֹא־בָ֔א אֶל־שֻׁלְחַ֖ן הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃	²⁹ He said, 'Let me go, for our clan holds a sacrifice in the city, and my brother has commanded me to be there. **So now**, if I have found favor in your eyes, let me get away and see my brothers.' For this reason he has not come to the king's table." (ESV)

(69)　　　1 Sam 23:20

²⁰ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** לְכָל־אַוַּ֤ת נַפְשְׁךָ֙ הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ לָרֶ֣דֶת רֵ֔ד וְלָ֥נוּ הַסְגִּיר֖וֹ בְּיַ֥ד הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃	²⁰ **Therefore**, according to all your heart's desire to come down, O king, come down. And our part shall be to surrender him into the king's hand."

Before looking at more specialized usages of the logical *now* formula, it will be instructive to investigate an instance with an incomplete formula (70).

(70)　　　Gen 3:22

²² וַיֹּ֣אמֶר ׀ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהִ֗ים הֵ֤ן הָֽאָדָם֙ הָיָה֙ כְּאַחַ֣ד מִמֶּ֔נּוּ לָדַ֖עַת טֹ֣וב וָרָ֑ע **וְעַתָּ֣ה ׀** פֶּן־יִשְׁלַ֣ח יָד֗וֹ וְלָקַח֙ גַּ֚ם מֵעֵ֣ץ הַֽחַיִּ֔ים וְאָכַ֖ל וָחַ֥י לְעֹלָֽם׃	²² Then the LORD God said, "Behold, the man has become like one of us in knowing good and evil. **Now**, lest he reach out his hand and take also of the tree of life and eat, and live forever—" (ESV)

In (70), וְעַתָּה appears to signal a logical relationship of some kind between the preceding content and the following (cf. ESV). The preceding content, marked by הֵן, is related to present state of affairs or grounds for an action. Following the וְעַתָּה, is a hypothetical פֶּן clause, indicating an unfavorable result which must be guarded against (further motivation for taking action). After the hypothetical פֶּן clause, one would expect a volitional verb stating what must be done. But, no volitional form follows. Wenham (1987:45.) states that what is expected is a cohortative plural

clause (*let us…*), similar to what is found elsewhere in Genesis (31:44 and 37:2).[110] Instead, v23 indicates the action which God took. The ESV and NRSV insert an em dash (—) after the פֶּן clause indicating an ellipsis. This usage illustrates that the logical *now* formula is so entrenched that it does not need to be complete for it to effectively communicate a logical result.

The pervasive attestation of this formula (and its variations) proves that the *grounds +* (וְ)עַתָּה *+ directive* formula and its logical meaning had become entrenched. This is the most frequent use of (וְ)עַתָּה in general, and it is especially prevalent especially in Genesis, Samuel-Kings, and Chronicles. As one might expect, this encoding of the logical, resultative meaning correlates with a clause connecting, segmenting function typical of DMs. With a firm grasp on this function, we progress to examining adaptations of the standard logical *now* formula.

4.2.2.2 Large Scope Uses of the Logical *Now* Formula[111]

Examples above demonstrate the construction being used on a small scale (governing 1–2 clauses before and after) and a medium scale (3–5 clauses). The logical *now* formula is also used to structure larger discourse units, and its function of connecting the grounds with the directive remains even when the scope increases. Large scope uses of the logical *now* formula provide structure to lengthy prayers (2 Chr 6:14–41, Neh 9:6–32), oracles (Joel 2:12), chapters (Prov 5:7; 7:24; 8:32), and entire book sections (Deut 4:1).

This use of (וְ)עַתָּה in organizing discourses on a large scale has been largely misunderstood. *HALOT* (2000:902), following Brongers (1965) and Lande (1949), claims וְעַתָּה is "often introducing a new subject or section".[112] Their description obfuscates וְעַתָּה's function of linking the grounds together with the directive. In each of their cited references, (וְ)עַתָּה is followed by a directive. The speaker employs the well-known formula *grounds +* (וְ)עַתָּה *+ directive* as part of a particular construal to highlight his message. Let us examine a few of the passages just cited.

(71)   Prov 5:7

| ⁷ וְעַתָּ֣ה בָ֭נִים שִׁמְעוּ־לִ֑י וְאַל־תָּ֝ס֗וּרוּ מֵאִמְרֵי־פִֽי׃ | ⁷ **And now,** O sons, listen to me, and do not |

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[110] For a cohortative plural with God speaking – either to the heavenly assembly or as plural of majesty – is similar to נַעֲשֶׂה in Gen 1:26.
[111] Given the large scope of these uses, only the verse with (וְ)עַתָּה is included in the example.
[112] Cf. Schneider-McKinion (2016:234–242) "macrosyntactical opening and transitional signals".

	depart from the words of my mouth. (ESV)

(72)   Prov 7:24

²⁴ וְעַתָּ֣ה בָ֭נִים שִׁמְעוּ־לִ֑י וְ֝הַקְשִׁ֗יבוּ לְאִמְרֵי־פִֽי׃	²⁴**And now,** O sons, listen to me, and be attentive to the words of my mouth. (ESV)

(73)   Prov 8:32

³² וְעַתָּ֣ה בָ֭נִים שִׁמְעוּ־לִ֑י וְ֝אַשְׁרֵ֗י דְּרָכַ֥י יִשְׁמֹֽרוּ׃	³²**And now,** O sons, listen to me: blessed are those who keep my ways. (ESV)

Three times the speaker uses a similar phrase at specific points in his speech. In each case, the phrase is used to transition from a poetic excursus on a topic (Lady Folly in Prov 5, 7; Lady Wisdom in Prov 8) back to the main theme of listening to the father's instruction.[113] The Masoretic markings suggest a new discourse unit begins with וְעַתָּה in 71–73. However, in each case, the preceding discourse units serve as the grounds for obeying the directives which follow וְעַתָּה. This leads Fox (2000:290) to note that וְעַתָּה "sometimes has a consequential sense and can be translated "therefore" or "consequently"; see H. Brongers (1965:293–94)."

(74) is an example with even larger scope.

(74)   Deut 4:1[114]

¹ וְעַתָּ֣ה יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל שְׁמַ֤ע אֶל־הַֽחֻקִּים֙ וְאֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּטִ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר אָֽנֹכִ֛י מְלַמֵּ֥ד אֶתְכֶ֖ם לַעֲשׂ֑וֹת לְמַ֣עַן תִּֽחְי֗וּ וּבָאתֶם֙ וִֽירִשְׁתֶּ֣ם אֶת־הָאָ֔רֶץ אֲשֶׁ֧ר יְהוָ֛ה אֱלֹהֵ֥י אֲבֹתֵיכֶ֖ם נֹתֵ֥ן לָכֶֽם׃	¹ "**Now therefore,** O Israel, listen to the statutes and the rules that I am teaching you, and do them, that you may live, and go in and take possession of the land that the LORD, the God of your fathers, is giving you.

Deuteronomy 1–4 form the prelude or historical prologue to the renewal of the covenant in the rest

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[113] This theme of obeying is found outside the formula, scattered throughout, especially at the beginning of the chapters: Prov 1:8; 3:1; 4:1, 10; 5:1; 6:20–21; 7:1–3.

[114] For space constraints, the grounds (which could include all of Deut 1–3) were omitted.

of the book.[115] Deut 1–3 recount Israel's story since leaving Egypt and how God has continued to protect and provide for them; they form the justification for the upcoming directive. Deut 4 is the conclusion of this prologue. Deut 4:1 marks a turning point in this section from narrative to directive. The speech transitions from background story (Deut 1–3) to lessons learned from the story. The directive, שְׁמַע, is a plea for faithful obedience to the covenant. Then, לְמַעַן introduces a result clause detailing rewards for obedience.

וְעַתָּה exhibits scope over the entire historical prologue (1:5–4:43), if not more.[116] The speaker (Moses) utilizes the standard logical *now* formula to draw attention the main point of the section, which is also the main point of the book – namely, YHWH is their covenant God, their suzerain king; when they obey him, they enjoy rich blessings, but when they do not, they risk curse and judgment. Moses employs וְעַתָּה in order to facilitate his hearers' construal of this *ground > command* covenantal relationship.[117]

This connection between ground and directive is obscured when the function of וְעַתָּה in Deut 4:1 is described as initiating a new section. To say that the function/meaning of וְעַתָּה is to initiate a new section is to confuse the context of the instantiation (at the beginning of a new section) with the function of the instantiation. The function of וְעַתָּה in large scope uses of the logical *now* formula is the same as its function in the 4.2.2.1. וְעַתָּה links the following discourse unit with the preceding discourse unit by signaling that what follows (the directive) is motivated by what precedes (the grounds). This logical connection can be easily obscured when the function is described as initiating a new section.

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[115] Kline (1961:1–15) and Gentry and Wellum (2012:357–363) argue Deuteronomy is a unified book, its form is drawn from suzerain vassal treaties, and chapters 1–4 (as the historical prologue to the covenant) form the foundation upon which the rest of the book (the differing parts of the covenant) is built. Kline (1961:1) states "Deuteronomy is a covenant renewal document which in its total structure exhibits the classic legal form of the suzerainty treaties of the Mosaic age."

[116] The prologue serves as the foundation and prelude to the rest of the book. Kline (1961:3) notes "Deuteronomy 4 is noteworthy in that it exhibits to a degree at least each of the constitutive features of the treaty pattern: the identification of the speaker (1, 2, 5, 10), the appeal to covenant history (10 ff., 20 ff., etc.), the basic stipulation of undivided allegiance (15 ff., etc.), the blessing-curse sanctions (27 ff.), the invocation of witnesses (26), and the arrangements for the perpetuation of the covenant (9, 10, 21, 22)." For a more recent analysis, cf. Gentry and Wellum (2012:134–136, 357–88). See Guest (2009:32–71) for a thorough analysis of the proposals for the structure of Deut and its parallels with ANE treaty forms.

[117] Kline (1961:3) continues: "This reflection of the total treaty pattern within the undisputed unity of this brief passage is a significant clue to the nature of the larger document in which it is embedded ..." Guest (2009:159) states that "Deuteronomy 4:1–40 transitions into the General Stipulation (Deut 5–11) which codifies the nature of the loyalty required."

This large scope linking of *ground* and *directive* is also found in lengthy prayers.[118] In these prayers, utilize the logical *now* formula to structure their prayers and highlight their requests. The following section examines the use of the logical *now* formula in another contextual frame: the formation of a covenant.

4.2.2.3 The Logical *Now* in Covenantal Contexts[119]

Another use of the standard logical formula is found in structuring formal agreements between parties in a covenant.[120] Given the logical functions just demonstrated, it should come as no surprise that וְ)עַתָּה) would structure legal discourses where covenants, alliances, treaties, and formal agreements are being formed with stipulations, expectations, blessings and curses being enumerated.[121]

Kalluveettil (1982:115–16) describes וְעַתָּה in covenant contexts:

> "This is a technical term which indicates temporal or logical sequence. In texts
> with the covenant form it serves as a "Überleitungspartikel" — it marks the
> transition from a historical section. In covenant contexts *wᵉʿattâ* introduces a
> demand (e.g., Ex 19,4 [sic]; Dt 10,12; Jos 2 4,14; 1 Sam 12,7.13.16; 1 Chr
> 28,8; Ezr 9,12) or request (sometimes supplication, e.g., Gen 21,23; 31,44; Dt
> 4,1; Jos 2,12; 2 Sam 7,25.29; 1 Kg 8,25.26; E 10,3; Neh 9,32). Just as in Jos
> 9,6 and 11 so too it appears with *krt bᵉrît* in Gen 31,44 and Ezr 10,3 where
> *wᵉʿattâ* denotes logical sequence. In Jos 9,11 it has the same function.

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[118] Two double instantiations of וְ)עַתָּה) in 2 Chr 6 bookend Solomon's prayer to God at the time of the dedication of the temple. Other examples include: Ezra 9:6–15; 1 Chr 29:10–19; Neh 9:6–38.

[119] Kalluveettil (1982:115–16) lists: Gen 21:23; 31:44; Exo 19:5; Deut 4:1; 10:12; Josh 2:12; 9:1–25; 24:14; 1 Sam 12:1–16; 2 Sam 7:25–29; 1 Kg 8:25–26; Ezra 9–10; Neh 9:32; 1 Chr 28:8. If we accept a loose definition of "legal" use (fn120), or passages where the term בְּרִית is not used but other legal concepts are there, the following passages could be added to the list: 2 Kgs 18:20–25; Isa 36:5–10; Jer 32:36; 1 Chr 17:23–27.

[120] By "legal" we mean in an ANE sense (not in a modern, anachronistic sense) where there is some aspect of formal arrangement, negotiation, setting of stipulations and expectations which are binding and therefore to be expected. Cf. Vannoy (1978:12–30) on the legal aspects of 1 Sam 12. See also Muilenburg (1959) and Kalluveetil (1982).

[121] This usage of וְ)עַתָּה) is documented in older treatments on the subject – notably Laurentin (1964) and Brongers (1965) in studies on וְ)עַתָּה), and Muilenburg (1959) and Kalluveetil (1982) on covenant formulations, cf. Vannoy (1978:165) for helpful summary – but its significance is not adequately treated in later works Garr (f.c.), Arnold-Choi (2018), Van der Merwe et al. (2017). The literary types/document types (or "contextual frames") in which forms and patterns occur is particularly important to understanding the forms properly (Van der Merwe 2014:132–39).

Once we understand *bᵉrît* as an oath according to the principle of synecdoche

of whole for the part, the role of the particle becomes clear: it superbly

connects both propositions...”

Vannoy (1978:165) describes this function of וְעַתָּה in a covenant context as “an introduction to the statement of substance following the historical recapitulation” where ‘statement of substance’ describes the covenant stipulations.[122] This is demonstrated in (75).

(75)   Exo 19:4–6

⁴ אַתֶּ֣ם רְאִיתֶ֔ם אֲשֶׁ֥ר עָשִׂ֖יתִי לְמִצְרָ֑יִם וָאֶשָּׂ֤א אֶתְכֶם֙ עַל־כַּנְפֵ֣י נְשָׁרִ֔ים וָאָבִ֥א אֶתְכֶ֖ם אֵלָֽי׃ ⁵ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** אִם־שָׁמֹ֤ועַ תִּשְׁמְעוּ֙ בְּקֹלִ֔י וּשְׁמַרְתֶּ֖ם אֶת־בְּרִיתִ֑י וִהְיִ֨יתֶם לִ֤י סְגֻלָּה֙ מִכָּל־הָ֣עַמִּ֔ים כִּי־לִ֖י כָּל־הָאָֽרֶץ׃ ⁶ וְאַתֶּ֧ם תִּהְיוּ־לִ֛י מַמְלֶ֥כֶת כֹּהֲנִ֖ים וְגֹ֣וי קָדֹ֑ושׁ אֵ֚לֶּה הַדְּבָרִ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר תְּדַבֵּ֖ר אֶל־בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	⁴ ‘You yourselves have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles’ wings and brought you to myself. ⁵ **Now therefore,** if you will indeed obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my treasured possession among all peoples, for all the earth is mine; ⁶ and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.’ These are the words that you shall speak to the people of Israel.” (ESV)

Gentry and Wellum (2012:309–312), following Davies (2004:35), identify this as the divine purpose of the covenant at Sinai. V4 is the historical prologue which "shows that the motivation for concluding and keeping a covenant with Yahweh is sovereign grace.” (Gentry and Wellum 2012:312). In 5a, וְעַתָּה transitions to the protasis of a conditional clause, marked by אִם. 5b–6a contain the apodosis.[123] וְעַתָּה signals the switch from the background, YHWH’s gracious deliverance from Egypt, to the logical response.

Davies (2004:42) describes וְעַתָּה in v5 in this way:

The macrosyntactic introductory particle ועתה (‘now’) has the rhetorical effect of

drawing attention to the change of subject from the first person clauses of v. 4

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[122] These comments are made regarding 1 Sam 12:13ff, but in notes 72–73 he states that 1 Sam 12:13 is very similar to Exo 19:5ff.

[123] There are intriguing debates on the nature of the conditional here, cf. Bivin (2017), Gentry and Wellum (2012:312–14).

(recounting divine activity) to the second person clauses (referring to Israel), as well as marking a temporal shift from the narration of past events to the setting forth of present and future consequences, particularly, as Kalluveettil notes, in covenant settings (Deut. 4.1; 10.12; Josh 24.14; 1 Sam 12.13; 1 Chron. 22.11).

Rather than introducing a new section,[124] וְעַתָּה links the former and the latter together, so that the relation of the two parts is more readily understood. This metatextual function is not divorced from the adverbial function. Rather, it builds on the deictic potential of the temporal adverb and signals a further development or conclusion on the basis the preceding discourse, closely linking it with what follows. Exo 19:3–4 form the grounds, the reasons for following the covenant, the reasons the people of Israel are indebted to following and serving YHWH. V5 states the conditions of the covenant, namely the obeying of YHWH's commands. 5b–6 state the blessing of the covenant if the stipulations are followed. In Exo 19:5, וְעַתָּה appears between the grounds for the covenant (YHWH's deliverance of Israel from slavery in Egypt) and the stipulations of covenant (אִם clauses), and it is followed by the blessings (if the stipulations are followed). The blessings far outweigh the stipulations. YHWH intends to make Israel his kingdom of priests and his holy nation, by means of the covenant, which follows in Exo 20.

While עַתָּה is common in covenantal contexts, it is not required (76).[125]

(76)   2 Kgs 16:7

וַיִּשְׁלַ֨ח אָחָ֜ז מַלְאָכִ֗ים 7	7 So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser
אֶל־תִּגְלַ֨ת פְּלֶ֤סֶר מֶֽלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר	king of Assyria, saying, "I am your servant and
עַבְדְּךָ֥ וּבִנְךָ֖ אָ֑נִי	your son. Come up and rescue me from the hand
עֲלֵ֨ה וְהוֹשִׁעֵ֜נִי מִכַּ֣ף מֶֽלֶךְ־אֲרָ֗ם	of the king of Syria and from the hand of the king
וּמִכַּף֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל הַקּוֹמִ֖ים עָלָֽי׃	of Israel, who are attacking me." (ESV)

In the covenantal contexts referenced, most of them appear in chains or strings (4.2.6.), where

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[124] When Davies (2004:42) and Gentry and Wellum (2012:312) described וְעַתָּה as an introductory particle, they relied on Schneider (1974:261–264) and *HALOT* (2000:901–02), cf. 1.2.
[125] It does not appear in Gen 8–9, 15, 17; 1 Sam 23:13–18; 1 Kgs 20:34; 2 Kgs 16:7; nor 1 Chr 11:1–3. This list is not exhaustive but representative, see Kalluveettil (1982).

multiple instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה and with other DMs structure a conversation or a long speech. We will discuss how (וְ)עַתָּה structures long speeches or chapters below in 4.2.5–4.2.7. First, we must investigate how the logical *now* formula is also used to signal other kinds of logical relationships.

4.2.2.4 Logical *Now* Signaling Conclusion[126]

The SDM logical *now* usage extends beyond the transition from assertive to directive discourse. The SDM logical *now* sense also includes signaling a conclusion drawn on the basis of preceding information or the result of past actions. Rather than signaling a directive, עַתָּה signals a conclusion drawn on the basis of the preceding information following a *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *conclusion* pattern.

(77)   Gen 45:6–8[127]

6 כִּי־זֶה שְׁנָתַיִם הָרָעָב בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ וְעוֹד וְעוֹד חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים אֲשֶׁר אֵין־חָרִישׁ וְקָצִיר: 7 וַיִּשְׁלָחֵנִי אֱלֹהִים לִפְנֵיכֶם שׂוּם לָכֶם שְׁאֵרִית בָּאָרֶץ וּלְהַחֲיוֹת לָכֶם לִפְלֵיטָה גְּדֹלָה: 8 וְעַתָּה לֹא־אַתֶּם שְׁלַחְתֶּם אֹתִי הֵנָּה כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים ...	6 For the famine has been in the land these two years, and there are yet five years in which there will be neither plowing nor harvest. 7 And God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth, and to keep alive for you many survivors. 8 **Therefore**, it was not you who sent me here, but God. …

וְעַתָּה signals that a conclusion is being drawn on the basis of the preceding information, and this conclusion is particularly salient for the audience. This drawing of a conclusion often repeats or restates the main point of an utterance which was already mentioned as in (77–78).

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[126] וְעַתָּה: Gen 4:11; 11:6; 45:8; 48:5; Exo 32:30; Num 22:34; Deut 26:10; Josh 9:19, 23, 25; Judg 11:23; 17:3; 2 Sam 4:11; 12:10; 18:3; 1 Kgs 22:23; Isa 5:5; Jer 32:36; 42:22; Dan 9:15; 1 Chr 17:27; 29:13; 2 Chr 6:41; 10:11; 18:22. עַתָּה: Gen 31:28; Exo 18:11; Judg 17:13; Jer 4:12; 14:10; Eze 43:9; Ps 12:6; 2 Chr 6:40; 7:15; גַּם־עַתָּה 1 Sam 12:16.
[127] The entire speech section extends from vv4–13. It has been abbreviated here for space limitations. V5 contains וְעַתָּה operating as a standard logical *now* + *directive*.

(78)   1 Kgs 22:23

²³ **וְעַתָּ֕ה** הִנֵּ֨ה נָתַ֧ן יְהוָ֛ה ר֥וּחַ שֶׁ֖קֶר בְּפִ֥י כָּל־נְבִיאֶ֖יךָ אֵ֑לֶּה וַֽיהוָ֔ה דִּבֶּ֥ר עָלֶ֖יךָ רָעָֽה׃	"… ²³ **Now therefore,** behold, the LORD has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these your prophets; the LORD has declared disaster for you."

A few verses prior, in v19, לָכֵן opens the speech act indicating bad news is coming.[128] In vv20–22, Micah relays a vision of God and his heavenly court discussing plans to deceive Jehoshaphat and his prophets. In v23, וְעַתָּה signals a conclusion being drawn which conclusion reiterates the main point from v19.[129]

In addition to signaling a conclusion reached, it can also signal a resulting action which must be taken in light of the preceding context. This is similar to the normal logical *now* pattern. The speech act following וְעַתָּה is not a directive, but the action is still logically based on the preceding content (79).

(79)   Exo 32:30

³⁰ וַיְהִי֙ מִֽמָּחֳרָ֔ת וַיֹּ֤אמֶר מֹשֶׁה֙ אֶל־הָעָ֔ם אַתֶּ֥ם חֲטָאתֶ֖ם חֲטָאָ֣ה גְדֹלָ֑ה **וְעַתָּה֙** אֶֽעֱלֶ֣ה אֶל־יְהוָ֔ה אוּלַ֛י אֲכַפְּרָ֖ה בְּעַ֥ד חַטַּאתְכֶֽם׃	³⁰ The next day Moses said to the people, "You have sinned a great sin. **So now,** I will go up to the LORD; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin."

This function of signaling a result or conclusion on the basis of preceding context, illuminates a debated passage (80).

(80)   Gen 11:6–7

⁶ וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהוָ֗ה הֵ֣ן עַ֤ם אֶחָד֙ וְשָׂפָ֤ה אַחַת֙ לְכֻלָּ֔ם וְזֶ֖ה הַחִלָּ֣ם לַעֲשׂ֑וֹת	⁶ And the LORD said, "Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language, and this

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[128] Cf. Van der Merwe (2014:127–157).
[129] Schneider and McKinion (2016:236) describes וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה as "serve to apply and to point(sic) a just concluded narrative with a particular **focus** to the **situation**." Bolding original.

77

| וְעַתָּה֙ לֹֽא־יִבָּצֵ֣ר מֵהֶ֔ם כֹּ֛ל אֲשֶׁ֥ר יָזְמ֖וּ לַעֲשֽׂוֹת׃

7 הָ֚בָה נֵֽרְדָ֔ה וְנָבְלָ֥ה שָׁ֖ם שְׂפָתָ֑ם ... | is only the beginning of what they will do. And nothing that they propose to do will **now** be impossible for them.[7] Come, let us go down and there confuse their language… (ESV)

6 And the LORD said, "If as one people all sharing a common language they have begun to do this, **then** nothing they plan to do will be beyond them. 7 Come, let's go down and confuse their language… (NET)

6 And the LORD said, Behold, the people *is* one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: **and now** nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. 7 Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language … (KJV) |

Speiser (1964:75) sees הֵן opening a protasis and וְעַתָּה signaling the apodosis of a conditional sentence, and this reading is followed by the NIV, HCSB, NET and others. However, initiating a conditional clause is not a typical function of הֵן.[130] In both Gen 3:22 and 11:6, הֵן confirms what has transpired as a fact that provides the grounds of the subsequent speech act. It is those events which demand some action. Wenham (1987:233) notes the similarities with 3:22 (the interplay of הֵן and וְעַתָּה), and he offers the translation, "Since . . . , now, . . . ". In this reading, וְעַתָּה signals the result (nothing will be impossible for them) because of the grounds (they are one). This reading is preferable because it allows both הֵן and וְעַתָּה to operate in their typical senses.

The formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *conclusion* can be utilized by speakers to structure longer speeches as well.

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130 See Van der Merwe et al. (2017:405–407).

