PARAGRAPHS AS EPISODES:
DISTINGUISHING PARAGRAPHS IN
BIBLICAL HEBREW NARRATIVE TEXT ON
THE BASIS OF LINGUISITIC DEVICES

by

CHANG KEOL YOO
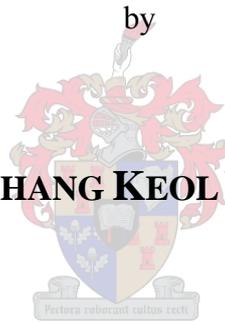
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APRIL 2008

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.

Signature:………………………………………………

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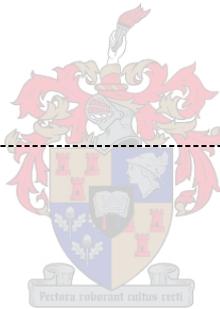
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This thesis is a result of my MA study. In retrospection of my MA study, I have to confess that the Lord was always faithful to me, and that what I have achieved was possible by the grace of God. He provided me with a good supervisor and afforded me health, time, etc. Therefore, I express my gratitude and thankfulness to the Lord for everything.

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ברוך יהוה לעולם
אמן אמן

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife:

So-Young
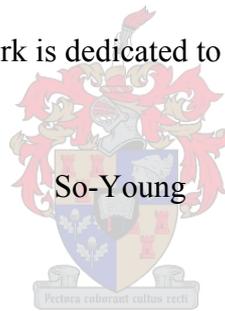
ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to determine inter-subjective, verifiable criteria according to which paragraphs can be distinguished in BH narrative texts. Distinguishing these units plays an important role in the understanding and processing of written texts.

Corpus studies in text-linguistics and empirical studies in psycholinguistic studies have established that narrative is not only characterized by a string of sentences, but has a multi-dimensional or hierarchical structure, which can be broken down into units. These units are regarded as episodes, which are cognitively and structurally relevant. An episode is defined as a memory block. Semantically, it is defined as a thematically unified entity, the surface boundaries of which are marked linguistically.

On the one hand, text production studies have established that authors employ segmentation markers or devices at the beginning of each episode in order to warn the reader that a new episode is impending. On the other hand, studies in text comprehension have also concluded that readers understand these devices of textual segmentation.

On the basis of the above investigations, this study established a set of criteria for identifying episodes. The criteria included several segmentation devices such as overspecified referential expressions, temporal expressions, and shifts in space that mark the boundaries of episodes, as well as devices that signal thematic continuity in narrative episodes of BH. The value and validity of these criteria were then tested in the light of a specific corpus of texts, viz. 1 Sam 1-6. The text was analyzed and episodes have been distinguished by means of the above-mentioned set of criteria. These episodes were then compared to the paragraph distinctions (i.e. the graphic representations of episodes), which are made in a representative number of commentaries and translations.

The investigation confirmed that many of the paragraph distinctions in commentaries and translations are justifiable. However, it was also found that the paragraph distinctions of exegetes and translators often differ. This finding confirmed the necessity (and need) of inter-subjectively verifiable, and well-founded, criteria for distinguishing paragraphs in BH narratives. This exploratory study established the value of the model used, but also indicated that further investigation is needed to refine various aspects of the model.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van die hierdie verhandeling is om 'n bydrae te maak tot die identifisering van deeglik begronde en inter-subjektiewe toetsbare kriteria waarvolgens paragrawe in Bybels-Hebreeuse narratiewe tekste onderskei kan word. Die onderskeiding van paragrawe speel 'n besondere rol in die verstaan en die verwerking van geskrewe tekste.

Empiriese navorsing op die gebied van teks- en psigolinguistiek het aangetoon dat 'n narratief nie net gekenmerk word deur 'n reeks sinne nie, maar dat hierdie sinne 'n multidimensionele of hiërargiese struktuur vertoon. Hierdie struktuur impliseer dat 'n narratief in kleiner eenhede verdeel kan word. Dié eenhede word in hierdie studie "episodes" genoem. Episodes is geheue-eenhede wat ook semanties gedefineer kan word. Dit is naamlik tematiese, koherente entiteite waarvan die grense linguisties gemerk is.

Studies in die produksie van tekste het vasgestel dat skrywers segmentasie-merkers aan die begin van elke nuwe episode inspan om lesers daarop attent te maak dat 'n nuwe episode op hande is. Studies in die verstaan van tekste het weer tot die slotsom gekom dat lesers in staat is om hierdie segmentasie-merkers te verstaan.

In die lig van bogenoemde studies het hierdie verhandeling 'n aantal kriteria geïdentifiseer waarvolgens episodes geïdentifiseer kan word. So is die volgende tipe segmentasie-merkers onderskei: oorgespesifiseerde verwysings na die karakters in 'n verhaal, uitdrukkings wat verwys na verskuiwings van die tyd en ruimte in gebeure en konstruksies wat die tematiese kontinuïteit binne 'n episode aandui.

Die waarde en die geldigheid van hierdie kriteria is getoets aan die hand van 'n afgebakende korpus, nl. 1 Sam. 1-6. Die teks is geanaliseer aan die hand van bg. tipe segmentasiemerkers. Episodes in die korpus is geïdentifiseer en vergelyk met die paragrawe (dit is die grafiese representasie van episodes) in bestaande vertalings en kommentare.

Daar is bevind dat baie van die paragraaf-indelings in kommentare en vertalings geregverdig is. Daar is egter ook vasgestel dat eksegete en vertalers se paragraaf-indelings dikwels verskil. Hierdie bevinding het die noodsaak aan inter-subjektief toetsbare, en deeglik begronde, kriteria vir die onderskeiding van paragrawe bevestig. Die ondersoek het wel die waarde van die model wat gebruik is, bevestig, maar ook aangedui dat die verdere navorsing nodig is om verskeie aspekte van die model verder te verfyn.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AV	Authorized Version (1954)
BDB	Brown, R, Driver, S & Briggs, C 1907. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon.
BHRG	Van der Merwe, C H J, Naudé, J & Kroeze, H 1999. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
CEV	English Contemporary Version (1995)
CH	Chapters in 1 Samuel
ESV	English Standard Version (2001)
GKC	Gesenius, W, Kautzsch, E & Cowley, E A 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar: As edited and enlarged by the late E Kautzsch. Second English edition revised in according with the twenty-eighth German Edition (1909) by A E Cowley*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
GNT	The Good News Translation (1976)
HALOT	Koehler, L, Baumgartner, W, Richardson, M, & Stamm, J J (1999, c1994-1996). *The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament*. Volumes 1-4 combined in one electronic edition. (electronic ed.). Leiden: E J Brill.
IPP	Independent Personal Pronoun
JB	The Jerusalem Bible (1953)
Joüon-Muraoka	Joüon, P & Muraoka, T 1991. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico.
KJV	The King James Version (1611)
LXX	The Septuagint
NAB	New American Bible (1986)
NEB	The New English Bible (1970)
NIV	New International Version (1978)
NJB	The New Jerusalem Bible (1985)

PAL	Paragraphs according to linguistic devices
RSV	The Revised Standard Version (1952)
T/C	Translations and Commentaries
Waltke-O'Connor	Waltke, B K & O'Connor, M 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
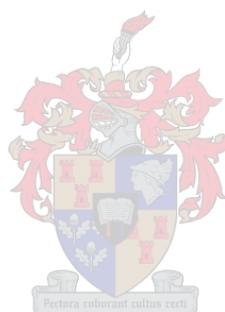
CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   THE PROBLEM

The main concern of this study is to determine inter-subjectively verifiable criteria according to which paragraphs could be distinguished in BH narrative texts. Distinguishing paragraphs plays an important role in the understanding and processing of written texts. For translators of the Bible, it often helps to put headings in the right places. These headings play a greater role in understanding and processing texts than many translators seem to realize. Research (van Dijk 1980:100) has shown that readers as a rule treat headings as thematic sentences, and use them to infer the theme of the narrative.[1] Headings also activate domains of knowledge, frames or scripts necessary to understand the sentences that comprise subsequent sections and sub-sections.

When one compares the way in which paragraphs and their headings are distinguished in Bible translations, it appears that these translations lack an inter-subjectively testable set of criteria for the distinction of paragraphs in Biblical Hebrew (henceforth, BH) texts. Some translations distinguish paragraphs according to the chapter division made by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury in the 13th Century AD (Bogaert 1992:801). Other translations divide the text in sections smaller than the chapter divisions. When these translations are compared, it can be observed that the units they distinguish often differ. The question then arises: what criteria should one use to evaluate these differences?

What is the best way to distinguish paragraphs in the text? Should paragraphs be determined according to the traditional way, viz. chapter division by Stephen Langton or should other ways which differentiate between units smaller than chapter division be identified? Are these questions worthwhile? More fundamentally, does the outward form of the text create different meanings, or affect the understanding of the Bible?

The organization of the texts is important for the variety of reasons. According to van Dijk (1980:100), summaries and paraphrases (as a special case of thematic expression) typically occur at the beginning or at the end of a text carry an important cognitive function, i.e., they help the reader to establish hypotheses about the macrostructure of the discourse. "They prepare the reader by indicating what the text is globally about. … This means that they have an important communicative function. They indicate an

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1   In this regard, see Brown and Yule's (1983:139-140) illustration by using part of a text
       constructed by Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert and Goetz (1977).

appropriate reading for the text, by expressing the macrostructure of the text as intended by the author, so that correct understanding of the text is possible" (van Dijk 1980:100). If a thematic expression occurring at the beginning of a paragraph is inserted at the end of the preceding paragraph, the understanding of both paragraphs will be different.

Although everything in the text is related, not everything can be said at once or in one big lump of language. It must be broken down into manageable units or segments with discrete boundaries. Brown and Yule (1983:65) state that when two sentences are placed together in sequence by a writer who does not want the reader to consider such sentences as continuous in terms of theme, their separateness or disconnectedness must be positively indicated. Writers indicate discontinuity within the larger presupposed continuity [2] of the text. Therefore, if the text is delimited in identifying this discontinuity indicated by the author, it would be useful to help readers to understand the text better. By introducing regular breaks, authors might encourage readers to encode information in manageable chunks suitable for whatever working memory buffers involved in discourse processing. In addition, comprehension is not just a matter of comprehending individual sentences; it is also a matter of comprehending how each new sentence relates to what has already been established. Hence, if the text is distinguished by paragraphs, it may signal to the reader not to infer an unintended relation between a sentence-initial paragraph (the first sentence occurring in a paragraph) and the meaning of the immediately preceding sentence.

With regard to narrative texts, it seems unreasonable to suggest that whole narrative texts are processed in one single sweep. This raises the question: How long a stretch of text do people actually process at one time? Recall studies (Black and Bower 1979:311-313) have shown that people understand stories in chunks. For instance, in their experiments, Black and Bower (1979) showed that the material in a chunk act somewhat like the "all-or-none" units in recall. Stated differently, all material in one chunk tends to be recalled together and somewhat independently of the recall of the material in other chunks. In their text comprehension and production model, Kintsch and van Dijk (1978:40) argue that a text is processed (sequentially from left to right) in

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2   In this regard, Brown and Yule (1983:64) state that "the normal expectation in the construction and interpretation of discourse is, as Grice suggests, that relevance holds, that the speaker is still speaking of the same place and time, participants and topic, unless he marks a change and shows explicitly whether the changed context, or is not, relevant to what he has been saying previously."

chunks of several propositions at a time. Therefore, if the text is pre-arranged in chunks, it will help the reader to better process the text.

In general literature, two contrasting methods of identifying paragraphs in a text can be distinguished. One method used does so by the thematic content of paragraphs. In other words, what the identifying themes are of paragraphs. According to this approach, the paragraph is not a grammatical unit, but a semantic one, i.e., a unit that can only be identified if one understands the meaning of the text. This view – that paragraphs do not possess an identifiable structure independent of meaning, is the dominant one among structural linguists, who regard the sentence as the biggest grammatical unit. For them, any discourse unit beyond the sentence is too semantically dependent to be described structurally, independent of its content.

The other method used to distinguish paragraphs is according to the surface structure of the paragraph, i.e. the form of the theme intrinsic in a paragraph. In contrast to the semantic view, this approach holds that the paragraph is, in fact, a formal grammatic unit, and that paragraphs can be distinguished by identifying their surface structure. Longacre (1979:118-119) regards the paragraph as a grammatical unit, and defines it as a thematically unified structural unit located between sentence and discourse. On the basis of investigations across languages, Longacre (1979:118-119) argues that the thematic unity of a paragraph is reflected in the surface structure features, which are identifiable by linguistic markers. Research has been conducted to determine whether readers identify paragraphs according to formal markers in unindented texts. Bond and Hayes (1984:154-156) have shown that readers use formal markers, for instance, for major topic shifts such as "to summarize," "in conclusion," "however," "fundamentally," and "as a result" to identify paragraphs. *This study hypothesizes that the identification of the surface structure features of a text, e.g. formal makers, may yield the most useful criteria for distinguishing paragraphs in a so-called dead language, and specifically in BH.*

However, empirical research and several other corpus studies demonstrate that paragraphs considered as visual units do not always correspond to paragraphs considered as structural units (Stark 1988:283). In the light of these findings, copious experimental studies and corpus studies have been done from both a psycholinguistic and text-linguistic perspective. The aim of these studies has been to investigate whether specific processing and structural units can be identified when one postulates a specific notion of what an episode is. Empirical research has revealed that people recalling stories treat information about an episode as an integral unit (Black and Bower 1980). In the

experiments of Ji (2002), the following was found: When people were tested by being asked to divide a text in which indentations had been removed into episodes by following the notion of the episode as "a portion of a narrative that relates to an event or a series of connected events and forms a coherent unit in itself" (Ji 2002:1260), the subjects distinguished episodes by identifying temporal, spatial, and thematic discontinuities indicated by such terms as "now," "the next morning," "back at my office," and full noun phrases. These results imply that (1) temporal, spatial, and thematic discontinuities are regarded as natural indicators of transitional thematic units and they are perceived by language users as such, and that (2) language users view the episode as an intermediate unit. Van Dijk (1982:177) and van Dijk and Kitsch (1983:204) affirm that texts can be delimited according to episodes. They regard episodes as the primary units of discourse analysis.

The term "episode" has not been without controversy with regard to its definition in the literature. Mandler and Johnson (1977:119) described an episode in terms of story grammar theory, where it constitutes a sequence of actions and states. Black and Bower (1980:317) regard it as an organizational unit (i.e. memory block) in memory. Tomlin (1987:460), and van Dijk (1982:177) regard episodes as semantic units of discourse. Van Dijk (1982:177) makes a distinction between the notion of "paragraph" and the notion of "episode." "An episode is properly a semantic unit, whereas a paragraph is the surface manifestation." Ji (2002:1260) states that the discourse elements of time, place, and participant play a crucial role in our conception of the episode as a thematically coherent unit. In this study, I will use the views of an episode, as defined by Ji (2002), van Dijk (1982), Black and Bower (1980:317), and Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson (1980), as the point of departure in this investigation.

One of the important considerations in the investigation of the concept "episode" is: What criteria exist that distinguish an episode from the preceding and proceeding one, i.e. how are its boundaries established? Empirical research has shown that authors employ linguistic devices that help readers not to integrate current information into preceding information when there is a theme shift (Bestgen and Costermans 1997:203). Furthermore, empirical research has also shown that readers are able to identify breaks between episodes using formal-linguistic and thematic cues (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980:639ff.; Kintsch 1977:41-43). Van Dijk (1982:179) points out that "an episode is first of all conceived of as a part of a whole, having a beginning and an end … we can identify it and distinguish it from other episodes." According to Brown and Yule (1983:94-95), episodes can be distinguished by *how* a theme is structured, without tracing *what* a theme is. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1977:89-98) share the latter

opinion by dealing with three linguistic devices in narrative analysis that *demarcate* narrative units and secure their internal cohesion: discourse markers, participant chains, and time chains. Ji (2002:1269) argues that the boundary of an episode is recognizable by temporal, spatial, and thematic discontinuities, which are regarded as natural indicators of transitions of thematic units. In his discussion of the notion "discourse topic," Goutsos (1997:41 ff.) distinguishes two *topic strategies*, viz. *topic continuity* and *topic shift*. The latter are realized by a number of *sequential techniques*, which include the techniques of *topic framing, topic introducing,* and *topic closure*, and the former is achieved by the technique of *topic continuation*. Topic strategies can be identified according to linguistic markers which signal topic continuity and topic shift.

On the basis of the preliminary research described above, this study sets out to address the problem of identifying paragraphs in BH.

1.2   PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The primary goal of this project is to contribute towards a model for distinguishing paragraphs in BH narrative texts. Using the view that paragraphs are the surface manifestation of episodes as the point of departure (Longacre 1979:115; Black and Bower 1979:317), I will proceed according to the following steps to accomplish my goal:

1) Identify linguistic devices in English that indicate thematic continuity and thematic discontinuity so that episodes may be distinguished from one another.
2) On the basis of my finding in 1), identify parallel linguistic devices in BH that indicate thematic continuity and thematic discontinuity.
3) Test the applicability of my proposal by distinguishing paragraphs in a specific corpus of BH narrative text (1 Sam 1-6).
4) Examine various translations and a number of commentaries of the same text to determine what degree of correspondence occurs when compared with the outcome of step 3.

1.3   HYPOTHESES

The overall hypothesis of this study is that a range of linguistic devices (e.g. discourse markers, participant references and references to time and place) across languages are often pointers to thematic continuity and thematic discontinuity. They can be used to

distinguish one episode from other episodes. On the basis of my preliminary research I hypothesize the following:

1)   A text has a hierarchical structure that can be delimitated into smaller units.
Numerous studies have already provided us with good analyses of various aspects of the structure of the text. It is established that narrative is not composed merely of sequences of sentences, but is hierarchically structured by means of intermediate units such as episodes or paragraphs. Empirical investigations of language users' conceptions of episode transition also support this hypothesis (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980; Ji 2002).

2)   An episode is thematically defined as an intermediate processing unit between a sentence and a more comprehensive discourse unit.
Empirical support for the validity of the episode comes from recall studies which indicate that people recalling stories treat the information of an episode as an integral unit (memory block) (Van Dijk 1982; Ji 2002).

3)   An episode can be distinguished from other episodes according to thematic discontinuity.
If an episode can be defined as a thematically defined unit, it follows that it may be distinguished from other episodes according to thematic discontinuity. Theme-marking is often used to signal the occurrence of topics that are discontinuous with the preceding discourse (Givón 1983). Corpus studies in text-linguistics support this hypothesis (Ji 2002).
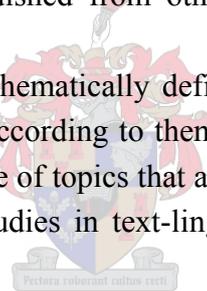
4)   The hypothesis that thematic discontinuity can be identified by linguistic devices is the core of this study.
According to empirical studies, readers are able to identify breaks between episodes using formal-linguistic and thematic cues (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980; Kintsch 1977). These results, along with those from recall studies, which show that people retrieve episodes as integral units, provide evidence for the validity of the episode as a macro-unit of narratives. This hypothesis is substantiated by various research reports: Givón (1983b:7-8), Stark (1988), Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997), Goutsos (1997), and Dooley and Levinsohn (2001).

5)   Linguistic devices that indicate thematic discontinuity in English may point to similar devices in BH.
In BH scholars have identified several linguistic devises that signal thematic continuity and/or discontinuity. Buth (1994; 1995) shows that a so-called background construction (SV order) in BH is used as an episode-beginning device. From the perspective of the

notion of "information structure" of BH, van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze (1999), van der Merwe and Talstra (2002/2003), and Floor (2004) identify linguistic devices in order to distinguish episodes in BH narrative texts. In relation to temporal expression in BH, van der Merwe (1997a, 1997b) gives examples of temporal constructions that can be used to demarcate episodes. Also De Regt (1991;1999a;1999b), Longacre (1989; 1992; 1994), van der Merwe (1999a) have recognised additional linguistic devices that could be used to distinguish episodes in BH.

1.4   METHODOLOGY

The first phase of the project comprises a series of literature studies in the field of general linguistics (in particular discourse analysis, text-linguistics and psycholinguistics). The aim of this survey is twofold: 1) to provide justification for our use of the notion "episode," and 2) to identify a set of inter-subjectively verifiable criteria that are used across languages to distinguish episodes. This phase commences with a survey of studies of the paragraph from two angles, viz. that of text-linguistics and that of psycholinguistics (Chapter 2). It becomes evident from these studies that readers tend to follow not only the visual indicators provided in a written document (e.g. paragraph indentation). As the episode is also a structural unit used in the comprehension process, the empirical status of the notion of episode is also investigated. Furthermore, a survey of literature in this regard may clarify the following view on an episode that is generally accepted: an episode comprises what is referred to as a situation model. A situation model is a thematic mental representation of a real-world situation, and represents the basic unit for the processing of information in the memory.

In the light of this perspective on how language works, it is reasonable to argue that the most justifiable way to distinguish visual paragraphs in BH (of which the texts at our disposal have no visual clues, e.g. indentation) would be according to episodes as memory blocks. In order to identify criteria for distinguishing episodes we examine studies of text production and text comprehension. From these studies, it becomes evident that episodes are indeed marked and identified with the help of a set of linguistic devices. On the one hand, overspecified referential expression and temporal and spatial adverbs occur at the boundaries of episodes, while on the other hand, pronominal encoding of topical entities dominates the body of episodes. A working-model that integrates all these generic insights is then formulated. This working-model provides the point of departure for the next phase of this study, namely, current insights in BH as far as the distinction of paragraphs are concerned.

In the second phase, a set of devices that signals thematic continuity and discontinuity is identified on the basis of a literature study (Chapter 3). The final phase empirically tests the applicability and value of these devices in the light of a corpus of BH narrative texts (Chapter 4). For this purpose, the narrative section of 1 Samuel 1-6 has been selected. Since this study is primarily a first step towards formulating a model for distinguishing paragraphs in BH, the empirical part of the study is explorative in nature. Paragraphs in our corpus are distinguished by means of the set of devices established in Chapter 3, after which they are critically compared to those distinguished by respected English translations. The latter comparison serves a heuristic function, i.e., the identification of instances where divisions may be called into question or where they may be confirmed.

1.5   OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This study is divided into five chapters.

The present Chapter 1 serves as an overall introduction to the rationale, hypotheses, scope and limits of the study.

In **Chapter 2** paragraphs and episodes in the comprehension and processing of literary texts will be dealt with. The various notions of the paragraph and episode described in the literature will be overviewed. In the process of this overview, a theoretical notion of "episode" is defined as a memory block that is a thematically unified unit, and the reasons why paragraphs should be distinguished according to episodes are presented. This will be followed by a demonstration of how episodes can be identified by means of linguistic devices (thematic continuity and discontinuity devices). For this purpose, episodes will be investigated from the perspective of the authors' (production studies) and of the readers' (comprehension studies).

Chapter 3 will identify the linguistic devices used in BH for distinguishing paragraphs. In the light of our findings in Chapter 2, linguistic devices, especially, thematic discontinuity devices in BH are identified for distinguishing paragraphs.

Chapter 4 will test the devices identified in Chapter 3 to distinguish episodes in the corpus of 1 Sam 1-6. For this purpose, paragraph distinctions in translations and commentaries are critically considered and employed as a heuristic instrument to identify the places where episodes may be distinguished in terms of the model identified in Chapter 3. As a result of testing this model, paragraphs (episodes) are suggested in the light of the model identified in Chapter 3. Subsequently, a comparison will be presented.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2   PARAGRAPHS AND EPISODES IN THE COMPREHENSION AND PROCESSING OF LITERARY TEXTS

2.1   INTRODUCTION

One of the main concerns of text-linguistics and psycholinguistic-oriented studies of discourse analysis is to determine the primary units of analysis, and investigate whether these units are relevant to the text production and comprehension processes. In this regard two lines of investigation have been identified (see §1.1).

There have been investigations regarding the paragraph as a grammatic structural unit positioned between the sentence and the discourse in text-linguistics. However, most of these investigations proceed with no definition of the concept "paragraph"; indeed no definition of the paragraph has general acceptance. "Researchers seem to agree only on one point. *Paragraphs* are organized chunks composed of one or several sentences, and, therefore, of one or several clauses (Heurley 1997:179)." Paragraphs have also been studied in psycholinguistics to assess whether people distinguish visual paragraph units in accordance with the grammatical paragraph units. The psychological reality of the paragraph has been asserted; however, the fact that authors' paragraphings and readers' paragraphings may not coincide has also been recognized.

In text-linguistic oriented studies the episode is regarded as the primary unit of discourse analysis. Episodes are regarded as semantic units, but they are identifiable by means of recognizable surface structure devices. For example, corpus analyses have identified linguistic devices at the episode boundaries that could be used to delineate episodes. Furthermore, story grammar theories regard the episode as a processing unit which reflects the story structure. Empirical investigations in psycholinguistics have identified the cognitive function of the linguistic devices at the episode boundaries. These linguistic devices function as signals to the reader to process the text in episode units.

Finding a primary unit of analysis is usually the point of departure for the text analysis. The primary unit of analysis should not be subjective, but should reflect the structure of the text, and the author's mental representations. Hence, getting paragraphs in the right places with reference to such units is crucial to the understanding of a text.

The aim in this chapter is to show that paragraphs in a narrative text should be distinguished according to episodes by recognising linguistic devices which occur at the

episode boundaries. In the first section (2.2), an overview of the treatment of the paragraph and the episode in text-linguistics and certain experimental investigations of psycholinguistics will be presented. In section 2.3, an investigation will be embarked on regarding what the episode is. Section 2.4 defines the notion of the episode on the basis of the findings of section 2.2-2.3. In section 2.5, the reason why paragraphs in narrative text should be distinguished on the basis of the episode will be demonstrated. Then in section 2.6, it will be shown that identifying linguistic devices at the borders of episodes and on the insides of episodes, may help to distinguish episodes. In this regard, the function of linguistic devices in text production (§2.6.1) and text comprehension processes (§2.6.2) will be investigated. For this purpose, attention will be given to the functions of three segmentation devices (different forms of referential expressions, temporal adverbials, and spatial shifts) as well as to a continuity device (pronominal references). Then Goutsos' (1997) topic structure model, which is based on the two strategies, viz. topic continuity and topic shift, will be investigated, and a slightly modified model for distinguishing episodes will be proposed (§2.6.3). Section 2.7 summarizes the chapter.

2.2   *AN OVERVIEW OF TREATMENT OF THE PARAGRAPH AND THE EPISODE*
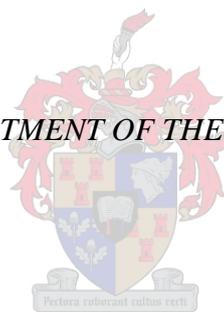
2.2.1 Treatment of the Paragraph

What makes paragraphs? Does a paragraph indicator create the paragraph it marks? Or is a paragraph an aspect of text that exists independently from the cues provided by page layout? Two contrasting approaches to these questions have been identified in the literature.

In structural linguistics, the paragraph is mainly viewed as an orthographic unit marked by indentations. The paragraph in general is regarded as the semantic unity of a coherent theme which has various grammatical cohesive features such as the use of conjunctions, anaphora, tense, and aspect markers. However, the paragraph is not considered as a structural unit, for the sentence is the biggest and highest grammatical and structural unit in structural linguistics. Hence, the paragraph is not a unit of analysis.

By contrast, in text-linguistics the paragraph is regarded as a structural unit bigger than the sentence, and in psycholinguistics it is a real processing unit. In this view, the paragraph has discernible grammatical structure. Paragraphs can be distinguished by

formal linguistic cues expressed at paragraph boundaries. This phenomenon is considered as a language universal (Longacre 1979:121).

2.2.1.1 The Paragraph in Structural Linguistics

In structural linguistics, the paragraph exists only in written language, and paragraphs are not demarcated by linguistic cues. Hodges and Whitten (1982:346) define the paragraph as:

> The essential unit of thought in writing which may consist of a single sentence or a group of sentences that develop one main point or controlling idea. And the form of a paragraph is distinctive: the first line is indented ….The reader expects a paragraph to be developed, and unified.