(81)   Jer 42:22

¹⁸ כִּ֣י כֹה֩ אָמַ֨ר יְהוָ֤ה צְבָאוֹת֙ אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל כַּאֲשֶׁר֩ נִתַּ֨ךְ אַפִּ֜י וַחֲמָתִ֗י עַל־יֹשְׁבֵי֙ יְרוּשָׁלַ֔ם כֵּ֣ן תִּתַּ֤ךְ חֲמָתִי֙ עֲלֵיכֶ֔ם בְּבֹאֲכֶ֖ם מִצְרָ֑יִם ... ¹⁹ דִּבֶּ֨ר יְהוָ֤ה עֲלֵיכֶם֙ שְׁאֵרִ֣ית יְהוּדָ֔ה אַל־תָּבֹ֖אוּ מִצְרָ֑יִם יָדֹ֨עַ֙ תֵּדְע֔וּ כִּֽי־הַעִידֹ֥תִי בָכֶ֖ם הַיּֽוֹם׃ ... ²² **וְעַתָּה֙** יָדֹ֣עַ תֵּדְע֔וּ כִּ֗י בַּחֶ֨רֶב בָּרָעָ֤ב וּבַדֶּ֙בֶר֙ תָּמ֔וּתוּ בַּמָּקוֹם֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר חֲפַצְתֶּ֔ם לָב֖וֹא לָג֥וּר שָֽׁם׃	¹⁸ "For thus says the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: As my anger and my wrath were poured out on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so my wrath will be poured out on you when you go to Egypt. . . . ¹⁹ The LORD has said to you, O remnant of Judah, 'Do not go to Egypt.' Know for a certainty that I have warned you this day … ²² **Now therefore** know for a certainty that you shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence in the place where you desire to go to live." . . . (ESV)

In (81), וְעַתָּה is preceded by grounding statements (v20b–21) and followed by an infinitive absolute construction indicating the certainty of prophesied judgment. On a small scale, וְעַתָּה signals that "know for a certainty that you shall die . . . " is the logical result of vv20–21. וְעַתָּה also draws to a close the warning oracle which began in v9, restating the warning in vv18–19 which acts as a summary for the entire oracle.

This function of signaling a conclusion aids in understanding long discourses. When it appears at/near border of two sections (or chapters), it serves as a large scope transitionary marker.[131] The *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *conclusion* pattern represents an extension of the standard logical *now* formula. To other developments in the logical *now* formula, we now turn.

4.2.2.5 Other Developments in the Logical *Now* Formula[132]

In addition to signaling an action or conclusion which is logically grounded in preceding information, עַתָּה can also signal that different speech acts and sentence types are logically based in the preceding context. These speech acts or sentence types include questions, statements, and

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[131] וְעַתָּה: Josh 9:25; 1 Kgs 22:23; 2 Chr 10:11; 18:22. עַתָּה: Jer 32:36; 42:22; גַּם־עַתָּה 1 Sam 12:16.
[132] Exo 32:32; Deut 5:25; 10:12; Jer 29:27; Mic 4:9; Ezra 9:10.

internal deliberations. These questions/deliberations logically follow from the preceding content, at least in the mind of the speaker. In (82) עַתָּה is followed by a conditional clause, and in (83) וְעַתָּה is followed by a question.

(82) Num 22:34[133]

34 וַיֹּאמֶר בִּלְעָם אֶל־מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה חָטָאתִי כִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי כִּי אַתָּה נִצָּב לִקְרָאתִי בַּדָּרֶךְ **עַתָּה** אִם־רַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ אָשׁוּבָה לִי:	34 Then Balaam said to the angel of the LORD, "I have sinned, for I did not know that you stood in the road against me. **Now therefore,** if it is evil in your sight, I will turn back." (ESV)

(83) 2 Sam 19:11 (10)

11 וְאַבְשָׁלוֹם אֲשֶׁר מָשַׁחְנוּ עָלֵינוּ מֵת בַּמִּלְחָמָה **וְעַתָּה** לָמֶה אַתֶּם מַחֲרִשִׁים לְהָשִׁיב אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ:	10 But Absalom, whom we anointed over us, is dead in battle. **Now therefore,** why do you say nothing about bringing the king back?"

In both cases, the speech act following (וְ)עַתָּה is logically based in the preceding context.

The generalized pattern established in all of these "logical *now*" examples is *grounds +* (וְ)עַתָּה *+ speech act* where the preceding context forms the basis for the following content, whether that speech act is a directive, an assertion, a declaration, or a question. (וְ)עַתָּה as an SDM structures conversations and facilitates the making of connections between discourse units. These functions are developed further in the next section, which discusses multiple instantiations within a speech.

4.2.2.6 Chains and Strings of Logical *Now* Uses

Another structuring aspect of (וְ)עַתָּה involves multiple instantiations in close connection linking together chunks as *chains* or *strings*. These groups of instantiations can be functionally linked (*chains*) or thematically linked (*strings*).

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[133] For the sake of space, the preceding context or grounds has been omitted, except in the cases where it can be succinctly supplied.

In a *chain*, the first וְעַתָּה introduces the grounds, and the second וְעַתָּה connects those grounds to the action, result or conclusion.[134]

(84)   Exo 3:7–10

⁷וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָֹה רָאֹה רָאִיתִי אֶת־עֳנִי עַמִּי אֲשֶׁר בְּמִצְרָיִם וְאֶת־צַעֲקָתָם שָׁמַעְתִּי מִפְּנֵי נֹגְשָׂיו כִּי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־מַכְאֹבָיו: ⁸וָאֵרֵד לְהַצִּילוֹ ׀ מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּלְהַעֲלֹתוֹ מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא אֶל־אֶרֶץ טוֹבָה וּרְחָבָה אֶל־אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ אֶל־מְקוֹם הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַפְּרִזִּי וְהַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי: ⁹**וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה** צַעֲקַת בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּאָה אֵלָי וְגַם־רָאִיתִי אֶת־הַלַּחַץ אֲשֶׁר מִצְרַיִם לֹחֲצִים אֹתָם: ¹⁰**וְעַתָּה** לְכָה וְאֶשְׁלָחֲךָ אֶל־פַּרְעֹה וְהוֹצֵא אֶת־עַמִּי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם:	⁷ Then the LORD said, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people who are in Egypt and have heard their cry because of their taskmasters. I know their sufferings, ⁸ and I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land, a land flowing with milk and honey, to the place of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites. ⁹ **And now, behold,** the cry of the people of Israel has come to me, and I have also seen the oppression with which the Egyptians oppress them. ¹⁰ **Now therefore,** come and I will send you to Pharaoh that you may bring my people, the children of Israel, out of Egypt."

In (84), the formula is וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה + *grounds* + וְעַתָּה + *directive.* (85) illustrates that more than two וְעַתָּה instantiations can occur in a chain, possibly increasing the force of the overall argument.

(85)   Josh 14:9–12

⁹ וַיִּשָּׁבַע מֹשֶׁה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לֵאמֹר אִם־לֹא הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר דָּרְכָה רַגְלְךָ בָּהּ	⁹ And Moses swore on that day, saying, 'Surely the land on which your foot has trodden shall

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[134] Other examples of chains include: Gen 44:30–33; Josh 22:4; 1 Sam 24:21–22; 25:26–27; 2 Sam 2:6–7; 7:28–29; Neh 6:7. Cf. Van der Merwe et al. (2017:453–454): "In those instances where two instances of וְעַתָּה are used in tandem, the first predominantly points to a current development that emanates from a וְעַתָּה preceding exposition. This current development provides the ground of the subsequent directive introduced by the second וְעַתָּה."

לְךָ֤ תִֽהְיֶה֙ לְנַחֲלָ֔ה וּלְבָנֶ֖יךָ עַד־עוֹלָ֑ם	be an inheritance for you and your children
כִּ֣י מִלֵּ֔אתָ אַחֲרֵ֖י יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהָֽי׃	forever, because you have wholly followed the
10 **וְעַתָּ֗ה הִנֵּ֨ה** הֶחֱיָ֤ה יְהוָה֙ ׀ אוֹתִי֙	LORD my God.'
כַּאֲשֶׁ֣ר דִּבֵּ֔ר זֶ֣ה אַרְבָּעִ֤ים וְחָמֵשׁ֙ שָׁנָ֔ה	10 **And now, behold,** the LORD has kept me
מֵאָ֙ז דִּבֶּ֙ר יְהוָ֜ה אֶת־הַדָּבָ֤ר הַזֶּה֙ אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֔ה	alive, just as he said, these forty-five years
אֲשֶׁר־הָלַ֥ךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל בַּמִּדְבָּ֑ר	since the time that the LORD spoke this word
וְעַתָּה֙ הִנֵּ֣ה אָנֹכִ֣י הַיּ֗וֹם בֶּן־חָמֵ֛שׁ וּשְׁמוֹנִ֖ים שָׁנָֽה׃	to Moses, while Israel walked in the
11 עוֹדֶ֣נִּי הַיּ֗וֹם חָזָ֔ק	wilderness. **And now, behold,** I am this day
כַּאֲשֶׁר֙ בְּי֨וֹם שְׁלֹ֤חַ אוֹתִי֙ מֹשֶׁ֔ה	eighty-five years old.
כְּכֹ֥חִי אָ֖ז וּכְכֹ֣חִי עָ֑תָּה	11 I am still as strong today as I was in the day
לַמִּלְחָמָ֖ה וְלָצֵ֥את וְלָבֽוֹא׃	that Moses sent me; my strength now is as my
12 **וְעַתָּ֗ה** תְּנָה־לִּי֙ אֶת־הָהָ֣ר הַזֶּ֔ה	strength was then, for war and for going and
אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּ֥ר יְהוָ֖ה בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֑וּא	coming.
כִּ֣י אַתָּֽה־שָׁמַ֣עְתָּ בַיּ֣וֹם הַה֗וּא כִּֽי־עֲנָקִ֤ים שָׁם֙	12 **So now,** give me this hill country of which
וְעָרִים֙ גְּדֹל֣וֹת בְּצֻר֔וֹת אוּלַ֛י יְהוָ֥ה אוֹתִ֖י	the LORD spoke on that day, for you heard on
וְהֽוֹרַשְׁתִּ֔ים כַּאֲשֶׁ֖ר דִּבֶּ֥ר יְהוָֽה׃	that day how the Anakim were there, with great
	fortified cities. It may be that the LORD will
	be with me, and I shall drive them out just as
	the LORD said."

עַתָּה(וְ) *strings* are discourses where the speaker or author employs multiple instantiations of עַתָּה(וְ) to highlight a particular theme. The instantiations do not function together in a coordinated way on the paragraph level, but they serve a macro-structural purpose of signaling a significant development. The speaker repeats the DM for a specific purpose, for some thematic effect specific to the context. When examined together, these apparently separate instantiations appear woven into a thematic purpose.[135]

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[135] Other strings include: Gen 31 (x6); Exo 32 (x3); 1 Sam 12 (5x); Josh 9 (x6); Num 22 (x8), Judg 11 (x5); 1 Sam 25 (x6), 26 (x5); Mic 4–5 (x6); Ezra 9–10 (x6); 1 Chr 17 (x4). The thematic purpose is rarely temporal, with the exception of Mic 4–5. This cumulative effect that עַתָּה strings produce is not adequately discussed in grammars or commentaries with the notable exception of Andersen and Freedman (2000:392–95, 436–37).

(86)   Josh 9:6, 11, 12, 19, 23, 25

⁶...מֵאֶ֤רֶץ רְחוֹקָה֙ בָּ֣אנוּ **וְעַתָּ֖ה** כִּרְתוּ־לָ֥נוּ בְרִֽית:	⁶ …"We have come from a distant country, **so now,** make a covenant with us."…
¹¹...עֲבָדֶ֣יכֶם אֲנַ֑חְנוּ **וְעַתָּ֖ה** כִּרְתוּ־לָ֥נוּ בְרִֽית:	¹¹ …"We are your servants. **So now**, make a covenant with us."
¹² זֶ֣ה ׀ לַחְמֵ֗נוּ חָ֤ם הִצְטַיַּ֙דְנוּ֙ אֹת֔וֹ מִבָּ֣תֵּ֔ינוּ בְּי֥וֹם צֵאתֵ֖נוּ לָלֶ֣כֶת אֲלֵיכֶ֑ם	¹² Here is our bread. It was still warm when we took it from our houses as our food for the journey on the day we set out to come to you,
וְעַתָּה֙ הִנֵּ֣ה יָבֵ֔שׁ וְהָיָ֖ה נִקֻּדִֽים:	**but now,** behold, it is dry and crumbly. …
¹⁹...אֲנַ֙חְנוּ֙ נִשְׁבַּ֣עְנוּ לָהֶ֔ם בַּֽיהוָ֖ה אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל	¹⁹ …"We have sworn to them by the LORD, the
וְעַתָּ֕ה לֹ֥א נוּכַ֖ל לִנְגֹּ֥עַ בָּהֶֽם:	God of Israel, **so now,** we may not touch them.
²³ **וְעַתָּ֖ה** אֲרוּרִ֣ים אַתֶּ֑ם ...	²³ **Now therefore**, you are cursed, …
²⁵ **וְעַתָּה֙** הִנְנ֣וּ בְיָדֶ֔ךָ ...	²⁵ **And now**, behold, we are in your hand.

Joshua 9 recounts the ill-advised and ill-fated covenant with the deceptive Gibeonites. In vv6, 11, וְעַתָּה connects the Gibeonite request for a covenant with their motivation. In v12 וְעַתָּה contrasts the past and the present state of the Gibeonite supplies as part of their appeal for pity. In v19, וְעַתָּה connects a restatement of the treaty with the result.[136] In v23, וְעַתָּה connects accusatory questions with a pronouncement of judgment. In v25, the final וְעַתָּה signals the conclusion and draws to a close the pericope.[137] [138]

Garr (f.c.) comments that "ועתה coincides with rhetorical shifts throughout Joshua 9" and that "ועתה articulates discourse units and signals imminent change." He does not comment on the net effect of six instantiations together or offer an explanation as to why the narrator would have

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[136] Boling and Wright (1982:255–57) translates almost all of the occurrences of וְעַתָּה in this section as simple temporal predicate adverbs. Only in v19 do Boling and Wright (1982:256) have any hint of a logical aspect with וְעַתָּה which he translates "and so now…"

[137] Boling and Wright (1982:257, 269) offers the translations "Well, then, we are now in your power." and states that "*hinnēh* here signals a 'logical' conclusion". A better reading is to see וְעַתָּה as signaling the logical conclusion, and הִנֵּה presenting that conclusion as "newsworthy" as this fits the prototypical profiles of both DMs, cf. Van der Merwe et al. (2017:407–16, 452–54).

[138] This option is not without its challenges. There is no succinct way to bring across these senses (and exclude other possible meanings) in English. The idiomatic use of יָד further complicates this. Perhaps a translation like "Therefore, our fate is in your hands." or "So now, look, we are in your hands." with a translation note indicating the how the two DMs (וְעַתָּה and הִנֵּה) work together to construe the meaning.

repeatedly utilized וְעַתָּה.

Each instantiation functions separately on the micro level. On the macro level the multiple instantiations have a cumulative effect on the discourse. We labeled these *strings* because the separate instantiations are woven together to construe a particular message. The narrator/author is trying to connect the making of the covenant with the Gibeonites to the consequences of that covenant, utilizing וְעַתָּה multiple times at key points. The author repeats וְעַתָּה in his construal of the events surrounding the covenant-making between Israel and the Gibeonites and the consequences of that covenant in order to firmly link the results with the Israel's actions.[139]

4.2.2.7 Letter-Structuring Uses of the Logical *Now*

Another dimension of the SDM function is the structuring, transitionary function in letters. This feature was discussed in 2.2.4, so we will keep our comments brief.

As established above, it is common in ANE letter writing to use *now*-words to switch between the greeting of a letter and the body (Lyavdansky 2010:22–40). With this background, we can assume that וְעַתָּה in 2 Kgs 5:6 and 10:2 signals the beginning of the body of the letter, switching topics from the elided customary greeting to the concern at hand.[140] The complete pattern is evident in (87).

(87)   2 Chr 2:10–15 (11–16)

וַיֹּאמֶר חוּרָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹר בִּכְתָב וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶל־שְׁלֹמֹה ¹⁰ בְּאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֶת־עַמּוֹ נְתָנְךָ עֲלֵיהֶם מֶלֶךְ׃ ¹¹ וַיֹּאמֶר חוּרָם בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְדָוִיד הַמֶּלֶךְ בֵּן חָכָם יוֹדֵעַ שֵׂכֶל וּבִינָה אֲשֶׁר יִבְנֶה־בַּיִת	¹¹ Then Hiram the king of Tyre answered in a letter that he sent to Solomon, "Because the LORD loves his people, he has made you king over them." ¹² Hiram also said, "Blessed be the LORD God of Israel, who made heaven and earth, who has given King David a wise son,

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[139] This argument could be taken even further. The author is trying to make a theological point about the consequences of Israel must suffer as a result of disobeying the explicit command of YHWH. He does so by employing עַתָּה six times in his construal, each one at a crucial point in the discourse, both in the request to make the covenant (vv6,11,12), and the consequences of that covenant-making (vv19,23,25).

[140] A greeting from king to king would be customary. וְעַתָּה does not fit well unless one assumes the greeting is elided. Therefore, this instantiation of וְעַתָּה signals that the greeting has been elided, and the body of the letter follows.

לַיהוָ֖ה וּבַ֥יִת לְמַלְכוּתֽוֹ׃	who has discretion and understanding, who will build a temple for the LORD and a royal palace for himself.
12 וְעַתָּ֞ה שָׁלַ֣חְתִּי אִישׁ־חָכָ֛ם יוֹדֵ֥עַ בִּינָ֖ה לְחוּרָ֥ם אָבִֽי׃	
13 בֶּן־אִשָּׁ֞ה מִן־בְּנ֣וֹת דָּ֗ן וְאָבִ֣יו אִישׁ־צֹרִ֡י	13 "**Now,** I have sent a skilled man, who has understanding, Huram-abi, 14 the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre. He is trained to work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, and wood, and in purple, blue, and crimson fabrics and fine linen, and to do all sorts of engraving and execute any design that may be assigned him, with your craftsmen, the craftsmen of my lord, David your father. 15 **Now therefore,** the wheat and barley, oil and wine, of which my lord has spoken, let him send to his servants. 16 And we will cut whatever timber you need from Lebanon and bring it to you in rafts by sea to Joppa, so that you may take it up to Jerusalem."
יוֹדֵ֡עַ לַעֲשׂ֣וֹת בַּזָּֽהָב־וּ֠בַכֶּסֶף בַּנְּחֹ֨שֶׁת בַּבַּרְזֶ֜ל	
וּלְפַתֵּ֨חַ֙ כָּל־פִּתּ֔וּחַ וְלַחְשֹׁ֖ב כָּל־מַחֲשָׁ֑בֶת	
אֲשֶׁ֤ר יִנָּֽתֶן־לוֹ֙ עִם־חֲכָמֶ֔יךָ	
וְֽחַכְמֵ֔י אֲדֹנִ֖י דָּוִ֥יד אָבִֽיךָ׃	
14 וְעַתָּ֗ה הַחִטִּ֤ים וְהַשְּׂעֹרִים֙ הַשֶּׁ֣מֶן וְהַיַּ֔יִן	
אֲשֶׁ֥ר אָמַ֖ר אֲדֹנִ֑י יִשְׁלַ֖ח לַעֲבָדָֽיו׃	
15 וַ֠אֲנַחְנוּ נִכְרֹ֨ת עֵצִ֤ים מִן־הַלְּבָנוֹן֙ כְּכָל־צָרְכֶּ֔ךָ	
וּנְבִיאֵ֥ם לְךָ֛ רַפְסֹד֖וֹת עַל־יָ֣ם יָפ֑וֹ	
וְאַתָּ֛ה תַּעֲלֶ֥ה אֹתָ֖ם יְרוּשָׁלָֽ͏ִם׃	

Vv10–11 contain the greeting. In v12, וְעַתָּה signals a transition to addressing Solomon's requests. In v14, וְעַתָּה switches topics to Solomon's offer of payment. [141]

This letter structuring function is considered an SDM because the deictic reference is the text itself. It signals a progression in the argumentation or a change of topic. This function illuminates otherwise puzzling instantiations which don't fit neatly into the other categories including (88).

(88)   Num 22:4

3 וַיָּ֨גָר מוֹאָ֜ב מִפְּנֵ֥י הָעָ֛ם מְאֹ֖ד כִּ֣י רַב־ה֑וּא	3 And Moab was in great dread of the people,

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[141] This topic switching usage is also seen in Aramaic with כְּעַן in Ezra 4. In v11, וּכְעֶנֶת signals a switch from greeting to body of the letter. In vv13,14, 21 כְּעַן switches to another topic of concern.

יָּ֫קָץ מוֹאָ֖ב מִפְּנֵ֥י בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	because they were many. Moab was
4 וַיֹּ֨אמֶר מוֹאָ֜ב אֶל־זִקְנֵ֣י מִדְיָ֗ן	overcome with fear of the people of Israel.
עַתָּ֞ה יְלַחֲכ֤וּ הַקָּהָל֙ אֶת־כָּל־סְבִ֣יבֹתֵ֔ינוּ	4 And Moab said to the elders of Midian,
כִּלְחֹ֣ךְ הַשּׁ֔וֹר אֵ֖ת יֶ֥רֶק הַשָּׂדֶ֑ה …	"This horde will **now** lick up all that is around us, as the ox licks up the grass of the field."
	… (ESV)
	3 And the Moabites were greatly afraid of the people, because they were so numerous. The Moabites were sick with fear because of the Israelites.
	4 So the Moabites said to the elders of Midian, "**Now** this mass of people will lick up everything around us, as the bull devours the grass of the field." …(NET)

In (88), the people of Moab are stating a concern to the elders of Midian. Greetings would be customary, but these remarks could have been elided by the narrator for storytelling purposes, similar to the way they are in 2 Kgs 5, 10. The people begin their statement with עַתָּה signaling to the elders their main concern.[142]

As a structural DM in a written letter, (וְ)עַתָּה signals a significant transition in the letter. [143] The letter writing function demonstrates that עַתָּה structures both written and spoken communications.

4.2.3   SDM Conclusion

Before moving on to the interactional DM functions of עַתָּה, we will briefly review its SDM features and functions. עַתָּה as an SDM is distinguished by an extra-clausal position outside the

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[142] Cf. Levine (2000:144) "*Then the Moabites said to the Midianite elders: "The next thing you know*." The function of this verse is to convey the thrust of Moabite fears…"

[143] Neh 6:7 contains two instantiations of וְעַתָּה in the context of a letter, so it deserves mention here. Neither of the two instantiations in Neh 6:7 appear at the border of greeting and body. Rather, the two instantiations function together in a chain (cf. 4.2.6.). The first וְעַתָּה signals a conclusion which forms the grounds for the subsequent וְעַתָּה + *directive*. This is similar to (84).

main clause, typically marked with a disjunctive accent mark such as *revia*, *pasta, zaqef gadol* or *tiphah*. Its scope varies from small (just a few clauses) to very large (organizing chapters and even books). It chunks the discourse into manageable segments and signals a logical relation between the preceding and following sections. It appears at the border of two types of speech acts, with the former providing the basis for the latter. The SDM use is typified by the formula *grounds* + (וְעַתָּה) + *speech act*, with a directive being the most common speech act to follow עַתָּה. עַתָּה as an SDM coordinates with other DMs including וְ, הִנֵּה, כִּי, and sometimes לָכֵן. Multiple instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה can link together to form functional *chains* or be woven together like *strings* to highlight a theme.

These logical *now* SDM uses are the most common functions of both עַתָּה and וְעַתָּה, accounting for more than 50% of the overall uses. Having described the logical and structuring functions of (וְ)עַתָּה in adequate detail, we progress to (וְ)עַתָּה's other discourse sense, the interactional DM.

4.3   Interactional DM Sense

The fourth sense of (וְ)עַתָּה, the interactional discourse marker (IDM),[144] is related to the SDM sense, but it differs in a few key ways. (וְ)עַתָּה as an IDM still segments the discourse into manageable chunks, but the function of these chunks is less about progressing the logical argument of the text (as with the SDM) and more about positioning the interlocutors in relation to the discourse. The functions of (וְ)עַתָּה grouped together under the moniker "interactional" include stance-taking, conversation managing (such as turn turn-taking, adding commentary, and switching addressees), and topic switching. These functions operate primarily on the interactional (participant-oriented) domain of discourse whereas the SDM operates primarily on the metatextual (structural, text-oriented) domain. We will discuss these interactional features in detail with the help of examples after first describing the profile of the IDM.

4.3.1   IDM Profile

The broad label "interactional" speaks to the unifying characteristic of this sense, namely the elevated pragmatic nature of the interactional domain. This is essentially a catch-all category for the

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[144] Various labels can be ascribed to this sense: cf. Crible (2017:99–124), Fischer (2006a).

abstract and subjective pragmatic functions. The orientation and function of עַתָּה as an IDM is related more to the interlocutors than the text or the events.[145]

Syntactically, עַתָּה remains outside the clause, as often indicated by the accent marks. Semantically, the deictic reference moves from the text to the interlocutors. While עַתָּה preserves the metatextual chunking function typical of DMs, the pragmatic purpose of עַתָּה is to signal a development pertinent to the interlocutors, as opposed to a development in the logic of the discourse.

The IDM differs from the SDM in that the IDM is more discourse-participant oriented and the logical aspect is less pronounced. To say it another way, all IDM instantiations of עַתָּה signal a new development which is pertinent to the interlocutors.[146] In the turn-taking function, (וְ)עַתָּה signals that the former hearer intends to become the speaker. In the stance-taking function, (וְ)עַתָּה marks out the position of the speaker relative to the topic of conversation, either agreeing or disagreeing with the preceding situation. The IDM usages are the most abstract, most semantically bleached, most subjective, most pragmatic, and least formulaic or conventionalized.[147] Therefore, a new sense is justified. These characteristics of the IDM sense puzzle translators attempting to categorize them as either temporal or logical and help to explain the variances among translations.