Agreeing with Hodges and Whitten (1982), Bloom (1983:92) and Corbett and Connors (1999:367) state that "paragraphing, like punctuation, is a texture only of the written language." They regard paragraphs as "typographical devices" that "contribute to the readability of printed prose."

Smith (2003:236) states that paragraphs "do not conform to any single pattern or convention … There is no one convention but rather a set of possibilities." In addition, Smith (2003:237) states that "the history of text shows that they were not always divided into paragraphs. With the development of printing and industrialization in sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Europe, paragraphs become common."

In structural linguistics, paragraphs exist only in written language, and are mainly viewed as a typographical device or orthographic unit (visual unit) marked by indentations, therefore, paragraphs are not grammatical or structural units which reflect the text structure. Hence, paragraphs are not units of analysis.

2.2.1.2 The Paragraph in Text-linguistics

A narrative does not merely consist of sequences of sentences, but its various parts are also organized hierarchically. Some investigators have made analyses of the hierarchical structure of narrative by using the paragraph[3] as a useful intermediate unit between the

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3   As far as delimitation of the text is concerned, two distinctions should be made for the term paragraph. The one is a visual unit, and the other is a structural unit. When Grimes (1975), Hinds (1977), Longacre (1979), Givón (1983b), and Hwang (1989) refer to the paragraph, they mean a structural unit.

sentence and the discourse. If the paragraph is a grammatical unit, distinguishing paragraphs should be possible by identifying certain features of the surface structure of a text.

The tagmemics approach claims that certain universal invariants underlie all human experience as characteristics of rationality itself (Pike 1964:129). For instance, complexity can be fractionated. Without segmentation of events into recallable, and manipulable chunks by our mental equipment, man would be inept. Hence, Pike (1964:129) states:

> A bias of mine—not shared by many linguists—is the conviction that beyond the sentence lie grammatical structures available to linguistic analysis, describable by technical procedures, and usable by the author for the generation of the literary works through which he reports to us his observations.

Text-linguistic approaches to the paragraph concur with Pike (1964) with respect to the conviction that the grammatical structure exists beyond the sentence and that that structure is identifiable. In this section, investigations of the paragraph in text-linguistics which are in line with Pike (1964) will be surveyed.

2.2.1.2.1 Grimes (1975)

Grimes (1975) regards the paragraph as a structural unit. Paragraphs in narrative can be distinguished by three segmentational principles: temporal setting,[4] spatial setting, and theme (Grimes 1975:102-107). Temporal or spatial setting are "a common basis for segmentation of sequential texts into their constituent parts" (Grimes 1975:51), and a new paragraph that begins with a signal that the setting is to be changed may then pick up the peripheral point at which the action of the last paragraph ended, and make that into the setting for the next paragraph (Grimes 1975:53-54). Besides setting, theme is regarded as a partitioning principle. "As long as the speaker continues talking about the same thing, he remains within a single segment of the text at some level of partitioning. When he changes the subject he passes from one element of the organization of the text to the next element" (Grimes 1975:103)." Grimes equates theme with the subject of conversation. Hence, the paragraph may be defined as a thematic unit whose surface boundaries are marked linguistically, such as temporal and spatial adverbials which signal temporal and spatial changes.

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4   Grimes (1975:51) defines setting as "a separated kind of information" which is constituted by "where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place."

2.2.1.2.2 Longacre (1979)

Longacre (1979) has investigated the grammatical structure of the paragraph, under the assumptions that "discourse has grammatical structure" (Longacre 1979:115), and that "this structure is partially expressed in the hierarchical breakdown of discourses into constituent embedded discourses" (Longacre 1979:115). In line with Pike (1964), he takes the paragraph to be a grammatical unit between the sentence and discourse. On the basis of investigations across languages, he argues that: 1) the paragraph unit exits, for many languages have particles that indicate either the beginning or the end of a paragraph;[5] 2) the thematic unity of a paragraph is reflected in the "surfaced structure features of the paragraph itself" (Longacre 1979:118-119); and 3) a paragraph is recursive within another paragraph (Longacre 1979:131-132). According to Longacre, the paragraph is a thematically unified grammatical unit between the sentence and discourse, and can be identified by formal linguistic devices.

2.2.1.2.3 Hinds (1977, 1979)

On the basis of investigation across languages, Hinds (1977:78) also argues that the paragraph is a grammatical unit, and that it could be identified by formal linguistic devices. In Sarangani Manobo,[6] for instance, a new paragraph is marked by a special sentence initial conjunction, by multiple time reference, or by both of these features. Hinds (1979:136) argues that "discourses of all types are organized in terms of paragraphs, a paragraph being defined as a unit of speech or writing that maintains a uniform orientation."

2.2.1.2.4 Givón (1983)

In the discussion of topic continuity in discourse, Givón (1983:9 ff.) argues that multi-propositional human discourse is composed of thematic units, viz. thematic paragraphs which are larger than the sentence. Within the thematic paragraph, three aspects of

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5   In this regard, for example, Longacre (1979:117-118) has identified "paragraph introducers" *mérikÁʌ* (well), and *hikÁʌ* (then) in Huichol (Mexico). And he introduces the term "terminus," for instance, *he went away or he went off and slept or he waited until the next day*, for the sentences that close a paragraph. Whereas in narrative discourse the setting is often used to mark the time or the place of a new paragraph, the terminus is often used to take one main participant off the stage, or to indicate a lapse of time.

6   Sarangani Manobo is a language spoken on the east coast of the Sargangani Peninsula of southern Mindinao in the Philippines.

continuity are displayed: thematic continuity, action continuity, topics/participants continuity. As far as topic continuity is concerned, it is most common for the primary topic to be the continuity marker within the thematic paragraph. The primary topic is the most continuous of all the topics mentioned in the various clauses in a paragraph. Hence the primary topic remains the same in a string of clauses in a thematic paragraph. As a continuity marker, the primary topic has different referential forms according to their position, viz. paragraph initial, paragraph medial, and paragraph final position. For instance, when a primary topic is a discontinuous topic in terms of a preceding paragraph in a paragraph initial position, its referential form is Noun Phrase (henceforth NP). Givón's argument implies that a text could be divided into thematically unified units by identifying the forms of referential expression.

2.2.1.2.5 Hwang (1989)

Hwang (1989:462-463) concurs with Longacre (1979) in regarding the paragraph as an intermediate grammatical unit which lies between the sentence and discourse.[7] In her investigation of paragraph recursion within a paragraph, she focuses on the characteristics of the paragraph mainly as a grammatical unit, analyzing it from the perspectives of both its surface structure and its semantic structure. In the analyses of English and Korean narratives, she has shown: (1) Surface structure and semantic structure work hand in hand, so that the thematic unity of a paragraph is reflected in its surface features. For example, she has identified that the paragraph in general shows the semantic unity of a coherent theme and has some grammatical cohesive features which play a crucial role in adequately perceiving the internal relationship between sentences within a paragraph, such as conjunctions, anaphoric chains, and tense sequence or change (Hwang 1989:465). (2) As paragraph recursion within the paragraph is frequently found, the paragraph should be regarded as the only intermediate unit between the sentence and discourse (Hwang 1989:465-473).[8] (3) The unity of the paragraph with its closure at beginning and end makes possible its role in the higher-level structure of discourse, such as the episode[9] (Hwang 1989:465-473).

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7   Hwang (1989:463) follows Longacre (1983) in assuming a hierarchy of eight "etic" levels: morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse.

8   In this regard, for instance, a binary Result Paragraph (thesis-result) is embedded in a higher level (multi-nary) Reason Paragraph (thesis-reason) to function as a Thesis. See Hwang (1989:465-473) for more detailed illustrations.

9   Hwang (1989:462) regards paragraphs as intermediate units located between the sentence and the whole discourse. This intermediate unit paragraph is regarded to have different functions in

In brief, Hwang (1989) has (1) shown by means of paragraph recursion within the paragraphs that the paragraph as a thematic unit is the only intermediate unit between the sentence and discourse, and (2) shown that the paragraph as a thematic unit is identifiable by means of surface level features, i.e. overt linguistic devices.

2.2.1.3 Paragraphs in Psycholinguistics

If the paragraph is a grammatical unit, and does indeed exist, it will be identified and used by people as such. Psychological experimental studies have been conducted in this respect to investigate whether the paragraph is a unit of text production and comprehension, viz. 1) whether writers or speakers use the paragraph as a production unit in the text; 2) whether readers or the addressee understand the text in chunks such as paragraphs; and 3) whether authors and their readers distinguish paragraphs at the same places in a narrative.

2.2.1.3.1 Koen, Becker, and Young (1969)

Koen, Becker, and Young (1969:49) regard the paragraph as a meaningful unit larger than the sentence. They conducted experiments in order to determine whether there is a conventional way of chunking large amounts of information, and whether people agree in identifying its boundaries. People were asked to paragraph two different versions of a text: (1) a prose text of which the indentation had been removed and (2) a prose text of which the content words had been replaced by nonsense words. The two results were then compared. When people were asked to paragraph the prose from which all paragraph indentations had been removed, they were quite consistent in deciding where paragraph boundaries should be. Even when readers were asked to paragraph the prose whose indentation had been removed and content words had been replaced by nonsense words, paragraphing was highly consistent with across the group (Koen, Becker, and Young 1969:50-51).

These results indicate that the paragraph represents a conventional way of clustering large amounts of information, and people agree in identifying its boundaries. This result does not support the arguments of the structural linguists that paragraphing signals are entirely orthographic (visual). On the basis of their experiments, Koen, Becker and

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different discourse types. "The paragraph typically functions as an episode in a narrative discourse, and these episodes are the developmental units of the narrative" (Hwang 1989:462).

Young (1969) argue that paragraphs are psychologically real. However, readers' paragraphings were not compared with authors' paragraphings. Such a comparison would indicate whether authors' and readers' paragraphing tend to correlate. (If it had been confirmed that the paragraphing of authors and that of readers correspond to a high degree, the claim that paragraphs are psychologically real would have been further substantiated.)

2.2.1.3.2 Bond and Hayes (1984)

Bond and Hayes (1984) advanced the empirical work of Koen, Becker and Young (1969) in a series of experiments designed to identify cues that people use to distinguish paragraphs in a narrative text, and to determine whether those cues are semantic, formal, or both. When paragraph indentations were removed, people agreed in paragraphing the text quite consistently, both with each other and with the author (Bond and Hayes 1984:150-151). This result is very similar to Koen, Becker and Young's (1969) result that the paragraph is not an arbitrary unit but a psychologically real one. When content words and pronouns were replaced with X's, people were not able to paragraph the text consistently (Bond and Hayes 1984:154-156). This shows that pronouns provide readers with significant information towards paragraphing a text, and readers relied on evidence of topic continuation inferred from pronoun reference, i.e., formal linguistic cues do play an essential role in paragraphing. When sentence beginnings are marked with an X, sentence endings with a period, and squiggle lines replace sentences, consistency of paragraphing among readers was greater than could be expected by chance (Bond and Hayes 1984:156-157). This implies that people understand the text in chunks.

Bond and Hayes' (1984) experiments demonstrate that 1) people process the text in chunks, 2) the paragraph may be psychologically real as such a chunk, and 3) there are formal linguistic markers which influence paragraphing decisions, such as major topic shifts (e.g. introducing a new participant). Readers identify paragraph boundaries by recognizing these linguistic markers.

2.2.1.3.3 Garnes (1987)

Garnes (1987) has investigated writers' perception of paragraphs. She selected seven groups of subjects who differ in degree of experience with printed text to investigate whether or not writers perceive paragraphs similarly or differently from other groups of subjects. When subjects were asked to paragraph the expository text of which indentations had been removed, all groups agreed highly with some sentences as

opening paragraphs. Even beginning writers obtained agreement in distinguishing paragraphs in places where there were clear shifts in topics and purposes, though only half as frequently as more experienced readers. There was also significant agreement between all the groups (Garnes 1987:136-138). This result confirms that people can identify paragraph boundaries by the aid of linguistic devices in concurrence with Koen, Becker and Young (1969) and Bond and Hayes (1984).

2.2.1.3.4 Stark (1988)

Stark (1988) has investigated the informativeness of paragraph cues by examining how well readers can identify paragraph boundaries in unparagraphed texts. Readers were asked to put paragraph markings back into texts from which the paragraph cues had been deleted. They were then asked to provide a brief justification for each paragraph decision in order to compare their judgment with the authors' paragraphings. The results show that readers were neither perfectly accurate, nor in perfect agreement with each other: nor were they in exact agreement with the author. Some paragraph boundaries in the actual text were not perceived as paragraph boundaries. However, theme-marking,[10] and overspecified reference (using a full NP when a pronoun would be sufficient) were important to readers' decisions on distinguishing paragraphs (Stark 1988:282-292).

Stark's (1988) results show: (1) that paragraphing cues play an important role for readers and writers in distinguishing paragraphs, for instance, overspecified referential expression, theme-marking sentence (e.g. sentence initial temporal adverbial), to distinguish paragraph boundaries. (2) Although distinguishing paragraphs according to paragraphing cues was highly consistent between authors and readers, there was some inconsistency.

2.2.1.4 Summary

Corpus studies with regard to paragraphs in text-linguistics have demonstrated that text has structure. In addition, a text uses structural units that can be identified grammatically. Paragraphs are suggested as being one of such units, viz. an intermediate unit between the sentence and discourse. Semantically, the paragraph is defined as a thematic unit. However, it is asserted that its surface structure is identifiable with the aid

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10   Stark (1988:287) defines the terms "theme-marked clause" and "coordination" as follows: Theme-marked clauses are those in which the subject of the clause is not the first element, and coordinations are clauses beginning with a coordinator (e.g. but).

of formal grammatic cues, and that a text can be punctuated by paragraphs identified by such formal linguistic devices.

Experimental studies in psycholinguistics have determined that there are formal linguistic cues that signal paragraph boundaries. When people distinguish paragraphs, they are guided by recognizing formal linguistic devices. These linguistic devices play an important role in determining the paragraph boundaries. Distinguishing paragraphs on the basis of these linguistic cues was highly consistent among different reader subjects.

However, experimental results revealed that readers' paragraphing was not always consistent with authors' paragraphing. This has several implications:

- The paragraphs as visual units do not necessarily fully reflect the structural units of the text. In this regard Longacre (1979:116) states: "The paragraph indentations of a given writer are often partially dictated by eye appeal; that is, it may be deemed inelegant or heavy to go along too far on a page or a series of pages without an indentation or section break. A writer may, therefore, indent at the beginning of a subparagraph to provide such a break." This suggests that authors do not always paragraph the text according to the structural units. In this regard, Heurley (1997:187) does not regard paragraphs as the final visible output of the composing process, but represent "traces" of the writing process.
- The paragraph suggested as a structural unit by the tagmemics approach in the text is not a grammatical unit. If not, "to account for the lack of clear effects of paragraphs on readers' behavior, one can hypothesize that if a grammar of the paragraph does really exist as Longacre (1979) believed, its rules are neither shared nor used in the same way by all the members of the same linguistic community" (Heurley 1997:186). In addition, the fact that paragraphs suggested by the tagmemics approach as a structural unit overlap with the paragraphs distinguished by people only in places where linguistic devices appear, implies that the tagmemics approaches have only identified the existence of a structural unit. That is, they fail to identify a grammatical structural unit that is shared by authors and readers.
- Visual paragraph units do not overlap with the encoding unit of the structural/semantic organization of the text that reflects the mental representation of the author. As far as the coherent mental representation is concerned, paragraphs should be distinguished according to the structurally/semantically organized text units, as it is crucial for the reader to create the mental representation of the author in order to achieve successful communication.

- The fact that readers distinguish paragraphs not according to the paragraphs as visual units signalled by paragraph indentations marked by the authors, implies that readers distinguish paragraphs according to the structural units during the comprehension process. During reading, readers structure the text, not in the first place according to the visual unit paragraphs, but primarily according to the structural units signalled by linguistic devices in the text.

2.2.2 Treatment of the Episode

In contrast to the above-mentioned focus on the concept of the paragraph, a number of studies have been conducted that focus on the concept of the episode as a processing unit (mainly in psycholinguistic studies) and episodes as structural units in narrative texts (in text-linguistic studies).

2.2.2.1 The Treatment of the Episode in Psycholinguistics

Episodes have been investigated primarily under story grammar theories in psycholinguistics. Story grammarians postulate that narrative structures do have processing reality (Rumelhart 1975). Grammar assumes that stories have several unique parts that are conceptually separable. It consists of a set of productions providing the rules of the narrative syntax, and is independent of the linguistic content of the story. Story grammar specifies a limited set of regularly occurring forms so that a story can be parsed into a set of constituent units.

In general, story grammars have hierarchical structures: top-level (e.g. setting), intermediate nodes (e.g. episodes), terminal nodes (e.g. attempts, goal). Story grammarians claim that if a story grammar does exist, this grammar will be transferred to a person's memory, and people will understand stories according to the grammar. In addition, they claim that if terminal nodes which compose the episode are identified in the text comprehension process, the episode will be identified as a psychological reality.

2.2.2.1.1 Rumelhart (1975)

Rumelhart (1975) developed a simple story grammar which accounts for many of the salient facts about the structure of simple stories. The grammar is composed of a set of rules that describe how a story can be broken down into units (syntactical rules) and how these units are related to one another (semantic interpretation rules, such as causality) (Rumelhart 1975:213-214). According to the story grammar rule, an episode

is composed of "Event and Reaction." According to this rule, "episodes are special kinds of events which involve the reactions of animate (or anthropomorphized) objects to events in the world. The episode consists merely of the occurrence of some event followed by the reaction of the hero of the episode to the event" (Rumelhart 1975:214). In the following studies, Rumelhart's story grammar was tested and developed by story grammarians.

2.2.2.1.2 Mandler and Johnson (1977)

The following work by Rumelhart (1975), Mandler and Johnson (1977) characterizes the underlying structure of simple stories as a set of basic nodes in a tree structure, each of which is either causally or temporally connected to other nodes in the tree (Mandler and Johnson 1977:115).

According to story grammar, a single episode story is composed of SETTING and EPISODE. "An EPISODE consists of three causally connected nodes, all of which appear at the same level of the tree" (Mandler and Johnson 1977:119).

EPISODE→ BEGINNING   CAUSE DEVELOPMENT   CAUSE   ENDING

The essential structure of a single episode story is that a protagonist is introduced in the setting; there follows an episode in which something happens, causing the protagonist to respond to it, which in turn brings about some event or state of affairs that ends the episode. Hence, the order of the terminal nodes in a "well-formed" episode is as follows: Beginning, Reaction, Goal, Attempt, Outcome, and Ending.

If the concept of a behavioural sequence as defined in an episode is valid, one would expect that the recall protocols would contain information which defines the basic logical structure of the sequence.

Mandler and Johnson (1977) conducted experiments to test the validity of the story grammar. Two stories were told to two groups of subjects (first grade children, adults). One story was told, and recall was tested after 10 minutes. The other story was told, and recall was tested 24 hours later (Mandler and Johnson 1977:142-148). The recall of first-graders formed two clusters: settings, beginnings, and outcomes were well recalled, and attempts, endings, and reactions were poorly recalled. The adults recalled attempts almost as well as settings, beginnings, and outcomes. Recall of endings and reactions still lagged significantly behind (Mandler and Johnson 1977:144-145). These results show that people (adults and children) identified the setting and terminal nodes of episodes of a story. In particular, people recalled the terminal nodes of the episode in its

sequential order (Mandler and Johnson 1977:146). In addition, during recall, when identifying missing nodes from surface structure, they added those nodes (Mandler and Johnson 1977:147). This implies that people process a text in episode chunks. These results suggest that people are sensitive to the structure of stories, and have a mental structure that reflects regularities in story, viz. schemata that organize retrieval of story. Hence, the investigators claimed that the episode is psychologically real as a story processing unit.

2.2.1.1.3 Mandler (1978)

Mandler (1978) has conducted experiments as to how the activation of a story schema[11] influences recall, and whether there are developmental differences in the use of a story schema as a retrieval mechanism. Four different age groups listened to four simple two-episode stories[12] which were constructed according to the story grammar outlined in Mandler and Johnson (1977).[13] Twenty-four hours later, they were asked to recall those stories. Several results are significant. (1) When people listened to ill-formed stories (i.e., those that violate the postulated sequence of constituents), they tended to reproduce the story according to the canonical order of the story grammar rather than the input order (Mandler 1978:30). This suggests that the story schemata effect on story understanding and retrieval, viz. the underlying ideal structure of the story schema, played an important role in retrieval. (2) Even when peoples listened to interleaved stories, they clearly knew what kinds of units had been presented, and attempted to produce some relevant content for each (Mandler 1978:32).[14] These results provide evidence for the

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11   A story schema is a mental structure that reflects the constituent parts of typical stories. People construct story schemata from two sources. One source comes from listening to many stories and consists of knowledge about the sequencing of events in stories, including how they typically begin and end. The other source comes from experience and includes knowledge about causal relations and various kinds of action sequences (Mandler and Goodman 1982:507; Mandler and Johnson 1977:112).

12   Each story had a common Setting, followed by two Then-connected episodes. Each standard story was then rearranged to create an interleaved version. In these versions, following the Setting, the five basic nodes of each episode were presented.

13   These are the six major nodes in the grammar: settings, beginnings, reactions, attempts (including actions), outcomes, and endings.

14   If the subject has successfully recalled an Attempt, for instance, the schema next directs a search for a related Outcome. If it cannot be retrieved, then the subject knows approximately what kind of

validity of the episode as a text comprehension processing unit by showing that the story schema plays an important role in story understanding and retrieval.

2.2.2.1.4 Stein and Glenn (1979)

Stein and Glenn (1979) have assessed the psychological validity of the concept of the episode described in their grammar. They define episode in their story grammar as follows:

> An episode is the primary higher order unit of a story and consists of an entire behavioral sequence. It includes the external and/or internal events which influence a character, the character's internal response (goals, cognition, plans) to these events, the character's external response to his goals, and the consequence resulting from his overt responses. Inherent in this sequence is a causal chain of events beginning with an initiating event and ending with a resolution (Stein and Glenn 1979:62).

They conducted experiments to assess whether people recognize the categories of behavioural sequences in the episode. If the concept of a behavioural sequence as defined in an episode is valid, one would expect that the recall protocols would contain information which defines the basic logical structure of the sequence. First- and fifth-grade children listened to stories and recalled the stories immediately and one week later. The recall data from each subject were then grouped according to the seven categories specified in the grammar: major setting statements,[15] minor setting statements, and terminal nodes of the episode, initiating events, internal responses, attempts, direct consequences, and reactions. When people recalled the stories immediately, in all stories, major settings, consequences, and initiating events were the most frequently recalled categories. The remaining categories in terms of their recall frequencies were: attempts, reactions, minor settings, and internal responses (Stein and Glenn 1979:91). When subjects were asked to recall stories one week later, the amount of new information added in recall significantly increased. The subject replaced the lost or non-retrievable

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material to produce. When a story is told with some of its constituents missing, subjects tend to add these units to their recall.

15 Stein and Glen (1979:62) distinguish two types of setting, i.e. major setting and minor setting. They label the character introduction as the major setting category, and the other types of setting information as the minor setting category.

information with inferred information which is consistent with the original story structure (Stein and Glenn 1979:94-96).[16]

On the basis of these results, Stein and Glenn claimed the psychological validity of the concept of the episode. The results, however, only partly support their argument, for not all categories are recalled by all subjects. This implies that the notion of the episode only reveals the existence of a certain processing unit, but it does not fully support the episode as such a unit.

2.2.2.1.5 Black and Bower (1979)

Black and Bower (1979) conducted experiments to investigate the organization of memory behavior, how the statements in a story become filed in memory under different constituent categories, like separate chunks in memory.

Black and Bower (1979) hypothesized that, if the statements in a story become filed in separate chunks in memory, the chunk should act like some "all-or-none" units in recall, as follows "all material in one chunk will tend to be recalled together and somewhat independently of recall of the material in other chunks" (Black and Bower 1979:310).[17] In the first experiment to test this hypothesis, they used four different stories that are composed of two episodes each.[18] Each episode comprised four actions followed by an outcome. These statements (i.e. four actions and an outcome) alone made up the "short" episodes. They then made a long episode by adding propositions[19] to short episodes. So doing, four versions of each story were constructed, consisting of a long or short first episode followed by a long or short second episode, viz. (1) long episode 1-long episode 2, (2) long episode 1-short episode 2, (3) short episode 1-long episode 2, and (4) short episode 1-short episode 1. Subjects were asked to read four different stories that have four different versions each, and were tested for recall of the four actions and an outcome in each episode. More than 80% of subjects recalled four actions and outcome

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16   The categories most frequently added to the story recalls were internal responses and attempts. The remainder of the new information was distributed among the setting, initiating event, and reaction categories (Stein and Glenn 1979:94-95).

17   Black and Bower (1979:310) call this the "chunk-independence hypothesis."

18   In line with story grammarians, Black and Bower (1979:309) define the episode as "a subgoal, the actions that attempt to obtain that subgoal, and the outcome of those actions."

19   These added propositions are propositions that can be subsumed under the actions of the short episodes.

sets in all episodes, whether those episodes are followed or preceded by long or short other episodes. The recall of the actions and outcome of an episode was not affected by other episodes whether they were long or short, i.e., each episode is processed independently of the other episodes. In addition, when they investigated four different actions and an outcome in each episode, they found that highly important actions serve as a summary of their episodes. The outcome also serves to summarize the entire episode (Black and Bower 1979:314-316). These actions and outcomes were more salient in the memory representation of the story.

In the second experiment, when three propositions that are subsumed under these actions and outcome that serve to summarize the entire episode were added, 86 % of people recalled these actions and outcome; however when six propositions were added, 92% of people recalled these actions and outcome. Why do added propositions increase the recall of more important actions? It may be that added propositions help people to form macro-propositions more accurately (Black and Bower 1979:317). The implication is that people recall a story better when they form macro-propositions. On the basis of these results, Black and Bower (1979:317) claimed that episodes are organizational units (memory blocks) in memory, and act somewhat like "all-or-none" units in recall, independently of the other episodes.

Black and Bower's (1979) result implies that there exists a certain chunk that functions as a memory block or unit and people process texts in those chunks. Those chunks can be thematically coherent units.[20]

2.2.2.1.6 Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson (1980)

Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson (1980) evaluated the so-called boundary hypothesis of encoding concerning the role of the episode schema in story encodings. According to this hypothesis, the reader identifies the protagonist at the beginning of an episode, encodes the problem facing the protagonist, and initializes new memory locations for

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20   Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:35-36) are of the same opinion in this regard. In the discussion of thematic groupings into which speaker or writers group sentences by means of boundary markers which signal structure in the text, they state that the reason for the thematic grouping is found in "general principles of cognition. Humans typically process large amounts of information in chunks. This helps us deal with complexity: a chunk functions as a unit in memory, so that we can remember about the same number of chunks regardless of how many lower-order units are used in their construction."

the current episode. At the ending of an episode, the reader rehearses specific details and chunks the information. Thus the boundary hypothesis assumes that, holding other factors constant, the processing load is greater at or around the episode boundaries than at other points in the episode (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980:636).[21]

Subjects read and recalled stories containing two Then-connected episodes which consist of the six nodes Beginning, Reaction, Goal, Attempt, Outcome, and Ending (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980:637-641). The reading and recall time were measured. In general, readers took more time in Beginning, Reaction, Outcome, and Ending than in other nodes in reading and recalling. However, some readers took more time in Reaction, and Outcome (Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980:639 ff.).[22]

These results provide support for the boundary hypothesis that the reader performs extra operations at or around the boundary nodes which are not performed at the remaining nodes. The boundary hypothesis implies that readers use discourse unit boundaries as cues for encoding the information of the story, and they are able to identify breaks between units.[23] These results, along with those from recall studies which show that people retrieve episodes as integral units (Black and Bower 1979), provide convincing evidence that people process a text in chunks.