Another way to describe the IDM functions is under the broad umbrella of conversation management. עַתָּה guides participants in understanding their role in the discourse or involves their participation in the discourse.[148]

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[145] Stance is described as subjective, or speaker-oriented. It is more oriented towards the speaker than oriented towards the text or the event. However, it is oriented towards the speaker and the audience. The speaker makes a subjective stance for a communicative purpose which involves the benefit of the recipient. Therefore, stance is also interactional. Cf. Crible (2017:108–124), Traugott (2012:7–28), Fagard and Degand (2010:179), De Smet and Verstraete (2006:365–92).

[146] In some sense, every clause-initial or discourse use of (וְ)עַתָּה signals a development. That development can be an updated reference time, a logical inference, a topic shift, etc. When the development is (primarily) text-oriented, indicating a progression in the flow or logic of the argument of the text, it is classified as an SDM. When the development is (primarily) participant-oriented, signaling for the interlocutors a shift in orientation or role, it is described as an IDM here. In a turn-taking use, (וְ)עַתָּה signals that the roles of the interlocutors have changed; the former hearer, by his use of (וְ)עַתָּה, becomes the present speaker, and vice versa. In a stance-taking use, (וְ)עַתָּה is a clue to the interlocutors that the forthcoming development indicates a shift in the position of the speaker. The kind of development signaled is determined by the relationship between the preceding and following contexts.

[147] These follow the semantic-pragmatic tendencies laid out in Traugott and König (1991:207–13), especially (iii) meanings become more speaker (discourse-participant) oriented.

[148] Bazzanella (2006:456–57) lists the following functions in the interactional domain: turn-taking, attention-getting, phatic devices, comprehension checking and confirmation, (dis)agreement marking.

4.3.2   IDM Sub-functions

In what follows, we demonstrate how עַתָּה signals a stance, switches to a related topic, functions as a turn-taking device, and performs other conversation management tasks. To these sub-functions we now turn.

4.3.2.1 Stance-Taking

As we saw above (2.2.2), signaling a stance is a wide-spread function of *now*-words across languages and, as we shall demonstrate below, a role fulfilled by עַתָּה. The term 'stance' is used in various ways within linguistic literature, and it can connote subjectivity, evaluation, and interaction.[149] Stance can be concerned with the epistemic, evaluative, or emotional perspective of the speaker.

Before discussing stance-taking usages and their characteristics, we must first define and describe what is meant by stance-taking. We will use the phrases signaling a stance, taking a stance, and stance-taking interchangeably. There is no agreed-upon definition, nor is there a criteria list.[150] Delineating what is and what is not a "stance" is challenging because, on some level, almost every/any speech act can be described as a stance. This makes the concept of stance admittedly vague.[151] Nonetheless, there is not a more satisfying term or description.[152]

Rather than put forward a new term and add to the already murky waters of the terminological dilemma surrounding DMs/PMs and their functions, this researcher will use the term *stance* despite its shortcomings. A stance is the subjective concern of the speaker in response to a given situation. The subjective concern expresses the speaker's perspective and represents his/her desire, point of view, or motivating factor.[153] The stance can be declarative or interrogative, and it

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[149] Englebretson (2007a, 2007b:1–4).

[150] Englebretson (2007b:1–11). Aijmer (1988:29–31) uses the term "change of 'footing'". However, the function of עַתָּה labeled here as stance-taking, bears more similarities to her 'topic shift' function.

[151] Future research could compare these interactional, stance-taking functions with other DMs which perform similar or related tasks and describe them accordingly.

[152] Considering the overabundance of terms in DM studies is a significant challenge in the field, this researcher is unwilling to put forward a new term, cf. Crible (2017:99–124), Fischer (2006b:1–20), Weydt (2006:205–06).

[153] The line between subjectivity and intersubjectivity is blurry at best, if one can be drawn at all. As it relates to stance-taking, a subjective stance taken in conversation is necessarily intersubjective and thereby also interactional, see Scheibman (2007:111–138). The literature on subjectivity and intersubjectivity is diverse and ever expanding, cf. Traugott (2012), De Smet and Verstraete (2006), and bibliography in Scheibman (2007). The term interactional is preferred to intersubjective here because it is more fitting when describing DM functions, cf. Bazzanella (2006).

can begin a speech-act or conclude one. A speaker takes a stance in response to the situation (whether narrative background or dialogue), and the stance is motivated by the preceding context in some way.

עַתָּה(וְ) as an IDM signals a stance when the clause following עַתָּה(וְ) is the primary concern or motivating cause of the speech act. A speaker utilizes an interactional עַתָּה(וְ) to signal a stance on the situation, revealing his/her perspective on the subject. In this way, עַתָּה(וְ) signals a subjective relation. This subjective relation is also inherently interactional; the stance is taken for the benefit of the interlocutors. [154]

The stance-taking use differs from the logical *now* usages in two significant ways. First, the stance is subjective, which by definition means it is more personal, more interactional, and more speaker-oriented. Second, stance-taking is based on implication, not inference, making it more indirect.[155] Typically, in the case of עַתָּה(וְ), the stance is a reaction to something implied in the immediately preceding context.[156]

Stance-taking usages of עַתָּה(וְ) aid interlocutors in understanding the discourse (not in a logical progression) in the subjective perspective of the speaker.[157] These usages are less concerned with the ordering of the events in real life (temporal), and the structuring of argument in the discourse (logical). Rather, these usages are more geared towards guiding the interlocutors in understanding the speaker's point of view.[158] Stances 'locates' a speaker relative to the situation, whether in agreement with implications or in disagreement. This 'locating' aids the audience in understanding the speaker's concerns.

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[154] A stance can also be described as an epistemic marker within the cognitive domain of DMs (see above 2.2, cf. Bazzanella 2006:456–61). For simplicity's sake, and to avoid conjectural discussion on what may or may not be happening in the minds of native speakers, of which there are none to consult, we avoid discussing the cognitive domain. We focus instead on the interactional domain as it is more detectable and demonstrable.

[155] The logical *now* use profiles the inferential and consequential aspects between preceding and following discourse; the stance-taking use profiles the personal, subjective, and emotional aspects of the context. The logical *now* use is driven by inferential (because of A then B) or resultative relationships, whereas the stance-taking use is driven by implied connections. Of course, the border between inference and implication is blurry at best. In chapter 5, we will relate these categories together on a grammaticalization path which views the interactional usages as developing out of the structural usages and the boundaries are fuzzy, rather than discrete.

[156] I am indebted to Christo van der Merwe for this formulation.

[157] This subjective characteristic is in line with the third semantic-pragmatic tendency that meanings "become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation." (Traugott and König 1991:209).

[158] As such, stances are often in first person declaratives and interrogatives.

With this admittedly 'clumsily-formulated' definition of stance and the understanding stated above that עַתָּה can signal the taking of a stance, we progress to substantiating these claims by analyzing examples, after first describing how the usages are grouped and analyzed.

4.3.2.1.1   Analyzing Stance-Taking Usages

Instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה signaling a stance can be analyzed according to the situational context which motivates the stance (e.g. the preceding narrative or discourse context), the form of the stance (e.g. declarative or interrogative), or the relationship between the stance and the preceding content (or the nature of the speaker's stance as it relates with the discourse context). In what follows we will categorize according to the latter while using the former to aid in interpretation.

The relationship between the stance following (וְ)עַתָּה and the preceding context can be broadly grouped into two types: stances that *agree* with the implications or intimations of the narrative or discourse up to that point, and stances that *disagree* with them.[159] In the agreement category, stances can make explicit what was only implied prior to that point. Stances can provide a restatement of something already mentioned, can elaborate on a specific concern, or make explicit what was implied. In the disagreement category, the stance following עַתָּה is intended to distance the speaker from what was assumed by the narrative or other interlocutors up to that point. In both cases, the speaker's perspective, desire, or concern is motivated by the context and signaled by an interactional (וְ)עַתָּה.

First, we will examine the agreement uses as there are more of them. Then, we will be able to better position the disagreement usages and how they correct or modify the intimations of the context.

4.3.2.1.2   Agreement Stances[160]

In the agreement use, the stance taken by the speaker is in agreement with the expected answer or implication in the preceding context. Consider (89).

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[159] Crible (2017:109,124) places agreement and disagreement in the interpersonal domain as a DM function which manages the speaker-hearer relationship.

[160] Num 22:4; Judg 13:12; 17:13; 1 Sam 27:1; 2 Sam 14:15; 19:11; 20:6; 1 Kgs 2:16; 12:26; Dan 9:22; 1 Chr 22:11; 2 Chr 20:10; 29:5, 10.

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(89)   1 Kgs 2:15–16[161]

15 וַיֹּ֕אמֶר אַ֣תְּ יָדַ֔עַתְּ כִּי־לִי֙ הָיְתָ֣ה הַמְּלוּכָ֔ה וְעָלַ֞י שָׂ֧מוּ כָֽל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל פְּנֵיהֶ֖ם לִמְלֹ֑ךְ וַתִּסֹּ֤ב הַמְּלוּכָה֙ וַתְּהִ֣י לְאָחִ֔י כִּ֥י מֵיְהוָ֖ה הָ֥יְתָה לּֽוֹ׃ 16 **וְעַתָּ֗ה** שְׁאֵלָ֤ה אַחַת֙ אָֽנֹכִי֙ שֹׁאֵ֣ל מֵֽאִתָּ֔ךְ אַל־תָּשִׁ֖בִי אֶת־פָּנָ֑י וַתֹּ֥אמֶר אֵלָ֖יו דַּבֵּֽר׃	15 He said, "You know that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel fully expected me to reign. However, the kingdom has turned about and become my brother's, for it was his from the LORD. 16 **And now**, I have one request to make of you; do not refuse me." She said to him, "Speak."

Here, the stance is the statement following וְעַתָּה "I have one request…". The preceding content (v15) is background information, but the speaker's statement that he has a request does not logically follow from v15. Rather, the speaker employs וְעַתָּה to signal a stance which builds on implications drawn from v15. וְעַתָּה transitions from the reporting on recent events (the background, v15) to the concern (the request, v16a) which arises from the recent events. The implication of the background is the speaker (Adonijah) has lost everything and so he should be pitied, especially by the wife of his father. The stance consists of an emotional appeal on the basis that he has lost everything. Bathsheba might be persuaded to give in to his request because his appeal evokes pity.

וְעַתָּה signals a shift in the development of the discourse pertinent to the interlocutors. It transitions from background to the first person stated desires of the speaker (the stance). Appearing at the border of the report and the request, וְעַתָּה functions to signal that a subjective stance follows. The stance is lexicalized here, meaning the content of the stance (especially the repetition of שָׁאַל) indicates that it represents the concern of the speaker. The first-person verbs and pronouns underscore this further. Since the request builds on the implication of pity, it is categorized as an agreement stance.

Another example of a lexically-encoded stance is found in (90).

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[161] For examples in the remainder of this chapter and the next, limited context (if any) is provided due to space considerations.

(90)　　2 Sam 14:15–17

¹⁵ וְעַתָּ֡ה אֲשֶׁר־בָּ֩אתִי֩ לְדַבֵּ֨ר אֶל־הַמֶּ֤לֶךְ אֲדֹנִי֙ אֶת־הַדָּבָ֣ר הַזֶּ֔ה כִּ֥י יֵֽרְאֻ֖נִי הָעָ֑ם וַתֹּ֣אמֶר שִׁפְחָתְךָ֗ אֲדַבְּרָה־נָּ֤א אֶל־הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ אוּלַ֗י יַעֲשֶׂ֥ה הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ אֶת־דְּבַ֥ר אֲמָתֽוֹ׃ ¹⁶ כִּ֣י יִשְׁמַ֣ע הַמֶּ֗לֶךְ לְהַצִּ֤יל אֶת־אֲמָתוֹ֙ מִכַּ֣ף הָאִ֔ישׁ לְהַשְׁמִ֣יד אֹתִ֤י וְאֶת־בְּנִי֙ יַ֔חַד מִֽנַּחֲלַ֖ת אֱלֹהִֽים׃ ¹⁷ וַתֹּ֙אמֶר֙ שִׁפְחָ֣תְךָ֔ יִֽהְיֶה־נָּ֛א דְּבַר־אֲדֹנִ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ לִמְנוּחָ֑ה כִּ֣י ׀ כְּמַלְאַ֣ךְ הָאֱלֹהִ֗ים כֵּ֣ן אֲדֹנִ֤י הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ לִשְׁמֹ֙עַ֙ הַטּ֣וֹב וְהָרָ֔ע וַיהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ יְהִ֥י עִמָּֽךְ׃	¹⁵ **Now**, I have come to say this to my lord the king because the people have made me afraid, and your servant thought, 'I will speak to the king; it may be that the king will perform the request of his servant. ¹⁶ For the king will hear and deliver his servant from the hand of the man who would destroy me and my son together from the heritage of God.' ¹⁷ And your servant thought, 'The word of my lord the king will set me at rest,' for my lord the king is like the angel of God to discern good and evil. The LORD your God be with you!'"

This instantiation of וְעַתָּה and the verses which follow have troubled interpreters in part because this וְעַתָּה does not fit the typical profiles for either the temporal *now* or logical *now*. Some scholars move vv15–17 to between v7 and v8 to assist in solving the interpretive dilemma.[162] This new position, while it does offer a more straightforward reading, does not explain the use of וְעַתָּה. In neither its received position nor its proposed position does a temporal reading or a logical reading fit.

Several factors suggest a stance-taking use. וְעַתָּה is outside the clause, separated by a disjunctive accent, suggesting a DM function. In v15, the first person and second person verbs and pronouns indicate the perspective of the speaker. What follows וְעַתָּה is a clear explanation of her subjective intention and reasoning. With the phrase אֲשֶׁר־בָּאתִי, the stance is lexically encoded, meaning that the words themselves indicate they comprise a stance. McCarter (1984:345) states that what follows וְעַתָּה is "in fact the very articulation of her request". The woman's stance is motivated

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[162] Anderson (1989:182–91) and McCarter (1984:335–53) move vv15–17 to between v7 and v8. Most translations do not move vv15–17 as there is scant textual evidence for doing so.

by the implications of the preceding situation. What that preceding situation is, depends on the position of vv15–17 within the larger discourse.

If moved, then the preceding context for vv15–17 is the telling of the story of the woman's sons (vv4–7). The implication of this story is that the woman has come to the king to seek mercy for her remaining son. The stance following וְעַתָּה makes this implication explicit by stating the perspective of the speaker. The stance includes not only her reason for coming to the king (v15), but also her hope for the king's response (v16), and her ideal outcome (17a) with a touch of royal flattery (17b). The stance agrees with the intimations that the narrative constructs, makes explicit the woman's request, and serves to motivate the king to respond favorably.

A slightly different picture emerges if vv15–17 are left in their received location. After the king grants her implied request (vv8–11), the woman reveals her ruse in vv12–14. She directly confronts the king by calling into question his fairness in adjudicating her case and that of his own son. The implication is that the king sympathized with her and shown mercy to her son, but that he did not show that same mercy to his own son. In vv15–17, the woman, having sufficiently question the king's treatment of Absalom, retreats to her ruse again. There behind her mask, she continues to persuade the king further (vv15–17a), but in a much more indirect fashion, so as not to provoke him.

While the position of vv15–17 changes the implications to which those verses respond, in both positions וְעַתָּה signals a stance (vv15–17) which is in agreement with the preceding implications. In doing so וְעַתָּה highlights the subjective perspective of the speaker and draws the attention of the interlocutors to this development.

Agreement stances are not limited to lexically-encoded, declarative statements. Consider (91).

(91)   Judg 13:12

12 וַיֹּאמֶר מָנוֹחַ **עַתָּה** יָבֹא דְבָרֶיךָ מַה־יִּהְיֶה מִשְׁפַּט־הַנַּעַר וּמַעֲשֵׂהוּ:	12 And Manoah said, "**Now**, when your words come true, what is to be the child's manner of life, and what is his mission?"

Here, Manoah is discussing with the angel his promised child. After confirming the identity of the angel, Manoah opens his speech turn with עַתָּה. עַתָּה is followed by a clause (introduced by a *yiqtol* form) that most translators and exegetes interpret as referring to the temporal frame of the subsequent question (in v12b). A temporal understanding of עַתָּה, however, does not fit for at least two reasons. First, the accent marks separate עַתָּה into an intonation unit distinct from the temporal *yiqtol* clause יָבֹא דְבָרֶיךָ. Second, the temporal frame is months away, and not on the verge of happening, so a temporal reading "at this present moment" does not fit. Likewise, a logical reading is unfitting because what follows עַתָּה is not the resulting action nor a conclusion based on the preceding grounds.

What follows עַתָּה is a stance taken by Manoah which makes explicit his agreement with the assumptions of the narrative thus far. The implication of the narrative is that Manoah believes the angel's message and that he will be faithful. By asking the question Manoah communicates his intention to raise the child in accordance with the angel's instructions. עַתָּה alerts the interlocutors of development wherein the speaker, affirming the implicit assumptions, expresses his subjective concern.[163]

4.3.2.1.3 Disagreement Stances[164]

In the disagreement use, the stance taken by the speaker is in opposition to what is implied in the narrative or asked for by the other discourse participants. When taking a disagreement stance the speaker corrects an assumption or reassert his/her position. Consider (92).

(92)   Gen 30:30

²⁹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר עֲבַדְתִּיךָ	²⁹ Jacob said to him, "You yourself know how I
וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה מִקְנְךָ אִתִּי׃	have served you, and how your livestock has
³⁰ כִּי מְעַט אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְךָ לְפָנַי וַיִּפְרֹץ לָרֹב	fared with me. ³⁰ For you had little before I
וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוָה אֹתְךָ לְרַגְלִי	came, and it has increased abundantly, and the
וְעַתָּה מָתַי אֶעֱשֶׂה גַם־אָנֹכִי לְבֵיתִי׃	LORD has blessed you wherever I turned. **But**

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[163] (87), discussed above in 4.2.7, could also be understood as a stance-taking use confirming agreement with the assumption in the narrative.
[164] Instances include Gen 30:30; Exo 6:1; Num 22:38; Josh 5:14; Judg 20:9; 1 Sam 15:30.

	now, when shall I provide for my own household also?"

The broader context of Gen 30 describes how God blessed Jacob with more and more children. In vv25–26, Jacob expresses to Laban a desire to care for his growing family. Laban tries to appease him (vv27–28). The implication of the narrative is that Laban attempts to manipulate Jacob to stay, so that Laban can continue reaping the rewards. In vv29–30, Jacob exposes Laban's ploy by recounting God's blessings. Then, following וְעַתָּה, Jacob reasserts his own stance in the form of a question. From Jacob's perspective, as long as he is working for Laban, he cannot provide for his own household.

Jacob's stance expresses his subjective concern, intensified by the inclusion of גַּם־אָנֹכִי. וְעַתָּה signals this disagreement stance and draws attention to Jacob's disagreement with Laban. The use of a form with a temporal deictic core such as עַתָּה also hints at the pressing reality of Jacob's concern.

With (93) the stance is more veiled.

(93)　　　Josh 5:14

¹⁴ וַיֹּאמֶר ׀ לֹא כִּי אֲנִי שַׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה עַתָּה בָאתִי וַיִּפֹּל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־פָּנָיו אַרְצָה וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ ...	¹⁴ And he said, "No; but I am the commander of the army of the LORD. **Now**, I have come." And Joshua fell on his face to the earth and worshiped …

Most commentators interpret עַתָּה in (93) as a temporal adverb, but a temporal reading seems superfluous.[165] Of course, the commander has come to Joshua in that moment; he is speaking to Joshua face-to-face. עַתָּה does have a conjunctive accent, but this does not rule out a DM reading. The brevity of the clause עַתָּה בָאתִי accounts for the accents. What is left unstated is *why* the commander of the YHWH's armies has come.

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[165] Dozeman (2015:303), Butler (2014:317), and Boling and Wright (1982:195) translate the phrase "I have now come." Only Boling and Wright (1982:198) discusses his reading of עַתָּה: "our impression is one of a somewhat breathless response to Joshua's question."

To answer this question, a closer investigation is required. The encounter begins in 5:13 and extends to 6:5.[166] Initially, Joshua, unclear on the identity and mission of the visitor, asks if the visitor is friend or foe (v13). The messenger, being neither Canaanite nor Israelite, answers "no".[167] Next, the messenger identifies himself as "commander of the army of the LORD". Then, the commander changes the direction of the discourse and signals his stance עַתָּה בָאתִי. However, the stance only hints at his purpose. The implication is that the commander has come to help, but how that help will manifest is still in question.[168] Rather than answer this question, the narrator lets the tension build, creating suspense. Joshua then asks what the commander has to say (14b). Rather than answer why he has come, the commander gives Joshua instructions to perform a rite. Joshua obeys (v15).

Following a parenthetical comment with background information in 6:1, the discourse resumes in v2 with a surprising twist. YHWH himself is speaking directly to Joshua. Only as YHWH speaks does the purpose of the visitation become clear. The narrative has been building anticipation for this moment. YHWH visits Joshua and gives him his marching orders, just as he had with Moses and Jacob.[169]

The commander's stance, signaled by עַתָּה, is categorized as a "disagreement" stance because the speech act corrects Joshua's expectations. While Joshua was thinking in human terms, the commander gave heavenly instructions.

In (94), YHWH responds to Moses' question by beginning his speech turn with עַתָּה and following with a declaration of his purposes for Moses and Israel in Egypt. An overview of the context will frame the expectations and implications of the interaction and demonstrate how YHWH's response constitutes a disagreement stance.

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[166] Rather than see a corrupted text or different encounters, it is possible to make sense of the MT with the 'missing' details omitted in a stylistic attempt to build suspense. Following Dozeman (2015:303–07) and Hess (2008:83-86), 5:13–15 should be kept with 6:1–5 as they are part of the same encounter, cf. Butler (2014:328–29), Boling and Wright (1982:195–200). Delaying the revelation of YHWH's battle plans until the end of the encounter points the focus where it belongs: on YHWH leading Joshua and his people into the promised land just as he promised.

[167] The LXX and other textual witnesses read לֹא as לוֹ, and they are followed by the NET (tc 25). This reading is not without its problems, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss these matters, cf. Boling and Wright (1982:195).

[168] It's also possible to understand the commander's identity statement as implying that he can assist Joshua. If this is the case, then the understanding of עַתָּה could be more logical: "I am the commander of the army of the LORD (and I can assist you). Therefore, I have come." This reading cannot be ruled out.

[169] Cf. Butler (2014:328–29), Hess (2008:83–85), and Walton, Matthews, and Chavalas (2000:217). Also note the similarity with Judg 6:11–18.

(94)   Exo 6:1

¹ וַיֹּ֤אמֶר יְהוָה֙ אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֔ה **עַתָּ֣ה** תִרְאֶ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר אֶֽעֱשֶׂ֖ה לְפַרְעֹ֑ה כִּ֣י בְיָ֤ד חֲזָקָה֙ יְשַׁלְּחֵ֔ם וּבְיָ֣ד חֲזָקָ֔ה יְגָרְשֵׁ֖ם מֵאַרְצֽוֹ׃	¹ But the LORD said to Moses, "**Now** you shall see what I will do to Pharaoh; for with a strong hand he will send them out, and with a strong hand he will drive them out of his land." (ESV)

In Exo 2, YHWH hears and responds to Israel's cries. In Exo 3–4, he calls Moses and Aaron. In Exo 5, Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh and the Israelite elders, but things do not go as well as they anticipated. Not only does Pharaoh prohibit the Israelites from leaving Egypt, he makes their slave labor worse. The situation deteriorates so far that the elders of the Israelites blame Moses and Aaron for their troubles. The narrator constructs the story such that the reader empathizes with Moses and Aaron in feeling abandoned. This situation represents the build-up to 5:22–23 wherein Moses complains and charges YHWH with not being faithful.

YHWH begins his response with an interactional עַתָּה. At first glance, one might be tempted to read this as a temporal עַתָּה, and there may be a temporal element to it. But, it is helpful to remember the content of Moses' question and the context from which it arises. Moses did not ask *when*. Moses asks *why* these bad things are happening, and he implies that YHWH has not kept his promise.

YHWH responds by signaling a stance with עַתָּה and then unequivocally states his purpose and what the result will be. In doing so, he corrects Moses on a number of levels, and he asserts his own power over events and the surety of the result. He reminds Moses that this is YHWH's initiative from the start, that he has power over Pharaoh, and that he will see it through.

This usage provides clarity for a passage that has puzzled translators in (95).