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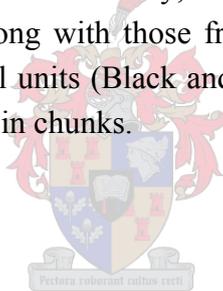
21   In this regard, Haberlandt (1980:113-114) states that when subjects arrive at an episode boundary they must engage in macro-processing, and hence, sentences at the conclusion of an episode should be read more slowly, above and beyond sentence-level factors influencing reading times.

22   In some cases, Reaction and Outcome are perceived as Beginning and Ending. Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson (1980:639) state that "for a reader to realize at Reaction that a new episode has begun is understandable because the protagonist is explicitly identified only at Reaction. To view Outcome as the end of the episode is also plausible, because by definition, Outcome informs the reader of the result of the protagonists."

23   In this regard, Kintsch (1977:41-43) and Mandler (1978:15-17) observed that people use formal linguistic and thematic cues. In the light of such prominent thematic cues as shift in perspective and/or of the protagonist and of such surface cues as "one day…," "suddenly.." and the like, it is not surprising that readers are sensitive to episode breaks, and that they use them in the encoding of stories.

2.2.2.1.7 Mandler and Goodman (1982)

Mandler and Goodman (1982) arrived at results similar to those of Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson (1980). In their experiment, people read and recalled stories which are composed of two episodes. Each episode, composed of six terminal nodes, consisted of two sentences, viz. Beginning, Reaction, Goal, Attempt, Outcome, and Ending are composed of two sentences respectively. When people read each terminal node comprised of two sentences, the reading time of the first and second sentence of each terminal node was measured. Subjects slowed down when they read the first sentence of each terminal node and speeded up when reading the second sentence within a terminal node (Mandler and Goodman 1982:515-516).[24] The observation that the episode boundary nodes, i.e. Beginnings and Outcomes were read significantly slower than other terminal nodes is pertinent (Mandler and Goodman 1982:514). These results confirm not only the boundary hypothesis, but also the claim that people can identify the episode boundaries. "Slower time … could be used to form a macro-proposition summarizing the previous unit, or to recognize that a change in topic has taken place, or both" (Mandler and Goodman 1982:520).

2.2.2.1.8 Haberlandt (1980)

Haberlandt (1980) has measured sentence-by-sentence reading times for well-formed, multi-episode stories.[25] He found that subjects took longer to read

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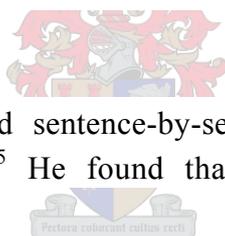
24   These results provide evidence for the constituent-boundary effect, viz. reading should be slow at the beginning of a constituent, speed up as the local topic continues, then slow down again when crossing the constituent boundary and entering the next constituent. Mandler and Goodman (1982) proposed that subjects might use their knowledge of story structure to recognize a shift in topic when the first sentence of a new constituent appears. Although they did not use the formal linguistic devices which mark topic shift, they recognized that topic shifts are often marked in the surface structure by such as "one day" or "as a result." In line with Kintsch and van Dijk (1978), Mandler and Goodman (1982:520) argue that "the most likely reason for slow reading of the initial sentence of a new unit is that the reader now knows that the previous unit is finished; at this point time may be required to form a macro-proposition, summarizing the previous unit, as well as to begin to formulate the content of the next." This means that the schema's major role in processing is to provide one type of bridging inference enabling the reader to form a coherent representation of the story as a whole, while at the same time dividing it into local parts.

25   Experiments were conducted to evaluate the boundary hypothesis. Haberlandt (1980:103-106) used experimental stories having two well-formed episodes, each consisting of the six nodes B

sentences at the boundaries of episodes (Haberlandt 1980:105). In line with Kintsch and van Dijk (1978), Haberlandt (1980:113-15) suggests that subjects "initialize" a new memory location at the beginning of the episode[26] and organize the episode into macro-propositions at the ending; both of these processes were assumed to require measurable processing time. This result supports the episode of boundary hypothesis of encoding, and the validity of the episode as an organizational unit in memory. In addition, the episode boundary hypothesis of encoding necessarily implies that readers are able to identify breaks between episodes.

2.2.2.1.9 Mandler (1987)

Mandler (1987) has assessed people's sensitivity to both lower-level and higher-level units in stories. Subjects were given stories[27] with each sentence on a separate line on the page. They were asked to mark natural units by drawing a line between sentences that formed the units' boundaries. This procedure required subjects to use an adjacency principle, but allowed them freedom as to where the boundaries between successive units would occur. Subjects were able to identify many of the constituent units of stories specified by the story grammar. In particular, they identified all of the smallest text units, viz. the Setting and the five components of Episodes (cf. §2.2.2.1.2). This result also supports the hypothesis that the episode is a psychologically valid unit in text comprehension processing.
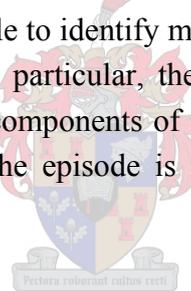
(Beginning), R (React), G (Goal), A (Attempts), O (Outcome), and E (Ending) according to Mandler and Johnson's (1977) story grammar. Two sets of five experimental passages were used. They were natural passages differing in the number of sentences per story and in the number of words per sentence. The results show that the reading time of the four boundary constituents B1 (Beginning of the first episode), E1, B2, and E2 were longer than the reading time of the four most inner constituents G1, A1, G2, and A2.

26   In other stories a new character or a new protagonist is introduced at the beginning of a new episode. Any of these occurrences, viz. a new perspective, a new protagonist, or a new character is assumed to place a cognitive demand on the reader.

27   All sentences in these stories were 10 words in length. Every story consisted of a two-sentence Setting constituent, followed by two Episodes. Each Episode consisted of 5 two-sentence constituents: Beginning, Complex Reaction, Attempt, Outcome, and Ending. The stories were of three structural types: Then-connected stories, Ending-embedded stories, and outcome-embedded stories.

2.2.2.1.10 Ji (2002)

Ji (2002) suggests that an episode is a thematically defined intermediate unit between the sentence and the discourse. Ji defines the concept of the episode as follows:

> A portion of a narrative that relates to an event or a series of connected events and forms a coherent unit in itself (Ji 2002:1260)

This concept is different from the concept of the episode used in story grammar. On the basis of this idea, Ji has conducted experiments to determine whether people identify episode boundaries. Ji's experimental study shows that episode boundaries are identified by ordinary language users. People were asked to divide unindented narrative texts into episodes by following Ji's notion. Segmented narratives show a significant result:

1. Temporal, spatial, and thematic discontinuities, which are expressed by linguistic devices such as temporal, spatial adverbial and full NP, are perceived as natural indicators of transitions of thematic units (viz. episodes) by language users (Ji 2002:1261-1265).

2. People also identified the local changes by recognizing linguistic devices such as adverbial phrases which do not signal episode changes (Ji 2002:1265-1269). This implies that people are able to identify units of a level lower than the episode.

These results imply that language users view the episode as an intermediate unit whose transitions are defined by major changes in temporal, spatial, or thematic continuity at a certain points in the story.
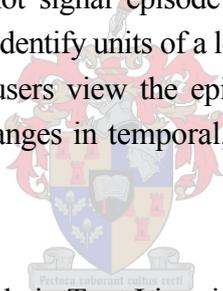
2.2.2.2 The Treatment of the Episode in Text Linguistics

One of the tasks of text-linguistics is to explicate the structure of a text by identifying analytical units. Corpus analyses of narrative texts have revealed that narrative texts have a definite structure comprising structural units. In text-linguistics oriented research, based on a different notion of the episode from that of story grammarians, some linguists have suggested that the episode is the primary unit of analysis in narrative.

2.2.2.2.1 Van Dijk (1982) and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983)

Van Dijk (1982), and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) regard episodes as primary units of discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1982:177) makes a distinction between the concept of "paragraph" and the notion of "episode."

> An episode is properly a semantic unit, whereas a paragraph is the surface manifestation or the expression of such an episode (Van Dijk 1982:177).

Van Dijk (1982:180) and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:204) characterize an episode of a discourse as a specific "sequence of propositions," which is locally and globally coherent. Van Dijk (1982:180) states:

> … such a macroproposition explicates the overall unity of a discourse sequence as it is intuitively known under such notions as 'theme', 'topic', or 'gist'. …. By definition, a macroproposition features a central predicate and a number of participants, denoting either an important or global property, event, or action and central participants in a discourse. The textual 'basis' of each macroproposition, thus, is a sequence of the discourse. It is precisely this sequence which we call an 'episode.' In other words, an episode is a sequence of propositions of a discourse that can be subsumed by a macroproposition (Van Dijk 1982:180).

This semantic notion of the episode implies that the episode is a thematically unified unit. Moreover, according to this conception,

1. The beginning and end of an episodic sequence are theoretically defined in terms of propositions which can be subsumed by the same macro-proposition, whereas the previous and the following proposition of the first and the last proposition of an episodic sequence should be subsumed by another macroproposition.

2. Since by definition each episode is subsumed by a different macro-proposition, we may expect different agents, places, times, objects, or possible worlds to be introduced at the beginning of an episode,[28] and these devices could be used to demarcate episodes from one another. In this regard, van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:204) have identified some of the topic change markers at the beginning of new episodes, such as the change of possible world, full NP, introduction of new participants, change of place, and so-called macroconnectives such as sentence initial "but," "however," "on the contrary," "moreover," etc.

3. This notion of the episode has implications for a cognitive model of discourse processing. "The first sentence [29] is strategically used to derive a macroproposition. This macroproposition remains in Short Term Memory for the rest of the interpretation of the same episode. As soon as propositions are

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28   In this regard, van Dijk (1982:181) identified grammatical signals for the beginning of episodes such as temporal adverbials, spatial adverbials, and referential expressions. These linguistic markers, viz. place, time, and agents at the beginning of the new episodes imply that episodes are thematic units. The most important or salient referent in an episode is introduced at the beginning of an episode. This participant is subsumed under the macro-proposition. Thus, an episode becomes thematically unified.

29   The first sentence means "the first sentence of an episode."

> interpreted that no longer fit that macroproposition, a new macroproposition is set up. … the various linguistic markers serve as strategic data for this change of macroproposition (van Dijk (1982:191)."

Van Dijk (1982), and van Dijk and Kintsch's (1983) notion of the episode implies that episodes are thematically unified units which can be demarcated by linguistic devices, and they are linguistically and psychologically relevant units of discourse structure and processing.

2.2.2.2.2 Tomlin (1987)

Tomlin (1987) defines the notion of the episode in a similar way to van Dijk (1982), and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983). He regards the episode as a "conceptual paragraph" which "represent[s] the next highest structural unit of discourse organization after the sentence (Tomlin 1987:458)." He defines the episode, as a semantic unit, as follows:

> An episode is defined conceptually as a semantic unit in discourse organization consisting of a set of related propositions governed by a macroproposition or paragraph level theme. It represents sustained attentional effort devoted to the macroproposition and endures until attention is diverted; that is, it is sustained until an episode boundary is reached (Tomlin 1987:460).

According to this definition, the episode is a thematically unified unit. In addition, he states:

> Episode boundaries represent major breaks, or attention shifts, in the flow of information in discourse. In typical narrative discourse, major changes in time, place, or characters correspond to episode boundaries (Tomlin 1987:460).

His experiment confirms this statement. When peoples were asked to produce a narrative from a slide picture sequence, of which the episode boundaries were demarcated artificially by major thematic breaks, peoples used nouns to reinstate reference after an episode boundary, and they used pronouns to maintain reference within an episode during narrative production (Tomlin 1987:463 ff).

2.2.2.3 Summary

Studies reported in psycholinguistics research have found that:

1. Studies to access the so-called boundary hypothesis, and experiments to evaluate the constituent unit of the episode confirm that there is a certain unit that is psychologically real.

2. People treated the information provided by the episode as an integral unit recalling stories. This unit is a comprehension unit and organizational unit in memory, viz. memory block (Black and Bower 1979; Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980).

3. The so-called boundary hypothesis of necessity suggests that readers can identify the boundaries of these units. In particular, Ji's (2002) investigation of episode transition reveals that ordinary people identify the transition from one to another of these units by using the help of linguistic devices.

Studies from a text-linguistic perspective have found that:

1. There is a structural unit that is defined semantically, i.e. a thematically unified unit in the narrative text.

2. However, the semantic structure of that unit can be identified according to the surface structure features of the text involved.

3. Hence, the episode can be distinguished by identifying linguistic devices such as temporal, spatial adverbial, and full NP as indicating the beginning of the episode.

Researches from both the above-mentioned perspectives have found that there are certain processing mechanisms and a certain structural unit that function as a memory block. Furthermore, these units are identified by people with the help of linguistic devices. However, the relation between the notion of episode defined in psycholinguistics and the one understood in text-linguistics has not been addressed.

2.3   *WHAT IS AN EPISODE?*

What is the relation between the two different concepts of episode defined in psycholinguistics and text-linguistics investigations? In other words, what is the relation between the episode as a processing unit and the thematic unit?

When we investigate the surface features of the episode, the same linguistic devices that signal episode boundaries are identified in psycholinguistic experiments and text-linguistic investigations. In addition, in both disciplines, it is recognized that people understand those devices as signals to distinguish one episode from others. On this basis, we can speculate that the episode identified in both disciplines is the same discourse representation unit.

Story grammarians in psycholinguistics-oriented discourse analysis have two main goals. The first is descriptive, i.e. to find a limited set of regularly occurring forms so that a story can be parsed into a set of constituent units. Stories divide into a setting and a series of episodes, one following another. The second goal is more psychological in nature to determine whether the episodic structure of stories is cognitively relevant. A series of recall tests have demonstrated that different episodes are stored in separate chunks in memory. In addition, a series of reading time experiments showed that episode structure is used to guide on-line allocation of cognitive resources, and that extra processing is required at the beginning and end of episodes to initialize the representation of a new episode and to complete the processing of the episode that has finished.[30] In particular, the fact that people recalled terminal nodes of the episode in sequence order after they had read episodes in which the terminal nodes had been interwoven, and that people recalled episodes adding missing terminal nodes of the episode, strongly implies that people have a mental model, and use it during processing episodes. Episode structure is represented in people's memory, i.e. the episode is schematic. It functions as a representation unit of stories in memory affecting on-line comprehension of stories.

In psycholinguistics research, sentences in an episode are analyzed from the functional perspective. From this perspective, sentences in an episode can be categorized as in a way that is similar to the one according to which sentence constituents are distinguished. Van Dijk (1980:107) states:

> One way of further organizing sequences of sentences or propositions is to assign various functions to those sentences or propositions in the sequence. … Thus B is a 'specification' of A, if the information of B entails the information of A, which means that B must give more particulars of the general information that A and B have in common.

Functional relations do not hold between individual sentences or propositions, but may also have sequences of sentences within their scope. For instance, the macro-proposition "You learned a language easily and effectively when you were young" stands in comparative relationship to the macro-proposition "You learn a language easily and effectively by the Berlitz method" in the Berlitz advertisement. When those functions of macro-propositions have become conventionalized in a given culture, it may lead to the establishment of fixed schemata for the global content of a discourse. These conventionalized schemata are learned by the language users

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30   In this regard, see §2.2.2.1.5-7.

during socialization, and become programmed in long-term memory and facilitate understanding.

The schematic categories of an episode may function the same way as conventionalized discourse functions for semantic macrostructures, namely, as a possible form for the global content of the episode (van Dijk 1980:108-109). This means, firstly, that schematic categories require specific information to be inserted in the category slots. For instance, in the category of Attempt in an episode, most stories have to represent human action, in particular, action which is solving a difficulty or which is otherwise a "remarkable" reaction to previous events. In other words, most of the schematic categories defining the overall form of the text require specific macro-propositions, and hence indirectly specify what kind of information is important in the text. The fact that reading time increases to allow formation of a macro-proposition at the terminal category "Ending" in an episode, shows that schematic categories in an episode play a guiding role in forming the global content of an episode.

Unlike psycholinguistic research, a main concern of text-linguistic investigation is to determine the primary unit of discourse analysis. For this purpose, text-linguistics is more concerned with semantic analysis. Sentences in an episode are analyzed according to the notion of theme. Hence, episodes are not simply sequences of sentences grouped together, but the events of an episode are related by having a topic in common. An episode is a sequence of sentences dominated by a macro-proposition, viz. a series of happenings that can be summarized in a single sentence. The episode is a thematic unit. However, this thematic unit has a cognitive relevance. Van Dijk (1982:191) states several cognitive functions of the episode:

1. As an additional unit in the organization of textual sequences of propositions, it assigns further "chunking" possibilities, i.e. further organization, to the text, which in general, allows for a more structured representation in memory, and especially better recall.
2. Episodes are the textual manifestation of macro-propositions; properly marked, they strategically allow an easier derivation of macro-propositions, and hence allow better and faster understanding of the text as a whole, as well as better retrieval and recall.
3. Episodes may be the "locus" for local coherence strategies, e.g. coherence relations between facts, the (re-)identification of referents by means of pronouns, and the possibility to keep place or time indications implicit, may

all take place within the boundaries of an episode. Language users therefore need to search for the relevant information, not in the full preceding discourse representation in memory, but only in the representation of the current episode.

In the light of our discussion, it should be evident that the episode that has been identified in psycholinguistics and text-linguistics is the same discourse representation unit. The different concepts defined within these two disciplines reveal that discourse understanding is processed in episode chunks, and that the episode as a processing unit, is a thematically unified unit.

2.4   THE NOTION OF THE EPISODE

On the basis of the above-mentioned literature review, I will use the structural and processing unit that was identified in investigations into paragraphs and episode in psycholinguistics and corpus studies with regard to the paragraph and the episode in text-linguistics as the point of departure for this study. The unit is referred to as an "episode" to differentiate it from the term paragraph. For the purposes of this investigation, an episode is defined as follows:

> The episode is a memory block. Semantically, it is defined as a thematically unified unit of which the surface boundaries are marked linguistically by means of referential expressions, temporal and spatial expressions. The episode functions as both a text production unit and a comprehension unit.

This notion of the episode has several implications for delimitation of a narrative text,

- Episode is a delimitation unit in narrative text. Paragraphs in narrative text should be distinguished on the basis of the episode as a delimitation unit.

- Episode can be identified according to the linguistic devices at the episode boundaries.

Regarding these, further investigations will be documented in the subsequent sections.

2.5   THE EPISODE AS A DELIMITATION UNIT

Narrative production and comprehension are based on the comprehension of real-world events. An episode in the narrative text is not an arbitrary unit but a representation of a real-world event. Events in the real world are multi-dimensional.

When writers represent real-world events, however, they are confronted with the linear nature of language, viz. the so-called linearization problem. They can only arrange sentences according to linear sequence. However, in order to communicate by means of language, it does not suffice to arrange the elements one after the other; one must also enable one's readers or addressee to reconstruct the nonlinear, multi-dimensional, or hierarchical organization of the real-world event (Bamberg and Marchman 1991:277; Bestgen and Costerman 1994:421-422; Heurley 1997:180-181). For this purpose, the speaker or author makes the structural units of the discourse stand out by indicating the connections of importance which exist between two or more statements. The existence of episodes which group certain closely connected elements into a block and separate them from other blocks, allows this sequential and hierarchical organization in narrative to represent the multi-dimensional character of the real-world events that are represented. The fact that an episode is the representation of the real-world event structure, provides the primary reason why paragraphs in written narrative texts should be distinguished on the basis of the episode. In this section, attention will be paid to the way in which people understand and represent real-world events, and will be used to further justify the episode as a delimitation unit in written narrative texts.

2.5.1 Real-World Event and Episode

When we understand or narrate events, we cannot understand or narrate a whole event in one chunk - this complexity is necessarily segmented. In the same manner, when we understand and narrate real-world events, we segment the event into recallable and manageable chunks or units. At the same time, we have the ability to ignore irrelevant differences, and can combine these units into larger entities (Pike 1964:129-130).

Empirical studies have established that people understand real-world events in terms of discrete units which segment ongoing everyday events into discrete activities. Bestgen and Costerman (1994:425-434) conducted an experiment in this regard. People were given material composed of two lists of activities that took place during an afternoon as follows (Bestgen and Costerman 1994:444-445):

> (1) I drew a caricature of Wilfried Martens. (2) I tried to make a funny drawing of François Mitterand's face. (3) I imitated Herge's drawings: especially Tintin and the Dupondts. (4) I had fun trying to draw from memory the first page of Tintin and the Seven Crystal Balls. (5) I re-read Chapter 2 of my thesis. (6) I considered my tutor's numerous comments about the form of the text. (7) I modified various passages to take account of

these criticisms. (8) I drew up the outline of what I would have to write in Chapter 3. (9) I wrote a few pages using the outline. (10) I typed up what I had written. (11) I carefully corrected the spelling and typing errors. (12) I re-read my mail for the week. (13) I wrote a short note of congratulations about the birth of a child. (14) I sent a short letter of thanks to a friend who had sent me a photo of holidays spent together.

One group of people was asked to rate the similarity of two activities described in consecutive pair statements which could be summarized by a term which defined a more general activity applicable to both members of the pair.[31] They rated the similarity of two activities (1) and (2), and then (2) and (3), and then (3) and (4), … and then (13) and (14). When the similarity rate of both (1) and (2), and (2) and (3) is high, it can be assessed that people determine that these three activities, i.e. (1),(2), and (3), can be summarized by the same general activity. However, when the similarity rate of two activities (1) and (2) is high, but when the similarity rate of two activities (2) and (3) is considerably low, the two activities (1) and (2) can be summarized by the same general activity; however, an activity (3) should be summarized by a different general activity. A second group of people was asked to indicate the natural hierarchical divisions in the described activities. The results obtained from each group were then compared. The similarity rate given by the first group of people was high in activities (1) and (2), (2) and (3), (3) and (4); however, the similarity rate of activities between (4) and (5) was considerably low. Again the rate of (5) and (6), (7) and (8), (8) and (9), (9) and (10), (10) and (11) was high; however the rate between (11) and (12) was dramatically low. The rate of (12) and (13), and (13) and (14) was high. This result showed that people clustered fourteen activities into three groups, i.e. four activities (1)-(4), seven activities (5)-(11), and three activities (12)-(14), on the basis of whether they can be summarized by the same activity. The second group of people marked natural hierarchical divisions between the activities (4) and (5), (11) and (12). A comparison of the results shows that there is a correlation between the depth of breaks and dissimilarities between activities. The findings of this experiment confirm that people demarcate real-world events into discrete thematic units, according to the way

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31   Bestgen and Costermans (1994:426) showed an example to explain how each pair could be summarized by a term which defined a more general activity applicable to both members of the pair. As an example, it was shown that a very general phrase such as "to enjoy oneself" could summarize a pair of activities such as "to watch TV" and "to play Klondike solitaire," whereas the more precise term "play solitaire" was appropriate for "to play Klondike solitaire" and "to play Canfield solitaire." It was explained to them that the more precise the term summarizing the activities, the more similar they were.

that they understand real-world events. These discrete activities constitute episodes in the narrative production (Speer and Zacks 2005). In other words, authors produce narrative text which is composed of thematic units which correspond to the thematic units in real-world events. By doing this, authors cue the readers to construct a mental representation of the event using episodes as representation (processing) units.[32]

2.5.2 The Episode and the Situation Model in Text Comprehension Processes

When readers try to comprehend a text, they not only construct a propositional representation of the text, but also a mental model of what the text is about. According to van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:337), Ericsson and Kintsch (1995), O'Brien, Cook and Peracchi (2004:289), Zwaan and Madden (2004:283), and Speer and Zacks (2005:125-126), readers construct a situation model [33] to comprehend a text, and during comprehension, "readers update situation models whenever the text indicates that something in the situation has changed significantly" (Speer and Zacks 2005:126), by perceiving boundaries in narrated events.

Situation models are mental representations of situations that are bound in time and space. Hence temporal and spatial indications are important to constructing situation models. To achieve a proper understanding of the situation described by a text, the reader needs to know when and where the described events took place both relative to each other and to the time and place at which they were narrated (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:175-177).
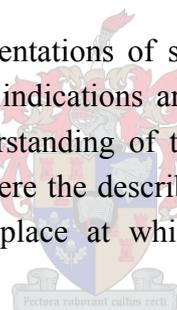
When comprehending narrated events, readers use a default assumption, which is called the iconicity assumption (Hopper 1979:214). This assumption holds that the narrated order of events is expected to match their chronological order, viz. the comprehender's default assumption is that each current model will be attached to the most recent event in the integrated model. "A psychological explanation for this assumption could be that real-life events enter one's consciousness in chronological order so that the default

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32   This can be proved further by investigating the linguistic devices used by authors to highlight theme shifts. Production studies have shown that writers use linguistic devices to highlight theme shifts in discourse. These linguistic devices function as segmentation markers which keep readers from trying to relate the new incoming information to the preceding information. They are used to signal discourse continuity and discontinuity (Bestgen and Costermans 1997:203). This issue will be discussed in more detail in §2.5 and 2.6.

33   A situation model is dependent on real-world experience and knowledge of real-world events (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:342).

mode of constructing temporal representations is a chronological one" (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:175). However, during comprehension processes, when readers encounter temporal or spatial indications which signal situation change, they construct a new situation model. This corresponds with authorial strategies, viz. authors use temporal and spatial indications to help readers to create new partitions in discourse representation.

Why do readers regard temporal or spatial changes as a signal for situation change? The reason may be found in the fact that readers do structure the text in such a way that the boundaries of narrated events correspond to the boundaries of the real-world (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:179). Readers perceive changes in the various dimensions of situation models (time, space, etc.) as event boundaries between consecutive events. In addition, the process of constructing a new situation model during narrative comprehension depends on segmentation processes similar to those observed in the perception of real-world events. In this regard, Speer and Zacks (2005) have conducted experiments to test whether temporal changes would be explicitly perceived as boundaries between meaningful units of activity. Participants read a series of continuous narrative texts describing everyday events. While reading the narratives, participants were asked to identify the points where they believed one meaningful unit of activities ended and another began; they perceived changes in narrative time as event boundaries (Speer and Zacks 2005:127-129).[34] In addition, in another

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34 Ten short narratives were used in this experiment. Each narrative was presented as a single paragraph. In addition, each narrative had four types of sentences: (1) an object sentence: the sentence that has a critical object that would be referred to in the anaphor sentence (e.g. an underlined sentence in the following example story. The critical object is marked by bold print). (2) time-shift sentence: the sentence that signals the narrative time change (e.g. an hour later …) or leaves the narrative time change relatively constant (e.g. a moment later …) (3) the sentence that has anaphoric reference to the critical object presented in the object sentence (e.g. an italicized sentence in the following example story. The anaphoric reference is marked by bold italic print). (4) the sentence that introduces the novel information required to move the stories along (e.g. boxed sentences in the following example story). The following story is one of ten short stories (http://dcl.wustl.edu//stimuli/SpeerZacks_Expt1Stimuli.pdf) (NB: boxed, and/or bold, and/or cursive print and/or sentences are for the benefit of the reader only; the subjects read all materials in regular print).

"Mary arrived at the campsite in the early afternoon. She put down her backpack and took off her hiking boots. An hour later, Mary was admiring the beautiful view. Mary opened the bag and took out her camera. She had just bought a new camera, and she hoped the pictures would turn out well. She could hear water running, and figured there must be a **creek**

experiment, Speer and Zacks (2005) observed that prior information was forgotten when following a temporal change,[35] because people understand temporal change as a situation change and store the current situation model in long-term memory and construct a new situation model.