(95)   Num 22:38

³⁸ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר בִּלְעָ֜ם אֶל־בָּלָ֗ק הִנֵּֽה־בָ֙אתִי֙ אֵלֶ֔יךָ **עַתָּ֕ה** הֲיָכֹ֥ל אוּכַ֖ל דַּבֵּ֣ר מְא֑וּמָה הַדָּבָ֗ר אֲשֶׁ֨ר יָשִׂ֧ים אֱלֹהִ֛ים בְּפִ֖י אֹת֥וֹ אֲדַבֵּֽר׃	³⁸ Balaam said to Balak, "Behold, I have come to you! Have I **now** any power of my own to speak anything? The word that God puts in my mouth, that must I speak." (ESV)

	[38] "Well, I have come to you **now**," Balaam replied. "But I can't say whatever I please. I must speak only what God puts in my mouth." (NIV)
	[38] Balaam said to Balak, "Look, I have come to you. **Now**, am I able to speak just anything? I must speak only the word that God puts in my mouth." (NET)
	[38] And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I **now** any power at all to say any thing? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak. (KJV)
	[38] Balaam said to Balak, "I have come to you **now**, but do I have power to say just anything? The word God puts in my mouth, that is what I must say." (NRSV)

To understand this passage, we must first grasp how the clauses are structured. The Masoretic marks separate the clauses according to the line breaks above. The LXX follows the clause division of the MT. NIV and NRSV move 'now' to the הִנֵּה clause, ignoring the Masoretic pointing, and translating it as a temporal predicate adverb. The KJV and the ESV correctly place עַתָּה in 38c, but the translations still obscure the function.[170] The NET clause structuring avoids these mistakes.

With this clause framing in hand, we investigate the function of עַתָּה. Preceding עַתָּה are declarative statements headed by הִנֵּה. עַתָּה switches from the declaratives to the interrogative. This structure is similar in form to the logical *now* formula. However, the הִנֵּה (38b) and עַתָּה (38c)

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[170] The word order of the KJV, with 'now" in the middle of the clause, may appear strange to modern readers. Following Victorian English convention, the KJV places DMs in the middle of the clause. The ESV follows the Victorian English convention of the KJV when it comes to DM clause placement (albeit inconsistently). As with 'thees' and 'thous,'English convention has changed in regard to DM placement. Instead of appearing in the middle of the clause, DMs appear at the beginning in contemporary English, cf. Crible (2017: 99–124), Onodera (2011:1–11), Fischer (2006b:1–20), Fraser (2006:189–196). The stylistic choice of the ESV is particularly misleading in the case of the English 'now' (which can be both temporal adverb and multifunctional DM) because a predicate position of 'now' reads like an adverb, not a DM.

clauses lack a resultative or concluding relation. The relationship between 38b and 38c is better described as correcting an implied assumption based on the broader context.

The broader context of Num 22 contains Balak's attempts to recruit Balaam to curse the Israelites on behalf of Moab and Midian. As the narrative unfolds, the tension mounts between what Balak wants on the one hand, and what God demands on the other. A reluctant Balaam is stuck in the middle. In v13 and v18, Balaam explains that he "could not go beyond the command of the LORD my God to do less or more." But, Balak is not satisfied (v37). In v38, Balaam tries again to explain. Balaam begins, "Behold I have come." To Balak, this may imply that Balaam will finally do Balak's bidding. Balaam corrects this assumption with a disagreement stance: עַתָּ֗ה הֲיָכֹ֥ל אוּכַ֛ל דַּבֵּ֥ר מְא֖וּמָה.

Balaam's corrective stance takes the form of a rhetorical question with an implied negative answer. He refutes the implication that by coming, he is willing to bless Balak and curse Israel. What follows is a clarification, phrased in a left-dislocated construction, which buttresses Balaam's position. This stance-taking reading of עַתָּה underscores the narrator's theological point, that God is the one who blesses and curses.[171]

Other examples of a disagreement stance correcting or modifying an assumption or implication in the discourse include (96–97):[172]

(96)   Judg 20:8–9

⁸ וַיָּ֜קָם כָּל־הָעָ֤ם כְּאִ֣ישׁ אֶחָד֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר	⁸ And all the people arose as one man, saying,
לֹ֤א נֵלֵךְ֙ אִ֣ישׁ לְאָהֳל֔וֹ וְלֹ֥א נָס֖וּר אִ֥ישׁ לְבֵיתֽוֹ׃	"None of us will go to his tent, and none of us will return to his house.
⁹ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** זֶ֤ה הַדָּבָר֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר נַעֲשֶׂ֣ה לַגִּבְעָ֔ה	⁹ **But now** this is what we will do to Gibeah: we
עָלֶ֖יהָ בְּגוֹרָֽל׃	will go up against it by lot, … (ESV)

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[171] None of the major translations make this theological point clear enough. A better translation would take the NET on clause C and the ESV on clause D and read "… Now, am I able to speak just anything? (NET) The word that God puts in my mouth, that must I speak (ESV)." For discussions on the function and significance of left-dislocated constructions, see Westbury (2016, 2015); Andrason et al. (2016).

[172] Space limitations prevent comment, but we wanted the reader to see the remainder of the passages categorized as a signaling a disagreement stance.

(97)   1 Sam 15:30

<div dir="rtl">³⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר חָטָאתִי</div><div dir="rtl">עַתָּה כַּבְּדֵנִי נָא נֶגֶד זִקְנֵי־עַמִּי וְנֶגֶד יִשְׂרָאֵל</div>	³⁰ Then he said, "I have sinned; **yet** honor me **now** before the elders of my people and before Israel, and return with me, that I may bow before the LORD your God." (ESV)

4.3.2.1.4   Temporal Aspects of Stance-taking[173]

In some cases, the stance does not clearly affirm or correct an assumption or implication in the text. In these cases, a purpose statement is evident, but the context leaves open multiple implications. It is not clear with which implication(s) the speaker is interacting. In many of these cases, a temporal reading is also possible. The function of stance-taking can provide a further level of insight to what some commentators have called an "emphatic particle of time".[174] Space constraints prohibit us from examining all cases, but two examples will suffice.[175]

(98)   Isa 33:10

<div dir="rtl">¹⁰ עַתָּה אָקוּם יֹאמַר יְהוָה</div><div dir="rtl">עַתָּה אֵרוֹמָם עַתָּה אֶנָּשֵׂא:</div>	¹⁰ "**Now** I will arise," says the LORD, "**now** I will lift myself up; **now** I will be exalted. (ESV)

Most commentators read this three-fold repetition of עַתָּה as a temporal adverb.[176] A temporal reading cannot be ruled out, but there is another aspect as well. On the repetition Motyer (1993:264) notes: "This creates a strong emphasis, first on the idea of exaltation, and secondly, on the fact that the crucial moment has arrived (*cf.* the threefold exaltation of 52:13)." Watts (2005:494) sees that "[a]t this point, YHWH determines to intervene."

Alternatively, the repeated עַתָּהs could be understood as signaling and highlighting YHWH's stance: His purpose and intention to assert his authority and display his glory. This stance is taken in response to the bleak situation in vv7–9. The first-person declarations of YHWH's own

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[173] Other instances include: Isa 36:5; 52:5; Jer 29:27; Mic 4:9. Some of these passages are examined in chapter 5.
[174] Motyer (1993:264).
[175] More prophetic texts are examined in 5.4.2.
[176] Watts (2005:494), Childs (2001:247), Blenkinsopp (2000:439), Motyer (1993:265).

exaltation substantiate this further. The thrust of the passage is YHWH's determination to demonstrate his own glory, despite what is or is not happening in the land and with his people. Motyer's primary emphasis – the exaltation of YHWH – is also the thrust of the stance-taking reading. So, rather than a dual emphasis on the idea of the synonymy of exaltation and the temporal aspect, the stance-taking reading brings together two emphases into one, namely, YHWH demonstrating his glory.[177]

With which implications the stance is interacting is not immediately clear. Vv1, 3–4, 7–9 all describe a negative situation of the people and the land. However, vv2, 5–6, 10–12 all speak of positive ideas, namely YHWH's character, actions, and disposition towards his people. Commentators differ on how these verses fit together, so it is difficult to say with certainty to which implications or assumptions YHWH's stance is responding.[178]

(99)   Jer 27:6

וְעַתָּ֗ה אָנֹכִי֙ נָתַ֙תִּי֙ אֶת־כָּל־הָאֲרָצ֣וֹת הָאֵ֔לֶּה בְּיַ֛ד נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּ֥ר מֶֽלֶךְ־בָּבֶ֖ל עַבְדִּ֑י וְגַם֙ אֶת־חַיַּ֣ת הַשָּׂדֶ֔ה נָתַ֥תִּי ל֖וֹ לְעָבְדֽוֹ׃	[6] "**Now**, I have given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, my servant, and I have given him also the beasts of the field to serve him.

Translations vary in their handling of וְעַתָּה in (99), so a thorough examination is needed.[179] The context is YHWH announcing a word to Jeremiah to be given to messengers from many kings gathered in Jerusalem around the time of Jehoakim's ascension. Vv4b–5, the beginning of the message, state that YHWH is the creator and thereby has the authority to give his creation to

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[177] This threefold repetition of עתה highlights YHWH's determination to exalt himself through delivering his people, revealing himself as just, righteous and faithful. This reading fits with the message of the chapter (vv5,16, 21), and indeed, that of the whole book, if not the whole Bible. Cf. VanGemeren (1990:269–71), and Schreiner (2013:327–49). It is no accident that Schreiner (2013:1) names his Biblical Theology after a phrase from Isa 33:17, "The King in His Beauty". This reading also accounts for the intertextuality and thematic allusions noted by Childs (2001:242–49).

[178] Cf. Watts (2005: 489–96), Childs (2001:242–49), Blenkinsopp (2000:435–40), Motyer (1993:262–65), VanGemeren (1990:269–71).

[179] Logical: "Now I have" (no comma) ESV, NIV, NRSV, CEB; "So now" HCSB. Temporal: "at this time" NET; "Nun aber" Luther; "and now" KJV, ASV; "And for now" Allen (2008:302).

whomever he pleases. In v6, beginning with וְעַתָּה, marked by *revia*, YHWH states his intention to give the entire region, along with its animals, to his servant Nebuchadnezzar.

Verse 5 begins with a fronted אָנֹכִי and continues with *qatal* and *weqatal* verbs. V6 begins with וְעַתָּה אָנֹכִי and follows with *qatal* and *weqatal* verbs. The purpose of the utterance is clear: YHWH is announcing his decision on who will rule his land. In the utterances that precede וְעַתָּה, the grounds for why God can make a judgment is described. In the utterances that follow וְעַתָּה the content of God's judgments is described. The content of the utterances preceding and those following וְעַתָּה are logically related, but this relation is not of the *grounds > action* nor the *grounds > conclusion* variety.[180] The decision could be called a stance because it explains the subjective perspective of the speaker; YHWH is stating his purpose. The stance could be seen as agreeing with the implication of YHWH's opening remarks. It could also be seen as a disagreement stance because the perspective of the audience is not likely to be in agreement with that of YHWH. וְעַתָה signals to the audience that a development follows, drawing attention to the subjective stance of the speaker.

This is not to say that there is no temporal aspect to וְעַתָּה in (99). Only, it is more than just temporal. Furthermore, the three readings (temporal, agreement stance, and disagreement stance) are not mutually exclusive (cf. 5.4.2). This is part of the challenge with the polyvalence and multifunctionality of (וְ)עַתָּה.

4.3.2.1.5   Stance-taking Conclusion

The stance reveals the subjective perspective of the speaker with an explicit reaction to some assumption or implication that is either stated directly in the discourse or implicitly intimated by the preceding context.

When (וְ)עַתָּה signals a stance, it functions on the interactional domain, drawing attention to the main concern. Stance-taking (וְ)עַתָּה should be seen as interactional, signaling a significant development pertinent to the discourse participants, for the following reasons.[181] First, the stance is subjective and speaker-oriented, representing the perspective of the speaker. Second, the subjective

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[180] (99) is also related to the letter writing usage from 4.3.7, because it is a formal statement delivered to emissaries intended for the audience of kings and rulers. It transitions from background to judgment.

[181] (וְ)עַתָּה's interactional proclivity is more evident in the conversation management features (4.3.4). We discuss stance-taking and topic switch first because they are more prevalent.

perspective of the speaker is drawn on the basis of the preceding narrative or discourse context, interacting with the context by either agreeing with an implication or contrasting with it. In signaling these aspects of a development, עַתָּה(וְ) serves as an attention-grabbing device on the interactional domain, alerting participants to the significant development which follows. Third, the perspective of the speaker is not logically deduced or inferred but implied based on the speaker's experience. The stance-taking function can be seen as a further development of the logical SDM where the logical aspect has faded, and the interactional element is profiled.[182]

This stance-taking usage is similar to the topic switch use. Both the stance-taking function and the topic switch function signal for the interlocutors that an important development follows. The difference is in what follows the עַתָּה(וְ). In the stance-taking use, a stance indicating the subjective perspective of the speaker follows. In the topic switch view, an elaboration of the main topic follows. To a description of this elaborating topic switch, we now turn.

4.3.2.2 Topic Switching[183]

The topic switching function of עַתָּה(וְ) signals a switch to a topic related to the main concern or purpose of the speech. As discussed in chapter 2, topic shifting is a common use of *now*-words in many languages. In the section on SDM, we see a specialized kind of topic switching in letter writing.[184] The IDM topic switching function differs by appearing in spoken discourse instead of a written text. The topic switch function differs from the stance-taking function because it does not switch to the main concern. Rather, the topic switch עַתָּה signals a development which elaborates on a matter related to the stance.[185]

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[182]The SDM and IDM functions should be seen on a continuum (see chapter 5), rather than as discrete categories.

[183] Gen 31:30; Judg 9:16; 11:25;1 Sam 25:7 (x2); 2 Sam 7:8; 1 Kgs 2:24; Jer 7:13; Mal 2:1; Ruth 3:2, 12; Neh 6:9; 1 Chr 17:7; 22:11; 2 Chr 7:16.

[184] Cf. 4.2.7 above. In letter writing, עַתָּה switches from the greeting to the body of the letter. In some instances, עַתָּה can also switch from topic A to topic B in a letter. We categorized topic switching there as an SDM because the function involved structuring a written document. This IDM use occurs only spoken discourse.

[185] עַתָּה shifting topics is similar to a word order topic shift, cf. Van der Merwe et al. (2017:490–510). One significant way in which this function differs from fronting or left dislocation is that it only occurs in direct speech. For this reason, it should be understood as a signal to the audience/hearer to aid in their cognitive processing of the information. Furthermore, the use of a form which used to be a temporal deictic, draws additional attention to the development.

Let us proceed to investigating some examples. In (100), there are two instantiations which have puzzled translators, וְעַתָּה in 7a and עַתָּה in 7b, and both can be understood as switching topics to aspects related to the stance. [186]

(100)   1 Sam 25:6–8

Hebrew	English
⁶ אֲמַרְתֶּם כֹּה לֶחָי וְאַתָּה שָׁלוֹם וּבֵיתְךָ שָׁלוֹם וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ שָׁלוֹם: ⁷ **וְעַתָּה** שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי גֹזְזִים לָךְ **עַתָּה** הָרֹעִים אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ הָיוּ עִמָּנוּ לֹא הֶכְלַמְנוּם וְלֹא־נִפְקַד לָהֶם מְאוּמָה כָּל־יְמֵי הֱיוֹתָם בַּכַּרְמֶל: ⁸ שְׁאַל אֶת־נְעָרֶיךָ וְיַגִּידוּ לָךְ וְיִמְצְאוּ הַנְּעָרִים חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ כִּי־עַל־יוֹם טוֹב בָּנוּ תְּנָה־נָּא אֵת אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא יָדְךָ לַעֲבָדֶיךָ וּלְבִנְךָ לְדָוִד:	"…⁶And thus you shall greet him: 'Peace be to you, and peace be to your house, and peace be to all that you have. ⁷ **Now**, I hear that you have shearers. **Now**, your shepherds have been with us, and we did them no harm, and they missed nothing all the time they were in Carmel. ⁸Ask your young men, and they will tell you. Therefore let my young men find favor in your eyes, for we come on a feast day. Please give whatever you have at hand to your servants and to your son David.'"

The whole speech is a message which David's men are to relay to Nabal. V6 is the greeting. In 7a, וְעַתָּה transitions to a report. In 7b, עַתָּה shifts to relevant background information. 8a is a request for verification on the report. The request (the stance) follows with "Therefore let my men find favor … Please give whatever you have…".

וְעַתָּה switches topics from the greeting to a report. This report "I hear that you have shearers" is related to the stance which follows. David, building his case for the request which follows, switches topics to background information with עַתָּה in 7b. Together, these עַתָּהs and their respective clauses build up an implication which David and his men are entitled to payment for their services. This background information adds credence to the stance. David then makes this implication explicit with his stated request in v8.

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[186] The KJV translates them as "And now" and "now" respectively. The ESV omits the first and includes the second. The NET translates the first as "Now" and omits the second. The CSB omits both. It could be argued that the NET and CSB and others interpret עַתָּה as opening a temporal frame and translate it as "when". This is not a typical function of עַתָּה and should rather be attributed to the participle.

Another example of עַתָּה signaling a switch in topics can be seen in (101).

(101)   Ruth 3:10–13

¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּכָה אַתְּ לַיהוָה֙ בִּתִּ֔י הֵיטַ֛בְתְּ חַסְדֵּ֥ךְ הָאַחֲר֖וֹן מִן־הָרִאשׁ֑וֹן לְבִלְתִּי־לֶ֗כֶת אַחֲרֵי֙ הַבַּ֣חוּרִ֔ים אִם־דַּ֖ל וְאִם־עָשִֽׁיר׃ ¹¹ וְעַתָּ֗ה בִּתִּי֙ אַל־תִּ֣ירְאִ֔י כֹּ֥ל אֲשֶׁר־תֹּאמְרִ֖י אֶֽעֱשֶׂה־לָּ֑ךְ כִּ֤י יוֹדֵ֙עַ֙ כָּל־שַׁ֣עַר עַמִּ֔י כִּ֛י אֵ֥שֶׁת חַ֖יִל אָֽתְּ׃ ¹² **וְעַתָּה֙** כִּ֣י אָמְנָ֔ם כִּ֥י אִם גֹאֵ֖ל אָנֹ֑כִי וְגַ֛ם יֵ֥שׁ גֹּאֵ֖ל קָר֥וֹב מִמֶּֽנִּי׃ ¹³ לִ֣ינִי ׀ הַלַּ֗יְלָה וְהָיָ֤ה בַבֹּ֙קֶר֙ אִם־יִגְאָלֵ֥ךְ טוֹב֙ יִגְאָ֔ל וְאִם־לֹ֨א יַחְפֹּ֧ץ לְגָאֳלֵ֛ךְ וּגְאַלְתִּ֥יךְ אָנֹ֖כִי חַי־יְהוָ֑ה שִׁכְבִ֖י עַד־הַבֹּֽקֶר׃	¹⁰ And he said, "May you be blessed by the LORD, my daughter. You have made this last kindness greater than the first in that you have not gone after young men, whether poor or rich. ¹¹ Now therefore, my daughter, do not fear. I will do for you all that you ask, for all my fellow townsmen know that you are a worthy woman. ¹² **And now,** it is true that I am a redeemer. Yet there is a redeemer nearer than I. ¹³ Remain tonight, and in the morning, if he will redeem you, good; let him do it. But if he is not willing to redeem you, then, as the LORD lives, I will redeem you. Lie down until the morning."

The context is necessary for understanding this passage.[187] In v9, Ruth asks Boaz to be a redeemer. In v10, Boaz blesses Ruth for showing him חֶסֶד. In v11a, a logical וְעַתָּה shifts to directive discourse, instructing Ruth not to fear. In 11b, he responds to Ruth's request by promising to help. In 12a, וְעַתָּה shifts to clarifying Ruth's understanding of the situation. In v13, Boaz informs Ruth of his plan.

The passage is challenging to commentators for a number of reasons. וְעַתָּה in v11 is clearly a logical *now* following the *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive* formula. Schipper (2016:150) states that וְעַתָּה at the beginning of v12 is "[p]ossibly influenced by the use of *wěʿattâ* ("and now") at the beginning of v. 11," but he does not describe his understanding of the function served. Campbell (1975:125) notes "there are simply too many introductory words," mentioning the textual divergences, but he offers no description of its function. Sasson (1979:86–89) is right in seeing v12

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[187] There is also a textual question on this passage which space does not permit us to address, cf. Schipper (2016:150), Bush (1996:144–83), Campbell (1975:125).

as adding explanatory detail, but he is wrong in seeing וְעַתָּה in v12 as identical in function to וְעַתָּה in v11. Sasson (1979:88–89) tries to link וְעַתָּה in v12 with the directive in v13. However, this fails to see lack of grounds on which the logical consequence is based. Bush (1996:144–83) labels all three וְעַתָּהs (vv2,11,12) in this chapter as signaling a logical consequence, but this label is misleading. He argues that v12 is a clarification of his comments in v11, that it carries the argument forward.[188]

וְעַתָּה in v12 does not signal a logical consequence, but rather an elaborative topic shift. וְעַתָּה in v12 does progress the argument, but it does so by adding additional, clarifying comments to the straightforward response in v11.

(102)   Judges 11:23–25

Hebrew	English
²³ **וְעַתָּ֞ה** יְהוָ֣ה ׀ אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל הוֹרִישׁ֙ אֶת־הָ֣אֱמֹרִ֔י מִפְּנֵ֖י עַמּ֣וֹ יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל וְאַתָּ֖ה תִּירָשֶֽׁנּוּ: ²⁴ הֲלֹ֞א אֵ֣ת אֲשֶׁ֧ר יוֹרִֽישְׁךָ֛ כְּמ֥וֹשׁ אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ אוֹת֣וֹ תִירָ֑שׁ וְאֵת֩ כָּל־אֲשֶׁ֨ר הוֹרִ֜ישׁ יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהֵ֛ינוּ מִפָּנֵ֖ינוּ אוֹת֥וֹ נִירָֽשׁ: ²⁵ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** הֲט֥וֹב טוֹב֙ אַתָּ֔ה מִבָּלָ֥ק בֶּן־צִפּ֖וֹר מֶ֣לֶךְ מוֹאָ֑ב הֲר֥וֹב רָב֙ עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל אִם־נִלְחֹ֥ם נִלְחַ֖ם בָּֽם:	²³ **So then** the LORD, the God of Israel, dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel; and are you to take possession of them? ²⁴ Will you not possess what Chemosh your god gives you to possess? And all that the LORD our God has dispossessed before us, we will possess. ²⁵ **Now** are you any better than Balak the son of Zippor, king of Moab? Did he ever contend against Israel, or did he ever go to war with them? (ESV)

Judges 11:14–27 recounts Jephthah's disputation with the Ammonites wherein he reminds them of Israel's history with Ammonite and Moabite kings. The וְעַתָּה in v23 (as argued above) signals a logical consequence to this line of reasoning. To underscore his point, Jephthah asks a series of

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[188] Bush (1996:148,161) and Sasson (1979:86) appeal to *BDB* and Brongers (1965:293–95) for support in understanding וְעַתָּה in v12, and both label וְעַתָּה as signaling a logical relation. However, they differ as to what that means. However, both note that in some way v12 clarifies the comments made in v11. This is exactly the point of the topic shift עַתָּה. The clause following the topic shifting עַתָּה supplies new, relevant information which provides more detail to the picture being presented.

rhetorical questions in vv23–24. The declarative statement in 24b completes the thought. Then, in v25, וְעַתָּה signals a switch to a related topic. וְעַתָּה transitions to another historical episode, Balak, and further questions. The questions which follow in vv25–26 elaborate on different aspects of the argument. The clauses following וְעַתָּה support the stance, but they are not the stance. The stance comes at the end in v27.

The topic switch in (103) is a little different. Judg 9 begins with Abimelech conspiring with the leaders of Shechem to kill his brothers and to make him king (vv1–6). Jotham rebukes them with a lengthy speech (7b–20).

(103)   Judges 9:16[189]

Hebrew	English
¹⁶ **וְעַתָּ֞ה** אִם־בֶּאֱמֶ֤ת וּבְתָמִים֙ עֲשִׂיתֶ֔ם וַתַּמְלִ֖יכוּ אֶת־אֲבִימֶ֑לֶךְ וְאִם־טוֹבָ֤ה עֲשִׂיתֶם֙ עִם־יְרֻבַּ֣עַל וְעִם־בֵּית֔וֹ וְאִם־כִּגְמ֥וּל יָדָ֖יו עֲשִׂ֥יתֶם לֽוֹ׃	¹⁶ "**Now therefore,** if you acted in good faith and integrity when you made Abimelech king, and if you have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house and have done to him as his deeds deserved— (ESV)

וְעַתָּה in (103) signals a switch in the kind of argumentation, from parable (vv7b–15) to conditional judgments (vv16–20). It separates the speech act into two subunits. The situation in view, the topic of conversation, is the same in both parts. וְעַתָּה switches to a different aspect of the conversation.

A similar switch to a different aspect of the same topic of conversation is seen in (104) and (105). These examples are similar, recounting the same event, when YHWH spoke to Nathan about David's desire to build a temple.

(104)   1 Chr 17:7

Hebrew	English
⁷ **וְעַתָּ֡ה** כֹּֽה־תֹאמַר֩ לְעַבְדִּ֨י לְדָוִ֜יד ס כֹּ֤ה אָמַר֙ יְהוָ֣ה צְבָא֔וֹת אֲנִ֤י לְקַחְתִּ֨יךָ֙ מִן־הַנָּ֔וֶה מִֽן־אַחֲרֵ֖י הַצֹּ֑אן לִהְי֣וֹת נָגִ֔יד עַ֖ל עַמִּ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	⁷ **Now therefore,** thus shall you say to my servant David, 'Thus says the LORD of hosts, I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, to be prince over my people Israel

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[189] The speech act extends from 7b–20, but the preceding and following contexts are elided for space concerns. This instantiation of וְעַתָּה switches from parable to application, in the form of conditional statements.