One of the characteristics of situations in the real-world is that they often bound within a limited temporal range. Anderson, Garrod and Sanford's (1983) experimental study has demonstrated that real-world events can be segmented by the units that are demarcated by the time boundary, and these demarcated units construct episodes in the discourse. They found that most stereotyped episodes have a time boundary. Hence, as a discourse develops, if events move beyond the time boundaries, then people interpret the information as referring to a new situation and, as such, create a separate situation model that corresponds to the real-world situation change. In the experiment, people were asked to read a passage in which there was a time shift. There were two story versions, one in which the time shift was short enough to be considered part of the same

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nearby. A moment later, she was collecting wood for a fire. *She heard a noise near the stream.* Mary looked up in time to see a flock of birds rising overhead. She decided to set up her shelter before it got too dark outside. An hour later, she was hanging her food up in a tree. Mary finished setting up the tent. She checked to make sure it was well secured since the weather report had indicated it might rain that evening. It was getting close to being time for dinner, so Mary collected some wood and started a fire. A moment later, she was thinking back to the last time she went camping. The flames were going strong now. Now that the fire was going, she could start cooking dinner. She took out a pot for boiling water, and threw in a few vegetables and seasonings to make a stew. An hour later, she took out her lantern. She took the kettle off of the fire to let it cool. After finishing her dinner, Mary took the pot down to the stream to rinse it out, but lost her balance and fell in. She changed into dry clothes and hung her wet clothes on a shrub to dry off. A moment later, she set up her sleeping bag. Mary looked at the bush to check her clothes. They were still dripping, so she put out the fire, climbed into her sleeping bag, and was asleep immediately."

Subjects used a pen to draw a line between two words at the points they perceived as event boundaries. Participants were more likely to mark event boundaries preceding "An hour later" than preceding "A moment later." In addition, participants were more likely to mark event boundaries preceding any temporal change, compared to the other three types of sentences. This confirms that time is a salient dimension of a situation model construction, and that people understand temporal changes as event boundaries (Speer and Zacks 2005:129).

35   In this regard, see footnote 58.

situation and the other is to be part of a new situation.[36] They were asked to read each story, and then to add a single sentence which would naturally continue the fragment given. The analysis of these continuation sentences showed a significant interaction between the incidence of the mention of the main character and scenario-dependent character,[37] and the nature of the time change: (1) The incidence of mentioning the scenario-dependent character declined substantially after a beyond-range time change,[38] while incidences of mentioning the main character increased slightly under this condition (Anderson, Garrod and Sanford 1983:430-434). (2) Furthermore, question answering times and reading times of sentences that referred to scenario-dependent characters were longer for the long time-shift story versions than the short time-shift story versions (Anderson, Garrod and Sanford 1983:434-437). These results imply that:

- People regard the event within a certain time boundary as a coherent whole (unit) which is subsumed by the macro-proposition.

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36   Anderson, Garrod and Sanford (1983:432) give a sample of material in this regard. Subjects were asked to read the following story twice, viz. firstly with the sentence which begins with "ten minutes," and secondly with the sentence which begins with "seven hours." They then were asked to add a single sentence which would naturally continue after the last sentence.

> *At the cinema*
> Jenny found the film rather boring.
> The projectionist had to keep changing the reels.
> It was supposed to be a silent classic.
>
> Ten minutes ⎫
>   ⎬ Later the film was forgotten.
> Seven hours ⎭

37   Anderson, Garrod and Sanford (1983) define scenario-dependent character as a character who is dependent on the episode. For instance, in the episode headed about "at the cinema," the projectionist is the scenario-dependent character.

38   Stereotypic situations (e.g. a situation at the cinema) have accepted temporal boundaries that can be broadly conventionalized in a society. Anderson, Garrod and Sanford (1983:431-434) conducted experiments to examine the normal temporal boundaries associated with stereotypic situations. They used twenty stereotypic situations. They asked subjects to estimate the expected minimum and maximum duration each situation. The results show that temporal boundaries for a movie watching situation was identified as "from 30 minutes to 3 hours." In addition, 7 hours was understood as beyond-range time change for the movie watching situation "at the cinema." A projectionist is scenario-dependent, hence, when people read the sentence after temporal adverbial "after seven hours," they assume situation change, and they tend not to mention the cinema- scenario-dependent projectionist.

- People recognize event boundaries in the real-world by time change, and construct a new situation model according to time change (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:175-177).[39]

Although Anderson, Garrod and Sanford's (1983:430-434) experimental study has demonstrated that most stereotyped episodes have a time boundary; their study has also shown that large shifts in time are often accompanied by a large shift in location. For instance, 7 hours after a movie has begun, it is not only likely that the story has moved out of the timeframe of a movie watching scenario, but it is also likely that the story protagonist is no longer in the movie theater but in a different location. Hence, as a discourse develops, if events move beyond the time boundaries, and location changes, then people interpret the information as referring to a new situation and, as such, create a separate situation model. For instance, if one reads a story about "Mary preparing to go out, going for a meal in a restaurant, and then going to the cinema," people may construct different two situation models according to the change of location. One episode may be called a "restaurant" scenario and the next a "cinema" scenario.

The fact that people interpret temporal and spatial changes as situation changes, and construct a new situation model, has a significant implication regarding what the episode is in the comprehension processes of a narrative text. Temporal and spatial changes are often signalled by temporal and spatial adverbials at episode boundaries to help the reader to construct a new discourse representation unit. It is significant that readers construct a new discourse representation unit, as well as a new situation model by recognizing temporal and spatial changes signalled by temporal and spatial adverbials. This implies that an episode is not only a text representation unit, but also a situation model construction unit.

A situation model constructed in an episode, however, does not reflect a single situation. Zwaan and Radvansky (1998:165-166) make a distinction between the concept of a current, an updated, and a final model in the process of constructing a situation model. When reading the first sentence in an episode, the reader creates a situation model (current model). In the current situation model, the reader represents the participants who play roles in the events, and the spatio-temporal framework in which events took

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39   Zwaan (1996:1198-1200) and Zwaan and Radvansky (1998:175-177) have also noted the same result viz., that people identify situation change by time change, use temporal indications to signal situation change when they narrate the event, and temporal changes affect the construction of the situation model.

place. When situational continuity, i.e., temporal, spatial continuity,[40] is maintained, incoming situational information is integrated to update the current model. This process continues until the complete model (final model) is stored in long-term memory.

When we investigate a situation model, it has a schematic structure. A situation model is a concrete token of schemata.[41] Hence a situation model has a schematic nature. Just like scripts or frames, it has variable terminal categories. When people construct a situation model during the process of understanding an episode in a text, they do not construct a situation model composed of a single situation, but a series of situation models (schemata) (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:344; van Dijk 1987:174). "People make use of so-called situation schemata to build situation models" (Van Dijk 1987:174). They use these more-or-less stable categories for the kinds of things that should make up a situation model. For instance, the terminal categories (e.g. beginning, attempts, outcome, ending) of an episode identified by story grammarians are situation schemata. They form the terminal categories (i.e. building blocks) of a situation model in an episode. These situation schemata form a coherent situation model in an episode within the same temporal or/and spatial setting. Hence, an episode represents a single course-of-events situation composed of events that are united into a coherent whole (Zwaan, Radvansky and Whitten 2002:43). The fact that the episode represents a coherent situation in the comprehension process, and that people build a coherent situation model which is composed of a series of situations in an episode, indicate that the episode is a comprehension unit, viz. an organization unit (memory block). Hence, it is advisable to distinguish paragraphs in narrative according to memory block episodes.

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40   Temporal continuity occurs when an incoming sentence in a story describes an event, state or action that occurs within the same time interval as the previous sentence. Spatial continuity occurs when the text describes events, states, and actions that take place in the same spatial setting.

41   Schemata are mental representations of stereotypical situations. The difference between schemata and situation models can be conceptualized as one between types (schemata), and tokens (situations models) (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:162). For instance, the typical "situation model of a restaurant visit would be a mental representation of a specific restaurant visit, e.g., 'Thursday, October 14, 1997, at Chez Pierre, lunch with K'" (Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:162). In other words, a situation model is much more personal, based on one's own experiences, in which respect, it is different from a frame or a script (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983).

2.6 IDENTIFYING EPISODES

Episodes can be identified by recognizing linguistic devices which occur at episode boundaries. These linguistic devices are used by authors to signal the episode shift when there is a thematic shift. The linguistic devices are mental instructions of discourse representation.

Linguistic devices at episode boundaries signal readers to create a new partition of discourse representation in a narrative comprehension. These linguistic devices are called segmentation markers. [42] In comprehension processes, readers not only construct text representation but also build situation models. Hence, readers construct new situation models when they encounter segmentation markers during the comprehension processes. The fact that writers signal readers to create new partitions by making use of linguistic devices, and that readers understand the linguistic devices as such, provides the grounds for the following working hypothesis: *paragraphs in narrative texts should be distinguished on the basis of the episode as a delimitation unit by identifying linguistic devices at the episode boundaries.* With this in mind, in the next section of this study the functions of linguistic devices which occur at the episode boundaries in text production (in §2.6.1) and text comprehension processes (in §2.6.2) will be investigated.
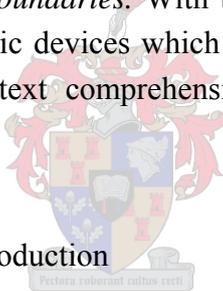
2.6.1 Linguistic Devices in Text Production

When people contemplate real-world events, they demarcate the event into discrete thematic units. As a consequence, we can expect that authors would structure narrative texts in terms of thematic units that give structure to the narrative, and that they would cue readers to understand them as such by the use of linguistic devices. Hence paragraphs can be distinguished by identifying these linguistic devices. It is therefore reasonable to argue that paragraphs should be distinguished on the basis of these signals (i.e. linguistic devices).

Production studies have shown that writers use linguistic devices at the episode boundaries to highlight theme shifts in discourse, viz. to signal discourse continuity and

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42   Segmentation markers usually belong to the general class of cue phrases or discourse markers that express the semantic and pragmatic connections between discourse segments (Redeker 1991; Schiffrin 1987). However, Bestgen and Vonk (1995), Bestgen and Costermans (1997), and Bestgen (1998) prefer to use the term segmentation marker to stress the discourse function of signaling discontinuity in discourse.

discontinuity (Bestgen and Costermans 1997:203). These linguistic devices, as segmentation markers, prevent readers from attempting to relate new incoming information to the preceding information. When there is a theme shift, the new sentence is, by definition, not directly connected to the previous ones, and the use of the so-called nextness strategy (Ochs 1979:62-66; Brown and Yule 1983:64)[43] is ill-advised. Readers have to start the construction of a new partition in their discourse representation (van Dijk & Kintsch 1983:204; Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:309-316).

Studies regarding the paragraph (§2.2.1) and the episode (§2.2.2) have established that episode shifts often are signalled by participant, and time and place change, and these are coded by linguistic devices. These linguistic devices are relevant to the segmentation principles that were identified by linguists such as Grimes (1975:102-105), Longacre (1979:118-120), and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983:204). Hence to distinguish paragraphs on the basis of episodes, investigation of the linguistic devices used by authors to signal episode shift, particularly referential expressions, temporal and spatial adverbials are necessary. These linguistic devices not only form a part of segmentation markers, but also function as major segmentational devices. It is widely recognized in both the psychological and the text linguistic literature that narrative texts tend to be delimited into episodes by different forms of referential expressions, temporal and spatial adverbials. Hence in the subsequent discussion, I will elucidate the way in which people identify episodes by recognizing these linguistic devices at the episode boundaries.[44]

2.6.1.1 Referential Expressions

One way of producing coherent discourse is to connect sentences by reference to entities earlier in the text. Referential devices serve to map the information in the current sentence onto antecedents in the discourse representation. They identify the referent to which the current predicated information has to be attached. Languages have several different linguistic devices to refer to entities that occur in the discourse, e.g. zero anaphors, pronouns, names and definite NPs.

Among the various factors determining the author's choice of referential expressions, the presence of an episode break is very important (Clancy 1980:156-157; Fox

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43   Nextness strategy is the principle of continuity, viz. readers assume, by default, that continuity is maintained.

44   The linguistic devices will be presented more thoroughly in the next chapter.

1987:167, 169,170; Tomlin 1987:463-469; Hofmann 1989:243 ; Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:309-316).[45] The episode can be identified by recognizing different forms of referential expressions. In particular, recognizing the function of some overspecified referential expressions provides an important clue towards the identification of episodes. The following studies are evidence in this regard.

2.6.1.1.1 Clancy (1980)

Clancy's (1980) examination of English and Japanese narratives[46] has shown the relationship between structure and referential choice. Speakers of both English and Japanese preferred inexplicit forms of reference (e.g. pronoun) for characters who had already been introduced into their narratives (Clancy 1980:131-143). In particular, in both languages, the introduction of a new character depends on discourse factors, e.g. at the beginning of an episode, new characters and main characters tend to be introduced by nominal reference in the first clause of a new sentence in the beginning of an episode (Clancy 1980:156-157). In addition, the discourse factors affect the relexicalization of nominal references (i.e. unusual nominal and explicit forms of reference), after a character has been introduced into the discourse, has been established as discourse active, and is expected to be referred to by means of pronouns or elliptical reference. A

45　In general, two approaches can be identified in the literature concerning referential choice. The first approach is explained by accessibility of the intended referent. Accessibility is widely considered to be a function of the amount of material which intervenes between antecedent and anaphor. On the basis of the accessibility of the referents in the discourse, it is possible to predict what kinds of device will be used in the text. The less accessible a referent is in the context, the greater the lexical specificity of the referring expression has to be (Givón 1983:13; Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:302). The second approach pays attention to the discourse structuring function of referential expressions. In this approach, referential choice is dependent on their discourse structuring functions, viz. the presence of an episode break is a main factor to determine the choice of different forms of anaphora. Authors use devices that are more explicit than necessary when there is an episode boundary (Clancy 1980; Fox 1987; Tomlin 1987; Hofmann 1989). Both approaches, however, have identified that the choice of referential expressions are influenced by discourse structure, i.e. referential expressions function as segmentation markers at episode boundaries which authors use in order to structure the text.

46　People were shown 16mm color and sound film, which is referred to as "pear story," and then asked to produce spoken narrative. These oral versions were reproduced as written narratives.

major reason accounting for the use of nominal and explicit forms of reference is, according to Clancy, the occurrence of episode boundaries.

2.6.1.1.2 Fox (1980)

Frequently, episode boundaries are marked by a shift from inexplicit, to both explicit forms and unusual nominal of reference,[47] although inexplicit forms of reference seem to be sufficient. In this regard, Fox (1987) states:

> …this use of full NP in the narrative texts lies in the structural organization being displayed by the writer (Fox 1987:167)

> … many full NP's in narratives which occur where one could have expected pronouns are functioning to signal the hierarchical structure of the text; in other words, I would argue, full NP's are used to demarcate new narrative units. … I do not mean to suggest with this statement that all development units are started with full NP's; rather, this is a slot in which full NP's can occur even though we might have expected pronouns (Fox 1987:169-170).[48]

Fox (1987) has identified cases of "unusual" explicit nominal reference in his investigation of discourse anaphora in English narrative. Fox (Fox 1987:161-162) found references by means of full NP's in cases where the referential distance (i.e. distance to most recent mentions) was extremely small. In these passages, there is arguably no clause-gap between reference B and the one just preceding it (A), yet the last mention (B) has been made by means of a full NP.

2.6.1.1.3 Tomlin (1987)

Authors use relexicalization of anaphora to signal discontinuity, and pronouns to support thematic unity to structure their narratives. In this regard, Tomlin (1987:463-

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47   This phenomenon cannot be explained by the so-called distance theory concerning anaphora in narratives. The distance theory concerns the degree of accessibility of intended referents relative to the amount of material which intervenes between an antecedent and an anaphor. On the basis of the accessibility of the referents in the discourse, one can predict what kinds of device will be used in the text. The less accessible a referent is in the context, the greater has to be the lexical specificity of the referring expression (Givón 1983:13). However, the relexicalization of referents cannot be explained by the distance theory alone. Relexicalization may also have other functions, e.g. the structuring of a discourse.

48   For further examples see Fox, 1987:167-170.

469) has demonstrated the relationship between the thematic organization of narrative discourse production, as reflected in its episodic organization, and the differential use of nominal and pronominal forms in discourse production. When people were asked to produce narratives for slide pictures and a video cartoon, they used a full noun to reinstate reference after an episode boundary, and they used a pronoun to maintain reference within an episode.

2.6.1.1.4 Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992)

Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992) have further investigated the relation between the use of the different forms of referring expressions and theme continuity in the production of text. Subjects were given two introductory sentences and asked to produce additional sentences to continue the story by using feeder words[49] at some point in each story. The subjects produced more theme continuation sentences when the feeder words were pronouns. They also more frequently used pronouns when thematic continuation feeder words were given (Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:305-309). In another experiment (Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:309-316), the subjects were instructed to write a complete story on the basis of a strip cartoon. After writing a story, the subjects were required to indicate the transitions between the pictures in their story by marking where the text accompanying each picture started. A number of expressions referring to time and place were used by subjects in sentences that marked theme shifts. If references to time and place do not occur in "theme-shifting sentences," pronouns are preferably not used. Instead, protagonists are referred to by means of overspecified expressions. This implies that overspecified nominal references can be used to mark a theme shift.

In summary, the results of Clancy (1980), Fox (1987), and Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992) have shown that the use of overspecified referential expressions depends on theme shifts, while the use of the pronoun is determined by theme continuity, that is, the differential use of anaphoric references correlates with thematic structure.[50]

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49   Overspecified referring expressions, pronouns, words of which the meaning is related to theme, and words of which the meaning is unrelated to theme were given as feeder words.

50   In addition, their experiment (from the point of view of comprehension) has shown that overspecified (anaphoric) expressions contribute to the building of the mental representation of a text (Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:316-328). This will be discussed in section 2.6.2.1.1.

2.6.1.1.5 Listener-Oriented Strategy

Why should speakers/authors shift from inexplicit to explicit forms of reference at episode boundaries? A reason may be found in the so-called listener-oriented strategy. The speaker/author has learned that such shifts can be used as narrative devices to indicate these structural boundaries to the listener/reader (Clancy 1980:172). Readers assume, by default, that continuity is maintained. Only if there is a textual cue that the new text is discontinuous with the old, or if attempts at continuous integration cannot be maintained, the reader interprets new information as discontinuous (Du Bois 1980:204; Brown and Yule 1983:64; Segal, Duchan and Scott 1991:32). However, there are many instances of discontinuity in narrative, such as temporal discontinuity, spatial discontinuity and character discontinuity. These discontinuities should be signaled by the authors.

The pronouns fulfill a special function in discourse; it prototypically signals the maintenance of the current thematic subject. Sentence-initial pronouns are treated as special default devices indicating to the reader or listener that no change has taken place as far as the thematic subject is concerned. In contrast to pronouns, fuller definite descriptions, such as full NPs, help readers to identify discourse role (situation role),[51] or to anchor newly introduced entities to the scene (Garrod and Sanford 1990:468-478).

From the perspective of information structure, pronominal references represent discourse active information in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of utterance. Hence, there is minimal need for linguistic coding, i.e. the less explicit forms of reference such as pronoun. However, when there is a theme shift, authors should use nominal anaphora, which is more marked and bigger in size than pronominal anaphora, to activate or reactivate characters in the hearer's consciousness (Chafe 1976:30-31; Virtanen 1992:102-104; Virtanen 2004:86-87).[52] Writers may decide to change the theme while continuing to talk about the same character. Once the writer has made his

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51   In the narrative comprehension process, it is necessary for the reader to recognize not only characters in a narrative as individuals, but also the roles that these characters are playing in the situations portrayed (Garrod and Sanford 1990:466). The episode is a representation of a real-world event. In real-world events, when a change of situation occurs, the new situation needs new situation roles for the participants. Hence, writers signal new situation roles by use of various referential expressions.

52   This is the iconicity principle (Givón 1983:17-18; Givón 1992:25; Virtanen 2004:86-89), according to which "information that is already activated requires the smallest amount of code" (Givón 1992:25).

decision, he/she may want to help the reader to structure the incoming input by selecting a linguistic device to indicate the theme shift. For this purpose, writers use an overspecified reference at episode boundaries. In this way, the overspecified referential expressions contribute to starting a new theme and closing the previous one (Vonk, Hustinx and Simons 1992:329).

This listener-oriented strategy for the choice of referential expressions is affected by a cognitive factor. In his investigation into the relationship between paragraph and anaphora, Hofmann (1989) has identified that the paragraph breaks are *barriers to anaphora*, i.e. a pronoun or other anaphoric element cannot extend across paragraph boundaries (Hofmann 1989:242-243). Hofmann (1989:243) illustrates the cognitive function of the paragraph boundaries as follows:

> The speaker/author writes on a blackboard in his addressee's mind - perhaps the so-called temporary memory - and before it gets too full, he should indicate to his addressee to save what he wants in longer-term memory and to erase the blackboard for something more. The paragraph break accomplishes this, and thus acts as a barrier to anaphora; pronouns cannot be used to point to something on a blackboard after it has been erased (Hofmann 1989:243).

Hence, writers do not use a pronoun at the beginning of an episodic unit, but use overspecified referential expressions, for instance, full nominals, to signal thematic boundaries at the beginning of new units in a narrative so that readers may begin to build new discourse representations.

In summary, the delimitation of a narrative text on the basis of the episode achieved by identifying referential expressions at the episode boundaries, is justified by the following:

- Referential expressions are segmentation markers which signal thematic continuity and discontinuity.
- Corpus studies have confirmed that referential expressions have a discourse structuring function. Nominal references such as full NP's, and renominalization, are used at the beginning of episodes. When the author/speaker wants to signal an episode shift, but the referents of the new episode would be similar to those of a current episode, he/she typically resorts to explicit (i.e. nominal) referential expressions to signal the shift. This type of relexicalization of pronominal references at episode boundaries is in contrast to the use of pronouns and elliptical expressions within episodes.

- Seen from the listener-oriented strategy used by authors/speakers, referential expressions are mental processing instructions of discourse representation. Overspecified referential expressions signal the reader to end a current representation unit, and to build new units of discourse representation, while pronominal references signal the maintenance of a current representation unit.

2.6.1.2 Temporal and Spatial Adverbials

Clause-initial adverbials of time and place act as segmentation markers in narratives. They are "grammatical signals" that highlight the beginning of a new episode (Longacre 1979:117-118; van Dijk 1982:181; Brown and Yule 1983:95-100; Chafe 1984:444-445; Virtanen 1992:100-102; Virtanen 2004:82-86). Empirical studies have also shown that these segmentation markers occur at episode boundaries when there is a theme shift. They demarcate an episode from other episodes so that readers can construct a new partition in the discourse representation.

2.6.1.2.1 Bestgen and Costerman (1994)

In an investigation of narrative structure, Bestgen and Costerman (1994) recognized that a narrative is structured by units which are composed of activities that belong to the same areas (e.g. leisure: sports, reading; gardening: weeding the garden, pruning …). Thus a narrative is structured by units that are composed of thematically similar activities. These units give a structure to the narrative (Bestgen and Costerman 1994:429). [53] In another experiment they (1994:427-434) identified that temporal expressions function as segmentation markers and highlight theme shifts. Subjects were asked to compose a continuous text by joining a list[54] of activities that took place

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53   Concerning this, see §2.5.1.

54   For instance, two groups of subjects were involved: the one group were asked to compose a continuous text, whereas the other group were asked to insert linguistic markers at the appropriate places to organize the text temporally.

I looked over the sports page of *Le Soir* and read an article about the Formula 1 Grand Prix in Australia. I read the results of the various football leagues. I definitively understand the impact of the grand European market of 1992 thanks to an article in *Vif-L'express*. I became absorbed in a comic strip by Franquin, *Gaston* number 7. I read *Boule and Bill Globetrotters*. I did some warming-up exercises on the guitar. I tightened some of the strings. I played a romantic piece that I like a lot. I continued with an 18th-century air. I enjoyed myself composing some variations which would make the theme more melancholy. I analyzed the

during an afternoon in an appropriate manner without changing their order, by whenever necessary, adding connecting and linking words, temporal indicators, and punctuation marks. Other subjects were given the same lists and asked to select the most appropriate temporal markers which indicate temporal organization of the activities during an afternoon, by making a choice from one of the following four possibilities: (1) around such a time, at such a time (anchorage markers),[55] (2) then, after that (sequence markers), (3) "and" or (4) nothing at all. A comparison of the text produced by the two groups revealed a significant correlation between the different markers and the hierarchical structure used by both groups. The anchorage markers were used by both groups to mark the more definite breaks (e.g. theme shifts), that is, to introduce the main segments of the narrative (viz. episodes), whereas the use of *and*, or commas, and of no punctuation marks, are indicative of the absence of breaks (Bestgen and Costerman 1994:429:429-432). The result of this experiment confirms that people use anchorage markers to highlight theme shifts. For this reason anchorage markers can be used as one of the markers of episode boundaries.

2.6.1.2.2 Bestgen and Costermans (1997)

Bestgen and Costermans (1997) conducted an experiment similar to that of Bestgen and Costerman (1994). They investigated the organizational function of temporal expressions in narrative, and determined the role they play in signaling continuity-discontinuity. Subjects were given a list of statements that describe activities that took place during a day. The activities were selected in such a way as to be easily grouped and organized hierarchically. The subjects were then asked to write a short narrative based on these statements. The results show that anchorage markers were used mainly in the sentences that followed the most important breaks, and the sequence markers in the sentences which followed intermediate breaks. In contexts of high continuity, temporal expressions were absent and the connected "and" was more often used (Bestgen and Costermans 1997:210). Thus the results of this experiment also demonstrate that people use temporal markers to structure a narrative. In particular, the

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piece assigned for the Conservatory examination. I tried to play the first part (Bestgen and Costerman 1994:445).

55   Anchorage markers (e.g. *at 10 o'clock, in the afternoon*) indicate the moment of the day at which an event took place by anchoring it at a particular point on a conventional time scale. Sequence markers (*then, afterwards*) place the event in relation to one or several other events of the same time period. In the first case, the reference framework is outside the sequence of events, whereas in the second, it is within.

findings that anchorage markers occurred within the episode boundaries to signal major breaks in the narrative, suggests that episodes can be demarcated by temporal adverbials.

2.6.1.3 Summary

Production studies have shown that authors make use of linguistic devices such as referential expressions, spatial and temporal adverbials to signal thematic shifts at episode boundaries. These linguistic devices have a structural function, namely, that of segmentation markers. In addition, they function as mental processing instructions of discourse representation. They help readers not to integrate incoming information to previous information, but to begin new partitions of discourse representations. Therefore, the episode can be identified by recognizing these linguistic devices.

2.6.2 Linguistic Devices in Text Comprehension

Comprehension studies have shown that segmentation markers, which occur at episode boundaries when there is a thematic shift, affect the comprehension process by providing mental processing instructions (Givón 1992:22; Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:167). When readers encounter segmentation markers at episode boundaries during comprehension processes, they construct new partitions of discourse representations. This section investigates the function of segmentation markers, particularly referential expressions, spatial and temporal adverbials, in the comprehension process. This aims to clarify the reasons why narrative texts should be demarcated on the basis of the episode by identifying these segmentation markers.

2.6.2.1 Referential Expressions

The structural function of different forms of referential expressions at episode boundaries has been recognized in text production studies. Empirical studies with regard to *comprehension* processes have demonstrated that different forms of referential expressions which occur at episode boundaries are understood by readers as such, and affect the construction of new partitions of text representations.

2.6.2.1.1 Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992)

Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992:316-328) conducted experiments to investigate whether an overspecified referential expression can effect a theme shift, or can function as a signal of a theme shift to the comprehender. To achieve this, they measured the

availability of information in the sentence preceding the referential expression, to establish whether an overspecified referential expression affects the incrementing text representation differently from a non-overspecified one. The availability of this information was measured using a probe recognition technique. When the probe word[56]

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56   For example, people were asked to read four versions of the text: (1) the first version that has the target sentence which begins with overspecification in a theme shift version, (2) the second version that has the target sentence which begins with a pronoun in a theme shift version, (3) the third version that has the target sentence which begins with overspecification in a theme continuation version and (4) the fourth version that has the target sentence which begins with a pronoun in a theme continuation version. After each reading of one of the four versions, a probe word "*field*" was given and the recognition time was measured. (Bold italic type in the following sample text indicates the target sentence and the probe word in the pre-target sentence, and are used for the benefit of the report reader only; the subjects saw all the material in regular print.)

Professor Alan Johnson is a very busy man. In addition to being the father of a large family, he is employed at the medical faculty of the University of Utrecht. His current research subject is massage therapy. There are, he tells us, a large number of different massage techniques, and new techniques are added each year. He mentions footsore-massage as one of the most important techniques. Johnson was trained as a masseur in the past. He still works regularly as a masseur. In this way he keeps in touch with the *field* and (interesting) ideas for new research come up (again and again)

THEME SHIFT VERSION

Johnson, a professor of medicine, is the father of seven children. (*He is the father of seven children*.) Although his work demands a lot of him, he always finds time for them. His children appreciate this greatly.

THEME CONTINUATION VERSION

He considers this research important. (*Johnson, a professor of medicine, considers this research important*.) Therefore he spends much time in his laboratory, where he supervises the research of many younger colleagues.

For instance, people were asked to read the first version, viz. "Professor Alan Johnson is a very busy man. …. In this way he keeps in touch with the "*field*" and (interesting) ideas for new research come up (again and again). *Johnson, a professor of medicine*, is the father of seven children. Although his work demands a lot of him, he always finds time for them. His children appreciate this greatly." And then they were given a probe word "*field*" and recognition time was measured. Immediately after they had read the overspecified referential expression "*Johnson, a professor of medicine*," a probe word "*field*" was given, and the recognition time was measured. When a probe word "*field*" was given immediately after subjects read the overspecified referential expression "*Johnson, a professor of medicine*," the recognition time was longer than

was presented immediately after the referential expression at the beginning of the sentence, before any content information in the target sentence has been encountered, the probe recognition time was longer in the overspecified reference condition than in the pronoun condition. The results show that the overspecified expression makes the information in the preceding sentence less available. The reason is that overspecification contributes to starting a new theme and to closing the previous one, so that readers may construct a new partition of discourse representation. This corresponds to the role of overspecified referential expression(s) in language production, viz. that referential expressions signal thematic shifts to readers. The results confirm that referential expressions are mental processing instructions (Givón 1992:22; Zwaan and Radvansky 1998:167), viz. overspecification signals theme shift and helps readers to construct new partitions of text representations.

2.6.2.1.2 Cognitive Functions of Referential Expressions in Memory

In actual communicative situations, the grammar does not directly interact with the text. Rather, the grammar interacts with the mind that produces or interprets the text. In this regard, (Givón 1992:6) states:

> "The grammar of referential coherence is NOT primarily about reference. Rather it is about identifying and activating the locations ("mental files," "storage nodes") where verbally coded text is stored in episodic memory. Nominal referents - topics - serve as file labels; they are used to access ("activate") the storage nodes where incoming information is filed."

Among referential expressions, anaphoric pronouns and zero anaphora, are grammatical devices that signal continued activation of a currently active file viz. a specific referent (Givón 1992:25). As a continued activation of the current open file, they are the default ("unmarked") case (Ochs 1979:62-66; Segal, Duchan and Scott 1991:32). By contrast, non-pronominal referent-coding devices - names, nouns, or full NP's – can be used to deactivate the current active file, and get activation as new file labels, according to their thematic importance.[57] Only important non-continuing referents can get activated and then serve as node labels for incoming information. Unimportant referents, however,

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when a probe word "*field*" was given immediately after subjects read the pronoun "he." This result confirms that overspecified referential expressions contribute to end the previous unit and construct a new partition of the discourse representation. Hence subjects took a longer time to recognize the word that belongs to the previous discourse unit.

57   When a referent could be a topic in the following discourse, it has thematic importance (Givón 1992:26).

cannot be activated and do not serve as node labels. Rather, they themselves are filed as new information in a current active file (Givón 1992:26-38).

There are cognitive processes at or around the boundary of an episode which are not present inside the episode. In conjunction with the cognitive function of referential expressions at the beginning of an episode, the reader identifies the protagonist of the episode and establishes a new memory location for the protagonist. According to Clark and Haviland (1977:7) the additional procedure is used by a reader at the beginning of a story or paragraph when no prior context is available. Without such context, all the referents in a sentence, whether given or new in a strictly linguistic sense, are new, and therefore require new memory locations. In this regard, overspecified referential expressions function as file labels for new memory locations. Hence they signal new segmentation. The fact that overspecified referential expressions which function as segmentation markers at the beginning of episodes signal the boundaries of an information block, and readers understand them as such, and construct new partitions of discourse representation, implies that the episode is a comprehension unit in narrative text. Hence, the episode can be distinguished by identifying different forms of referential expressions.

2.6.2.1.3 Referential Expressions and the Situation Model

Referential expressions are also important in connection with constructing a situation model. During the reading of a narrative text, readers recognize not only entities in the narrative but also the roles that these entities are playing in the situations portrayed. In this regard, Garrod and Sanford (1990:466) state:

> We suggest that individuation of an entity and individuation by role arise from two different components of the reader's dynamic discourse model, one concerned with keeping track of the currently relevant story characters and the other with keeping track of the currently relevant situation.

Why do readers recognize the situation role of the entities during reading? This may be due to the fact that readers not only construct a propositional representation of the text but also a situation model during the comprehension process. Hence, readers pay attention both to entities that constitute the topics or thematic subjects of the scene to construct a cohesive and coherent text representation; and pay attention to their roles portrayed in the text, to construct a situation model.

Garrod and Sanford (1990) identified the essential difference between the function of pronouns, and fuller definite descriptions. Pronouns have a privileged status as

anaphoric devices for maintaining reference to discourse individuals, whereas other definite descriptions serve the more general function of identifying discourse roles.

> From a referential point of view, a role is a means of anchoring individuals to situations and it is mainly through definite descriptions that this is signalled. Thus, to the extent that a descriptive noun phrase, whether definite or indefinite, may serve to introduce a discourse entity into explicit focus, this entity is role dependent in the sense that its existence in the representation rests on the relevance of that role in the flux of changing situations (Garrod and Sanford 1990:482).

Hence when readers encounter pronouns during reading they regard the current situation model as maintained, whereas they assume a change of situation and construct a new situation model, in which the entity plays a new situation role, when they encounter definite descriptions, such as full NP's in episode boundaries. Hence an episode can be demarcated by identifying different forms of referential expressions in episode boundaries.

2.6.2.2 Temporal and Spatial Adverbials

Authors use several different ways to express the temporal relation between successive actions or events to structure the text. For instance, they juxtapose sentences to indicate that the second event follows the first. This strategy, however, can be modulated to highlight the continuity or discontinuity of actions or events by making use of temporal expressions which function as segmentation markers. These segmentation markers have discourse-structuring functions and signal the reader to recognize the discourse structure, and to represent that structure during the comprehension process, i.e. authors use temporal adverbials to signal discourse unit shifts in narrative texts so that readers may create new partitions in mental representation. Hence we can expect 1) that when readers encounter temporal and spatial adverbials during reading, they understand them as a signal of discourse unit shifts, and 2) that temporal and spatial adverbials which occur at episode boundaries would affect readers' comprehension processes.

2.6.2.2.1 Bestgen and Vonk (1995)

Bestgen and Vonk (1995) investigated the role of temporal adverbials as segmentation markers during the comprehension of text, viz. whether temporal segmentation markers modify the processing of text. In a probe recognition test, when people were asked to indicate whether a word was, or was not present in the preceding part of the text, they took more time to recognize the word after reading anchorage markers than where no

such markers occurred (Bestgen and Vonk 1995:389-393).[58] This result confirms that the presence of a temporal segmentation marker reduces the accessibility of preceding information. In addition, Bestgen and Vonk (1995) found that temporal markers differentially affect the availability of preceding information. For instance, *and* and the absence of a temporal marker (e.g. He opened the door, went inside …) made previous information more available than a sequential marker such as *then* (Bestgen and Vonk 1995:398-403). Bestgen and Vonk's (1995) finding shows that the role of temporal segmentation markers in text comprehension parallels their role in text production: temporal segmentation markers used to highlight the strongest breaks in the discourse reduced the accessibility of previous information to a greater degree than weaker markers (Bestgen and Vonk 1995:393-398).[59] This confirms that temporal adverbials have cognitive functions in the comprehension process, and authors use them as segmentation markers. Readers understand temporal adverbials as such when they

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58   The findings of Speer and Zacks' (2005) correspond to those of Bestgen and Vonk (1995). Their experiment was conducted in order to determine whether prior information is forgotten following a temporal change. In their experiments, the narratives were presented one sentence at a time on the computer screen, and subjects were asked to read the narratives at their own pace. Immediately after the subjects read one sentence, a probe word was given to the subjects and they were asked to indicate whether the probe word had appeared in a recent sentence. When a probe word is given immediately after they read a temporal adverbial (e.g. an hour later, a moment later), the response time to correctly identify the probe word was significantly slower than response times to identify other probe words given after they had read other clauses. In another experiment, subjects read 20 narratives presented one sentence at a time on the computer monitor. Subjects were instructed to indicate as soon as they had finished reading and comprehending each sentence. The most significant result was that the introduction of sentential initial temporal adverbials (e.g. an hour later) between the mention of an object and an anaphoric reference to that object, slowed the reading of the anaphor sentences (e.g. She could hear water running and figured there must be a **creek** nearby. **An hour later**, she was collecting wood for a fire. Mary heard a noise near **the stream**. Creek: object/ An hour later: sentence initial temporal adverbial/ anaphoric sentence: Mary heard a noise near the stream.). The results have shown that temporal changes influence the accuracy of retrieval processes, as well as the speed with which prior information can be retrieved.

59   Bestgen and Costerman (1994), Bestgen and Vonk (1995), and Bestgen and Costerman's (1997) production studies have shown the correlation between the different temporal markers and their role in marking the hierarchical structure of a text: they are distinguished according to the importance of the continuity-discontinuity that they signal.

encounter them during the text comprehension process, and proceed to create new units of discourse representation.

2.6.2.2.2 Bestgen and Vonk (2000)

Bestgen and Vonk (2000) have further identified the cognitive function of temporal adverbials in conjunction with cognitive mechanisms and processes.

> Comprehension rests on three processes that allow the construction of a mental structure based on the information being comprehended. The first words of a text are used to lay the foundation for the first substructure. Then new information is mapped onto this substructure provided that this new information is sufficiently coherent with the previous information. If this is not the case, readers shift and initiate a new substructure (Bestgen and Vonk 2000:76).

When readers encounter a topic shift, they first try to link the new information to the ongoing substructure. When this is not possible, they arrive at the conclusion that there is a topic shift and that a new partition is needed. Consequently they shift and initiate a new substructure for which the foundations have to be laid. The momentary increase in processing load due to the efforts to establish continuity (i.e., trying to reinstate an old concept or to make bridging inferences) and the additional resources needed to build the new substructure (i.e., finding the new topic and encoding new information) is what is responsible in this framework for the slow-down in reading.[60]

Bestgen and Vonk (2000) conducted a series of experiments in connection with theme shift and comprehension processes of texts to investigate whether temporal adverbials function as segmentation markers which signal a change in theme, so that readers may bypass the integration step, i.e. not try to link the new information to the ongoing substructure, and to directly construct a new partition in their discourse representation. They (Bestgen and Vonk 2000:76-80) investigated whether the theme-shift sentences which begin with clause-initial adverbials of time affect on-line processing of text.[61]

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60   This phenomenon has been documented (See: Clark and Haviland 1977; Haberlandt 1980; Haberlandt, Berian and Sandson 1980). The term 'boundary effect' was introduced to indicate that the reading time for the first sentence of an episode in a story is longer than the reading times for intra-episode sentences.

61   Bestgen and Vonk (2000) have tried to determine in which positions temporal adverbial expressions function as segmentation markers. A linguistic device is assumed to behave as a discourse marker, a cue phrase, or a segmentation marker, only if it appears at the beginning of a

sentence (Brown and Yule 1983; Redeker 1991; Schiffrin 1987; Virtanen 1992). Bestgen and Vonk (2000:81-83) compared temporal markers of segmentation with another type of adverbial expression (sentence adverbial). Subjects read 20 texts, each having two versions. In one version, a target sentence continued on a theme; that is, the target sentence was preceded by sentences describing the same activity. In the other version, the same target sentence introduced a theme shift; that is, this sentence was preceded by sentences about a different activity. An example narrative is as follows (NB: bold print indicates the target sentence and is used for the benefit of the research report reader only; the participant subjects saw all materials in regular print):

THEME CONTINUITY VERSION

I went into the kitchen to prepare the dinner. I peeled the potatoes. I put the roast in a saucepan**. I cut up a slice of cooked ham**. I gave it to the cat. It showed me it wanted more.

THEME DISCONTINUITY VERSION

This Monday, I got up very late. I had a full breakfast. I decided to go for a trip in the country. I dressed myself warmly. **I cut up a slice of cooked ham**. I gave it to the cat. It showed me it wanted more.

In their experiments, when subjects read the above two versions, subjects took a longer time to read the target sentence in the theme shift version than the theme continuity version because of boundary effect. However, when a temporal adverbial is inserted at the beginning of the target sentence in the theme shift version, the target sentence with preposed temporal adverbial was not read significantly slower than the target sentence in the theme continuity version, because the preposed temporal adverbial cancels the boundary effect. However, when temporal adverbials are inserted at the end of target sentences, they did not cancel the boundary effect, viz. reading time was slower. Bestgen and Vonk (2000) further investigated whether cancellation of the boundary effect is due to special adverbials, i.e. preposed temporal adverbials. In another experiment, when subjects read target sentences in theme shift versions with a preposed temporal adverbial (e.g. *Around 11 o'clock* I cut up a slice of cooked ham.), the reading time of target sentences was not longer than that of the target sentence without any adverbials in theme continuity, i.e., preposed temporal adverbials cancel the boundary effect. In addition, when subjects read target sentences in theme shift versions with a preposed sentence adverbial (e.g. *As usual* I cut up a slice of cooked ham.), the sentence adverbial reading time of the target sentence was longer than the target sentences in theme continuity versions without any adverbials, because sentence adverbials did not function as markers of segmentation. The boundary effect influenced this condition, i.e., the temporal adverbial cancels the boundary effect, but the sentence adverbial does not. This supports the claim that temporal adverbials inform readers that there is a theme shift and readers understand them as such. Bestgen and Vonk's (2000)

Readers took more time to read a theme shift sentence than a continuous sentence when there was no segmentation marker, whilst with a preposed adverbial of time, readers did not read discontinuous sentences significantly slower than continuous ones.[62] Temporal adverbials such as segmentation markers seem to direct the readers to bypass the integration of new information into the preceding information, and to immediately start constructing a new partition in their discourse representation. In other words Bestgen and Vonk's (2000) results show that temporal adverbials as segmentation markers have a cognitive function in the text comprehension process, whereby they prompt readers to bypass the integration step, and to go on to directly construct a new partition in their discourse representation.

2.6.2.2.3 Temporal and Spatial Adverbials and the Situation Model

As regards their cognitive function, temporal and spatial adverbials are important in constructing situation models during comprehension processes. They signal situation change. In order to understand the real-world event, people segment the real-world event into discrete units according to the temporal and spatial changes. These discrete units are thematic and form episodes. Hence, when readers encounter the temporal and spatial adverbials, they regard them as a situation change and build a new situation model.[63]

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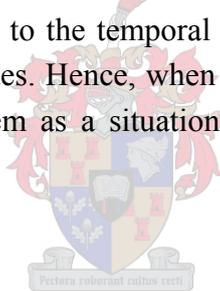
results have shown that only temporal expressions inserted at the beginning of the sentences function as segmentational markers; however temporal expressions inserted at the end of the sentence do not function as a marker of segmentation, and consequently, do not reduce the boundary effect. In addition, among preposed temporal expressions, only temporal adverbials function as segmentational markers, but sentence adverbials do not. Therefore, the research of Bestgen and Vonk (2000) can be interpreted as demonstrating the segmentation function of preposed temporal adverbials in the comprehension process.

62 This result is fully compatible with the hypothesis that readers try to relate the new information by default to the preceding information. Understanding a text is an incremental process in which new sentences are integrated with the preceding ones to construct a coherent mental representation. It has been suggested that this process resides, by default, in what is called the "nextness principle" Ochs (1979), or the "principle of continuity": "readers assume, by default, that continuity is maintained" (Segal, Duchan and Scott 1991:32).

63 In this regard, see §2.6.2.2.

2.6.2.3 Summary

Our survey of studies in text comprehension processes provides further justification for distinguishing paragraphs on the basis of episodes. These studies provide the following insights into the cognitive function of 1) overspecified referential expressions and 2) temporal and spatial adverbials:

1. Overspecified referential expressions at episode boundaries affect the incrementing text representation of readers. When used at a point A in a text, readers tend to find information conveyed in the text before point A less available (hence, more difficult to recall?). This is the case because they assume by default that a theme shift is involved, and open a new file in their memory for storing information predicated to the overspecified referential expression used at point A.

2. From the perspective of the concept of the situation model, it appears that overspecified referential expressions tend to prompt readers to construct a new situation model at the point A referred to above. This happens because they assume by default that a new role for the overspecified referential expression is introduced at point A.

3. When readers encounter temporal or spatial adverbials, the effects are similar to that of encountering overspecified referential expressions. Information preceding a point B where the adverbials are used is less available, since readers, by default, construct a new situation model at point B.

These insights into the text comprehension processes correlate with those described in §2.6.2 from the perspective of the text production process.

2.6.3 Topic Strategies

Thus far, the concept of the episode, the reason why distinguishing paragraphs in narrative should be dependent on the episode, and how one episode can be demarcated from other episodes, have been investigated by focusing mainly on linguistic devices. These investigations demonstrate that narrative text can be demarcated into units without tracing explicitly a theme in terms of its content, but rather by how a theme is expressed. This is achieved by identifying a set of linguistic devices.[64]

In his investigation of the discourse topic, Goutsos (1997) provided a useful model for distinguishing paragraphs according to linguistic devices. In line with Brown and Yule

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64   In this regard, Brown and Yule (1983:94) state: "Yet our interpretation of what a speaker is talking about is inevitably based on how he structures what he is saying."

(1983:94) and Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997), [65] Goutsos (1997) examines discourse topic from the perspective of the sequential structuring mechanism. This mechanism is described in terms of two strategies, viz. topic continuity and topic shift. In addition, these two strategies are identified by linguistic devices.

1.   Topic shift is effected by the techniques of *topic framing*, *topic introducing*, and *topic closure*.

- Topic framing is an optional sequential technique by means of which a current continuation span is closed and a transition span is opened. Topic framing provides a new orientation for the discourse, which anticipates an ensuing topic introduction (Goutsos 1997:48). Topic framing is indicated by the paragraph break, meta-discourse items, [66] discourse markers, initial adjuncts (sentence initial adverbials/clauses), encapsulation [67], and predictive items [68] (Goutsos 1997:46-56).

- Topic introduction is an obligatory sequential technique associated with the strategy of topic shift while both topic framing and topic closure are optional. Topic introduction itself is signalled by a different range of topic signals, which includes special sentence structure arrangements, [69] renominalization, [70]

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65   Concurring with Brown and Yule (1983), Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997:89-98) analyze narrative text by focusing on linguistic strategies, viz. the linguistic devices that segment narrative units and secure their internal cohesion. They distinguish three basic cohesive devices for narrative: discourse markers, participant chains, and time chains.

66   For instance, "on the contrary" is an example of meta-discourse items. The difference between meta-discourse items and discourse markers is a matter of degree of fixedness. Discourse markers are grammaticalized meta-discourse items (Goutsos 1997:50).

67   Into this category fall definite reference items and nominal groups with anaphoric nouns. For instance, the definite reference items "this" and "that" are examples of encapsulation devices. In general, "this" and "that," both as heads and as modifiers for their nominal groups, may be used as local cohesive devices; that is, in order to create a cohesive tie with the previous sentence; in this case, they signal topic continuation. However, they can function as long-range cohesive devices, to refer back to a whole stretch of discourse. In this use, they sum up the previous discourse and close the current continuation span.

68   Predictive items "involve structural pairs of predictive and predicted members, whether the occurrence of the former predicts the occurrence of the latter (Goutsos 1997:54-55)." Into this category fall, for instance, enumeration through numerals (e.g. For railway fans, privatization should, in principle, offer three huge advantages. First, it should encourage the rooting-out of inefficiency. … Second, …. Third…).

69   The presentational sentence is an example of this category (e.g. there is …).

tense shift,[71] and predicted members of a set of prediction pairs[72] (Goutsos 1997:56-61).

- Topic closure is the third sequential technique for the realization of the topic shift strategy. Topic closure provides an advance warning of the upcoming closure of the current continuation span. The technique of topic closure is signalled by paragraph breaks, meta-discourse items, discourse markers, switch to the perfect tense, and encapsulation (Goutsos 1997:61-64).

2. Topic continuity is achieved by the technique of *topic continuation*.
- Topic continuation is an obligatory technique. Topic continuation is indicated by a range of signals including parentheses, discourse markers, sentence-structure patterns, time continuity, and local cohesive devices (Goutsos 1997:64-70).

Goutsos' (1997) result provides a well integrated, testable model for distinguishing paragraphs according to linguistic devices. The main concern of this present study is to suggest a model to distinguish paragraphs taking into consideration the linguistic devices utilized by the author to signal continuity and discontinuity, both on the inside and at the borders of episodes. In conjunction with this study, Goutsos' (1997) model is important because it is based on the sequential structuring mechanism of topic continuity and topic shift respectively, identified by linguistic signals.

When cognitive functions of the linguistic devices identified by the investigation thus far are taken into consideration, Goutsos' (1997) sequential strategies correspond well to Gernsbacher's (1997) so-called "structure building framework." According to Gernsbacher (1997:3), to build the coherent representation of the text, at least three component processes are involved, as follows:

> First, comprehenders lay foundations for their mental structures. Next, comprehenders develop mental structures by mapping on new information when that information coheres or relates to previous information. However, when the incoming information is less coherent or related, comprehenders employ a different process: they shift and build new substructure.

Linguistic devices such as pronominal reference that signal theme continuity help the reader to maintain a current situation model; however linguistic devices such as

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70   In this regard, also Clancy (1980:156-157), Fox (1987:167, 169,170), Tomlin (1987:463-469), Hofmann (1989:243), and Vonk, Hustinx and Simons (1992:309-316) concur.

71   Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:38, 40) identified the tense shift in the initiation of a thematic unit as a cross linguistic phenomenon.

72   For instance, in an example given in footnote 68, "first," "second," and "third" are examples of predicted items.

overspecified referential expressions, and temporal and spatial adverbials, that signal theme shifts, help readers to construct new situation models. In §2.6.2, ample empirical evidence has been provided in this regard.

On the basis of the evidence from the experiments designed to elucidate text production and text processing as described in §2.6.1 and 2.6.2, we wish to slightly modify Goutsos' (1997) topic structure model and present it as follows:

LINGUISTIC DEVICES	Theme Continuity	Theme Shift	Theme Continuity	Theme Shift
TECHNIQUES	TC	(TCL TF) TI	TC	(TCL TF)
SPAN	Continuation → transition → continuation → transition			
EPISODE	Episode		Episode	
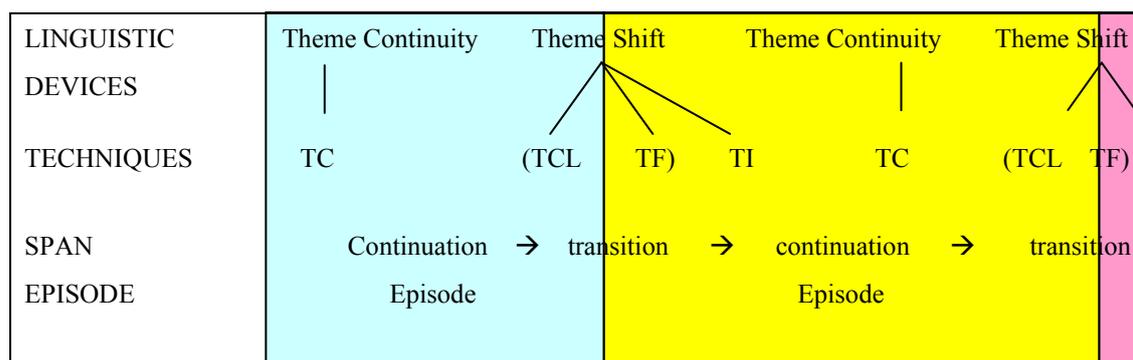
Modified from Goutsos' model of topic structure model (Goutsos 1997:75)
TCL: topic closure, TF: topic framing, TI: topic introduction, TC: topic continuation

2.7   SUMMARY

Investigations in text-linguistics and psycholinguistics have established that narrative is not simply a string of sentences, but has a multi-dimensional or hierarchical structure, which structure can be broken down into units.

- Investigations into paragraphs in text-linguistics have suggested that paragraphs are structural grammatical units located between the sentence and discourse, and paragraphs are identifiable because of linguistic devices. However, experimental research in psycholinguistics has revealed that paragraphs are not grammatical units, by demonstrating that paragraphs distinguished by readers do not coincide with those of the authors. Hence, it is not advisable to use "paragraph" as a delimitating unit of narrative texts.
- In contrast to the approach mentioned above, "the episode" is identified as a cognitively relevant unit, as well as a structural unit in psycholinguistic and text-linguistic theory. In addition, it is recognized that people use linguistic devices to identify episodes. This study uses the term "episode" to refer to a cognitively relevant structural unit, and defines the notion of episode according to this perspective.

- The episode is described as a memory block. Semantically, it is defined as a thematically unified unit of which the surface boundaries are marked linguistically by means of referential expressions, and/or temporal and spatial expressions. The episode functions as both a text production unit and a comprehension unit. Delimitation of texts according to episodes is expected to facilitate the processing of those texts.

- Hence, it is preferable to delimitate narrative texts using the episode as the primary unit of analysis, in recognition of the episode as a text production unit. It more reliably represents the author's mental representation. In addition, it is a memory block, i.e. an organizational unit in memory, as well as a comprehension unit.

- One episode can be distinguished from other episodes by identifying linguistic devices (such as different forms of referential expressions, temporal adverbials, and a shift of time) at the borders of episodes, because authors use these segmentation devices at the episode boundaries to highlight theme shifts in the discourse. By using segmentation devices, authors signal readers not to integrate new incoming information to the preceding information, but to construct a new representation unit of the narrative. In addition, when readers encounter these segmentation devices that signal discourse unit shift, they understand them as mental processing instructions. In the light of these findings, the next chapter will investigate segmentation devices in BH in order to suggest a model for distinguishing paragraphs on the basis of identifying episodes by recognizing segmentation markers at the borders of episodes.

CHAPTER 3   SEGMENTATION   DEVICES   IN   BH NARRATIVE TEXT

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, it was established that a narrative text can be segmented on the basis of episodes that are identified as processing and structural units. In addition, it was demonstrated that an episode is distinguished from other episodes by recognizing particular linguistic devices. In particular, different forms of referential expressions, temporal and spatial adverbials, occurring at episode boundaries play a crucial role in distinguishing paragraphs. In the light of these findings, this chapter will be concerned with identifying segmentational devices which distinguish episodes in BH narrative text.

Discussions with regard to the segmentation devices in Chapter 2 were focused mainly on the English language. However, as far as word order is concerned, BH is a different language; BH is a VSO (Verb Subject Object) language in contrast to English (SVO). Hence, a question arises: What type of BH linguistic constructions interact with explicit topic, temporal, and spatial shifts. BH linguistic investigations in this regard, have identified that several devices are utilized at the borders of episodes.

Investigations into participant reference in BH have revealed that different forms of referential expressions are utilized both in the inside, and at the boundaries of episodes. In addition, overspecified forms of referential expressions are often employed to mark the borders of discourse units (Levinsohn 2000a; Runge 2006a).

Research regarding pragmatic functions of word order (Van der Merwe 1991; 1999b; 1999c; BHRG §47), and information structure (Floor 2004; BHRG; Heimerdinger 1999; Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003) have demonstrated that different sentence articulations are often utilized at the borders of discourse units.

Studies of temporal expressions in BH (Van der Merwe 1997a, 1997b, Hatav 2004) have also revealed that both fronted and dislocated temporal adverbials frequently occur at the beginning of discourse units.

Research into BH linguistics also has recognized that various other devices such as discourse markers, wayyiqtols, and the nominal clause often occur at the borders of episodes.