(105)   2 Sam 7:8

וְעַתָּ֡ה כֹּֽה־תֹאמַ֞ר לְעַבְדִּ֣י לְדָוִ֗ד ⁸ כֹּ֤ה אָמַר֙ יְהוָ֣ה צְבָא֔וֹת אֲנִ֤י לְקַחְתִּ֙יךָ֙ מִן־הַנָּוֶ֔ה מֵאַחַ֖ר הַצֹּ֑אן לִֽהְי֣וֹת נָגִ֔יד עַל־עַמִּ֖י עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	⁸ **Now therefore,** thus you shall say to my servant David, 'Thus says the LORD of hosts, I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, that you should be prince over my people Israel.

In both (104–05), YHWH utilizes וְעַתָּה, along with the divine speech formula to switch topics from responding to David's desire to build YHWH a house to YHWH's promise to build a dynasty for David.

Similar uses can be seen in (106–108) of this function below.[190]

(106)   Ruth 3:1–2

וַתֹּ֥אמֶר לָ֖הּ נָעֳמִ֣י חֲמוֹתָ֑הּ ¹ בִּתִּ֞י הֲלֹ֧א אֲבַקֶּשׁ־לָ֛ךְ מָנ֖וֹחַ אֲשֶׁ֥ר יִֽיטַב־לָֽךְ׃ וְעַתָּ֗ה הֲלֹ֥א בֹ֙עַז֙ מֹֽדַעְתָּ֔נוּ ² אֲשֶׁ֥ר הָיִ֖ית אֶת־נַעֲרוֹתָ֑יו הִנֵּה־ה֗וּא זֹרֶ֛ה אֶת־גֹּ֥רֶן הַשְּׂעֹרִ֖ים הַלָּֽיְלָה׃	¹ Then Naomi her mother-in-law said to her, "My daughter, should I not seek rest for you, that it may be well with you? ² **And now**, is not Boaz our relative, with whose young women you were? See, he is winnowing barley tonight at the threshing floor.

(107)   Gen 31:29–30

יֶשׁ־לְאֵ֣ל יָדִ֔י לַעֲשׂ֥וֹת עִמָּכֶ֖ם רָ֑ע ²⁹ וֵאלֹהֵ֨י אֲבִיכֶ֜ם אֶ֗מֶשׁ ׀ אָמַ֣ר אֵלַ֣י לֵאמֹ֔ר הִשָּׁ֧מֶר לְךָ֛ מִדַּבֵּ֥ר עִֽם־יַעֲקֹ֖ב מִטּ֥וֹב עַד־רָֽע׃ וְעַתָּה֙ הָלֹ֣ךְ הָלַ֔כְתָּ כִּֽי־נִכְסֹ֥ף נִכְסַ֖פְתָּה ³⁰ לְבֵ֣ית אָבִ֑יךָ לָ֥מָּה גָנַ֖בְתָּ אֶת־אֱלֹהָֽי׃	²⁹ It is in my power to do you harm. But the God of your father spoke to me last night, saying, 'Be careful not to say anything to Jacob, either good or bad.' ³⁰ **And now**, you have gone away because you longed greatly for your father's house, but why did you steal my gods?"

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[190] Space considerations inhibit comment, but we wanted the reader to see the remainder of the usages which fit the topic-switching function.

(108)   Jer 7:12–13

¹² כִּ֣י לְכוּ־נָ֗א אֶל־מְקוֹמִי֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר בְּשִׁיל֔וֹ	¹² … Go now to my place that was in Shiloh,
אֲשֶׁ֨ר שִׁכַּ֧נְתִּי שְׁמִ֛י שָׁ֖ם בָּרִֽאשׁוֹנָ֑ה	where I made my name dwell at first, and see
וּרְאוּ֙ אֵ֣ת אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂ֣יתִי ל֔וֹ	what I did to it because of the evil of my people
מִפְּנֵ֕י רָעַ֖ת עַמִּ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	Israel. ¹³ **And now**, because you have done all
¹³ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** יַ֧עַן עֲשׂוֹתְכֶ֛ם אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּעֲשִׂ֥ים הָאֵ֖לֶּה	these things, declares the LORD, and when I
נְאֻם־יְהוָ֑ה וָאֲדַבֵּ֨ר אֲלֵיכֶ֤ם הַשְׁכֵּ֣ם וְדַבֵּר֙	spoke to you persistently you did not listen, and
וְלֹ֣א שְׁמַעְתֶּ֔ם וָאֶקְרָ֥א אֶתְכֶ֖ם וְלֹ֥א עֲנִיתֶֽם׃	when I called you, you did not answer, …
	(ESV)

The topic switch function of עַתָּה signals a further development of some kind, usually an elaboration on the main concern, or primary topic of conversation.

4.3.2.3 Conversation-Managing

Above we discussed the interactional aspects of עַתָּה when it signals a stance or topic switch. Below we discuss the interactional aspects of עַתָּה in conversation management functions. The instantiations described below are multifunctional, meaning that עַתָּה can operate on more than one discourse domain. The conversation management functions of עַתָּה include turn-taking, addressee switching, agreement checking, and commentary marking.[191]

4.3.2.3.1   Turn-Taking[192]

The turn-taking function occurs when (וְ)עַתָּה begins a speech turn.[193] The turn-taking function of עַתָּה is a signal to the former speaker (now the hearer) that the former hearer now wishes to be (and

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[191] Fraser (2006:189–204) discusses these functions as different kinds of pragmatic markers distinguished from DMs (Diagram 2.1). Since עַתָּה also functions on the metatextual domain, we continue to refer to these as DMs, cf. Crible (2017).

[192] Exo 6:1; Num 22:4; Judg 13:12; 17:13; 1 Sam 13:12; 27:1; 2 Sam 20:6; 1 Kgs 12:26; 17:24, 2 Chr 29:31. Again, these can be labeled and categorized elsewhere due to the multifunctionality of (וְ)עַתָּה.

[193] The turn-taking function is can also be termed as turn-initiating. The turn is "taken" from another interlocutor in (91, 94). In the other examples עַתָּה initiates a speech turn. The term "turn-taking" is more universal in DM literature and is used as an umbrella term here, incorporating "turn-initiating" examples. The temporal aspect in some examples is not totally gone. Even at this advanced stage of its development, עַתָּה is not completely semantically bleached.

is) the speaker. This is part of (וְ)עַתָּה's use in helping interlocutors understand their "place" in the discourse relative to one another. Abstractly, the turn-taking function is another signal that a development follows, similar to the stance-taking and topic switching. This feature often overlaps with the stance-taking functions because what is said first is often the stance as in (88, 91, 94).

(109)   2 Chr 29:31

³¹ וַיַּעַן יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר **עַתָּה** מִלֵּאתֶם יֶדְכֶם לַיהוָֹה גֹּשׁוּ וְהָבִיאוּ זְבָחִים וְתוֹדוֹת לְבֵית יְהוָה	³¹ Then Hezekiah said, "**Now**, you have consecrated yourselves to the LORD. Come near; bring sacrifices and thank offerings to the house of the LORD." …

Translators often interpret (109) as a predicate adverb, but this translation is difficult on two accounts. First, עַתָּה is in typical DM position with a disjunctive accent mark, separating it from the clause to some degree. Second, this instantiation links up with (110) where עַתָּה prefaces a directive to "consecrate yourselves". The narrator is intentionally linking the command and the completion with עַתָּה.

(110)   2 Chr 29:5

⁵ וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם שְׁמָעוּנִי הַלְוִיִּם **עַתָּה** הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ וְקַדְּשׁוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵיכֶם וְהוֹצִיאוּ אֶת־הַנִּדָּה מִן־הַקֹּדֶשׁ:	⁵ and said to them, "Hear me, Levites! **Now** consecrate yourselves, and consecrate the house of the LORD, the God of your fathers, and carry out the filth from the Holy Place. (ESV)

(111)   1 Sam 27:1

¹ יֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־לִבּוֹ **עַתָּה** אֶסָּפֶה יוֹם־אֶחָד בְּיַד־שָׁאוּל אֵין־לִי טוֹב כִּי הִמָּלֵט אִמָּלֵט ׀ אֶל־אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים	¹ Then David said in his heart, "**Now** I shall perish one day by the hand of Saul. There is nothing better for me than that I should escape to the land of the Philistines. (ESV)

In (111) the narrator shares David's internal thoughts. This is another example of a turn-initial stance-taking עַתָּה. The same is true of (112).

(112)   1 Kgs 12:26

וַיֹּאמֶר יָרָבְעָם בְּלִבֹּו 26	26 And Jeroboam said in his heart, "**Now**, the
עַתָּה תָּשׁוּב הַמַּמְלָכָה לְבֵית דָּוִד:	kingdom will turn back to the house of David.
כִּי בְיָד חֲזָקָה יְשַׁלְּחֵם וּבְיָד חֲזָקָה יְגָרְשֵׁם מֵאַרְצֹו:	27 If this people go up to offer sacrifices in the
אִם־יַעֲלֶה ׀ הָעָם הַזֶּה 27	temple of the LORD at Jerusalem, … (ESV)
לַעֲשֹׂות זְבָחִים בְּבֵית־יְהוָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם	

In these instances, עַתָּה, following a form of אָמַר, initiates an internal dialogue which is presented as a report speech. עַתָּה, in conjunction with אָמַר, makes clear that what follows is the internal thoughts of the speaker. In (113), עַתָּה functions similarly, except the internal thoughts are part of a larger speech turn (vv11–12).

(113)   1 Sam 13:12

וָאֹמַר **עַתָּה** יֵרְדוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים אֵלַי הַגִּלְגָּל 12	12 I said, '**Now** the Philistines will come down
וּפְנֵי יְהוָה לֹא חִלִּיתִי וָאֶתְאַפַּק וָאַעֲלֶה הָעֹלָה:	against me at Gilgal, and I have not sought the
	favor of the LORD.' So I forced myself, and
	offered the burnt offering." (ESV)

Here, in the middle of the speech act, עַתָּה signals the relaying of an internal thought process (12a). The purpose of disclosing the internal thoughts is to rationalize the decision Saul made.

The turn-taking is one of several conversation management functions where עַתָּה acts as an attention-getting device and signals a significant development.[194] When עַתָּה functions to manage speech turns, as in the turn-taking roles of (109–113), it also has another function. This multi-functionality, operating on several discourse levels simultaneously, is common for DMs.

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[194] Another turn-taking עַתָּה is found in 1 Kgs 17:24, discussed in chapter 5.

4.3.2.3.2 Other Conversation-Managing Functions

Another conversation management feature is the readdressing of participants seen in (114).

(114) Psa 39:8 (7)

וְעַתָּ֣ה מַה־קִּוִּ֣יתִי אֲדֹנָ֑י ⁸	⁷ "**And now**, O Lord, for what do I wait?
תּ֝וֹחַלְתִּ֗י לְךָ֣ הִֽיא׃	My hope is in you. (ESV)

In (114) the Psalmist reconnects with his audience through the use of וְעַתָּה. The entire psalm is a prayer to YHWH for deliverance, and YHWH (or an epithet) is called up directly in vv 4,8,13. Vv 6b–7 speak about mankind in general. A question follows וְעַתָּה, but not just any question. The question reflects a deep concern or crisis. This question, this stance, is taken up in light of the implications from vv2–7 that he has done everything right, and yet he is still suffering. וְעַתָּה, along with the vocative אֲדֹנָי, is used by the psalmist to readdress God with the hope that his concern is heard. This עַתָּה can be seen as logical, but it is also interactional.

A similar conversation management function is the switching of addressee (115).

(115) Mal 2:1

וְעַתָּ֗ה אֲלֵיכֶ֛ם הַמִּצְוָ֥ה הַזֹּ֖את הַכֹּהֲנִֽים׃ ¹	¹ "**And now**, O priests, this command is for you. (ESV)

In Mal 1:1 the oracle is addressed to the people of Israel (as a whole). For all of chapter 1 this general address continues. In 2:1, Malachi addresses a particular subset of his audience, the priests.[195] At some point later, the addressee generalizes again (either in 2:10, 16, or 3:6). To signal the narrowing of his audience, Malachi employs עַתָּה with the fronting of a pronomial reference to the addressees, followed by a lexicalized reference to the addressees ("O priests"). This unique construal attracts attention and ensures the message is conveyed. As in other IDM usages, עַתָּה signals to the participants a development or turn or shift in the discourse.

These conversation management functions of עַתָּה can illuminate a disputed passage (116).

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[195] Priests could be understood as a reference to the nation as a whole (Exo 19:4–6), but this is unlikely for two reasons. First, the noun is articular, likely indicating a specified referent. Second, the oracle references the covenant with Levi (vv4,8) and priestly activities (vv6–8).

(116)   Neh 6:9

⁹ כִּי כֻלָּם מְיָרְאִים אוֹתָנוּ לֵאמֹר רָפוּ יְדֵיהֶם מִן־הַמְּלָאכָה וְלֹא תֵעָשֶׂה וְעַתָּה חַזֵּק אֶת־יָדָי:	⁹ For they all wanted to frighten us, thinking, "Their hands will drop from the work, and it will not be done." **But now**, O God, strengthen my hands. (ESV)

In the context of Neh 6, Nehemiah is going back and forth with his enemies, contending with their threats (vv1–8). V9 contains Nehemiah's summary of the episode. In (116), many translations (cf. NIV, NET) see the clause following וְעַתָּה as a prayer to God. Myers (1965a:137) also reads a prayer in the MT. The KJV, ESV, NRSV, HCSB, and CEB even add a vocative "O God/my God" without any textual basis.[196] Some prefer the LXX reading "And now I strengthened my hands".[197] Williamson (1985:249) sees no evidence for the final clause being a prayer:

> The translation of the final clause is disputed. Many of the Eng versions take it as a brief prayer: "and now, strengthen my hands!" They show their unease, however, by adding such words as "O my God," or "But I prayed," for which there is no textual support. The objections to this approach are: (i) It was not so understood by the ancient Vrs. When they present a united tradition of interpretation, they should be considered carefully. (ii) Nowhere else is God the subject of "to strengthen the hands." … (iii) While it is true that sometimes Nehemiah does include in his memoir the prayers that he must have offered in the historical setting rather than as he wrote (cf 3:36–37 [4:4–5]), they are clearly marked by the inclusion of the vocative "O my God." Without some such indication, there is nothing to mark this as a prayer at all. חזק "strengthen" is thus to be construed as an inf abs doing service for a finite verb; cf GKC § 113y-gg, which includes as part of its explanation the use of this construction for "hurried or otherwise excited style . . . in order to bring

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[196] Some of these translations also include a logical translation for וְעַתָּה: "Now therefore" (KJV), "So now" (NET), "So" (NLT).

[197] Myers (1965a:137), cf. NLT "So I continued the work with even greater determination."

114

out the verbal idea in a clearer and more expressive manner." The use of ועתה,

"and now," further contributes to this impression. [sic]

Williamson (1985:249) does not argue for how וְעַתָּה contributes to the "hurried or otherwise

excited style," but we can assume he means וְעַתָּה in an adverbial sense. His argument is not

convincing. On (i), that the ancient variants diverge, and do not represent a unified tradition among

themselves, is not a reason to postulate an emendation, if another reading which makes sense of the

BHS as received is coherent. On (ii), God is the subject of imperative prayers elsewhere in Neh.[198]

On (iii), a vocative is not the only signal one can employ in BH to change the addressee. וְעַתָּה here

could be read as signaling a switch in topic (to Nehemiah's personal response to the situation), in

addressee (praying to God), or in both.[199]

   The conversation management functions of עַתָּה described in this section, combined with the

imperative prayers elsewhere in Neh, provide sufficient evidence to justify reading the clause as a

prayer addressing God. Upon reading Nehemiah's account of the conversations with his

adversaries, one may be driven to pray.

   These examples demonstrate the interactional nature of (וְ)עַתָּה as conversation management

device to take a speech turn, to switch participants, and to signal a development.

4.3.3   IDM Conclusion

In this section, we have examined the different sub-functions of the IDM sense: stance-taking,

topic-shifting, turn-taking, and other conversation-managing roles. These are united under the label

interactional DM because their deictic reference point is the participants in the direct speech, and

they signal to discourse participants how to negotiate their role in the conversation. עַתָּה as an IDM

serves to draw the participants' attention to a relevant new development. The IDM functions are

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[198] Cf. Neh 1:8,11; 3:36; 5:19; 6:14. In these instances, the directive to God occurs at the end of the episode and is followed by a transition to another discourse topic. The same is true in Neh 6:9. God being addressed to encourage someone is also attested.

[199] וְעַתָּה could also be read logically, as some translations do, because it is followed by a directive. However, even if one does read it as a logical *now*, the question remains, to whom is the phrase addressing. Therefore, some interactional component is involved. As for the temporal reading, the temporal aspect is not prominent as is typical in the SA sense, and it does not fit the SA profile.

typical of DMs in spoken discourse whereas the SDM functions typical of DMs in written discourse.[200] We will now summarize the DM functions in brief.

4.4 Conclusion of DM Senses

This chapter has defined and described the features and functions of the SDM and IDM senses. The structural DM sense is characterized by an extra-clausal syntactical position, a deictic point in the discourse, and a pragmatic function of signaling a logical development. The Interactional DM sense is defined by an extra-clausal syntactical position, a deictic point in the discourse participants, and a pragmatic function of conversation management. The functions grouped together under the IDM moniker represent the semantic-pragmatic trend from concrete to abstract, from text related to speaker related.

Thus, עַתָּה has four broad senses: PA, SA, SDM, and IDM. The senses and their identifying features may be compared and contrasted by the following table:

Table 4.1: The DM Senses of (וְ)עַתָּה

עַתָּה		SDM	IDM
Syntax	**Position**	Outside of Clause	Outside of Clause
	Scope	2+ Clauses	2+ Clauses
	Collocations & Constructions	(וְ)עַתָּה	(וְ)עַתָּה
Semantics & Pragmatics	**Deictic Reference**	Text	Participants
	Functions	Logical, Structural, Interactional	Interactional, Structural

With this description of the DM senses of (וְ)עַתָּה in hand, we can now progress to relating the four senses of (וְ)עַתָּה in chapter 5.

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[200] Aijmer et al. (2006), Bazzanella (2006), Pons Borderia (2006).

CHAPTER 5: THE GRAMMATICALIZATAION OF עַתָּה

5   The Grammaticalization of עַתָּה

In the preceding chapters this researcher described four senses of (וְ)עַתָּה – PA, SA, SDM, and IDM.

Each sense was substantiated with a profile which describes the shared familial characteristics,

defining features, and sub-functions of that sense. This chapter fills in what was lacking, namely,

how four senses of (וְ)עַתָּה relate to one another.

In what follows, the senses will be described as clusters of use. The clusters will be placed

along a grammaticalization path in line with cross-linguistic tendencies. Then, the path will be

further substantiated by examples which act as transitional uses. Finally, we will discuss

instantiations which do not fit neatly on the path.

5.1   עַתָּה's Grammaticalization Path

Grammaticalization is built on the premise that, some linguistic constructions become more

grammatical over time. Meaning shifts result from innovative usages becoming conventionalized

through repeated use, and meaning shifts tend to move from concrete to abstract, from text-oriented

to speaker-oriented. Grammaticalization views senses as clusters of similar uses along a path.[201] In

2.3.4, we examined Brinton's (2006:328–39) proposed path for DM grammaticalization which are

graphically represented in Figure 5.1.[202]

Figure 5.1: Grammaticalization Paths for DMs

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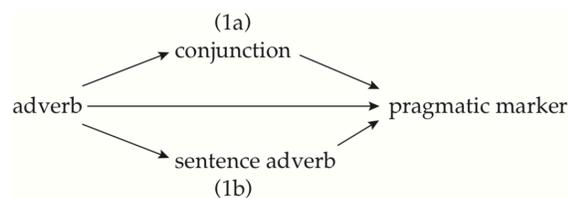
[201] The terms sense and cluster as used in this thesis refer to the same groupings of usages (PA, SA, SDM, and IDM). When the term sense is used, it profiles the commonality of meaning, construal, or usage among a group of instantiations said to be members. When the term cluster is used, it profiles the similarities of each member within the group of instantiations while still acknowledging each instantiation differs from the others in some ways. Each sense is conceived of as a cluster of usages with similar features and functions. The notion of clusters of use also conveys that some instantiations share more features and functions and are more similar (also more central or more prototypical) than other instantiations.
[202] Pragmatic marker is synonymous with DM.

The עַתָּה's senses can be placed on the grammaticalization path in (117):[203]

(117)   PA >> SA >> SDM >> IDM

The first cluster on the grammaticalization path, termed the predicate adverb (PA), corresponds to Brinton's *adverb* above, what Traugott (1995:1) called the *clause-internal adverb*. The PA is distinguished by a post-verbal clause position, collocations with prepositions (מִן and עַד), and a deictic reference of a point/period in time. וְעַתָּה never functions as a PA because it never appears postverbal.[204] This cluster accounts for 8% of instantiations.

The sentential adverb (SA), the second cluster, is characterized by a pre-verbal/clause-initial position, scope over the whole clause, and collocations with DMs (כִּי and וְ). At the beginning of the clause, עַתָּה creates a temporal frame for the clause and develops logical and structural inferences.[205] This cluster accounts for 25% of instantiations.

The third (SDM) and fourth (IDM) clusters for עַתָּה are subsumed in Brinton's third: the DM.[206] The features of (וְ)עַתָּה as an SDM include: scope over multiple clauses, separate intonation unit, coordination with other DMs (הִנֵּה and כִּי, also לָכֵן), and a logical meaning grounded in the formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *speech act*. The SDM functions include: segment and structure the discourse and signal logical developments among clauses. It accounts for 53% of occurrences.

The IDM preserves the chunking functions a DM and signals new developments. But the IDM signals a different kind of development. It is more participant-centered than text-centered as

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[203] It is widely agreed that עַתָּה derives from the noun עת + the accusative marker הָ◌, Jenni (1997:951–55; 1972:1–12), *HALOT* (2001:901–902), *BDB* (1906:773–74). This proposition is supported by appearances of עַתָּה in the prepositional phases: עַד־עַתָּה and מֵעַתָּה. If this is the case, the noun עֵת could be the genesis of the grammaticalization path. It is unclear is to what tri-consonantal root עַתָּה relates, though it is usually associated with עָנָה, cf. *BDB* (1906:772–74). The tri-consonantal root has no effect on the proposal put forth here because the meanings and functions described are not based on etymological data.

[204] עַתָּה can function in every way as וְעַתָּה but not the reverse. וְעַתָּה, originally a conjunction + adverb, at some point in its use "fused" such that the function of the conjunction (וְ) became inseparable from the function of the adverb (עַתָּה). It is impossible to determine when the fusing occurred, but it likely happened before the SDM sense where, the functions of וְעַתָּה and עַתָּה are identical. עַתָּה and וְעַתָּה develop in tandem from there. Since וְעַתָּה grammaticalized later, it is only found in the three later senses.

[205] It is difficult to determine when an adverb like *now*/עַתָּה would shift from clause-internal to sentential in scope, or how one would know that the change has taken place. That change is correlated with a move to the front of the clause (Traugott 1995:6–13).

[206] For a distinction between the SDM and IDM see 4.3.1.

the SDM. The meaning is more subjectivized, and its deictic reference is in the interlocutors. The IDM accounts for 14% of instantiations.

The profiles for each cluster can be illustrated by combining the charts at the end of chapters 3 and 4, as in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: The Four Senses of (וְ)עַתָּה

עַתָּה		PA	SA	SDM	IDM
Syntax	**Position**	Inside Clause	Front of Clause	Outside of Clause	Outside of Clause
	Scope	Verb	Clause	2+ Clauses	2+ Clauses
	Collocations & Constructions	עַד־עַתָּה מֵעַתָּה	כִּי עַתָּה (וְ)עַתָּה	(וְ)עַתָּה	(וְ)עַתָּה
Semantics & Pragmatics	**Deictic Reference**	Event	Event	Text	Participants
	Functions	Temporal	Temporal, Logical & Structural	Logical & Structural, Interactional	Interactional, Structural

In the next section, we substantiate this grammaticalization path by investigating the borderline cases which do not fit neatly in one of these four senses.

5.2   Fuzzy Borders between the Four Senses

Not all instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה fit neatly into the four senses. These outliers blur the borders, and this is to be expected.[207] Analysis of these outliers, or 'exceptions', will demonstrate that these are not exceptions to the four senses or clusters, but in-between cases demonstrating both the fuzzy borders between the clusters and the movement of (וְ)עַתָּה down the grammaticalization path. This section will discuss the blurry boundaries from PA to SA, from SA to SDM, and from SDM to IDM.

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[207] Fuzzy borders are typical of human categorization (Evans et al. 2007:12–14).

5.2.1 PA to SA

The boundary line between the PA and SA is drawn on the basis of clause position. If (וְ)עַתָּה

appears preverbal, it is an SA. If עַתָּה appears post-verbal, it is a PA. But, one could argue that when

an adverb is the focus of the clause, it has scope over the entire clause. An adverb can be the focus

of the clause at the front (118) or at the rear (e.g. Psa 115:18; Isa 9:6). Since clause position is

objectively identifiable and straightforwardly concrete, we have employed this as the litmus test for

distinguishing between PA and SA.

In (118–120), מֵעַתָּה, usually a PA, appears preverbal.

(118)   Jer 3:4

הֲל֣וֹא **מֵעַ֗תָּה** קָרָ֤אתי [קָרָ֨את] לי֙ אָבִ֔י אַלּ֖וּף נְעֻרַ֥י אָֽתָּה:	[4] Have you not **just now** called to me, 'My father, you are the friend of my youth— (ESV)

(119)   Dan 10:17

[17] וְהֵ֣יךְ יוּכַ֗ל עֶ֤בֶד אֲדֹנִי֙ זֶ֔ה לְדַבֵּ֖ר עם־אֲדֹ֣נִי זֶ֑ה וַאֲנִ֤י מֵעַ֨תָּה֙ לֹא־יַֽעֲמָד־בִּ֣י כֹ֔חַ וּנְשָׁמָ֖ה לֹ֥א נִשְׁאֲרָה־בִֽי:	[17] How can my lord's servant talk with my lord? **For now** no strength remains in me, and no breath is left in me." (ESV)

(120)   2 Chr 16:9

[9] כִּ֣י יְהוָ֗ה עֵינָ֞יו מְשֹׁטְט֤וֹת בְּכָל־הָאָ֨רֶץ֙ לְהִתְחַזֵּ֤ק עם־לְבָבָם֙ שָׁלֵ֣ם אֵלָ֔יו נִסְכַּ֖לְתָּ עַל־זֹ֑את כִּ֣י **מֵעַ֔תָּה** יֵ֥שׁ עִמְּךָ֖ מִלְחָמֽוֹת:	[9] For the eyes of the LORD run to and fro throughout the whole earth, to give strong support to those whose heart is blameless toward him. You have done foolishly in this, **for from now on** you will have wars. (ESV)

When עַתָּה is part of a prepositional phrase, it (almost) always occurs after the verb typical of the

PA. But, these instantiations (118–120) show מֵעַתָּה at the beginning of the clause, the position of an

SA. In (120), it even appears with כִּי, demonstrating another feature of an SA.

These in-between cases appear to break the 'rules' of the PA and SA. However, if the senses are viewed as clusters with similar features, then these examples occupy the fuzzy borders between categories and show how עַתָּה develops in innovative usages.

5.2.2 SA to SDM

In this section we examine examples where עַתָּה and וְעַתָּה blur the lines between these two categories.

וְעַתָּה can occupy the fuzzy border between SA and SDM because it is difficult to know when it stops being an adverb and starts being a DM. Typically, that distinction is made when the form stops contributing to the propositional content, but temporal adverbs blur this boundary, causing Fraser to advocate for a temporal DM category.[208] Two indicators for an SDM use can prove helpful here: 1) when multiple instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה appear in a coordinated, structuring fashion and 2) when (וְ)עַתָּה coordinates with other DMs, such as הִנֵּה and כִּי.[209]

In contexts where multiple instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה appear in the same speech, each instantiation has a discourse organizing and structural aspect to it. Consider (121).

(121)　　Job 30:1–17

¹ **וְעַתָּה** | שָׂחֲקוּ עָלַי צְעִירִים מִמֶּנִּי לְיָמִים אֲשֶׁר־מָאַסְתִּי אֲבוֹתָם לָשִׁית עִם־כַּלְבֵי צֹאנִי׃	1"**But now** they laugh at me, men who are younger than I, whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock.
² גַּם־כֹּחַ יְדֵיהֶם לָמָּה לִּי עָלֵימוֹ אָבַד כָּלַח׃ …	² What could I gain from the strength of their hands, men whose vigor is gone? …
⁸ בְּנֵי־נָבָל גַּם־בְּנֵי בְלִי־שֵׁם נִכְּאוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ׃	…
⁹ **וְעַתָּה** נְגִינָתָם הָיִיתִי וָאֱהִי לָהֶם לְמִלָּה׃	⁸ A senseless, a nameless brood, they have been whipped out of the land.
¹⁰ תִּעֲבוּנִי רָחֲקוּ מֶנִּי וּמִפָּנַי לֹא־חָשְׂכוּ רֹק׃ …	whipped out of the land.
¹⁵ הָהְפַּךְ עָלַי בַּלָּהוֹת תִּרְדֹּף כָּרוּחַ נְדִבָתִי וּכְעָב עָבְרָה יְשֻׁעָתִי׃	⁹ "**And now** I have become their song; I am a byword to them.

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[208] Almost every case of וְעַתָּה as an SA could be called a temporal DM (Fraser 2006).
[209] Recall the formula: formula הִנֵּה + *grounds* + עַתָּה + *directive* + כִּי + *further grounds* and its permutations.

¹⁶ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** עָלַי֮ תִּשְׁתַּפֵּ֢ךְ נַפְשִׁ֫י יֹאחֲז֥וּנִי יְמֵי־עֹ֑נִי׃ ¹⁷ לַ֗יְלָה עֲצָמַי֮ נִקַּ֪ר מֵֽעָ֫לָ֥י וְ֝עֹרְקַ֗י לֹ֣א יִשְׁכָּבֽוּן׃ …	¹⁰ They abhor me; they keep aloof from me; they do not hesitate to spit at the sight of me. … ¹⁵ Terrors are turned upon me; my honor is pursued as by the wind, and my prosperity has passed away like a cloud. ¹⁶ "**And now** my soul is poured out within me; days of affliction have taken hold of me. ¹⁷ The night racks my bones, and the pain that gnaws me takes no rest. (ESV)

In (121), each וְעַתָּה contribute to the propositional content with a temporal meaning, but it also serves to structures the discourse. The multiple instantiations of וְעַתָּה in this chapter together have a elaborative effect: "And now, … and now, … and now…" These elaborative usages of וְעַתָּה are not common. [210]

וְעַתָּה as an SA also structure discourses and chunks speeches when it is used with other DMs, in particular כִּי and הִנֵּה. Consider (122–124).

(122)   1 Kgs 5:16–20 (5:2–6)[211]

¹⁶ וַיִּשְׁלַ֣ח שְׁלֹמֹ֔ה אֶל־חִירָ֖ם לֵאמֹֽר׃ ¹⁷ אַתָּ֨ה יָדַ֜עְתָּ אֶת־דָּוִ֣ד אָבִ֗י כִּ֣י לֹ֤א יָכֹל֙ לִבְנ֣וֹת בַּ֗יִת לְשֵׁם֙ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהָ֔יו מִפְּנֵ֤י הַמִּלְחָמָה֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר סְבָבֻ֔הוּ עַ֚ד תֵּת־יְהוָ֣ה אֹתָ֔ם תַּ֖חַת כַּפּ֥וֹת רַגְלֹ֑ו [רַגְלָֽי׃] ¹⁸ **וְעַתָּ֗ה** הֵנִ֨יחַ יְהוָ֧ה אֱלֹהַ֛י לִ֖י מִסָּבִ֑יב אֵ֣ין שָׂטָ֔ן וְאֵ֖ין פֶּ֥גַע רָֽע׃	² And Solomon sent word to Hiram, ³ "You know that David my father could not build a house for the name of the LORD his God because of the warfare with which his enemies surrounded him, until the LORD put them under the soles of his feet.

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[210] Cf. 1 Kgs 18:11–14 (v14 is a repetition of v11); Hos 2:12; 2 Chr 28:10. These cases illustrate a clear structural nature to עַתָּה. It is pragmatically active in the metatextual domain structuring the discourse, while also strengthening the contrast of past events and present requests.
[211] Cf. the five instantiations in 1 Sam 12. וְעַתָּה in vv2,13 is a typical SA. It is also a covenantal/legal context, typical of the SDM.

¹⁹ **וְהִנְנִ֣י** אֹמֵ֔ר לִבְנ֥וֹת בַּ֖יִת לְשֵׁ֣ם יְהֹוָ֣ה אֱלֹהָ֑י כַּאֲשֶׁ֣ר ׀ דִּבֶּ֣ר יְהֹוָ֗ה אֶל־דָּוִ֤ד אָבִי֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר בִּנְךָ֗ אֲשֶׁ֨ר אֶתֵּ֤ן תַּחְתֶּ֙יךָ֙ עַל־כִּסְאֶ֔ךָ הֽוּא־יִבְנֶ֥ה הַבַּ֖יִת לִשְׁמִֽי׃ ²⁰ **וְעַתָּ֡ה** צַוֵּה֩ וְיִכְרְתוּ־לִ֨י אֲרָזִ֜ים מִן־הַלְּבָנ֗וֹן וַעֲבָדַי֙ יִהְי֣וּ עִם־עֲבָדֶ֔יךָ …	⁴ **But now** the LORD my God has given me rest on every side. There is neither adversary nor misfortune. ⁵ **And behold** I intend to build a house for the name of the LORD my God, as the LORD said to David my father, 'Your son, whom I will set on your throne in your place, shall build the house for my name.' ⁶ **Now therefore,** command that cedars of Lebanon be cut for me. And my servants will join your servants, …

In (122), וְעַתָּה in v18 functions as a prototypical SA contrasting the past and the present on the propositional level. However, on a metatextual level, וְעַתָּה interacts with וְהִנֵּה (v19) and וְעַתָּה (v20) to structure the discourse and to build an argument.

(123)   Gen 32:10–12 (9–11)

¹⁰ וַיֹּאמֶר֮ יַעֲקֹב֒ אֱלֹהֵי֙ אָבִ֣י אַבְרָהָ֔ם וֵאלֹהֵ֖י אָבִ֣י יִצְחָ֑ק יְהֹוָ֗ה הָאֹמֵ֤ר אֵלַי֙ שׁ֧וּב לְאַרְצְךָ֛ וּלְמוֹלַדְתְּךָ֖ וְאֵיטִ֥יבָה עִמָּֽךְ׃ ¹¹ קָטֹ֜נְתִּי מִכֹּ֤ל הַחֲסָדִים֙ וּמִכׇּל־הָ֣אֱמֶ֔ת אֲשֶׁ֥ר עָשִׂ֖יתָ אֶת־עַבְדֶּ֑ךָ כִּ֣י בְמַקְלִ֗י עָבַ֙רְתִּי֙ אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּ֣ן הַזֶּ֔ה וְעַתָּ֥ה הָיִ֖יתִי לִשְׁנֵ֥י מַחֲנֽוֹת׃ ¹² הַצִּילֵ֥נִי נָ֛א מִיַּ֥ד אָחִ֖י מִיַּ֣ד עֵשָׂ֑ו	⁹ And Jacob said, "O God of my father Abraham and God of my father Isaac, O LORD who said to me, 'Return to your country and to your kindred, that I may do you good,' ¹⁰ I am not worthy of the least of all the deeds of steadfast love and all the faithfulness that you have shown to your servant, for with only my staff I crossed this Jordan, **and now** I have become two camps. ¹¹ Please deliver me from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau, . . . (ESV)

(123) illustrates the type of context where a temporal SA might also signal a transition to an action. V12 begins with an imperative. The motivation for the request is found in v11, where וְעַתָּה signals a contrast from past to present. It is in these contexts — where past events yield present consequences which motivate requests — that (וְ)עַתָּה develops new implications.

The fuzzy border between the SA's temporal readings and the SDMs logical/resultative meanings explains the translation differences between the ESV and the NIV in (124).

(124)   2 Sam 15:33–34

33 וַיֹּ֧אמֶר ל֣וֹ דָּוִ֗ד אִ֤ם עָבַ֙רְתָּ֙ אִתִּ֔י וְהָיִ֥תָ עָלַ֖י לְמַשָּֽׂא: 34 וְאִם־הָעִ֣יר תָּשׁ֗וּב וְאָמַרְתָּ֣ לְאַבְשָׁל֔וֹם עַבְדְּךָ֙ אֲנִ֤י הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ אֶהְיֶ֔ה עֶ֣בֶד אָבִ֤יךָ וַֽאֲנִי֙ מֵאָ֔ז וְעַתָּ֖ה וַאֲנִ֣י עַבְדֶּ֑ךָ וְהֵפַרְתָּ֣ה לִ֔י אֵ֖ת עֲצַ֥ת אֲחִיתֹֽפֶל:	33 David said to him, "If you go on with me, you will be a burden to me. 34 But if you return to the city and say to Absalom, 'I will be your servant, O king; as I have been your father's servant in time past, **so now** I will be your servant,' then you will defeat for me the counsel of Ahithophel. (ESV) 33 David said to him, "If you go away with me, you'll be a burden to me, 34 but if you return to the city and tell Absalom, 'I will be your servant, my king! Previously, I was your father's servant, **but now** I will be your servant,' then you can counteract Ahithophel's counsel for me. (NIV)

The NIV understands וְעַתָּה to highlight a contrast between the past (when he was David's servant) and the present (where he is offering to serve Absalom).[212] The ESV interprets וְעַתָּה as coordinating with מֵאָז to signal a logical conclusion indicated, "so now". In doing so, they profile the similarities in the kind of service relationship.[213] Both translations identify a temporal aspect and a logical

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[212] See Isa 16:14 for a similar SA.
[213] See Josh 14:11 for a similar SDM.

aspect. They differ on the kind of logical relationship, whether it is contrast (NIV) or result (ESV). Ambiguous cases like (124) illustrate how new meanings can develop.[214]

5.2.3   SDM to IDM

In this section, we describe the overlapping nature of the SDM and the IDM. The distinction between the SDM and IDM was highlighted (if not exaggerated) in chapter 4 in order to adequately illustrate the newly proposed IDM sense.[215] To show the fuzzy borders, we will trace the interactional nature of examples typically understood as SDMs.

Some straightforward instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה functioning as an SDM with the *grounds +* (וְ)עַתָּה *+ directive* formula also function on the interactional domain, as in (125) and (126).[216]

(125)   Isa 5:3

³ וְעַתָּה יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה וְעַתָּה יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה	³ **And now**, O inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, judge between me and my vineyard. (ESV)

(126)   Psa 2:10

¹⁰ וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ:	¹⁰ **Now therefore**, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth. (ESV)

(125), also discussed in 4.2 as a typical logical *now*, presents a turn-taking עַתָּה which shifts the perspective from the narrator to vineyard owner.[217] In (126), וְעַתָּה signals a shift in addressees from the king of Israel, the Son (vv7–9), to the kings of the earth (vv10–12).

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[214] Other instantiations of עַתָּה which do not fit neatly as an SA or a SDM include Gen 19:9; 29:34; Exo 18:19; 1 Kgs 21:7.

[215] It is the norm for prototypical functions with high frequencies to extend their meanings. So, the pervasive use of the SDM anticipates a meaning extension.

[216] DMs can operate on multiple domains simultaneously, cf. 2.1.2–2.1.4.

[217] Cf. Childs (2001:45).

(127)   2 Chr 25:19

אָמַ֗רְתָּ הִנֵּ֤ה הִכִּ֙יתָ֙ אֶת־אֱד֔וֹם ¹⁹ וּנְשָׂאֲךָ֥ לִבְּךָ֖ לְהַכְבִּ֑יד **עַתָּה֙** שְׁבָ֣ה בְּבֵיתֶ֔ךָ לָ֤מָּה תִתְגָּרֶה֙ בְּרָעָ֔ה וְנָ֣פַלְתָּ֔ אַתָּ֖ה וִיהוּדָ֥ה עִמָּֽךְ׃	¹⁹ You say, 'See, I have struck down Edom,' and your heart has lifted you up in boastfulness. **But now** stay at home. Why should you provoke trouble so that you fall, you and Judah with you?" (ESV)

In (127), the structure of the discourse follows a pattern similar to the logical *now*: הִנֵּה + *assertive discourse* + עַתָּה + *directive*. However, a closer examination reveals that the assertive discourse does not provide the grounds for the directive. The stance-taking עַתָּה in clause b, which represents the speaker's perspective, corrects the position of the audience, represented in the הִנֵּה clause. This עַתָּה exhibits the structure of an SDM but performs the functions of an IDM.[218]

(128)   1 Sam 27:1

וַיֹּ֤אמֶר דָּוִד֙ אֶל־לִבּ֔וֹ ¹ **עַתָּ֛ה** אֶסָּפֶ֥ה יוֹם־אֶחָ֖ד בְּיַד־שָׁא֑וּל אֵֽין־לִ֜י ט֗וֹב כִּ֣י הִמָּלֵ֤ט אִמָּלֵט֙ | אֶל־אֶ֣רֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים ...	¹ Then David said in his heart, "**Now** I shall perish one day by the hand of Saul. There is nothing better for me than that I should escape to the land of the Philistines. … (ESV)

(128), also discussed above in 4.3 as stance-taking, serves a dual function in the discourse. עַתָּה also concludes the episode with Saul in 1 Sam 26, wherein five (וְ)עַתָּה strings (vv8,11,16,19–20) are woven together to underscore the character of David in contrast to Saul. In 27:1, the narrator concludes this comparison with another עַתָּה, spoken by David himself. David's realization of his own peril also serves to transition the story to David's life in exile. This instantiation exhibits characteristics of the SDM [strings (4.2.5) and concluding an extended section (4.2.6)] and the IDM [the turn-initiating (4.3.4) and the stance-taking (4.3.2)].

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[218] Dillard (1987:196), ignoring the accent marks and clause divisions in both the MT and the LXX, moves the location of עַתָּה without explanation: "You have defeated Edom, you say to yourself, and now you are proud and arrogant. But go home! Why look for trouble when you and Judah with you will fall!". Myers' (1965b:141) translation is preferable: "You thought, 'Behold I have struck down Edom' and your ego has been inflated to seek even greater glory. Now, stay in your own place;…".

(129)   Deut 10:12

¹² **וְעַתָּה֙** יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל מָ֚ה יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ שֹׁאֵ֖ל מֵעִמָּ֑ךְ כִּ֣י אִם־לְ֠יִרְאָה אֶת־יְהוָ֨ה אֱלֹהֶ֜יךָ לָלֶ֤כֶת בְּכָל־דְּרָכָיו֙ וּלְאַהֲבָ֣ה אֹת֔וֹ וְלַֽעֲבֹד֙ אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ בְּכָל־לְבָבְךָ֖ וּבְכָל־נַפְשֶֽׁךָ׃ ¹³ לִשְׁמֹ֞ר אֶת־מִצְוֺ֤ת יְהוָה֙ וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתָ֔יו אֲשֶׁ֛ר אָנֹכִ֥י מְצַוְּךָ֖ הַיּ֑וֹם לְט֖וֹב לָֽךְ׃	¹² "**And now**, Israel, what does the LORD your God require of you, but to fear the LORD your God, to walk in all his ways, to love him, to serve the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul, ¹³ and to keep the commandments and statutes of the LORD, which I am commanding you today for your good? (ESV)

In (129), וְעַתָּה transitions to a new section of the book.[219] On the interactional domain, וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל signals a stance in "And now, Israel, what does the LORD your God require of you…"[220] This stance is taken on behalf of the people, reminding and imploring them to keep the covenant. The noun of address יִשְׂרָאֵל and the interrogative are other interactional aspects.

In (130) there are four instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה in close proximity. The event is also recorded in (131) in slightly different form. These instantiations could be seen as a strings of stance-taking usages weaving together different aspects of the theme: Judah's trust. The context is messengers from the King of Assyria delivering a message to counselors of King Hezekiah, encouraging them to make a deal.

(130)   2 Kgs 18:19–25

¹⁹ וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אֲלֵהֶם֙ רַב־שָׁקֵ֔ה אִמְרוּ־נָ֖א אֶל־חִזְקִיָּ֑הוּ כֹּֽה־אָמַ֞ר הַמֶּ֤לֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ אַשּׁ֔וּר מָ֧ה הַבִּטָּח֛וֹן הַזֶּ֖ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר בָּטָֽחְתָּ׃ ²⁰ אָמַ֙רְתָּ֙ אַךְ־דְּבַר־שְׂפָתַ֔יִם עֵצָ֥ה וּגְבוּרָ֖ה לַמִּלְחָמָ֑ה **עַתָּה֙** עַל־מִ֣י בָטַ֔חְתָּ כִּ֥י מָרַ֖דְתָּ בִּֽי׃	¹⁹ And the Rabshakeh said to them, "Say to Hezekiah, 'Thus says the great king, the king of Assyria: On what do you rest this trust of yours? ²⁰ Do you think that mere words are strategy and power for war? **Now**, in whom do

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[219] Weinfeld (1991:435) notes וְעַתָּה "marks a transition from history (9:7–10:11) to the moral religious lesson that is to be drawn from it." On the structure of this section relative to the whole book, see (Weinfeld 1991:453–4). Christensen (2001:202) notes that the וְעַתָּהs in vv12, 22 function as a "structural frame", meaning וְעַתָּה has a micro (clause), a medium (paragraph) and a macro level (multiple chapters) structuring force.
[220] Craigie (1976:203–4) sees this section as a "new emphasis of Moses' address", but this 'new emphasis' appears to be restatement of the major themes addressed earlier (Deut 5–7).

²¹ **עַתָּ֗ה** הִנֵּ֤ה בָטַ֙חְתָּ֙ לְּךָ֗ עַל־מִשְׁעֶ֜נֶת הַקָּנֶ֤ה הָרָצ֨וּץ הַזֶּה֙ עַל־מִצְרַ֔יִם אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִסָּמֵ֥ךְ אִישׁ֙ עָלָ֔יו וּבָ֥א בְכַפּ֖וֹ וּנְקָבָ֑הּ כֵּ֚ן פַּרְעֹ֣ה מֶֽלֶךְ־מִצְרַ֔יִם לְכָֽל־הַבֹּטְחִ֖ים עָלָֽיו׃ ²² וְכִי־תֹאמְר֣וּן אֵלַ֔י אֶל־יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֵ֖ינוּ בָּטָ֑חְנוּ הֲלוֹא־ה֗וּא אֲשֶׁ֨ר הֵסִ֤יר חִזְקִיָּ֨הוּ֙ אֶת־בָּמֹתָ֣יו וְאֶת־מִזְבְּחֹתָ֔יו וַיֹּ֤אמֶר לִֽיהוּדָה֙ וְלִיר֣וּשָׁלִַ֔ם לִפְנֵי֙ הַמִּזְבֵּ֣חַ הַזֶּ֔ה תִּֽשְׁתַּחֲו֖וּ בִּירוּשָׁלִָֽם׃ ²³ **וְעַתָּה֙** הִתְעָ֣רֶב נָ֔א אֶת־אֲדֹנִ֖י אֶת־מֶ֣לֶךְ אַשּׁ֑וּר וְאֶתְּנָ֤ה לְּךָ֙ אַלְפַּ֣יִם סוּסִ֔ים אִם־תּוּכַ֕ל לָ֥תֶת לְךָ֖ רֹכְבִ֥ים עֲלֵיהֶֽם׃ ²⁴ וְאֵ֣יךְ תָּשִׁ֗יב אֵ֠ת פְּנֵ֨י פַחַ֥ת אַחַ֛ד עַבְדֵ֥י אֲדֹנִ֖י הַקְּטַנִּ֑ים וַתִּבְטַ֤ח לְךָ֙ עַל־מִצְרַ֔יִם לְרֶ֖כֶב וּלְפָרָשִֽׁים׃ ²⁵ **עַתָּה֙** הֲמִבַּלְעֲדֵ֣י יְהוָ֔ה עָלִ֛יתִי עַל־הַמָּק֥וֹם הַזֶּ֖ה לְהַשְׁחִת֑וֹ יְהוָה֙ אָמַ֣ר אֵלַ֔י עֲלֵ֛ה עַל־הָאָ֥רֶץ הַזֹּ֖את וְהַשְׁחִיתָֽהּ׃	you trust, that you have rebelled against me? ²¹ **Now**, look, you are trusting in Egypt, that broken reed of a staff, which will pierce the hand of any man who leans on it. Such is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all who trust in him. ²² But if you say to me, "We trust in the LORD our God," is it not he whose high places and altars Hezekiah has removed, saying to Judah and to Jerusalem, "You shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem"? ²³ **And now**, make a wager with my master the king of Assyria: I will give you two thousand horses, if you are able on your part to set riders on them. ²⁴ How then can you repulse a single captain among the least of my master's servants, when you trust in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? ²⁵ **Now**, is it without the LORD that I have come up against this place to destroy it? The LORD said to me, "Go up against this land and destroy it."'"