On the basis of the findings of the above investigations (viz. participant reference, temporal markers), and in order to provide some useful criteria for distinguishing episodes, the investigation reported in this chapter proceeds from the following hypotheses:

- Segmentational devices are also identified at the borders of episodes in BH narrative text as is in across languages as established in the preceding chapters.
- As in English, and as substantiated in the preceding chapter, different forms of referential expressions, temporal markers, and a shift of space can also provide useful criteria for demarcating one episode from other episodes in BH narrative text.

This chapter will be structured as follows: section 3.2.1 investigates participant reference in BH in order to provide some criteria for distinguishing episodes. For this purpose, different contexts in which participant reference occurs will be investigated to determine default and marked encodings. Furthermore, different functions of participant reference will be identified to determine in what condition an over-specified referential expression (or marked encoding) accomplishes a segmentation function at the border of each episode. Sentence articulations that interact with participant reference are then considered. The possibility of distinguishing episodes in reported speech will also be discussed. Section 3.2.2 investigates the type of temporal constructions that are identified in BH and in order to establish whether they can be used as a criterion for distinguishing episodes at each episode boundaries. The relation between a shift of space and episode boundaries will be investigated in section 3.2.3. BH scholars have identified devices that often occur at the borders of episodes other than participant reference, temporal and spatial shifts; attention will be given to these findings in section 3.2.4. Section 3.3 will summarize the chapter.

3.2 *SEGMENTATION DEVICES IN BH NARRATIVE TEXT*

In general, continuity is assumed to be maintained by default in coherent discourse. Only when there is discontinuity in a narrative, e.g. temporal discontinuity or topic discontinuity, these discontinuities are signalled. For instance, pronouns are used as default devices indicating to readers that no change has taken place in the topic continuity. In BH, it is possible to say that enclitic pronouns or null references encode continuing topic and signal topic continuity by default. In contrast to these referential

expressions, overspecifications such as NP are utilized for signaling discontinuity. As continuity can be regarded as default, in this section, the main concern will be focused on the linguistic devices that mark discontinuity.

3.2.1 Referential Expressions and Episodes

Devices of participant reference contribute to indicating episode boundaries. Identifying different forms of referential expressions helps to distinguish episodes. Investigations across languages have observed that overspecified referential expressions[73] can signal episode boundaries (see chapter 2). However, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether an overspecified referential form signals the boundary of an episode. Often the same overspecified referential form can differ in its functions. For instance, an overspecified NP can signal either thematic change, viz. the beginning of a new episode, or thematic peak (thematic continuity) (Longacre 1985:84ff).

Two steps are necessary to distinguish episodes on the basis of different forms of referential expressions. The first step is to determine whether a referential expression is overspecified or not. The second step is to determine whether or not an overspecified referential expression signals an episode boundary.

Levinsohn (2000a), and Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001) investigations into participant reference in BH using a default-marked method provide some criteria for determining whether a participant reference is overspecified or not.[74] They identify default patterns in order to recognize marked ones, since it is the marked forms of reference that tell the reader that a new section begins, or that a particular event or speech is highlighted.

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73   The term "overspecified referential expression" expresses a broader notion than "relexicalization." For instance, "Alice the daughter of Jacob" can be used when "she" is sufficient. In this case, "Alice the daughter of Jacob" is regarded as an overspecified referential expression in contrast to relexicalization such as "Alice." In most cases, when only the proper name is utilized (for instance, without being anchored as an example "Alice the daughter of Jacob"), although a pronoun is sufficient, the proper name when used is regarded as overspecification or relexicalization. However, when inactive referent is reintroduced into the discourse register by the proper name, it is regarded as relexicalization. In this case, it cannot be regarded as overspecification.

74   Runge (2006a:24) defines default as follows: "A default is simply the most basic, unmarked option available *for a particular feature*, and provides a heuristic canon against which to describe the explicitly-marked options."

Their results will be employed to determine whether a referential expression is overspecified.

Referential expressions in general accomplish three kinds of tasks or functions (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:112).[75]

- The semantic task (function) identifies the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones, viz. who is doing what to whom.
- The discourse-pragmatic task signals the activation status[76] and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:113).
- The processing task instructs readers to end the current unit of discourse representation or create a new discourse representation unit. In the discourse unit boundaries, more coding material is generally needed to overcome disruptions in the flow of information (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:113).

Identifying the semantic task and the processing task of reference may help one to determine whether an overspecified referential expression signals the episode boundary, or not. For instance, when a referential expression is overspecified to signal "who is doing what to whom," it will not also signal episode boundaries. However, when a referential expression is overspecified to overcome disruptions and update the participant, it will signal episode boundaries. When an overspecified referential expression performs a discourse-pragmatic function, it will not signal thematic discontinuity but thematic continuity, viz. thematic peak or highlighting purposes.

However, what do speakers/writers know that enables them to choose an appropriate form to refer to a particular object and what do hearers/readers know that enables them to identify correctly the intended referent of a particular form? Choice of participant in discourse is a very complex phenomenon, which involves cognitive and pragmatic factors that interact with each other.

Choosing and identifying participant references are fundamentally cognitive processes. The choice of different forms of referential expressions has to do with the speakers'

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75 Runge (2006a:122) argues that these three tasks form a hierarchical entailment scheme, viz. discourse-pragmatic entails processing which entails semantic processing.

76 Garrod and Sanford (1982) are of a different opinion. They regard different forms of referential expressions that show the assumption of the speakers regarding the cognitive statuses as processing signals. For instance, the definite article "the" signals "you can identify this," the demonstrative determiner "that" signals "you are familiar with this, and therefore can identify it, and so on."

assessment of cognitive statuses of the referent in the hearers' mind, viz. whether a mental representation of a particular referent exists in the hearers' mind, and the status of the representation of an identifiable referent in the mind of the hearers. The cognitive statuses of the referent influence not only the choice of referential expressions, but also the choice of sentence forms in which the referent is introduced. When discourse referents are represented in the mind, they influence the choice of sentential forms (Lambrecht 1994f:52ff; Heimerdinger:131ff; Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003:72ff). Hence, it is necessary to identify different forms of referential expressions, as well as identifying different sentence articulations, so as to distinguish episodes.

Anaphoric distribution in discourse is also affected by some general pragmatic principles. A pragmatic theory of anaphora has been developed within the framework of conversational implicature suggested by Grice (1975). In this theory, anaphora is largely determined by the systematic interaction of neo-Gricean pragmatic principles (Q-, I- and M-principle).[77]

In this section, firstly, relations between cognitive status of the referent and encoding to it, will be presented. Pragmatic factors that affect the anaphoric distribution will then be considered. This is followed by the treatment of default encoding for the participant reference in BH. On the basis of default encoding, overspecified referential expressions and their functions will then be identified and discussed with regard to their capacity to distinguish episodes.

3.2.1.1 Cognitive Status of the Referent, and Referential Expressions

The choice of referential expressions is not arbitrary, but related to the cognitive status of discourse referents.[78] In this regard, identifiability and activation statuses of the referent play an important role (Givón 1992:22-31; Heimerdinger 1999:128). When speakers want to make an assertion about an entity, which is assumed to be not yet represented in the hearer's mind, they first must create a mental representation of the

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77   Further discussion will be presented in §3.2.1.2.

78   Information structure is concerned with the form of utterances in relation to the assumed mental states of speakers and hearers. It is concerned with the speaker's hypotheses about the hearer's mental states.

entity in the hearer's mind. When its representation exists in the hearer's mind, the referent is identifiable,[79] and it can get activation status.

There is relationship between activation status and identifiability. A referent that is assumed by the speaker to be unidentifiable by a hearer is necessarily also assumed to be not-yet-activated in the hearer's consciousness. An identifiable referent can be in any of the three activation states: inactive, semi-active, and active (Chafe 1987:26; Heimerdinger 1999:129; Lambrecht 1988:145; 1994:93-94).[80]

Different forms of referential expressions are determined by the relations between identifiability, activation status of the referent, and accessibility to the referent. The less identifiable and active a referent is, the more difficult it is to access. The more difficult to access, the more mental effort it needs, hence, the more code material it requires. In this regard, Givón (1983b:18) has identified "scales in the coding of topic referent accessibility" (viz. cross-linguistically most common syntactic constructions) that code the degree of topic continuity (see box below), and "scales of phonological size," which show iconicity in linguistic coding, viz. "the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it" (See box below).

The box below shows a certain relationship between identifiability, activation states of the referent, accessibility to the referent, and iconicity.

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79   According to Lambrecht (1988:144), a referent that can be retrieved from the context or recalled from memory is labeled as "identifiable" and as "unidentifiable" any referent for which a new referential entry or model has to be created in the mind of the hearer before it can be recalled in subsequent discourse. According to Chafe (1976:39), a referent is identifiable when the hearer can pick out the one intended by the speaker from all the referents described by some linguistic expression in a particular utterance.

80   With regard to the three activation states, Chafe (1987:25) states: "An active concept is one that is currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness. A semi-active concept is one that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but which is not being directly focused on. An inactive concept is one that is currently in a person's long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active." When a referent is deactivated from an earlier active state, it is called semi-active. Lambrecht (1988:145) uses the term "accessible" for the term "semi-active."

3.2.1.2 Pragmatic Factors and the Choice of Participant Reference

Pragmatic factors are involved in the choice of the participant reference in discourse apart from cognitive factors. Levinson (1987:401ff) makes a distinction between pragmatic principles governing an utterance's surface form, and pragmatic principles governing its informational content. He reduces Gricean maxims[82] into three inferential strategies (principles), and divides them, for each principle, a speaker's maxim and the corresponding recipient's corollary.

- The Q[uantity]-principle (Levinson 1987:401; Huang 1991:305)

    Speaker's Maxim: Do not say less than is required (bearing I-principle in mind).

    Recipient's corollary: Take it that the speaker made the strongest statement consistent with what he knows

- The I[nformative]-principle (Levinson 1987:402; Huang 1991:305-306)

    Speaker's Maxim (the Maxim of Minimization): Do not say more than is required (bearing Q-principle in mind)

    Recipient's corollary: Amplify the informational content of the speaker's utterance, by finding the most specific interpretation, up to what you judge to be the speaker's M-intended point.

- The M[anner]-principle (Levinson 1987:408; Huang 1991:306)

    Do not use a prolix, obscure or marked expression without reason

Taken together, the I- and M-principles give rise to complementary interpretations: the use of an unmarked linguistic expression tends to convey an unmarked message, whereas the use of a marked linguistic expression tends to convey a marked message (Huang 1991:307-308).

Huang (2000:164-165) also presents a cross-linguistic default pattern that underlies the distribution of anaphora in conversation, and that is maintained by the interaction of the Q-principle and I-principle.

(1) Establishment of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an elaborated form, notably a lexical NP

(2) Shift of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an elaborated form, notably a lexical NP

(3) Maintenance of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an attenuated form, notably a pronoun or a zero anaphor.

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82   In this regard, see Grice (1975:45-46).

According to the Q-principle and the I-principle, default-referring expressions are determined by the interaction of the Q-principle and the I-principle. For instance, for the establishment of the reference, given the hearer-based Q-principle alone, the speaker would have chosen an informationally richer and often more elaborated referential form such as long description or a proper name coupled with a description, but this would run counter to minimization. On the other hand, given the speaker-based I-principle alone, the speaker would have selected an informationally poorer and often more minimal form such as a pronoun or a zero anaphor. The latter would prevent readers from identifying the intended referent. Therefore, a compromise is reached between these two potentially conflicting pragmatic principles, resulting in a preference for the use of a minimal but recognitional referential form, which concurrently satisfies both the Q- and the I- principle.

We have seen that cognitive factors and pragmatic factors affect the choice of referential forms, and default encoding. We will now attend to the identification of the default-marked encoding for participant reference in BH narrative text.

3.2.1.3 Default Encodings to Participant Reference

Levinsohn (2000) and Runge (2006a; 2006b) identify default and marked encoding for further reference to activated participants on the basis of what they call the "default-marked method." Their results will be utilized to identify the segmentational function of different forms of referential expressions.

3.2.1.3.1 The Initial Introduction of Participants

Two tasks are involved in the initial introduction of a brand-new referent, namely, establishing identifiability, and initial activation of a brand-new referent (Floor 2004:269; Runge 2006a:91ff).[83] Attention to these two processes helps to identify some segmentation devices.[84]

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[83] Not all participants require two processes of activation. When frame or pragmatic bootstrapping is involved, a newly introduced participant is activated by simply being introduced (see: devices that establish identifiability in the subsequent discussion.)

[84] Runge (2006a:91) regards these two processes as one process, i.e. activation.

3.2.1.3.1.1 Establishing Identifiability

The introduction of a brand-new participant can often be regarded as a signal of the onset of a new episode. In general, the story begins with (re)introducing participants who play a role in the story. When brand-new participants are introduced, a special type of construction, namely, the presentational sentence, is employed.[85] In addition, a process that is called "establishing identifiability" for a brand-new participant is employed using special devices in the process of introduction.[86] Hence, the initiation of a new episode can be identified by the presentational sentence and devices that establish the identifiability of the brand-new entities.

In BH, three types of presentational sentences,[87] and devices that establish the identifiability of the newly introduced referent, are identified.

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85   Not all brand-new participants are introduced by a presentational sentence. Some characters are main characters in a discourse, while others are of secondary, or of minor importance. In other words, some characters may be seen as playing the role of a principal protagonist, while others play only limited roles, usually subservient in some way to the goals of the principal protagonists. When brand-new participants are minor participants who do not persist play a thematically significant role, they are often introduced in the comment of the topic-comment articulation (Floor 2004:269; Runge 2006a:91-93). (See §3.2.1.6.1 the topic-comment articulation)

וְאֵ֣לֶּה תּוֹלְדֹ֣ת תֶּ֔רַח תֶּ֚רַח הוֹלִ֣יד אֶת־אַבְרָ֔ם אֶ֖ת   Now, these are the descendants of Terah. Terah was

וְאֶת־הָרָ֑ן וְהָרָ֖ן הוֹלִ֥יד אֶת־לֽוֹט׃   the father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and **Haran was the father of Lot**.   Gen 11:27

In this verse a brand-new referent לוֹט is introduced in the comment of topic-comment sentence. His identifiability is created by relation to his forefathers Abram, Nahor, and his father Haran (תֶּ֔רַח was also introduced in the comment of topic/comment sentence in Gen 11:24).

86   When a speaker wishes to make an assertion involving some entity, which he/she assumes is not yet represented in the addressee's mind, and which cannot be referred to deictically, it is necessary for the addressee to create a representation of that entity via a linguistic description, which can then be anaphorically referred to in subsequent discourse. This is the so-called "establishing identifiability" process.

87   The presentational sentence is typically used when a referent that is not yet pragmatically available as a topic in the current register is to be (re-)introduced as a participant. In this construction, not-yet-activated referents are identified and activated to be the topic of subsequent discourse. Although in some languages the presentational sentence is used exclusively or with strong preference for the introduction of the brand-new referents, in BH the presentational clause introduces or promotes the brand-new or inactive referents to active status (e.g. Gen 34:1). In the

1. The presentational "x-qatal": a not-yet-activated referent is introduced as a (full) NP subject in the presentational "x-qatal," when it is not going to be a main participant (Van der Merwe 1999b:181; 1999c:294).

<div dir="rtl">

וְאִישׁ אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים אָמַר
אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ בִּדְבַר יְהוָה הַכֵּינִי נָא

</div>

And **a certain man of the sons of the prophets said** to his fellow at the command of the LORD, "Strike me."   1 Kings 20:35

The brand-new referent אִישׁ אֶחָד is introduced in the presentational "x-qatal" at the initiation of a new episode.[88] Anchoring is employed as a device that establishes the identifiability of "a certain man."[89] Its identifiability is established by being anchored to the identifiable מִבְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים.

- In conjunction with introducing a new referent into a discourse world, the event-reporting sentence can be subsumed by the presentational sentence,[90] because both the presentational sentence and the event-reporting sentence can introduce a new element into the discourse, without linking this element either to an already established topic, or to some other presupposed proposition.[91] The difference between them is that in the presentational sentence proper, the newly introduced element is an entity, while in the event-reporting sentence, it is an event, which necessarily involves an entity (Lambrecht 1994:143-144; Heimerdinger 1999:132-133). In BH, the event-reporting sentence is coded by "x-qatal." Crucial is that x in "x-qatal" must be the subject.

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presentational sentence, entire propositions represent a piece of information, hence it constitutes a sentence focus (Lambrecht 1994:222).

88 Against the command of the Lord, after Ahab lets Ben-Hadad live, God again raises up a prophet to deal with Ahab (vv. 1Kgs 20:35-43).

89 Anchoring is a method used to establish identifiability of a brand-new entity by means of relation to identifiable entities. A non-identifiable referent can be identifiable by anchoring it to another discourse entity which is identifiable. "Discourse anchors prototypically consist of syntactically linking a definite NP to an indefinite NP, either as an attributive modifier (e.g. "*his* wife"), as an appositive (e.g. "Eli, *the priest*"), or in a construct relation (e.g. "the two sons *of Eli*")" (Runge 2006a:91).

90 The event reporting sentence does not contain presupposed information (Distinctions between presupposed information (presupposition) and asserted information (assertion) can be made for the sentence articulation. See §3.2.1.6). It answers to the question "what happened?," and it presents a non-topical referent as an element in some unexpected or surprising piece of information.

91 This is a general rule. Discourse active referents are often introduced in both the presentational sentence and the event-reporting sentence (see footnote 87).

- When the fronted x in the event-reporting sentence does not persist as the topic in the following development, this event-reporting "x-qatal" does not mark the episode boundaries.

וְרוּחַ יְהֹוָה לָבְשָׁה אֶת־גִּדְעֹון   But **the Spirit of the L**ORD **took possession of** Gideon   Judge 6:34

רוּחַ יְהֹוָה is introduced into the story out of the blue in a NP + qatal. This clause is neither a topic-comment sentence[92] nor a presentational sentence. This clause expresses an "empowering event" that caused Gideon to be ready as a military leader. רוּחַ יְהֹוָה does not function as the topic of the subsequent clauses (viz. it does not open the new file in the mind.). Therefore, this event-reporting "x-qatal" does not signal an episode boundary.

- However, when the fronted entity in the event-reporting "x-qatal" persists as the topic in the subsequent clauses and signals an anterior construction, which does not provide background information, but represents the multi-dimensional feature of a real-world event, it can signal the beginning of a new episode (1 Sam 5:1; 1 Kgs 9:1).[93]

²²וַתֹּאמֶר גָּלָה כָבֹוד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל כִּי נִלְקַח   ²² And she said, "The glory has departed
אֲרֹון הָאֱלֹהִים׃ פ   from Israel, for the ark of God has been
⁵:¹וּפְלִשְׁתִּים לָקְחוּ אֵת אֲרֹון הָאֱלֹהִים   captured." ⁵:¹ **The Philistines had captured**
וַיְבִאֻהוּ מֵאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר אַשְׁדֹּודָה׃   the ark of God, and they carried it from
   Ebenezer to Ashdod;   1 Sam 4:22-5:1

The Philistines took the ark long before Phineas' wife learned about the capture of the ark. A series of events, viz. the news that the ark was captured, and the death of Eli and his daughter-in-law, run parallel with the event after the ark was brought to the Philistine territory in the real-world. This "x-qatal" begins the beginning of a new episode which runs parallel with the other episode.

2. The "presentational wayyiqtol:" normally a brand-new referent is introduced by the "x-qatal;" however, a brand-new referent as the subject can be introduced by wayyiqtol clause. In this case, this wayyiqtol clause functions as a presentational sentence.[94] In the presentational wayyiqtol sentence, "… intransitive verbs of

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92   The topic-comment articulation will be discussed in §3.2.1.6.1.

93   In the explanation of semantic-pragmatic functions of fronting, BHRG §47 has also identified that event reporting fronted NP + qatal is used to introduce a new character to be the topic of an utterance at the beginning of a new episode (e.g. 1 Kgs 20:1). This event-reporting sentence overlaps with the presentational sentence.

94   In their investigation into the relationship between information structure and word order in BH,

movement are used. These verbs do not *literally* report the movements of the new referents mentioned, but rather, are used as presentational devices, *that introduce* the not-yet-activated referents in discourse" (Longacre 1989:74; 1992:177; Heimerdinger 1999:144).[95]

וַיָּבֹא אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים אֶל־עֵלִי   And **there came a man of God** to Eli.

1 Samuel 2:27

A not-yet-activated referent אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים is activated by being introduced in the presentational wayyiqtol sentence at the onset of a new episode. Uniquely identifiable, the generic NP אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים itself establishes its identifiability.[96]

3. The presentational verbless sentence: the nominal clause[97] functions as the presentational sentence (Floor 2004:305ff).

[9] אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק תָּמִים   **[9] These are the generations of Noah.**
הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלֶּךְ־נֹחַ:   Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his
generation; Noah walked with God.
Gen 6:9

In v. 9a, the presentational nominal sentence introduces the inactive referent "Noah" at the initiation of a new episode (Noah is identifiable because it is an inactive referent, viz. its identifiability has already been established when it was introduced in Gen 5:28-28).

4. Devices that establish the identifiability of the newly introduced referent other than the above mentioned are identified as the following:

Van der Merwe and Talstra (2002/2003:80) have also identified instances where a brand-new entity is introduced as a subject NP in a wayyiqtol clause.

95   When secondary participants or props are introduced as a subject in the presentational wayyiqtol, they have a very local role and function as a prop. It soon disappears out of the discourse. In this case, a new episode cannot be signalled. In Givón's metaphor, they do not have their own file to begin a new discourse unit in the reader's mind, but they are included into the main participant file (Givón 1992:26) (e.g. 2 Sam 18:10).

96   Identifiability is established by introducing a brand-new participant using uniquely generic NPs. For a generic NP is identifiable because of its salient statuses in the pragmatic universe of the speaker and the hearer. It can be easily picked out of the respective classes in the universe of the interlocutors (Lambrecht 1994:88).

97   In this study, the nominal clause is defined as the clause which is composed of nominals. It is divided into the verbless clause and the participial clause.

- Deictic reference: A referent may be identifiable by being recourse to aspects of the text's external situation such as the speech situation. Expressions that denote location, membership of an ethnic group, and possession belong to deictic expressions. "This is the main device found in the stage-setting sections of stories. … because the brand-new referent cannot be hooked on to another identifiable participant in the world of the text" (Heimerdinger 1999:136).

וַיְהִי֩ אִ֨ישׁ אֶחָ֜ד מִן־הָרָמָתַ֛יִם צוֹפִ֖ים מֵהַ֥ר אֶפְרָ֑יִם	There was **a certain man** from Ramathaim-zophim of the hill country of Ephraim

1 Sam 1:1

This verse forms a part of the setting in the story of Samuel's birth and dedication to the Lord (1 Sam 1:1-2:11). A brand-new participant אִ֨ישׁ אֶחָ֜ד (a certain man) is introduced by means of a deictic expression that denotes a town מִן־הָרָמָתַ֛יִם צוֹפִ֖ים מֵהַ֥ר אֶפְרָ֑יִם. By doing this, identifiability of "a certain man" is established.

- Pragmatic boot-strapping (Anchorless anchoring):[98] When a brand-new referent is introduced by means of the semantic frame "the possessee in a possessive NP," it is identifiable.[99]

וְעָלָ֨ה הָאִ֤ישׁ הַהוּא֙ מֵעִירוֹ֙ מִיָּמִ֣ים׀ יָמִ֔ימָה לְהִֽשְׁתַּחֲוֺ֧ת וְלִזְבֹּ֛חַ לַיהוָ֥ה צְבָא֖וֹת בְּשִׁלֹ֑ה וְשָׁ֞ם שְׁנֵ֣י בְנֵֽי־עֵלִ֗י חָפְנִי֙ וּפִ֣נְחָ֔ס כֹּהֲנִ֖ים לַיהוָֽה׃	Now this man used to go up year by year from his city to worship and to sacrifice to the Lᴏʀᴅ of hosts at Shiloh, and **there the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were**

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98 In languages which possess a grammatical category of definiteness, an unanchored brand-new entity is typically coded by the form of an indefinite noun phrase (e.g. *a guy, a bus*), while an anchored brand-new item is coded by a syntactic combination of an indefinite and a definite phrase (e.g. *a guy I work with, a friend of mine*). However, the correlation between unidentifiability and formal indefiniteness, though strong, is not absolute. Certain unidentifiable referents are coded with definite NPs, and certain identifiable ones may be expressed with indefinite NPs. Lambrecht refers to the case where an unidentifiable referent is coded as a complex definite NP (e.g. *the daughter of a king or a king's daughter*) as "pragmatic bootstrapping."

99 For instance, a writer may say "*I met the daughter of a king*" (instead of *a daughter of a king*) even if an author assumes that his addressee can identify neither the king's daughter nor the king himself. However, "for the purposes of grammar an entity may be categorized as identifiable merely by virtue of being perceived as standing in a frame relation to some other entity, whether this other entity is itself identifiable or not." (Lambrecht 1994:91-92). Hence, in the example given above, the unidentifiable referent *the daughter* is anchored to an unidentifiable referent *a king*.

priests of the LORD.   1 Sam 1:3

This partly forms the setting of Samuel's birth and dedication. Here unidentifiable brand-new participants Hophni and Phinehas are introduced by being anchored to the unidentifiable brand-new referent Eli. Eli reappears in 1 Sam 1:13 as the topic of the sentence. It means that identifiability of the brand-new entity "Eli" has been established and activated. As far as Hophni and Phinehas are concerned, their identifiability is established by means of anchoring (i.e. anchorless anchoring) and they are activated by means of assigning their referring expressions.[100]

- Mere mentioning: Identifiability can be established through the mere mentioning of a referent in the discourse.[101]

וּדְבוֹרָה֙ אִשָּׁ֣ה נְבִיאָ֔ה אֵ֖שֶׁת לַפִּידֹ֑ות Now **Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of**
הִ֛יא שֹׁפְטָ֥ה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל בָּעֵ֥ת הַהִֽיא: **Lappidoth**, was judging Israel at that time.

Judge 4:4

In this verse, a brand-new participant, Deborah, is introduced by being anchored to an unidentifiable brand-new participant. However, Deborah is identifiable and activated through mere mentioning.

- Frame: A brand-new referent is identifiable when it belongs to a frame.[102]

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100   Further discussion will be presented in §3.2.1.3.1.1.

101   For instance, if a speaker says to someone "I am going to a meeting tonight," identifiability for "a meeting" is established by mere mention of it; the speaker and addressee must later in the conversation refer to this particular meeting with a definite description, "*How long is the meeting supposed to last?*" or "*How long is it supposed to last?*" The only feature identifying the meeting in question for the addressee is the fact that I am going to attend it. In this regard, Lambrecht (1994:89) states: "The fact that identifiability can be created through mere mention of a referent in the discourse, without any further semantic specification, confirms our observation that identifiability of a referent (and corresponding definite coding in English) does not necessarily entail familiarity with, or knowledge about, the referent."

102   The notion of frame is defined by Fillmore (1982:111) as follows: "By the term "frame" I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available" (quoted by Lambrecht 1994:90). Schema is defined as follows: "A schema is usefully regarded as a cluster of interrelated expectations. When a schema has been evoked in a narrative, some if not all of the expectations of which it is constituted presumably enter the semi-active state. From

^{14b} וַיְבַקְעוּ אֶת־עֲצֵי הָעֲגָלָה
וְאֶת־הַפָּרוֹת הֶעֱלוּ עֹלָה לַיהֹוָה: ס
^{15a} וְהַלְוִיִּם הוֹרִידוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהֹוָה
וְאֶת־הָאַרְגַּז אֲשֶׁר־אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ
כְלֵי־זָהָב וַיָּשִׂמוּ אֶל־הָאֶבֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה

^{14b}and **they** split up the wood of the cart and offered the cows as a burnt offering to the LORD. ^{15a} And **the Levites** took down the ark of the LORD and the box that was beside it, in which were the golden figures, and set them upon the great stone;

1 Sam 6:14b-15a.

Verse 14b describes the sacrifice that took place when the ark of covenant returned. New participants, the Levites, are introduced by an enclitic pronoun. The subject "they" in verse 14b is not the people who were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley in Beth-shemesh (verse 13), but a sacrificial frame is involved. Although there is no antecedent for "they" in verse 14b, "they" are identifiable and activated. The Levites in verse 15a clarifies that a frame is involved in verse 14b, and that the subject "they" is the Levites.[103]

3.2.1.3.1.2 Initial Activation of a Referent

A process called initial activation, besides establishing identifiability, is involved in introducing a brand-new participant. Activation is likened to opening a file in the mind, while establishing identifiability is metaphorized by creating a file in the mind. Although a file for a referent is created in readers' mind, if it is not opened, it is impossible to accumulate incoming information in that file. Hence, the task for opening the file is necessary to process incoming information.