(131) Isa 36:4–10

⁴ וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם֙ רַב־שָׁקֵ֔ה אִמְרוּ־נָ֖א אֶל־חִזְקִיָּ֑הוּ כֹּֽה־אָמַ֞ר הַמֶּ֤לֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ אַשּׁ֔וּר מָ֧ה הַבִּטָּח֛וֹן הַזֶּ֖ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר בָּטָֽחְתָּ׃ ⁵ אָמַ֙רְתִּי֙ אַךְ־דְּבַר־שְׂפָתַ֔יִם עֵצָ֥ה וּגְבוּרָ֖ה לַמִּלְחָמָ֑ה **עַתָּה֙** עַל־מִ֣י בָטַ֔חְתָּ כִּ֥י מָרַ֖דְתָּ בִּֽי׃ ⁶ הִנֵּ֣ה בָטַ֡חְתָּ עַל־מִשְׁעֶנֶת֩ הַקָּנֶ֨ה הָרָצ֤וּץ הַזֶּה֙ עַל־מִצְרַ֔יִם אֲשֶׁ֨ר יִסָּמֵ֥ךְ אִישׁ֙ עָלָ֔יו וּבָ֥א בְכַפּ֖וֹ וּנְקָבָ֑הּ כֵּ֚ן פַּרְעֹ֣ה מֶֽלֶךְ־מִצְרַ֔יִם לְכָֽל־הַבֹּטְחִ֖ים עָלָֽיו׃	⁴ And the Rabshakeh said to them, "Say to Hezekiah, 'Thus says the great king, the king of Assyria: On what do you rest this trust of yours? ⁵ Do you think that mere words are strategy and power for war? **Now**, in whom do you trust, that you have rebelled against me? ⁶ Behold, you are trusting in Egypt, that broken reed of a staff, which will pierce the hand of

וְכִי־תֹאמַר אֵלַּי אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ בָּטָחְנוּ ⁷ הֲלוֹא־הוּא אֲשֶׁר הֵסִיר חִזְקִיָּהוּ אֶת־בָּמֹתָיו וְאֶת־מִזְבְּחֹתָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לִיהוּדָה וְלִירוּשָׁלַם לִפְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה תִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ׃ ⁸ וְעַתָּה הִתְעָרֶב נָא אֶת־אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר וְאֶתְּנָה לְךָ אַלְפַּיִם סוּסִים אִם־תּוּכַל לָתֶת לְךָ רֹכְבִים עֲלֵיהֶם׃ ⁹ וְאֵיךְ תָּשִׁיב אֵת פְּנֵי פַחַת אַחַד עַבְדֵי אֲדֹנִי הַקְּטַנִּים וַתִּבְטַח לְךָ עַל־מִצְרַיִם לְרֶכֶב וּלְפָרָשִׁים׃ ¹⁰ וְעַתָּה הֲמִבַּלְעֲדֵי יְהוָה עָלִיתִי עַל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי עֲלֵה אֶל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וְהַשְׁחִיתָהּ׃	any man who leans on it. Such is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all who trust in him. ⁷ But if you say to me, "We trust in the LORD our God," is it not he whose high places and altars Hezekiah has removed, saying to Judah and to Jerusalem, "You shall worship before this altar"? ⁸ **Now therefore**, make a wager with my master the king of Assyria: I will give you two thousand horses, if you are able on your part to set riders on them. ⁹ How then can you repulse a single captain among the least of my master's servants, when you trust in Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? ¹⁰ **So now**, is it without the LORD that I have come up against this land to destroy it? The LORD said to me, "Go up against this land and destroy it."'"

In (130) and (131) we find multiple instantiations, but not a single one fits the typical profile for either an SDM nor an IDM. The SDM features of these instantiations include a covenant making[221] context and structural chains/strings. The IDM features include argumentation based on implications, interrogatives, and stances positioning the interlocutors. These illustrate how a speaker/author might utilize (וְ)עַתָּה in innovative ways to push the boundaries of typical use for pragmatic effect, or to highlight a theme.

Grammaticalization helps explain the generalizations of the logical *now* formula as well (4.2). The formula extends from signaling directives to signaling other speech acts and sentence types as well. Instead of only signaling clausal relationships based on logical inference, עַתָּה as an IDM, signals clausal relationships based on implications and intimations. These changes can be explained

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[221] Sweeney (2007:404–19) notes the contemptuous language that is fitting for a disputation. Being aware of the logical flow, he translates each עַתָּה as represented in (130), but he does not discuss their functions.

129

as the result of a) reanalysis breaking down the rules, and b) analogy extending the formula to new contexts for pragmatic effect.

These examples illustrate the multifunctionality of (וְ)עַתָּה and the fuzzy border between the SDM and the IDM.

5.2.4   Fuzzy Border Conclusion

These transitional usages ought to be seen as 'exceptions' which prove the grammaticalization path. Rather than invalidating the senses, these instantiations indicate (וְ)עַתָּה is in the process of meaning shift. Herein lies the benefit of seeing senses as clusters of usage. Some usages are closer to the prototypical center of the sense profile — that is the densely populated center of the cluster — while others are outliers.

5.3   The multifunctionality of (וְ)עַתָּה

Even with a grammaticalization path and fuzzy borders, some instantiations defy neat categorization. In this section we will cover two types of multifunctionality: the *now I know* expressions and the prophetic instances of stance-taking.

5.3.1   The *Now I know* construction

One such example of the multifunctionality can be seen in the construction (וְ)עַתָּה + stative verb: *now I know* construction, which occurs five times (132–136). Each could be read as initiating a temporal frame. Each could also be read as signaling a stance.

(132)   Exo 18:11

10 וַיֹּאמֶר יִתְרוֹ בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִצִּיל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּמִיַּד פַּרְעֹה אֲשֶׁר הִצִּיל אֶת־הָעָם מִתַּחַת יַד־מִצְרָיִם׃ 11 **עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי** כִּי־גָדוֹל יְהוָה מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי בַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר זָדוּ עֲלֵיהֶם׃	10 Jethro said, "Blessed be the LORD, who has delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh and has delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. 11 **Now I know** that the LORD is greater than all gods, because in this affair they dealt arrogantly with the people." (ESV)

In (132), the narrator puts into the mouth of Jethro, a Midianite priest, a key theological lesson.

(133)   Judg 17:13

| 13 וַיֹּאמֶר מִיכָה **עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי** כִּי־יֵיטִיב יְהוָה לִי כִּי הָיָה־לִי הַלֵּוִי לְכֹהֵן: | 13 Then Micah said, "**Now I know** that the LORD will prosper me, because I have a Levite as priest." (ESV) |

In (133), עַתָּה initiates the speech act (cf. 4.3.4), and it concludes the pericope (cf. 4.2.5).

(134)   1 Kgs 17:24

| 24 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־אֵלִיָּהוּ **עַתָּה זֶה יָדַעְתִּי** כִּי אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים אָתָּה וּדְבַר־יְהוָה בְּפִיךָ אֱמֶת: | 24 And the woman said to Elijah, "**Now I know** that you are a man of God, and that the word of the LORD in your mouth is truth." (ESV) |

In (134), עַתָּה initiates a speech turn (cf. 4.3.4). On the meta-discourse level, this statement concludes the dialogue, the story, and the chapter (cf. 4.2.5). Again, the narrator uses the character to verbalize the salient takeaway for the reader.

(135)   1 Sam 24:19–22

| 19 וְאַתָּ הִגַּדְתָּ הַיֹּום אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשִׂיתָה אִתִּי טוֹבָה אֵת אֲשֶׁר סִגְּרַנִי יְהוָה בְּיָדְךָ וְלֹא הֲרַגְתָּנִי:
 20 וְכִי־יִמְצָא אִישׁ אֶת־אֹיְבֹו וְשִׁלְּחֹו בְּדֶרֶךְ טוֹבָה וַיהוָה יְשַׁלֶּמְךָ טוֹבָה תַּחַת הַיֹּום הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָה לִי:
 21 **וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה יָדַעְתִּי** כִּי מָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹוךְ וְקָמָה בְּיָדְךָ מַמְלֶכֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל:
 22 וְעַתָּה הִשָּׁבְעָה לִּי בַּיהוָה אִם־תַּכְרִית אֶת־זַרְעִי אַחֲרָי וְאִם־תַּשְׁמִיד אֶת־שְׁמִי מִבֵּית אָבִי: | 18 And you have declared this day how you have dealt well with me, in that you did not kill me when the LORD put me into your hands. 19 For if a man finds his enemy, will he let him go away safe? So may the LORD reward you with good for what you have done to me this day. 20 **And now, behold, I know** that you shall surely be king, and that the kingdom of Israel shall be established in your hand. 21 Swear to me therefore by the LORD that you will not cut off |

131

	my offspring after me, and that you will not destroy my name out of my father's house." (ESV)

(135) is a logical *now* chain where clause following וְעַתָּה in v21 forms the grounds upon which the directive in v22 is based (cf. 4.2.6).

(136)   Psa 20:7 (6)

7 **עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי** כִּי הוֹשִׁיעַ ׀ יְהוָֹה מְשִׁיחוֹ יַעֲנֵהוּ מִשְּׁמֵי קָדְשׁוֹ בִּגְבֻרוֹת יֵשַׁע יְמִינוֹ:	6 **Now I know** that the LORD saves his anointed; he will answer him from his holy heaven with the saving might of his right hand.

In (136) עַתָּה starts a new stanza and switches topics to the psalmist's stance.

None of these can be simply categorized as neatly fitting into one of the four senses. In (132–134, 136), the clause(s) following עַתָּה represent the conclusion of a communicative event. In (132) and (134), עַתָּה initiates a speech turn. However, in (132), (133), and (136), עַתָּה has a conjunctive accent and is in the same intonation unit as יָדְעְתִּי suggesting it may still be an SA and not yet a DM. Each of these examples demonstrates a degree of multifunctionality which is difficult to represent in one sense of a grammaticalization path.

5.3.2   Prophetic Stance-taking Instantiations[222]

The other curious case of multifunctional instantiations which are difficult to categorize is prophetic stance-taking instances. These usages display (וְ)עַתָּה acting on multiple domains, as in (137) and (138).

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[222] These include, but are not limited to, Isa 43:1; 44:1; 49:5; 52:5; Jer 27:6; 32:36; 44:7; Eze 39:25; 43:9; Joel 2:12.

(137)   Isa 43:1

¹ **וְעַתָּ֞ה** כֹּֽה־אָמַ֤ר יְהוָה֙ בֹּרַאֲךָ֣ יַעֲקֹ֔ב וְיֹצֶרְךָ֖ יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל אַל־תִּירָא֙ כִּ֣י גְאַלְתִּ֔יךָ קָרָ֥אתִי בְשִׁמְךָ֖ לִי־אָֽתָּה:	¹ **But now** thus says the LORD, he who created you, O Jacob, he who formed you, O Israel: "Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have called you by name, you are mine. (ESV)

(138)   Isa 44:1

¹ **וְעַתָּ֥ה** שְׁמַ֖ע יַעֲקֹ֣ב עַבְדִּ֑י וְיִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל בָּחַ֥רְתִּי בֽוֹ: ² כֹּה־אָמַ֨ר יְהוָ֤ה עֹשֶׂ֙ךָ֙ וְיֹצֶרְךָ֣ מִבֶּ֔טֶן יַעְזְרֶ֑ךָ אַל־תִּירָא֙ עַבְדִּ֣י יַעֲקֹ֔ב וִישֻׁר֖וּן בָּחַ֥רְתִּי בֽוֹ:	¹ "**But now** hear, O Jacob my servant, Israel whom I have chosen!² Thus says the LORD who made you, who formed you from the womb and will help you: Fear not, O Jacob my servant, Jeshurun whom I have chosen. (ESV)

In (137) and (138), new stanzas are initiated, but these are not wholly new.[223] Commentators differ on their reading of these instantiations.[224] In (137), וְעַתָּה signals a transitions from the judgment in Isa 42:18–25 to the promise of redemption in Isa 43:1. In (138), וְעַתָּה signals a transition from Israel's failures in 43:22–28 to YHWH's promise of new life. Both are also followed by directives. However, the preceding paragraphs do not form the grounds for obeying the commands which follow וְעַתָּה. Rather, they can be seen as drawing a temporal contrast, indicating a new development in YHWH's plan which breaks with the old. Israel failed in its role as YHWH's servant to the nations, but YHWH is doing a new thing. The contrast could also be read as a stance wherein

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[223] Both Motyer (1993:326) and Goldingay and Payne (2006:253,303–4) are keen to point out that the sections of the HB are to be understood differently than the chapter and verse sections. Both see 42:18–43:21 as a unit, and 43:22–44:23 as a unit. This challenges the notion put forth in *HALOT* (2000:902) that וְעַתָּה initiates a new section.

[224] Young (1972:138) offers the translation "And now" but describes the function of וְעַתָּה as adversative "a logical rather than a temporal connecting with the preceding." Watts (2005:664,680), without any explanatory comments, translates וְעַתָּה in 43:1 as "So now," and in 44:1 as "But now,". Blenkinsopp (2000:221) notes on that וְעַתָּה "signals a contrast with the preceding address (42:18–25)." Westermann (1969:114) translates וְעַתָּה as "But now" noting a temporal contrast, stating "A new hour has struck." Motyer (1993:330) notes "the contrast here is not between present and past: But now introduces a divine comment on what has just preceded." He (2011:206) also notes that "Now then" is an acceptable, if not preferable, translation. Goldingay and Payne (2006:272–73) see discontinuity between 42:18–25 and translate the phrase as "But now,…". They (2006:320) also note the repetition of similar language in 44:1.

YHWH disagrees with the implications that he has forsaken his people.[225] In short, these instantiations share features of the SA (temporal frame, contrast between past and present), the SDM (followed by a directive, structural), and the IDM (stance, vocatives).

YHWH, wishing to respond to the implication that he has forsaken his covenant and his people, intervenes with extended theological language to state his position, his stance, and correct any who would presume otherwise.[226]

It is worth noting that these challenging instances, the true outliers, are found primarily in the prophetic literature. Prophetic literature is itself a categorical milieu, blending together a variety of styles and techniques (including poetic form, with figurative imagery, apocalyptic language, etc.) to paint a compelling literary portrait which evokes action in its audience.[227] Consider (139–141).

(139)   Jer 32:36

36 וְעַתָּ֗ה לָכֵ֛ן כֹּֽה־אָמַ֥ר יְהוָ֖ה אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל אֶל־הָעִ֣יר הַזֹּ֔את אֲשֶׁ֣ר ׀ אַתֶּ֣ם אֹמְרִ֗ים נִתְּנָה֙ בְּיַ֣ד מֶֽלֶךְ־בָּבֶ֔ל בַּחֶ֥רֶב וּבָרָעָ֖ב וּבַדָּֽבֶר: 37 הִנְנִ֣י מְקַבְּצָם֩ מִכָּל־הָ֨אֲרָצ֜וֹת אֲשֶׁ֧ר הִדַּחְתִּ֣ים שָׁ֗ם בְּאַפִּ֛י וּבַחֲמָתִ֖י וּבְקֶ֣צֶף גָּד֑וֹל וַהֲשִׁבֹתִים֙ אֶל־הַמָּק֣וֹם הַזֶּ֔ה וְהֹשַׁבְתִּ֖ים לָבֶֽטַח:	36 "**Now therefore thus says the LORD**, the God of Israel, concerning this city of which you say, 'It is given into the hand of the king of Babylon by sword, by famine, and by pestilence': 37 Behold, I will gather them from all the countries to which I drove them in my anger and my wrath and in great indignation. I will bring them back to this place, and I will make them dwell in safety. (ESV)

(140)   Jer 44:7

7 וְעַתָּ֡ה כֹּֽה־אָמַ֣ר יְהוָה֩ אֱלֹהֵ֨י צְבָא֜וֹת אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל לָמָה֩ אַתֶּ֨ם עֹשִׂ֜ים רָעָ֤ה גְדוֹלָה֙ אֶל־נַפְשֹׁתֵכֶ֔ם	7 **And now thus says the LORD** God of hosts, the God of Israel: Why do you commit this

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[225] Young (1972:138) notes "They present a contrast between the dismal present condition of the people and the glorious redemption they are to enjoy in their God." If the reasoning of Young and Motyer (1993:330) are followed, one could argue that the contrast is one between present (Israel's current struggles) and future (YHWH's promised redemption).

[226] Goldingay and Payne (2006:272) note that וְעַתָּה is rarely followed by the "messenger formula" citing Isa 43:1; 49:5; Jer 32:36; 44:7; and Hag 1:5.

[227] Gentry (2017:41–50).

לְהַכְרִית לָכֶם אִישׁ־וְאִשָּׁה עוֹלֵל וְיוֹנֵק מִתּוֹךְ יְהוּדָה לְבִלְתִּי הוֹתִיר לָכֶם שְׁאֵרִית:	great evil against yourselves, to cut off from you man and woman, infant and child, from the midst of Judah, leaving you no remnant? (ESV)

(141)　　　Eze 39:25

25 לָכֵ֗ן כֹּ֤ה אָמַר֙ אֲדֹנָ֣י יְהֹוִ֔ה עַתָּ֗ה אָשִׁיב֙ אֶת־שְׁבִית [שְׁב֣וּת] יַעֲקֹ֔ב וְרִחַמְתִּ֖י כָּל־בֵּ֣ית יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל וְקִנֵּאתִ֖י לְשֵׁ֥ם קָדְשִֽׁי:	**25 Therefore thus says the Lord GOD: Now** I will restore the fortunes of Jacob and have mercy on the whole house of Israel, and I will be jealous for my holy name. (ESV)

In each case there is a temporal aspect, multiple DMs, multiple names/titles for God, and a version of the messenger formula. The language is temporally, interactionally, and theologically loaded.

Rather than try and squeeze these instantiations into a specific place on the grammaticalization path, the reader is best suited by a flexible approach. Each and every instantiation is unique. That does not make our descriptive, diagnostic, and categorical exercise pointless. Rather, by being aware of the features and functions of עַתָּה, having a framework to evaluate the instantiations, the reader is more equipped to understand the particular emphases of a given usage.

5.4　　Conclusion

In this chapter we have demonstrated how the adverbial senses of chapter 3 and the discourse marking senses of chapter 4 relate together on a grammaticalization path. The progression of the senses from PA ≫ SA ≫ SDM ≫ IDM aligns with the semantic-pragmatic tendencies of constructions to move from concrete to abstract, from meanings situated in the real-world to meanings situated in the text, and from text-oriented meanings to participant-oriented meanings.[228]

Describing the senses as clusters along a cline, we have portrayed the outliers as occupying the fuzzy borders between those clusters. Thus, the 'exceptions' prove the rule of עַתָּה's grammaticalization path, illustrating how (וְ)עַתָּה moved down the cline. This grammaticalization

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[228] Traugott and König (1991:208–09).

path is cross-linguistically attested, sufficiently incorporates the data of עַתָּה(וְ) in BH, and satisfies the dual constraints of descriptive and explanatory adequacy.

We have also shown that some instantiations defy categorization all together, but these still exhibit traits described in the clusters. Indeed, the unique construal of meaning in these instances is detectable only when a robust framework such as the one proposed is available.

In the following chapter, an overview of the proposals of this thesis will be summarized and evaluated as a whole.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6 Conclusion

The analysis and argumentation of this thesis will now be concluded by means of first a review and then a summary. In chapter 1, we identified the problem of the lack of descriptive analyses available for עַתָּה(וְ). Lexicons describe the different collocations and constructions which appear with regularity while defining glosses and situations of use. Grammars describe the function of עַתָּה in binary terms of temporal and logical. Even recent works such as Van der Merwe et al (2017) do not stray very far from this dichotomy. We hypothesized that the linguistics frameworks of DM studies, linguistic typology, and grammaticalization provide some insights to address this problem.

In chapter 2 we examined these complementary linguistic frameworks. DM studies offered the following insights: a framework for investigating the usages, typical DM features and functions, domains of activity for DMs, as well as a functional definition. Linguistic typology displayed how *now*-words function in a variety of languages, offering intimations of what may occur with עַתָּה. Grammaticalization proposed a way to unify the functions of עַתָּה through a grammaticalization path, as well as processes and tendencies which affect meaning shifts.

In chapter 3 we examined the adverbial functions of עַתָּה arguing for two separate but related temporal functions for עַתָּה, the PA and the SA. The PA sense is defined by post-verbal clause position and a temporal deixis to a point in time. The PA is frequently found with prepositions. The primary features of the SA cluster is a temporal deictic reference, and a preverbal, marked position. A logical relation can also be signaled by the SA, usually one of contrast. The SA frequently co-occurs with DMs.

In chapter 4 we examined the discourse functions of עַתָּה(וְ) arguing for two separate but related senses, the SDM and the IDM. The SDM sense has a deictic reference in the text, serves to chunk the discourse into digestible segments, and signals a logical link between the preceding chunk and the following chunk. The SDM sense is characterized by the formula *grounds* + עַתָּה(וְ) + *directive / conclusion* and its extensions. The SDM sense is found coordinating with other DMs and with other עַתָּה(וְ) instantiations. The IDM sense is characterized by a deixis reference in the interlocutors, helping to place the participants in relation to the situation. IDM functions include signaling a stance, topic switching, turn-taking and other conversation-management tasks.

137

In chapter 5 we explained how all four senses relate together on a grammaticalization path beginning with the PA, followed by the SA, then the SDM and finally the IDM. The instantiations which occupy the fuzzy borders between the senses prove the grammaticalization path, exhibiting a form in process of shifting from one sense to the next. The *Now I know* construction and prophetic stance-taking usages cannot be neatly placed on the grammaticalization path.

Due to the challenges associated with this kind of investigation (1.3), we are cautious about the proposals put forth herein. Nevertheless, we are also optimistic about the benefits of this study. The contributions made can be summarized as follows:

1) A simple conception for the usages (וְ)עַתָּה, namely four senses labeled for their distinguishing features, which represents all available data in the HB, and which is unified by a grammaticalization path, balancing descriptive adequacy and explanatory sufficiency.[229]

2) A cogent, cognitively motivated, and cross-linguistically-verified explanation for sense extensions and sense differentiations.

3) A new sense, the IDM, which accounts for the non-temporal and non-logical occurrences, describes some interactional functions which DMs in general (and (וְ)עַתָּה in specific) perform.

4) An explanation of how multiple instantiations of (וְ)עַתָּה operate together as chains and strings.

5) A flexible framework which supports interpreters and exegetes with the features and functions of (וְ)עַתָּה while acknowledging that different construals of the constructions are possible.

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[229] "A further achievement of the cognitive linguistics enterprise has been to integrate formalist and functionalist concerns. While formalists are particularly concerned with developing descriptively adequate accounts of linguistic phenomena and with modelling the representation of knowledge of language in the mind, functionalists have been primarily concerned with exploring the social and communicative functions of situated language use. Cognitive linguistics, while functionalist in spirit, is concerned both with achieving descriptive adequacy and with modelling language as a cognitive phenomenon." (Evans et al. 2007:30).

Future research could develop the findings presented here, particularly in the interactional domain in which the IDM functions (including the subjective, intersubjective, epistemic aspects). What other constructions fulfill similar interactional roles? What other linguistic constructions may signal stance-taking? What can be learned by comparing the linguistic constructions which signal stance-taking? What is the significance (if any) of stacking together DMs as in the prophetic stance-taking usages along with other forms of marked language?