In the processes of introducing brand-new participants, two clauses are involved in general. The first clause introduces the brand-new participants using the presentational sentence. By doing this, identifiability of the new participants is established (see §3.2.1.3.1.1). Then, the following clause activates the new participants by assigning the primary referring expression to them (Runge 2006a:91).

The primary expression serves as the file label for the referent in readers' mind. In the subsequent discourse, different forms of referential expressions for the same referent

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that point on, they are more readily available to recall than they would have been as inactive concepts" (Chafe 1987:29).

103   In this case, the null reference subject in v. 14b does not signal the onset of a new episode.

will guide the reader to find that label to accumulate information into the cognitive file in the mind.

In character-based narratives, often more than one character is involved. In general, main characters are introduced in the setting of the story, while props are introduced in the middle of an episode. Characters described by roles (epithets) tied to situations (e.g. a waiter in a restaurant is tied in the restaurant scenario) lose in accessibility and availability when an episode shifts, while main characters do not. In addition, main characters are more likely to be designated by proper names. This is because proper names serve as rigid designators denoting the same individual in all possible worlds. Hence, more prominent individuals are likely to be introduced by proper names (Sanford, Moar and Garrod 1988:44). In this regard, Garrod and Sanford (1988:522) state:

> Proper names usually serve as rigid designators. That is, they designate the same individual in all possible worlds. From the point of view of narrative this can be readily contrasted with the case of role descriptions. If a character (*John* say) is depicted as going for lunch somewhere, then going to a concert, and then going to dinner, he will be considered to be the same individual in each of these episodes. Yet the definite role description *the waiter* could be used in both the lunch and dinner episodes without readers supposing it to refer to the same individual on both occasions. Thus a proper name is an ideal means of introducing a character to whom one will want to keep referring in the future - it effectively fixes the reference.

In BH, the primary referring expressions are usually proper names or epithets such as "the servant of the priest" (1 Sam 2:13) (Revell 1996:45-51). "The primary referring expression becomes the default expression used when relexicalizing a participant" (Runge 2006a:91). In addition, different forms of referential expressions are determined on the basis of speakers' assumptions of the cognitive status of the referent in the readers' minds.

וַיְהִי֩ אִ֨ישׁ אֶחָ֜ד מִן־הָרָמָתַ֛יִם צוֹפִ֖ים מֵהַ֣ר ¹
אֶפְרָ֑יִם וּשְׁמ֡וֹ אֶ֠לְקָנָה בֶּן־יְרֹחָ֧ם
בֶּן־אֱלִיה֛וּא בֶּן־תֹּ֥חוּ בֶן־צ֖וּף אֶפְרָתִֽי׃ וְלוֹ֙ ²
שְׁתֵּ֣י נָשִׁ֔ים שֵׁ֤ם אַחַת֙ חַנָּ֔ה וְשֵׁ֥ם הַשֵּׁנִ֖ית
פְּנִנָּ֑ה וַיְהִ֤י לִפְנִנָּה֙ יְלָדִ֔ים וּלְחַנָּ֖ה אֵ֥ין יְלָדִֽים׃

¹ There was **a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim of the hill country of Ephraim**, and **his name was Elkanah the son of Jeroham, son of Elihu, son of Tohu, son of Zuph, an Ephraimite**. ² *He had two wives; the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah.* And Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no

children.   1 Sam 1:1-2.

This partly forms the setting of Samuel's birth and dedication. In this setting, new participants Elkanah, Hannah, Peninnah are introduced into the discourse world. In verse 1, the first clause (אִישׁ אֶחָד מִן־הָרָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים) introduces a new participant by establishing identifiability by means of the deictic expression, which denotes the town. Then the following clause (שְׁמוֹ אֶלְקָנָה בֶּן־יְרֹחָם בֶּן־אֱלִיהוּא בֶּן־תֹּחוּ בֶן־צוּף אֶפְרָתִי) activates the new participant by assigning the referring expression to it, i.e. the proper name Elkanah. In verse 2, the first clause also introduces new participants by establishing identifiability by means of anchoring, viz. anchoring to the identifiable referent Elkanah. The following clause activates the new participants by assigning referring expressions. This method corresponds well to general two tasks, namely, establishing identifiability and initial activation, i.e., making a file in readers' mind, and then opening the file by assigning a file label for the file.

3.2.1.3.2 Default Encoding for Further Reference to Activated Participants

After a brand-new participant is introduced and activated by assigning the primary referring expression, various forms of referential expressions for it may occur as the discourse develops. It is important to identify default encoding for further reference to activated participants in order to determine whether a referential expression is overspecified (marked). In this section, default encoding for further reference to activated participants in BH will be investigated. For this purpose, we will distinguish the context in which participant references occur, viz. the context for each activated subject and non-subject in the text, according to the model of Runge (2006a, 2006b), as follows.[104]

Subject Contexts
- INTRO   initial activation of referent[105]
- S1   referent was the subject of the immediately preceding clause;
- S2   referent was the addressee of a speech reported in preceding clause;
- S3   referent was in a non-subject role other than that of addressee in preceding clause;

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104   When identifying the subject and non-subject context in which references to activated participants occur, Runge (2006a, 2006b) identifies S5 and N5 while Levinsohn (2000:2& 8) and Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:130-131) do not.

105   In this section, S1-S5 and N1-N5 will be investigated; INTRO (the initial introduction of the referent) has been discussed in the preceding section.

- S4   referent is semi-active/accessible, context is other than those covered by S1-S3;
- S5   referent is inactive, context is other than those covered by S1-S4.

Non-subject Contexts
- INTRO   initial activation of referent
- N1   referent was in the same non-subject role in the preceding clause;
- N2   referent was the speaker in a speech reported in the preceding clause;
- N3   referent was in a role in the preceding clause other than N1-N2;
- N4   referent is semi-active/accessible, context is other than those covered by N1-N3;
- N5   referent is inactive, context is other than those covered by N1-N4.

Investigation into the contexts in which references to activated participants occur identified the following rules for subject context:

- S1: If the referent was the subject of the immediately preceding clause, null reference is default encoding, i.e., continued reference to subject without role change   is minimal (Runge 2006:94ff; Levinsohn 2000a:3)

BH follows the principle that continued reference to the subject utilizes the least morphological encoding identified by Givón (1983b:17-18). The default encoding for clauses and sentences, which have the same subject as in the previous clause or sentence will be subject agreement. Subject agreement markers on finite verbs will be used to encode continuing subject reference. "Non-finite clauses such as participial or verbless clauses, which cannot grammaticalize subject agreement on the verb, also utilize minimal encoding, either an independent personal pronoun or occasionally zero anaphora." (Runge 2006a:94)

^{13a} וּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ קֹצְרִים ...	^{13a}Now the people of Beth-shemesh were reaping … (S3)	
^{13b} וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־עֵינֵיהֶם	^{13b}and Ø lifted up their eyes	(S1)
^{13c} וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרוֹן	^{13c}and Ø saw the ark	(S1/N4)
^{13d} וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ לִרְאוֹת:	^{13d}and Ø rejoiced.	(S1)
	1 Sam 6:13	

In v. 13a, a new topic בֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ is introduced into the discourse world. And in v. 13b, c, and d, the continued subject בֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ (S1) is encoded by null reference, because of that its role does not change. These null reference encodings for S1 are default encodings. In addition, these null references for the continued subject signal topic continuity.

- N1: The referent occupies a non-subject argument role in the current and in the previous clause or sentence

Runge (2006a:97) identifies a variety of forms such as zero anaphora, enclitic pronouns suffixed to the verb, and enclitic pronouns suffixed to prepositions for default encoding for N1. While it is not possible to delineate a single default form, he established that zero anaphora, and enclitic pronouns are prototypical encodings.[106]

- S2/N2: Default encoding for the subject that was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (S2), and default encoding for the addressee of a reported speech that was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence (N2).

Levinsohn (2000a:5-6) and Runge (2006a:100) make a distinction between an initial-quotative frame and non-initial quotative frames to investigate continued reference in quotative frames.[107] In general, initial quotative frames introduce participants who are involved in dialogues. Within the dialogues, non-initial quotative frames signal speech turns. These investigators noted that null reference in non-initial quotative frames signals a switch of speaker and hearer in the following clause, while in narrative it signals same subject. Default interpretation of null reference is a switch of speaker and addressee in non-initial quotative frames.

²וַיִּקְרְא֣וּ פְלִשְׁתִּ֗ים לַכֹּהֲנִ֤ים וְלַקֹּסְמִים֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר מֶה־נַּעֲשֶׂ֖ה לַאֲר֣וֹן יְהוָ֑ה…	²And **the Philistines** called for **the priests and the diviners** "what shall we do with the ark of the Lord…" (S3/Intro)
³וַיֹּאמְר֗וּ אִֽם־מְשַׁלְּחִים֙ אֶת־אֲר֞וֹן…	³Ø said, "If you send away the ark …" (S2/N2)
⁴ᵃוַיֹּאמְר֕וּ מָ֥ה הָאָשָׁם֙…	⁴ᵃ Ø said, "what is the guilt offering…" (S2/N2)
⁴ᵇ⁻⁹וַיֹּאמְר֗וּ מִסְפַּר֙ סַרְנֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֔ים…	⁴ᵇ⁻⁹ Ø said, "Corresponding to the number of Philistines…" (S2/N2)

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106   In the corpus analysis of 1 Sam 1-8, the same result is arrived at. In 22 of 50 cases, clitic pronouns are used, and in 11 of 50 cases, zero anaphora is used.

107   An initial quotative frame is a quotative frame following narrative clause. Non-initial quotative frames are quotative frames following other quotative frames.

¹⁶ᵃוַיִּקְרָ֤א עֵלִי֙ אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵ֔ל וַיֹּ֖אמֶר שְׁמוּאֵ֣ל בְּנִ֑י	¹⁶ᵃBut Eli called Samuel and said, "Samuel, my son."
¹⁶ᵇוַיֹּ֖אמֶר הִנֵּֽנִי׃	¹⁶ᵇAnd Ø said, "Yes."
¹⁷וַיֹּ֗אמֶר מָ֤ה הַדָּבָר֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר דִּבֶּ֣ר אֵלֶ֔יךָ אַל־נָ֥א תְכַחֵ֖ד מִמֶּֽנִּי …	¹⁷ And Ø said, "What was it that he told you? Do not hide it from me…" 1 Sam 3:16-17

In 1 Sam 3:16-17, v. 16a is an initial quotative frame which generally, introduces participants who are involved in dialogues. Vs 16b and 17 are non-initial quotative frames.

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים כֵּן ¹⁰   ¹⁰The men did so.   (S2)[108]

1 Sam 6:2-10.

Interlocutors (the Philistines and the priests and the diviners) in dialogue are introduced in the initial quotative frame (v. 2). They are encoded by null references in non-initial quotative frames (v. 3, 4a, and 4b) to signal speech turns.

Zero anaphora is not the only encoding option for N2. Suffixed pronouns are also identified to encode addressees for context N2 in non-initial quotative frames.

וּבָא| נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן ¹⁵ᵇ   ¹⁵ᵇthe priest's servant would come   (S4)

וְאָמַר לְאִישׁ הַזֹּבֵחַ   and Ø would say to the man who was

תְּנָה בָשָׂר ...   sacrificing, "Give meat …"   (S1/S4)

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָאִישׁ קַטֵּר יַקְטִירוּן כַּיּוֹם ¹⁶   ¹⁶ And if the man said to **him**, "Let them

הַחֵלֶב...   burn the fat first…"   (S2/N2)

וְאָמַר| לֹו כִּי עַתָּה תִתֵּן וְאִם־לֹא לָקַחְתִּי   But Ø would say to **him**, "No, now you

בְחָזְקָה: must give it …"   (S2/N2)

1 Sam 2:15-16

- S3/N3: Default encoding for the subject that was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than addressee (S3) and default encoding for the referent that was involved in the previous sentence in a role other than those covered by N1 and N2.

"Context S3 and N3 describe role switches among currently active participants" (Runge 2006a:102). The default encoding of participants in this context is relexicalization. Relexicalization accomplishes resolution of referential ambiguity, viz. which participant becomes the agent or patient.

With regard to default encoding for S3/N3, Runge (2006a:103) states

> Based on the Q- and I- principles, the default referring expression is the most informative and morphologically simplex relexicalization option available in the context, particularly if the expression is a proper name.

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108   This S2 is marked. In this case, discussion will be presented regarding marked encodings for active reference (see §3.2.1.4).

^{7a} וַיִּשְׁמְע֣וּ פְלִשְׁתִּ֗ים כִּי־הִתְקַבְּצ֤וּ בְנֵֽי־יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ הַמִּצְפָּ֔תָה	^{7a}Now the Philistines heard that the people of Israel had gathered at Mizpah.　　(S4)
^{7b} וַיַּעֲל֥וּ סַרְנֵֽי־פְלִשְׁתִּ֖ים אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל	^{7b} and the lords of the Philistines went up against Israel.　　(S5/N3)
^{7c} וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ֙ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל	^{7c} And **the people of Israel** heard of it (S3)
^{7d} וַיִּֽרְא֖וּ מִפְּנֵ֥י פְלִשְׁתִּֽים׃	^{7d} And Ø were afraid of the Philistines. (S1/N4)
	1 Sam 7:7

In verse 7c, if S3 were not relexicalized but zero anaphor were used, it would have been ambiguous whether the subject is "the lords of the Philistines" or "the people of Israel." In other words, as the subject of the preceding clause (v. 7b) is "the lords of the Philistines," zero anaphora in subsequent clause (v.7c) would have indicated that the same subject continues, if null reference were utilized in v. 7c. In addition, the same verb וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ (in 7a and 7c) also could have signalled the continuation of the same subject "the lords of Philistines," if S3 were not lexicalized.

According to Q-and I-principle, relexicalization is not a unique default encoding for this context (S3/N3). S3/N3 switches are possible using null reference in contexts either when other factors disambiguate the participants, or where differences in salience clearly identify one participant as the expected initiator (Runge 2006a:132).

^{2a} וַיַּעַרְכ֤וּ פְלִשְׁתִּים֙ לִקְרַ֣את יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל	^{2a}The Philistines drew up in line against Israel, (S1/N4)
^{2b} וַתִּטֹּשׁ֙ הַמִּלְחָמָ֔ה	^{2b} and the battle was fierce,
^{2c} וַיִּנָּ֥גֶף יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל לִפְנֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֑ים	^{2c} and Israel was defeated by the Philistines (S4/N4)
^{2d} וַיַּכּ֤וּ בַמַּֽעֲרָכָה֙ בַּשָּׂדֶ֔ה כְּאַרְבַּ֥עַת אֲלָפִ֖ים אִֽישׁ׃	^{2d} and Ø slew about four thousand men on the field of battle.　　(S3)
³ וַיָּבֹ֣א הָעָם֮ אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶה֒...	³ And the troops came to the camp…　　(S3)
	1 Sam 4:2-3.

In verse 2d, S3 is encoded by null reference. In verse 2c, Israelites were defeated by the Philistines, hence in verse 2d, the semantics of the verb "slew" help the reader to make a distinction between Israelites and Philistines, although zero anaphora is employed. In verse 3, relexicalization for S3 is employed for resolution of referential ambiguity, viz. who came to camp after the Philistines defeated the Israelites.[109]

- Default encoding for reactivation of semi-active participants (N4/S4)

109　　In addition, this relexicalization marks a new discourse representation unit, for here a shift of space is involved (from the battlefield to the camp).

In this context, participants were not involved in the preceding clause. Hence, their cognitive statuses are considered as semi-active or accessible but not currently active. The semi-active participant is the one that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, while an active referent is currently lit up in our consciousness, and is at the forefront of the interlocutors' attention. Hence, reactivation of semi-active participants is to make that referent to be the current center of attention of the speech participants. Context S4 and N4 are contexts where participants need to be reactivated to gain the forefront of the reader's mental representation from some semi-active state.

Reactivation for semi-active participants "requires a lexical NP, most typically the participant's default referring expression. The discourse anchor is, by definition, accessible for semi-active participants" (Runge 2006a:103). There is no morphological distinction between contexts S3 and S4 in BH.

³וְעָלָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא ...	³ Now **this man** used to go up … (S4)
וְשָׁם שְׁנֵי בְנֵי־עֵלִי חָפְנִי וּפִנְחָס כֹּהֲנִים לַיהוָה:	and there the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were priests of the LORD. (Intro)
⁴וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם וַיִּזְבַּח אֶלְקָנָה	⁴ On the day when **Elkanah** sacrificed, he would
וְנָתַן לִפְנִנָּה...	give portions to **Peninnah** his wife… (S4/N4)
⁵וּלְחַנָּה יִתֵּן מָנָה אַחַת אַפָּיִם	⁵ and, to **Hannah** (Elkanah) gave …(N4/S1)
כִּי אֶת־חַנָּה אָהֵב	For Hannah (Elkanah) loves … (N1/S1)
וַיהוָה סָגַר רַחְמָהּ:	And **the LORD** had closed her womb.(S4/N1)
⁶וְכִעֲסַתָּה צָרָתָהּ ...	⁶ So **her rival** used to provoke her sorely… (S4)
	1 Sam 1:3-6.

- Reactivation of inactive participants (S5/N5)

A participant's activation status decays over time until they are finally stored only in long-term memory. The recall of inactive referent from long-term memory requires a greater mental effort on the part of the speaker and the hearer than keeping an already established referent in a state of activeness.

Activeness of a participant is affected by two factors. (1) Referential distance: A participant changes from active to inactive via semi-active according to the extent that referential distance to the last reference grows. (2) The saliency of a participant in discourse: In narratives, participants are not equally important at any given point in the discourse, and are not equally accessible to the reader. Some participants are main characters (salient participants) in narratives, while others are of secondary importance. This distinction seems to have some consequences for information processing patterns

in discourse understanding. Main participants (salient participants) are more accessible to readers than secondary characters.

As Anderson, Garrod and Sanford (1983) indicated, the availability and accessibility of main participants are unaffected by changes of scene while scenario-dependent participants (secondary participants) are dependent upon particular scenes and their availability and accessibility are influenced by scene shift. The more salient the participant is to the discourse, the longer it will remain semi-active and accessible. In addition, more important participants appear more frequently in the discourse, they have a higher probability of persisting longer in the discourse (Givón 1983b:14ff), and they are better established in the reader's mental representations than minor participants. Hence, the saliency of a participant affect on activeness of the participant, and encoding for reactivation of it from inactivity.

The process of reactivation from inactivity, for both subjects and non-subjects, may require not only relexicalization, but also the re-establishment of the participant's anchoring relation to the discourse.

¹וַתֵּצֵא דִינָה בַּת־לֵאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב לִרְאוֹת בִּבְנוֹת הָאָרֶץ:	¹ Now **Dinah the daughter of Leah whom she had borne to Jacob**, went out to visit the women of the land; (S5/N4)

Gen 34:1-2.

In verse 1, Dinah was reactivated by being reintroduced. She was introduced as a prop in Gen 30:20. Soon after, she disappears and does not appear again thus far. The referential gap is 130 verses. As she is not well established in the reader's mental representation, she is reactivated by being anchored to Leah.

However, in the following example, saliency is a more important factor than referential distance for the encoding of an inactive participant.

³ וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר ...	³ Then Samuel said to all the house of Israel, … (S5/N3)

1 Sam 7:3

From his last mention in 1 Sam 4:1, Samuel reappears after 57 verses. However, he is reintroduced by being reactivated by means of proper name (relexicalization) without being anchored to any referent, for Samuel is a salient participant thus far and well established in readers' mental representation.

3.2.1.3.3 Summary

The processes of establishing identifiability, initial activation, and assigning the primary referring expression that are involved in the introduction of brand-new participants, helps one to distinguish episodes. Since they take place at the setting of a story, or at beginning of an episode.

Default encodings signal continuity inside episodes. Hence, identifying default encoding helps one to determine whether the current episode continues, or not. On the basis of the results of this section, the next section investigates marked encodings.

3.2.1.4 Marked Encodings to Active Participants

This section will identify, firstly, instances that can be regarded as the "marked encoding of active participants," and secondly, determine the functions these encodings may have. Levinsohn (2000a) and Runge (2006a) also identified marked encodings to active participants. Their findings may help to determine whether an encoding to an active participant is overspecified or not, as well as determining what functions they perform.

- Marked encoding for S1

Marked encoding for S1 are encodings other than null reference (zero anaphora). In this regard Levinsohn (2000a:4) states:

> Marked encodings are those that are other than the default encoding for a specific context. In the case of context S1 in Ancient Hebrew, all occasions when a NP is used instead of subject agreement constitute marked encodings.

Marked encoding for S1 is overspecified encoding, as default encoding is the smallest encoding, viz. zero anaphora. There are various reasons why more coding material occurs where the default rules for a language are expected.

When a change of time, location, and concrete changes of participants are involved, overspecified referential expressions for S1 can signal the onset of a new episode (Levinsohn 2000a:4; Runge 2006a:133).

¹⁸ᵃ וַיַּגֶּד־לֹ֣ו שְׁמוּאֵל֙ אֶת־כָּל־הַדְּבָרִ֔ים	¹⁸ᵃ So Samuel told him everything (S2/N2)
¹⁸ᵇ וְלֹ֥א כִחֵ֖ד מִמֶּ֑נּוּ	¹⁸ᵇ and Ø hid nothing from him. (S1)
¹⁸ᶜ וַיֹּאמַ֕ר יְהוָ֣ה ה֔וּא הַטֹּ֥וב בְּעֵינָ֖ו יַעֲשֶֽׂה׃ פ	¹⁸ᶜ And Ø said, "It is the Lᴏʀᴅ; what is good in his eyes he will do." (S1)

^{19a} וַיִּגְדַּל ‏שְׁמוּאֵל   ^{19a} And **Samuel** grew,   (S1)

^{19b} וַֽיהוָה֙ הָיָ֣ה עִמּ֔וֹ   ^{19b} and the LORD was with him   (S4)

^{19c} וְלֹֽא־הִפִּ֥יל מִכָּל־דְּבָרָ֖יו אָֽרְצָה: ^{19c} and Ø did not let any of his words fall to

                                  the ground.   (S1)

                                 1 Sam 3:18a-19.

In v. 18a, the subject is "Samuel." In subsequent clauses (v. 18b, 18c), the continued subject "Samuel" (S1) is encoded by null reference (continuity). The same subject continuity maintains even in v. 19a. However, its encoding is not default encoding. Over-encoding for continued subject S1 is employed to help readers not to integrate incoming information into current episode, but create a new discourse representation unit. As a matter of fact, v. 19a initiates a new episode.

Overspecified referential expressions for S1 also perform the processing task by signaling the end of current thematic unit, viz. episode. It signals to readers that the current episode is about to end, so that readers may form a macro-proposition and store it in long-term memory.

^{33a} וַיִּטַּ֥ע אֶ֖שֶׁל בִּבְאֵ֣ר שָׁ֑בַע   ^{33a} (Abraham) planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, (S1)

^{33b} וַיִּקְרָא־שָׁ֔ם בְּשֵׁ֥ם יְהוָ֖ה   ^{33b} and there (Abraham) called on the name

אֵ֥ל עוֹלָֽם: of the LORD, the Everlasting God.   (S1)

³⁴ וַיָּ֧גָר ‏אַבְרָהָ֛ם בְּאֶ֥רֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּ֖ים יָמִ֥ים   ³⁴ And **Abraham** sojourned many days in

רַבִּֽים: פ   the land of the Philistines.   (S1)

¹ וַיְהִ֗י אַחַר֙ הַדְּבָרִ֣ים הָאֵ֔לֶּה וְהָ֣אֱלֹהִ֔ים נִסָּ֖ה   ¹ And then after these things God tested

אֶת־אַבְרָהָ֑ם ...   Abraham, ...   (S4/N3)

                                Gen 21:34-22:1.

In v. 33a and b, the continued subject "Abraham" (S1) is encoded by null reference. The continuity of the same subject persists in v. 34. However, overspecification (proper name) is utilized for the continued subject "Abraham" (S1) to signal that the current episode is about to end.

Overspecified encoding for S1 is used for highlighting purposes, which perform the pragmatic function.

^{7a} וַיִּשְׁמְע֣וּ פְלִשְׁתִּ֗ים ...   ^{7a} And the Philistines heard ...   (S4)

^{7b} וַיַּעֲל֛וּ סַרְנֵֽי־פְלִשְׁתִּ֖ים   ^{7b} And the lords of the Philistines went up to

אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל   Israel   (S5/N3)

^{7c} וַֽיִּשְׁמְעוּ֙ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל   ^{7c} And the people of Israel heard of it. (S3)

^{7d} וַיִּֽרְא֖וּ מִפְּנֵ֥י פְלִשְׁתִּֽים: ^{7d} And were afraid of the Philistines.   (S1)

⁸ וַיֹּאמְר֤וּ בְנֵֽי־יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵ֔ל אַל־תַּחֲרֵ֣שׁ   ⁸ And the people of Israel said to Samuel,

	... "Do not cease ...	(S1/N4)
9a וַיִּקַּח שְׁמוּאֵל טְלֵה חָלָב אֶחָד	9a So Samuel took a sucking lamb	(S2)
9b וַיַּעֲלֵהָ עוֹלָה כָּלִיל לַיהוָה	9b and offered ...	(S1)
9c וַיִּזְעַק שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־יְהוָה ...	9c and **Samuel** cried to the LORD...	(S1)
9d וַיַּעֲנֵהוּ יְהוָה:	9d and the LORD answered him.	S3/N3)
10a וַיְהִי שְׁמוּאֵל מַעֲלֶה הָעוֹלָה	10a As Samuel was offering up the burnt offering,	(S3)
10b וּפְלִשְׁתִּים נִגְּשׁוּ ...	10b the Philistines drew near ...	(S4)
10c וַיַּרְעֵם יְהוָה׀ בְּקוֹל־גָּדוֹל בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא עַל־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	10c and the LORD thundered ...over Philistines	(S4/N3)
10d וַיְהֻמֵּם	10d and threw them into confusion;	(S1/N1)
10e וַיִּנָּגְפוּ לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	10e and they were routed before Israel.	(S3)
	1 Sam 7:7-10.	

In verse 9d, over-encoding for S1 is utilized. Neither the proper name "Samuel" signals the beginning or end of thematic unit, nor does it create the transition between reported speech and narrative proper. It signals the beginning of the peak of an episode.[110] When Israel had turned to the Lord with all their heart, Samuel gathered together all the people at Mizpeh, to prepare them for fighting against the Philistines. When the Philistines heard of the meeting, they advanced to make war upon Israel, and Israel, in their fear of the Philistines, entreated Samuel, "Do not cease to cry to the Lord our God for us, that he may save us from the hand of the Philistines." So Samuel took a sucking lamb and offered it whole as a burnt offering to the Lord, and then Samuel cried to the Lord for Israel, and the Lord "answered him." This interpretation is supported by verse 10. In verse 10, "וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct" introduces a new episode that elaborates the climax of an episode (Van der Merwe 1999a:107). The event that follows this temporal frame is not posterior to the preceding one. In another sense, it is a flash back. When the Philistines advanced during the offering of the sacrifice to fight against Israel, the Lord thundered with a great noise, and threw them into confusion so that they were smitten.