Appendix A

Scripture Reference	Construction	Sense	Function	Notes
Gen 3:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Directive elided
Gen 4:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from accusation to curse, some logical element there, curse is the result of the accusation
Gen 11:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from grounds to conclusion
Gen 12:19	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question to command, short הִנֵּה separates וְעַתָּה from command
Gen 19:9	עַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Transitions between past and present, some logical sense
Gen 20:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 21:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 22:12	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Gen 24:49	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background (summary of recent events) to directive
Gen 26:22	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Temporal and logical, כִּי עַתָּה clause explains the meaning of the well's name and the main point of the pericope

Gen 26:29	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Gen 27:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 27:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 27:36	וְהִנֵּה עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Gen 27:43	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Transitions from present reality to the action it demands
Gen 29:32	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	כִּי clause expresses motivation for statement
Gen 29:34	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Initiates turn, temporal frame for clause
Gen 30:30	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from past to present concerns (question), disagreement stance
Gen 31:13	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (ch31), shifts from grounds (summary of recent events) to action (impv)
Gen 31:16	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (ch31), transitions from background (summary of recent events) to action (impv)
Gen 31:28	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	String (ch31), shifts from grounds to conclusion
Gen 31:30	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch, Stance-taking	String (ch31), shifts topic of conversation to assertions, followed by stance

141

Gen 31:42	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	String (ch31), hypothetical situation
Gen 31:44	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (ch31), shifts from grounds to negated directive (impv)
Gen 32:5	עַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Gen 32:11	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Shifting from past to present description/reality, Contrasts past from present
Gen 37:20	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 41:33	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from interpretation of dream (grounds) to advice (directive), advice is jussive form, likely due to politeness and power gap
Gen 43:10	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	Initiates apodosis for hypothetical scenario
Gen 44:10	גַּם־עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Gen 44:30	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from background to present concern (grounds), preps for future request, large scope (vv18–33), links with v33.
Gen 44:33	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from present concern (grounds) to request, links with v30.
Gen 45:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to negated directive

142

Gen 45:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background (recounting of past events) to restating of main point (conclusion)
Gen 46:34	עַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Gen 47:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 48:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from reported speech to main concern (conclusion)
Gen 50:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 50:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Gen 50:21	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 3:9	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from background (7-8) to restatement, introduces grounds, preps for request, links with v10.
Exo 3:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from restatement to directive, links with v9.
Exo 3:18	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 4:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	shifts from rhetorical questions (grounds) to directive
Exo 5:5	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Exo 5:18	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 6:1	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Turn-taking, shifts focus from past to future what is about to take place, disagreement stance
Exo 9:15	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	

Exo 9:18	וְעַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Exo 9:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 10:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 18:11	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion, *Now I know* construction - cf. 5.4.1
Exo 18:19	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command (advice)
Exo 19:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to promise, covenantal context, conditionals
Exo 32:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from summary (grounds) to directive
Exo 32:30	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from summary (grounds) to conclusion (first-person)
Exo 32:32	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - other	Shifts from summary to conditionals
Exo 32:34	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Exo 33:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command, assertion forms grounds for command to be followed
Exo 33:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, conditional
Num 11:6	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present

144

Num 11:23	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Num 14:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from hypothetical to request
Num 22:4	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	initiates speech turn, begins a speech segment, followed by present concern - agreement stance, similar to letter writing usage
Num 22:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
Num 22:11	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Restatement of v6
Num 22:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
Num 22:29	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	Temporal frame for hypothetical scenario, initiates apodosis.
Num 22:33	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	Temporal frame for hypothetical scenario, initiates apodosis.
Num 22:34	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from assertion about past to assertion about intention (a veiled request)
Num 22:38	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from assertion to rhetorical question, shifts to concern of the speaker's audience/chief reason for dialogue - disagreement stance
Num 24:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Num 24:14	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from summary/background to directive, interrupted by הִנְנִי + assertion

145

Num 24:17	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Num 31:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Deut 2:13	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds (v9) to directive, grounds separated by parenthetical comment in vv10–12.
Deut 4:1	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, large scope, covenantal context
Deut 5:25	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Logical now - other	Shifts from summary of recent events to rhetorical question
Deut 10:12	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Logical now - other	Shifts to a new subtopic in the existing speech, bookends pericope with v22.
Deut 10:22	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts between past and present, bookends pericope with v12.
Deut 12:9	עַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Deut 26:10	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion
Deut 31:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Deut 32:39	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Josh 1:2	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Josh 2:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Josh 3:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive

146

Josh 5:14	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from answering questions to asserting disagreement stance
Josh 9:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (ch9), transitions from background to directive / command
Josh 9:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (ch9), transitions from background to directive / command
Josh 9:12	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	String (ch9), temporal contrasting past and present
Josh 9:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	String (ch9), shifts from assertion to result
Josh 9:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	String (ch9), shifts from questioning to result/pronouncement
Josh 9:25	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	String (ch9), וְעַתָּה shifts from response to present situation/result
Josh 13:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to directive
Josh 14:10	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces grounds, building an argument, shifts from past to present, preps for request, links with vv10–11.
Josh 14:10	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces further grounds, building an argument, preps for request, links with vv10–11.
Josh 14:11	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	

147

Josh 14:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from grounds to request, large scope, links with vv10–11.
Josh 22:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from background summary to immediate grounds, links with 4b.
Josh 22:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from grounds to directive, links with 4a.
Josh 24:14	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Josh 24:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Initiates speech turn, signals directive, grounds for obedience elided
Judg 6:13	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Compares questions regarding the past with present reality
Judg 7:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 8:2	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Judg 8:6	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Judg 8:15	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Judg 9:16	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts the topic of a long speech, conditional
Judg 9:32	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 9:38	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Judg 11:7	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	

148

Judg 11:8	לָכֵן עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Temporal frame for decision
Judg 11:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 11:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion
Judg 11:25	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts from previous conclusion to a related matter
Judg 13:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 13:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 13:12	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Turn initiating, shifts conversation to chief concern - agreement stance
Judg 14:2	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Judg 15:18	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past to present
Judg 16:10	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
Judg 17:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from grounds to conclusion, possibly a performative speech act
Judg 17:13	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking, Logical *now* - conclusion, conversation management	Initiates a speech, agreement stance, concludes the pericope, *Now I know* construction - cf. 5.4.1
Judg 18:14	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from rhetorical question to directive

Judg 20:9	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from assertion about future to present concern/decision, disagreement stance in first person
Judg 20:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question to directive
1 Sam 2:16	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
1 Sam 2:30	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past and present
1 Sam 6:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 8:5	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 8:9	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 9:6	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive (cohortative)
1 Sam 9:12	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
1 Sam 9:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 10:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 12:2	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Compares past and present, Legal context; string (12:1–17)
1 Sam 12:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive; legal context; string (12:1–17)
1 Sam 12:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive; legal context; string (12:1–17)

150

1 Sam 12:13	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Similar to 12:2, compares past and present; legal context; string (12:1–17)
1 Sam 12:16	גַּם־עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Concludes entire discourse; גַּם adds a cumulative effect; legal context; string (12:1–17)
1 Sam 13:12	עַתָּה	IDM	Conversation management	Initiates internal dialogue
1 Sam 13:13	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	Initiates a hypothetical temporal frame, contrasted by וְעַתָּה in v14.
1 Sam 13:14	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Links with כִּי עַתָּה in 13:13, contrasts hypothetical situation with the present reality.
1 Sam 14:30	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts a hypothetical situation with the present reality
1 Sam 15:1	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 15:3	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 15:25	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 15:30	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Disagreement stance correcting an assumption, transitions to present concern
1 Sam 17:29	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
1 Sam 18:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 19:2	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive

151

1 Sam 20:29	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, interrupted by conditional
1 Sam 20:31	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 21:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, interrupted by question,
1 Sam 23:20	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from rhetorical questions (grounds) to directive
1 Sam 24:21	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces grounds, preps for upcoming directive, links with v22, *Now I know* construction - cf. 5.4.1
1 Sam 24:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from grounds to directive, links with v21.
1 Sam 25:7	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Transitions from greeting/blessing to main concern, similar to letter structuring use
1 Sam 25:7	עַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Transition from concern to related background, similar to letter structuring use
1 Sam 25:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 25:26	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces grounds, preps for upcoming directive, links with vv26–27.
1 Sam 25:26	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Connects grounds with request, links with vv26–27.

1 Sam 25:27	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Connects request with preceding grounds (26a) and preceding request (26b), links with vv26–27.
1 Sam 26:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (26:1–20)
1 Sam 26:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (26:1–20)
1 Sam 26:16	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now*, stance-taking	Shifts from assertion to command & questions, questions are stance
1 Sam 26:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from rhetorical question to request
1 Sam 26:20	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 27:1	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Initiates internal dialogue, signals chief concern - agreement stance
1 Sam 28:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 29:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Sam 29:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
2 Sam 2:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces grounds, shifts from past to present, present is the result of past actions, links with v7.
2 Sam 2:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Connects grounds with instructions, links with v6.
2 Sam 3:18	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Connects background with instruction
2 Sam 4:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from cause to result

153

2 Sam 7:8		וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	shifts from rhetorical questions (past/background) to assertions (present stance), covenantal context
2 Sam 7:25		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to request
2 Sam 7:28		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Introduces grounds, prepares for coming request, links with v29.
2 Sam 7:29		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from grounds to request, links with v28.
2 Sam 12:10		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion/judgment, "now therefore"
2 Sam 12:23		וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts then and now
2 Sam 12:28		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
2 Sam 13:13		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions and question to request
2 Sam 13:20		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from rhetorical question to directive
2 Sam 13:33		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
2 Sam 14:15		וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Agreement stance, cf. 4.3.2.2
2 Sam 14:32		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions and questions to request
2 Sam 15:34		וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Temporal and logical readings both possible

2 Sam 16:11	וְאַף כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Possible comparative
2 Sam 17:9	הִנֵּה עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
2 Sam 17:16	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
2 Sam 18:3	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
2 Sam 18:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from assertion to conclusion
2 Sam 19:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
2 Sam 19:8	עַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
2 Sam 19:10	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts the distant past with the recent past/present reality
2 Sam 19:11	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from assertions to question / accusation, agreement stance
2 Sam 20:6	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Turn-taking, signals important concern - agreement stance
2 Sam 24:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from confession to request
2 Sam 24:13	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from questions to command
2 Sam 24:16	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Kgs 1:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question to command
1 Kgs 1:18	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past promise to present reality, contrasts the promise with the reality

155

1 Kgs 1:18		וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past promise to present reality, contrasts the promise with the reality, וְעַתָּה repeated to highlight the situation
1 Kgs 2:9		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Kgs 2:16		וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from background to agreement stance, "Now I have one request…"
1 Kgs 2:24		וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking, topic switch	Shift from vow/swearing to judgment
1 Kgs 3:7		וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past to present
1 Kgs 5:18		וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past from present
1 Kgs 5:20		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Kgs 8:25		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to request
1 Kgs 8:26		וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to request
1 Kgs 12:4		עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Kgs 12:11		וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion, stance-taking	Shifts from assertion to answer question (from v9) / stance taking / matter of present concern
1 Kgs 12:16		עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question and assertions (grounds) to directive
1 Kgs 12:26		עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Initiates internal discourse, agreement with inference

156

1 Kgs 14:14	גַּם־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	See 3.4.1.2.4
1 Kgs 17:24	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Initiates a speech turn, concludes pericope, conversation management, signals a stance, *Now I know* construction - See 5.4.1
1 Kgs 18:11	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Shifts from past to present, structures speech
1 Kgs 18:14	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Shifts from past to present, structures speech
1 Kgs 18:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from accusation to command
1 Kgs 19:4	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
1 Kgs 21:7	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
1 Kgs 22:23	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion
2 Kgs 1:14	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shift from background to request, shift from past to present
2 Kgs 3:15	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertive to directive
2 Kgs 3:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to call for action
2 Kgs 4:26	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command
2 Kgs 5:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Letter Structuring	Initiates a written discourse segment, transitions from greeting

				(elided) to the main concern, similar to stance-taking
2 Kgs 5:15	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command
2 Kgs 5:22	הִנֵּה עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
2 Kgs 7:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to directive (recommendation/resolution)
2 Kgs 7:9	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to directive (recommendation/resolution)
2 Kgs 8:6	וְעַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
2 Kgs 9:26	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to command, repetition of earlier command
2 Kgs 10:2	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Letter Structuring	Initiates a written discourse segment, transitions from greeting (elided) to the main concern, similar to stance-taking
2 Kgs 10:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command
2 Kgs 12:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question to command
2 Kgs 13:19	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts from hypothetical with present resulting state
2 Kgs 13:23	עַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	

2 Kgs 18:20	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking, chain	Shifts from related questions to stance (questions), see 5.3.3, similar to Isa 36:5–10
2 Kgs 18:21	עַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking, chain	Shifts from stance to related questions, builds argument, see 5.3.3, similar to Isa 36:5–10
2 Kgs 18:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from accusation to command, builds argument, legal context, see 5.3.3, similar to Isa 36:5–10
2 Kgs 18:25	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking, chain	Shifts to related question, builds argument, signals conclusion, see 5.3.3, similar to Isa 36:5–10
2 Kgs 19:19	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
2 Kgs 19:25	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past and present
Isa 1:21	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past and present
Isa 5:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Multifunctional, shifts from grounds to directive, interactional, initiates new stanza
Isa 5:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Multifunctional, shifts from questions to assertions, initiates new stanza, new assertions are conclusions based on preceding questions

159

Isa 9:6	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Isa 16:14	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past and present
Isa 28:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Isa 29:22	לֹא עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 29:22	לֹא עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 30:8	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Isa 33:10	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Initiates speech act, draws conclusion, signals intent
Isa 33:10	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Repeated for thematic/emphatic purposes, signals intent
Isa 33:10	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Repeated for thematic/emphatic purposes, signals intent
Isa 36:5	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Signals primary concern, stance string (vv5–10), similar to 2 Kgs 18:19–25
Isa 36:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shift from questions and presumptions to command (taunting), stance string (vv5–10), similar to 2 Kgs 18:19–25

Isa 36:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Stance-taking	Culmination of logical case, questions, stance string (vv5–10), similar to 2 Kgs 18:19–25
Isa 37:20	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to request
Isa 37:26	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 43:1	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from past to present, signals command, Structures discourse, cf. 5.4.2
Isa 43:19	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 44:1	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from past to present, signals command, Structures discourse, cf. 5.4.2
Isa 47:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, large scope
Isa 48:6	מֵעַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Isa 48:7	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 48:16	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Isa 49:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Cf. 5.4.2

161

Isa 49:19	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Isa 52:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to question, cf. 5.4.2
Isa 59:21	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Isa 64:7	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Compares from past actions to present reality
Jer 2:18	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past actions (rebellion) with current actions, shifts from past to present
Jer 3:4	מֵעַתָּה	PA > SA	Sentential Adverb	
Jer 4:12	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Signals a drawn conclusion, emphasizing major position, explains purpose
Jer 7:13	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts from directive discourse to explanatory, prepares reader for upcoming conclusion
Jer 14:10	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from actions to result
Jer 18:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from conditions to directives
Jer 26:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command (for repentance)

Jer 27:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from past actions (grounds) to assertion (present conclusion), from prologue to main concern
Jer 27:16	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Jer 29:27	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Logical now - other	Shifts to questions
Jer 32:36	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions (past) to conclusion (present judgment)
Jer 37:20	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from questions to request
Jer 40:4	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past actions/guilt of recipient with present actions of speaker
Jer 42:15	וְעַתָּה לָכֵן	SDM	Logical *now*	Multidimensional, Shifts from conditional positions to directive, from protasis to apodosis (judgment).
Jer 42:22	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Signals conclusion after long speech act
Jer 44:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Contrast past and present /shifts from past rebellion to present resulting judgment / stance and questions
Eze 4:14	וְעַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	

Eze 7:3	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Eze 7:8	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Eze 19:13	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Eze 26:18	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Eze 39:25	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Initiates speech act, temporal contrast between past and present
Eze 43:9	עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions to directives, directives are conclusion of long speech, signals conclusion
Hos 2:9	מֵעַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Hos 2:12	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Elaborates on v11
Hos 4:16	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past actions and present state
Hos 5:3	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Hos 5:7	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past (*qatal*) and present (*yiqtol*), possibly a cause > result
Hos 7:2	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	possibly a cause > result

164

Hos 8:8	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Hos 8:10	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past actions (rebellion) with current intentions / future actions,
Hos 8:13	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past actions (rebellion) with current intentions / future actions
Hos 10:2	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	possibly a cause > result
Hos 10:3	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Hos 13:2	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Elaborates/compares distant past (v1) with present / recent past (v2)
Joel 2:12	וְגַם־עַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Stance-taking (prophetic), Logical *now*	Temporal frame, shifts discourse, followed by directive, states main concern, cf. 5.4.2
Amos 6:7	לָכֵן עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past to present, past actions result in present judgment, initiates temporal frame
Amos 7:16	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive, preceding content is the grounds for obeying the command
Jonah 4:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to request
Mic 4:7	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	

165

Mic 4:9	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - other	String (chs4–5), shifts to questions
Mic 4:10	כִּי עַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	String (chs4–5)
Mic 4:11	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	String (chs4–5)
Mic 4:14	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (chs4–5)
Mic 5:3	כִּי עַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	String (chs4–5)
Mic 7:4	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Mic 7:10	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Nah 1:13	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past actions /assertion to present/future promise / promise is antithetical to previous assertions
Hag 1:5	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from questions to command, contrasts past actions (questions) with present instructions (command)
Hag 2:3	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Hag 2:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from questions to command
Hag 2:15	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions to command
Zech 8:11	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past to present

166

Zec 9:8	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Mal 1:9	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from questions (accusations/declarations from the LORD) to commands
Mal 2:1	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Conversation management, topic shift	Shifts to a new recipient, initiates new discourse segment, shifts topic
Mal 3:15	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present, may structure discourse
Psa 2:10	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Logical *now*, conversation management	Starts new stanza, shifts from assertions to directives, shifts recipient/audience (vocative), shifts to the conclusion of the psalm
Psa 12:6	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from background to conclusion, background serves as motivation for conclusion / action
Psa 17:11	עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Psa 20:7	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management, topic switch	Initiates new section, signals stance, switches topic, *Now I know* construction - cf. 5.4.1, also draws a conclusion
Psa 27:6	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	

Psa 39:8	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Shifts to question, readdresses participants
Psa 113:2	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Psa 115:18	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Psa 119:67	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Psa 121:8	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Psa 125:2	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Psa 131:3	מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Job 3:13	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	
Job 4:5	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Job 6:3	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	
Job 6:21	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Job 6:28	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical now	Shift from grounds to request
Job 7:21	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Job 8:6	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	
Job 13:19	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	

168

Job 14:16	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Hypothetical	
Job 16:7	אַךְ עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	
Job 16:19	גַּם־עַתָּה הִנֵּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb	
Job 30:1	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Elaborative now, topic shift, structural shift
Job 30:9	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Elaborative now, topic shift, structural shift
Job 30:16	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Elaborative now, topic shift, structural shift
Job 35:15	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Elaborative now, topic shift
Job 37:21	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Elaborative now, topic shift
Job 42:5	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Contrasts past and present
Job 42:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Prov 5:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from ground to directive, large scope

169

Prov 7:24	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from ground to directive, large scope
Prov 8:32	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from ground to directive, large scope
Ruth 2:7	וְעַד־עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
Ruth 3:2	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts from question to another question
Ruth 3:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
Ruth 3:12	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts from assertion to answering a question
Dan 9:15	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from assertions to conclusion, signals the bringing to a close of a long list of assertions
Dan 9:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from conclusion to directive, building an argument
Dan 9:22	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, conversation management	Initiates speech act, signals agreement stance
Dan 10:11	כִּי עַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Temporal frame for the clause
Dan 10:17	מֵעַתָּה	PA > SA	Sentential Adverb	Temporal frame for the entire clause
Dan 10:20	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Temporal frame, structuring discourse

Dan 11:2	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Contrasts past and present / Structuring discourse
Ezra 9:8	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	String (chs9–10), shifts from past to present
Ezra 9:10	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	String (chs9–10), shifts from past / background to question, interactional
Ezra 9:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	String (chs9–10), shifts from assertion to directive / conclusion
Ezra 10:2	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	String (chs9–10), shifts from past actions to present state, contrasts past with present
Ezra 10:3	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (chs9–10), shifts from assertion to directive / conclusion (cohortative)
Ezra 10:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	String (chs9–10), shifts from assertion to directives (3 impvs)
Neh 5:5	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past/background to present state,
Neh 6:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from assertion to conclusion, building an argument
Neh 6:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - chain	Shifts from conclusion to directive, building an argument

171

Neh 6:9	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Conversation management, topic shift	Shifts to directive (request), Shifts addressee to God in prayer, topic shift
Neh 9:32	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to request (negated)
1 Chr 17:7	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch	Shifts from assertion/background to intent
1 Chr 17:23	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from praise to request, structures prayer
1 Chr 17:26	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - other	Shifts topic to praise, structures prayer, links with v27, compare with 2 Sam 7:25–28
1 Chr 17:27	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts to restatement of main concern, concludes prayer, links with v26, compare with 2 Sam 7:25–28
1 Chr 21:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shift from assertion (confession) to request (for forgiveness)
1 Chr 21:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from conditions/options to directive
1 Chr 21:15	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to command
1 Chr 22:11	עַתָּה	IDM	Topic switch, Stance-taking	Shift from reported speech to blessing, agreement stance follows in v12
1 Chr 22:19	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive
1 Chr 28:8	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from grounds to directive

1 Chr 28:10	עַתָּה	PA	Predicate Adverb	
1 Chr 29:13	וְעַתָּה	SDM > IDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from affirmation of God to thanking God
1 Chr 29:17	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Subtle contrast of distant past (David) and recent past (all people),
2 Chr 1:9	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to request (jussive)
2 Chr 1:10	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion (justification) to request
2 Chr 2:6	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from background to directive
2 Chr 2:12	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Letter Structuring	Shifts letter from greeting to body, shifts from blessing,
2 Chr 2:14	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Letter Structuring	Shifts to a different topic of the letter, shifts from first topic to request (second topic)
2 Chr 6:16	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to request
2 Chr 6:17	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from justification to reworded request
2 Chr 6:40	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	
2 Chr 6:41	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts to conclusion of the prayer in form of several requests
2 Chr 7:15	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from conditionals to conclusion (granted requests)

173

2 Chr 7:16	וְעַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking, topic switch	Shifts from granted request 1 to granted request 2, signals a topic shift,
2 Chr 10:4	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to request
2 Chr 10:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from assertion to conclusion
2 Chr 10:16	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to directive, assertions from grounds for directive
2 Chr 13:8	וְעַתָּה	SA	Sentential Adverb	Shifts from past to present
2 Chr 16:9	כִּי מֵעַתָּה	PA > SA	Sentential Adverb	
2 Chr 18:22	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	SDM	Logical *now* - conclusion	Shifts from reported speech to conclusion
2 Chr 19:7	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from warning to directive, following directive is restatement
2 Chr 20:10	וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts from background/assertions and reported speech to main concern (v12) - agreement stance
2 Chr 25:19	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to directive, context of speech serves as grounds for entire
2 Chr 28:10	וְעַתָּה	SA > SDM	Sentential Adverb / Temporal DM	Shifts from past actions to present intention, some temporal aspect, structures discourse and builds argument, links with v11

174

2 Chr 28:11	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from question to directive, directive contrasts earlier intentions (v10), links with v10.
2 Chr 29:5	עַתָּה	IDM	Conversation management, Logical *now*, stance-taking	Shifts from directive to directive (listen, obey), second directive is agreement stance, some temporal element
2 Chr 29:10	עַתָּה	IDM	Stance-taking	Shifts to main concern - agreement stance, "it is in my heart…"
2 Chr 29:11	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion (stance) to directive
2 Chr 29:31	עַתָּה	IDM	Conversation management, topic shift	Initiates speech act, advances discourse/narrative to next phase (consecration to sacrifice)
2 Chr 30:8	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertion to directive, directive is a restatement from v7
2 Chr 32:15	וְעַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from rhetorical questions to directive
2 Chr 35:3	עַתָּה	SDM	Logical *now*	Shifts from assertions to directive

Appendix B: Frequency Statistics

The table below indicates the occurrences and frequency per book based on Accordance "Book Chapter Stats" frequency analysis.

Books	Total Occurrences	Frequency (per 1000 words)
Genesis	40	1.24
Exodus	20	0.77
Leviticus	0	0.00
Numbers	15	0.60
Deuteronomy	9	0.39
Joshua	19	1.20
Judges	24	1.55
1Samuel	46	2.21
2Samuel	30	1.75
1Kings	23	1.13
2Kings	22	1.18
Isaiah	29	1.14
Jeremiah	16	0.49
Ezekiel	7	0.30
Hosea	12	3.33
Joel	1	0.69
Amos	2	0.66
Obadiah	0	0.00

Jonah	1	0.92
Micah	8	3.77
Nahum	1	1.20
Habakkuk - Zephaniah	0	0.00
Haggai	4	4.35
Zechariah	2	0.41
Malachi	3	2.29
Psalms	12	0.47
Job	18	1.44
Proverbs	3	0.31
Ruth	4	1.97
Song - Esther	0	0.00
Daniel	7	0.73
Ezra	6	1.01
Nehemiah	5	0.58
1Chronicles	13	0.78
2Chronicles	29	1.36

Appendix C: Sense Frequency Analysis

The table below indicates the which senses are most common in the different HB groupings.

	Predicate Adverb	Fuzzy	Sentential Adverb	Fuzzy	Structural DM	Fuzzy	Interactional DM	Total
Torah	7	0	16	1	51	2	7	**84**
Former Prophets	12	0	25	2	101	5	19	**164**
Latter Prophets	8	1	35	0	22	12	8	**86**
Writings - Poetry	5	0	19	0	6	0	3	**33**
Writings - Narrative	2	2	9	0	38	1	12	**64**
Total	**34**	**3**	**104**	**3**	**218**	**20**	**49**	**431**

Appendix D: Sample Lexical Entry

(וְ)עַתָּה, commonly categorized as an adverb and always in direct discourse, is more adequately represented with the following four senses which fit on the following grammaticalization path:

Predicate Adverb > Sentential Adverb > Structural DM > Interactional DM

We list the adverbial senses (approx. 1/3 of occurrences) first since the deictic core persists, even though the DM senses (approx.. 2/3 of occurrences) are more common.

1) **Predicate Adverb (8%):**

    a. Function: temporal deictic adverb which grounds an utterance in time (usually present speech time)

    b. Identifying features: always appears after the verb, modifies the verb, frequently appears in prepositional phrases: מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם, מֵעַתָּה, עַד־עַתָּה, also appears alone עַתָּה (14x).

2) **Sentential Adverb (25%):**

    a. Function: temporal deictic adverb sets temporal frame for entire clause, can contrast the past from the present

        i. In hypothetical conditionals, כִּי עַתָּה can initiate the apodosis, indicating what would have happened.

    b. Identifying features: appears before the verb, contributes to propositional meaning of utterance, frequently appears with conjunctions/connectors/DMs: כִּי עַתָּה, וְעַתָּה, also appears alone עַתָּה; frequently in the prophetic literature.

3) **Structural Discourse Marker (57%):** most frequent and most widely-distributed sense, always clause initial, signals a logical connection between preceding and following contexts

    a. Functions:

        i. the "logical *now*" use signals shift in assertive to directive, formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *directive* (Gen 27:3,8; 1 Sam 28:22)

            1. large scope usages (Deut 4:1; Prov 8:32)

            2. appears in chains (Exo 3:9–10; Josh 22:4)

            3. appears in covenantal/legal contexts (Exo 19:5, 2 Sam 7:25–29)

ii. signals a logical conclusion, formula *grounds* + (וְ)עַתָּה + *conclusion* (Gen 45:8; Judg 11:23)

iii. Thematic 'strings' of separate uses woven together to highlight a certain message (Josh 9, 1 Sam 26, Mic 4–5)

iv. Letter structuring – transitions from greeting to body or to another topic (2 Chr 2:12,14; cf. Ezra 4:11,13,21)

b. Features: governs multiples clauses, structures discourse, deictic reference in the text

4) **Interactional Discourse Marker (14%):**

a. Functions: signals development pertinent to the discourse participants about roles and perspectives

i. Stance-taking – signals primary concern of speaker (Isa 33:10,

1. Agreement – confirms implication (2 Sam 14:15; 20:6; 1 Chr 22:11)

2. Disagreement – contradicts implication (Gen 30:30; 1 Sam 15:30)

ii. Topic-switching (1 Sam 25:7; 2 Sam 7:8; Ruth 3:12)

iii. Conversation-managing

1. Turn-taking (Exo 6:1; 2 Chr 29:31; 1Kgs 12:26)

2. Addressing participants (Mal 2:1, Psa 39:8)

b. Features: governs multiple clauses, structures speeches, deictic reference in the discourse participants, helps position participants relative to one another, usually separate intonation unit

Note: DM instantiations can be multifunctional.

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