- Marked encoding for S2

When the default interpretation of the null reference is accompanied by a switch of speaker and addressee in non-initial quotative frames, we can expect that a full NP (marked encoding) will perform a function other than signaling a speech turn. Levinsohn (2000a:5-6) identified two reasons for marked encoding for S2.

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110 Similarly, Longacre has described "peaks" of narrative as "zones of turbulence", where the pace of narration often increases due to an increase in the ratio of verbs to non-verbs (Longacre 1985:96-97).

1. "It is common cross-linguistically for the final speech of a reported conversation to be highlighted when its content is important."

2. "One common change of ACTION that is marked cross-linguistically is when a story moves from reported conversation to non-speech event," i.e., the move from a reported conversation to the non-speech events that follow is treated as an "action discontinuity."

Over-encoded S2 is employed to highlight the content of quotation.

7a וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי	7a And Isaac said to his father Abraham, "My father!" (S1/N3)
7b וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֶּנִּי בְנִי	7b And he said, "Yes, my son." (S2/N2)
7c וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים וְאַיֵּה הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה:	7c He said, "Behold, the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?" (S2/N2)
8a וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה־לּוֹ הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה בְּנִי	8a **Abraham** said, "God will himself provide the lamb for a burnt offering, my son." (S2/N2)
	Gen 22:7-8a.

In verse 7b, and 7c, null references for S2/N2 are utilized for default encoding, however, in verse 8a, S2 is encoded by a proper name, i.e. it is overspecified. It highlights the content of reported conversation. For the assertion "God will himself provide" is the turning point of the story (Wenham 1994:109).

- The Development Unit and the Episode

Investigations into participant reference in BH linguistics have identified the marked encodings for S1, S2 and S3 that function other than as mentioned above. These over-encoded S1, S2 and S3 are called redundant NPs, which mark development units in the episode (Levinsohn 2000a:6ff; Runge 2006a:126ff).

Development units are defined as "the building blocks of episodes, and are comparable to Longacre's 'paragraph'" (Runge 2006a:126).[111] "They start a new scene or open a new burst of closely related actions" (Heimerdinger 1999:124). "In other words, they are viewed by the author as representing a new development in the storyline" (Levinsohn 2000a:7).

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111 Runge (2006a:126) proposes hierarchical segmentational units in narratives as follows:

Clause < Development unit < Episode < Thematic Unit < Discourse

The distinction between a development unit and an episode may provide a useful criterion that identifies episodes, and could help to determine whether an over-encoded referential expression signals the onset of the episode or the beginning of a development unit within the episode.

It is evident that the over-encoded S1, S2, and S3 in the following examples have a function other than signaling the onset of a new episode (or the end of the current episode), and highlighting the content of the quotation.

The over-encoded S1 does not mark the onset of a new episode, but the initiation of a new development unit in the episode (Levinsohn 2000a:6ff; Runge 2006a:126ff).

⁶ᵃ וַיִּשְׁמְע֤וּ פְלִשְׁתִּים֙ אֶת־ק֣וֹל הַתְּרוּעָ֔ה	⁶ᵃ And the Philistines heard the noise of the shouting,	(S4)
⁶ᵇ וַיֹּ֣אמְר֔וּ מֶ֠ה ק֣וֹל הַתְּרוּעָ֧ה הַגְּדוֹלָ֛ה הַזֹּ֖את בְּמַחֲנֵ֣ה הָעִבְרִ֑ים	⁶ᵇ And Ø said, "What does this great shouting in the camp of the Hebrews mean?"	(S1)
⁶ᶜ וַיֵּ֣דְע֔וּ כִּ֚י אֲר֣וֹן יְהֹוָ֔ה בָּ֖א אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶֽה׃	⁶ᶜ And Ø knew that the ark of the LORD had come to the camp,	(S1)
⁷ᵃ וַיִּֽרְאוּ֙ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים	⁷ᵃ **the Philistines** were afraid;	(S1)
⁷ᵇ כִּ֣י אָמְר֔וּ בָּ֥א אֱלֹהִ֖ים אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶ֑ה	⁷ᵇ for Ø thought, "A god has come into the camp."	(S1)
⁷ᶜ וַיֹּֽאמְרוּ֙ ...	⁷ᶜ And Ø said, …	(S1)
	1 Sam 4:6-7	

The over-encoded S1 in v. 7a signals the onset of a new development unit in the episode. The fact that the Philistines were afraid provides momentum for a new development. They resolve to fight against the Israelites because of the momentum provided by fear.

The over-encoded S2 signals the beginning of a new development unit (Runge 2006a:182ff).[112]

¹ᵇ וְהָ֣אֱלֹהִ֔ים נִסָּ֖ה אֶת־אַבְרָהָ֑ם	¹ᵇ God tested Abraham,
¹ᶜ וַיֹּ֥אמֶר אֵלָ֖יו אַבְרָהָ֑ם	¹ᶜ and Ø said to him, "Abraham!"

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112   The argument of Levinsohn that over-encoding S2 signals the transition between reported speech to narrative proper in BH is not convincing. Null references for S2 are also identified in the initial clause following reported speech (1 Sam 2:25b, 3:5d, 4:20c). The fact that null reference is utilized in an initial clause following reported speech implies that over-encoding may not function to mark the transition between reported speech and narrative proper, but may have other functions.

^{1d} וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּנִי׃   ^{1d} And Ø said, "Here am I."

² וַיֹּאמֶר קַח־נָא אֶת־בִּנְךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ   ² Ø said, "Take your son, your only son Isaac,

אֲשֶׁר־אָהַבְתָּ אֶת־יִצְחָק וְלֶךְ־לְךָ אֶל־אֶרֶץ   whom you love, and go to the land of Moriah,

הַמֹּרִיָּה וְהַעֲלֵהוּ שָׁם לְעֹלָה עַל אַחַד   and offer him there as a burnt offering upon one

הֶהָרִים אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ׃   of the mountains of which I shall tell you."

^{3a} וַיַּשְׁכֵּם אַבְרָהָם בַּבֹּקֶר   ^{3a} So **Abraham** rose early in the morning,(S2)

<div align="center">Gen 22:1-3a.</div>

In general, default encoding for S3 is relexicalization. However, null reference can be a possible default encoding for S3 in the cases either when other factors resolve referential ambiguity, or when differences in salience clearly identify one participant as the expected initiator. Hence, when relexicalization occurs under these circumstances, it will be regarded as over-encoding. Runge (2006a:132) pointed out that the over-encoded S3 signals a development unit.

^{19a} וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ בַבֹּקֶר   ^{19a} They rose early in the morning   (S4)

^{19b} וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה   ^{19b} and worshiped before the Lord;   (S1)

^{19c} וַיָּשֻׁבוּ   ^{19c} then returned   (S1)

^{19d} וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־בֵּיתָם הָרָמָתָה   ^{19d} and went to their house at Ramah.   (S1)

^{19e} וַיֵּדַע אֶלְקָנָה אֶת־חַנָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ   ^{19e} And Elkanah knew Hannah his wife,   (S1/N3)

^{19f} וַיִּזְכְּרֶהָ יְהוָה׃   ^{19f} and the LORD remembered her;   (S4/N1)

^{20a} וַיְהִי לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים   ^{20a} and then at the circuit of the days[113]

וַתַּהַר חַנָּה   **Hannah** conceived   (S3)

^{20b} וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן   ^{20b} and bore a son,   (S1)

^{20c} וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ ...   ^{20c} and she called his name Samuel…"   (S1)

<div align="center">1 Sam 1:19-20.</div>

A new episode is initiated with a shift of time (v. 19a) and space (v. 19c and d). Wayyiqtols in v. 19 (they rose ... they worshipped … they returned … they went to … Elkanah knew Hannah his wife and the Lord remembered her) advance the story towards the peak. "וַיְהִי + exact point in time adjunct (לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים)"[114] in v. 20a signals the climax of the current episode by describing the exact temporal position that Hannah conceived (Van der Merwe 1999a:107-108). In v. 20a, the proper name for S3 is over-encoding, for the context disambiguates the participants, viz. who conceived, the

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113   Concerning לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים Driver (1890:16) states: "at the (completed) circuit of the days, i.e. not at the end of the period of gestation, but … of the Feast of Ingathering at the close of the year, which was no doubt the occasion of the pilgrimage alluded to in v. 21."

114   A stretch of time (לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים) is treated as a point in time, that is, "punctually conceptualized" [i.e., Hannah "punctually conceived] (Van der Merwe 1999a:106).

Lord or Hannah. This over-encoding signals a new development unit (this development unit is the climatic unit of the episode).[115]

The development unit is similar to the terminal category (e.g. beginning, react, goal, attempts…) of the episode that story grammarians have identified. Empirical investigations have been done regarding terminal categories of an episode to establish the psychological reality of the episode (§2.2.2.1). In addition, a schematic nature of terminal categories of the episode were identified in connection with the situation model (§2.5). However, no empirical investigation has been done regarding the development unit, i.e., empirical research has not been carried out regarding the nature of the relationship between the development unit and the episode, and whether some authors make indents where development units occur and treat them as sub-divisions within an episode. This issue needs further investigation.

In summary, marked encodings for S1, S2 and S3 have a variety of functions. They may signal a new development unit as well as highlighting the content. Neither of these functions in itself signals a new episode. In conjunction with distinguishing episodes, when a temporal or spatial shift, or concrete changes of participants are involved, the over-encoded S1 signals the onset of a new episode. In addition, marked encoding for S1 can signal the termination of the episode.
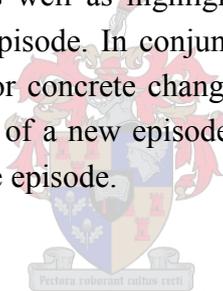
3.2.1.5 Distinguishing Episodes in Reported Speech

Reported speech is introduced by use of quotative frame. The frame introduces the speech participants, viz. speaker, and addressee in general. The distinction between the initial quotative frame and non-initial quotative frames must be made: initial quotative

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115   Compare with the next example.

[20a] וּבֵרַ֨ךְ עֵלִ֤י אֶת־אֶלְקָנָה֙ ...	[20a] Then Eli would bless Elkanah …	(S4/N4)
[20b] וְהָלְכ֖וּ לִמְקֹמֽוֹ׃	[20b] And went to their home.	(S2)
[21a] כִּֽי־פָקַ֤ד יְהוָה֙ אֶת־חַנָּ֔ה	[21a] And[115] the LORD visited Hannah,	(S4/N3)
[21b] וַתַּ֣הַר	[21b] and Ø *conceived*	(S3)
[21c] וַתֵּ֛לֶד שְׁלֹשָֽׁה־בָנִ֖ים וּשְׁתֵּ֥י בָנֽוֹת	[21c] and bore three sons and two daughters.	(S1)

Sam 2:20-21.

In verse 21b, null reference is utilized as default encoding for S3 for this reason. In 21b, it is not necessary to use relexicalization for default encoding for S3, for the verb וַתַּ֣הַר (she conceived) disambiguates the participants, viz., who conceived: the Lord or Hannah.

frames introduce participants who are involved in dialogues, while within the dialogues, non-initial quotative frames signal speech turns.

When a participant is speaking to a particular addressee, additional quotative frames are not inserted in the middle of the speech. However, sometimes, in the middle of the speaking of the same speaker, additional quotative frames are inserted, even though the same speaker is speaking to the same addressee. Runge (2006a:140) calls this phenomenon "mid-speech reorienting." In this case, a reported speech can be segmented into smaller units; however, these smaller units do not signal thematic changes, but highlight the content of a quotation.

⁸וַתֹּאמֶר מִפְּנֵי שָׂרַי גְּבִרְתִּי אָנֹכִי בֹּרַחַת:	⁸ (Hagar) said, "I am fleeing from my mistress Sarai." (S2/N2)
⁹וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַלְאַךְ יְהֹוָה שׁוּבִי אֶל־גְּבִרְתֵּךְ ...	⁹ The angel of the LORD said to her, "Return to your mistress…" (S2/N2)
¹⁰וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַלְאַךְ יְהֹוָה הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה ...	¹⁰ The angel of the LORD also said to her, "I will so greatly multiply ..." (S1/N1)
¹¹וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַלְאַךְ יְהֹוָה הִנָּךְ הָרָה ...	¹¹ And the angel of the LORD said to her, "Behold, you are pregnant …" (S1/N1)
	Gen 16:8b-11.

In verse 10, and in verse 11, S1 in mid-speech reorienting frames are over-encoded. They highlight the content of the two quotations: firstly the promise, which is nearly the same as was given to patriarchs, is given to Hagar. "I shall so greatly multiply your descendants" is a regular ingredient of the promises to the patriarchs (cf. Gen 17:2; 22:17; 26:24). Secondly, the angel of the LORD gives a birth oracle to Hagar (cf. Gen 18:9-15; Judg 13:3-7).

A quotative frame expresses the narrative world, hence speech verbs (viz. wayyiqtols for instance וַיֹּאמֶר) in the frame occupy positions on the story line and advance the story. However, the quotation itself has its own world. Hence, when the quotation is long enough to form multi-episodes or its own story, it may be delimitated into smaller units on the basis of episodes. According to the story grammar, in general, a well formed episode is composed of six nodes, viz. beginning, reaction, goal, attempt, outcome, and ending. Hence, a shortest well formed episode is composed of six sentences. When the quotation is longer than six sentences, the quotation should be investigated to determine whether the quotation should be delimitated into more than one episode. In this case, linguistic signals that mark episode boundaries are expected to be found when the quotation is narrative. In 1 Sam 1-12, two instances occur that have

long quotations (1 Sam 2:27-36; 12:6-17), yet, none of the relevant linguistic signals occur.

3.2.1.6 Sentence Articulations and Episodes

In the preceding section, participant encodings were investigated to provide some of the criteria for identifying episodes. More criteria may be provided when sentence articulations are investigated, because the deployment of information in discourse and the mental representation of entities influence the choice of clausal forms (Heimerdinger 1999:128ff). In this section, we will be concerned with how identifying different sentence articulations at episode boundaries may help to distinguish episodes in BH narrative text.

In conjunction with sentence articulations, distinctions are made between presupposed information (presupposition) that a speaker assumes an addressee already knows, and asserted information (assertion) that a speaker assumes an addressee does not know.[116] According to these two different categories, three different distinctions of sentence articulations can be made, namely, the topic-comment sentence, the argument focus sentence, the presentational sentence.[117] (Andrews 1985; Lambrecht 1994; Heimerdinger 1999; Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003).

3.2.1.6.1 The Topic-Comment Sentence

In the topic-comment sentence, there is usually the topic, which indicates what the sentence is about. The remainder of the sentence, the comment, provides information about the topic. Topics are presumed to be in the consciousness of the reader by virtue of the preceding discourse or already shared knowledge. The topic comment articulation

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116 Givón (1992:8) states in this regard: "One of the most important aspects of grounding involves the division between old and new information. … propositions/clauses in coherent discourse presumably carry some new information. Still, the information in the clause is seldom TOTALLY NEW or TOTALLY OLD. Either extreme is informationally unpalatable. Totally old ("predictable") information is useless to the hearer, offering no motivation for attending. Totally new information is equally useless, offering no grounding point for the information to cohere. Propositions (or "clauses") in coherent discourse thus tend to be information hybrids, carrying both old and new information."

117 The presentational sentence have been dealt with in the discussion of the initial introduction of brand-new participants (see §3.2.1.3.1).

presupposes that a topic X did something, and would answer to the question "what did X (the topic) do?"

> (1) What did Samuel do?
> (2) He *anointed Saul*.

(1) presupposes that Samuel (topic) did something. And the predicate in (2) makes an assertion about Samuel.

In conjunction with the process of distinguishing paragraphs, a distinction must be made between unmarked topic-comment sentences, and marked ones. In the unmarked topic-comment sentence, the active topic is already established and something is predicated to this topic,[118] hence, the focus of utterance is the predicate (predicate focus). When predicate focus is involved, the utterances tend to display the normal word order (Lambrecht 1994:228, 235-238). In addition, the discourse active topic tends to be referred to by means of the unaccented pronoun when it is the subject of the sentence (Lambrecht 1994:172-174). "In coherent discourse the overwhelming majority of subjects are unaccented pronouns, i.e. expressions that indicate topic continuity across sentences" (Lambrecht 1994:132). Hence, the unmarked-topic comment sentence is a default sentence articulation when there is no pragmatic reason to use another (Lambrecht 1994:222; van der Merwe and Talstra 2003/2003:75; Runge 2006a:34). Furthermore, it signals topic continuity in general. In contrast to the unmarked-topic comment sentence, the marked one performs a variety of functions other than signaling topic continuity.

BH is a verb initial language, i.e. VSO language. In BH, the unmarked topic-comment sentence is coded by normal word order, namely, VSO. However, the marked topic-comment sentence is coded by fronting. In such cases, the marked topic-comment sentence performs special pragmatic functions including topic discontinuity at the boundaries of the discourse unit (Floor 2004:84).

Further discussion in this study makes a distinction between the primary topic and the secondary topic in topic expressions.

- Generally, the primary topic is a grammatical subject in BH. As a general rule of thumb, primary topics appear more than once in subsequent clauses (Floor 2004:79).

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118   In other words, "topic is the matter of current interest and the statement of comment aims at increasing the hearer's knowledge about the topical entity" (Heimerdinger 1999:131).

- The secondary topics are less salient than primary topics, and secondary topics are dependent on the presence of a primary topic in the proposition. The difference between a primary topic and a secondary topic is that a secondary topic is not the primary address of the proposition of new information (Floor 2004:88).

In general, the primary topic in the unmarked topic-comment sentence signals topic continuity. However, the unmarked topic-comment sentence in which the non-active (inactive S5 or semi-active S4) referent is reactivated (reintroduced) by use of full NP as the primary topic, can signal the beginning of a new episode. In particular, when the reintroduced non-active referent is the subject in wayyiqtol clause, it often signals the beginning of a new episode. In particular, when the referent is introduced by being anchored to the item that makes the NP identifiable, it marks the beginning of a new episode (Heimerdinger 1999:150).

Now **Dinah the daughter of Leah, whom she had borne to Jacob**, **went out** to visit the women of the land   (S5)   וַתֵּצֵא דִינָה בַּת־לֵאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב לִרְאוֹת בִּבְנוֹת הָאָרֶץ׃

Gen 34:1

The inactive referent דִינָה [119] is reactivated in a wayyiqtol clause by being anchored to בַּת־לֵאָה אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב in order to establish its identifiability.[120] The unmarked-topic comment sentence (wayyiqtol), which reintroduces an inactive referent as the NP subject signals the onset of a new episode (BHRG §21.2.2 i).

The marked topic-comment sentence has marked word order in that the primary or secondary topics are fronted. Some "x-qatal" sentences are marked topic-comment sentences.[121]

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119   It has previously occurred in Gen 30:21 last.

120   When an activated referent has become inactive, and is reintroduced into the discourse (i.e., reactivated), it should be identifiable. In this case, establishing identifiability is not the same as making the file, but finding and opening the existing file in the mind, so that the reader may accumulate incoming information.

121   In "x-qatal," any constituent can be fronted. In this case, "x-qatal" is broader than the marked topic-comment sentence. In §3.2.1.3.1.1, the presentational "x-qatal" was dealt with in connection with the introduction of the brand-new participants, for the reason that the introduced entity x in this presentational "x-qatal" is not the topic of the sentence, i.e., this "x-qatal" is not the marked topic-comment sentence, but the presentational sentence.

     Eskhult (1990:51-55) and BHRG §47.2.ii also propose the delimitation function of "x-qatal." Eskhult (1990) has observed that new episodes are begun by "subject + qatal" clause. Among

- The marked-topic comment sentence in which the non-active referent (or identifiable referent) is reintroduced (i.e. reactivated) as the primary topic by being fronted in a verbal clause, can signal episode boundaries (Floor 2004:84 ff). It is crucial that non-active referents are introduced with a proper name or a proper name with anchoring expressions (full NP).[122]

Hebrew	English
30 וְאַחַר֙ יָצָ֣א אָחִ֔יו אֲשֶׁ֥ר עַל־יָד֖וֹ הַשָּׁנִ֑י וַיִּקְרָ֥א שְׁמ֖וֹ זָֽרַח׃ ס 39:1 וְיוֹסֵ֖ף הוּרַ֣ד מִצְרָ֑יְמָה וַיִּקְנֵ֡הוּ פּוֹטִיפַר֩ סְרִ֨יס פַּרְעֹ֜ה שַׂ֤ר הַטַּבָּחִים֙ אִ֣ישׁ מִצְרִ֔י מִיַּד֙ הַיִּשְׁמְעֵאלִ֔ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר הוֹרִדֻ֖הוּ שָֽׁמָּה׃	30 Afterward his brother came out with the scarlet thread upon his hand; and his name was called Zerah.39:1 Now **Joseph** had been taken down to Egypt, and Poti-phar, an officer of Pharaoh, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there. Gen 38: 30-39:1

Joseph is reintroduced in Gen 39:1 as the primary topic in an "x-qatal" clause after the interlude of Genesis 38. "X-qatal" here signals the onset of a new episode.

- A marked topic-comment sentence can function as a closure device at the end of a discourse unit (development unit or episode) reactivating the primary or secondary topics to be the topics of utterances that are the summary of a paragraph, episode or narrative (e.g. 2 Kgs 11:20; Josh 12:6) (Floor 2004:92; BHRG §47.2.ii).

Hebrew	English
וַיִּשְׂמַ֖ח כָּל־עַם־הָאָ֑רֶץ וְהָעִ֖יר שָׁקָֽטָה	20 So all the people of the land rejoiced; and **the city** was quiet

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these categories, sometimes the fronted primary topic in "x-qatal" does not function as the primary topic in the subsequent clause, but simply "serve[s] to set the clause off from the sequence of on-line foregrounded-continuity clauses. They are used as a discontinuity structure to break up and mark off time, paragraph or episode divisions" (Buth 1995:89-90). For instance, in Gen 4:1, the fronted primary topic "Adam" is reintroduced in the marked topic-comment sentence ("x-qatal"). In the preceding sentences (verse 22-24), God is the primary topic. Here the primary topic changes from God to "Adam." However, Adam is not the primary topic in this episode. The fronted primary topic "Adam" simply opens the whole new episode with a new setting and new characters. The purpose of this clause is to mark the unit boundary. In this case, the fronted primary topic introduces a new setting and new characters. Buth (1995:88-90, 97) regards this marked topic-comment sentence as a topic framing device as does Goutsos (1997:46).

122   As identified in default-marked encodings to activated participants, the referent which is not well established in readers' minds needs more encoding such as anchoring expressions, while the well established referent needs only the proper name (viz. the primary referring expression).

וְאֶת־עֲתַלְיָ֖הוּ הֵמִ֣יתוּ בַחֶ֑רֶב בֵּ֣ית הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃ ס   and **Athaliah** they had killed by the sword at the king's house   2 Kings 11:20

In this example, two marked-topic sentences occur to signal the end of the current episode. Besides the secondary topic that signals the end of the current episode, the primary topic הָעִיר in the marked topic-comment sentence also signal the end of the current episode.[123]

The marked topic-comment sentence has other functions others than signaling discourse unit boundaries.

- The marked topic-comment sentence re-establishes the discourse active entity as the topic in cases where two topics are compared or contrasted (BHRG §47.2.ii; Van der Merwe 1999b:183; 1999c:294 ;Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003:83-84).

[21] וַיַּ֜עַל הָאִ֧ישׁ אֶלְקָנָ֛ה וְכָל־בֵּית֖וֹ לִזְבֹּ֧חַ לַֽיהוָ֛ה אֶת־זֶ֥בַח הַיָּמִ֖ים וְאֶת־נִדְרֽוֹ׃ [22] וְחַנָּ֖ה לֹ֥א עָלָֽתָה   [21] And the man Elkanah and all his house went up to offer to the LORD the yearly sacrifice, and to pay his vow. [22] But **Hannah did not go up**   1 Sam 1:21-22a

- The marked topic-comment sentence reactivates an identifiable entity in order to comment on different entities that are involved in the same situation. In this case, often the different utterances, each with a different topic, have the character of a list (BHRG §47.2.ii; Van der Merwe 1999c:294; Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003:83-84).

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יְהוָ֤ה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁ֙עַ֙ אַל־תִּירָ֣א מִפְּנֵיהֶ֔ם כִּֽי־מָחָ֞ר כָּעֵ֤ת הַזֹּאת֙ אָֽנֹכִ֗י נֹתֵ֛ן אֶת־כֻּלָּ֥ם חֲלָלִ֖ים לִפְנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל אֶת־סוּסֵיהֶ֣ם תְּעַקֵּ֔ר וְאֶת־מַרְכְּבֹתֵיהֶ֖ם תִּשְׂרֹ֥ף בָּאֵֽשׁ׃   And the LORD said to Joshua, "Do not be afraid of them, for tomorrow at this time I will give over all of them, slain, to Israel; you shall hamstring **their horses**, and burn **their chariots** with fire."   Josh 11:6

- The marked topic-comment sentence signals that a special type of temporal construction is involved (BHRG §47.2.iv; Van der Merwe and Talstra 2002/2003:84-85).

הֵ֜מָּה בָּ֣אוּ בְּאֶ֣רֶץ צ֗וּף וְשָׁא֞וּל אָמַ֤ר לְנַעֲרוֹ֙ אֲשֶׁר־עִמּ֔וֹ לְכָ֖ה וְנָשׁ֑וּבָה פֶּן־יֶחְדַּ֥ל אָבִ֛י מִן־הָאֲתֹנ֖וֹת וְדָ֥אַג לָֽנוּ׃   **When they came to** the land of Zuph, **Saul said to** his servant who was with him, "Come, let us go back, lest my father

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123   Here wayyiqtol in וַיִּשְׁמַ֖ע כָּל־עַם־הָאָ֑רֶץ does not express temporal sequentiality (see §3.2.4.1).

cease to care about the asses and become anxious about us."   1 Sam 9:5

- The marked topic-comment sentence signals the pluperfect (Buth 1995:88-89; BHRG §47.2.iii).

וַיִּֽירְא֣וּ הַמַּלָּחִ֗ים וַיִּזְעֲקוּ֮ אִ֣ישׁ אֶל־אֱלֹהָיו֒ וַיָּטִ֨לוּ אֶת־הַכֵּלִ֜ים אֲשֶׁ֤ר בָּֽאֳנִיָּה֙ אֶל־הַיָּ֔ם לְהָקֵ֖ל מֵעֲלֵיהֶ֑ם וְיוֹנָ֗ה יָרַד֙ אֶל־יַרְכְּתֵ֣י הַסְּפִינָ֔ה וַיִּשְׁכַּ֖ב וַיֵּרָדַֽם׃

Then the mariners were afraid, and each cried to his god; and they threw the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it for them. But **Jonah had gone down** into the inner part of the ship and had lain down, and was fast asleep.   (S4)

Jonah 1:5

In summary, the unmarked topic-comment sentence (in BH, normal word order) signals continuity. In contrast, the marked topic-comment sentence has a variety of functions. The marked topic-comment sentence is often found in the beginning of a new episode, or at the end of an episode. However, other functions are also identified besides a segmentation function. Marked topic-comment sentences can also signal pluperfect, re-establishing a topic to contrast it with others, simultaneity, and lists.

3.2.1.6.2 The Argument-Focus Sentence

In the argument-focus sentence, the body of the sentence, the predicate is presuppositional. The focus NP gives the identity of a participant presumed to be unknown to the hearer. Hence, the argument focus sentence is often called an "identificational sentence." "Its communicative function is to provide the identity of the referent solicited by the question" (Heimerdinger 1999:131).

(1) Who anointed Saul?
(2) **Samuel** anointed him.

In (2), the predicate is discourse active, i.e., it is known to the addressee. "Somebody anointed Saul" is presupposed, and the focus item "Samuel" makes this presupposition into assertion (asserted information).

In BH, in general, the argument focus is coded by marked word order, viz. fronting in the preverbal field.

מִ֣י יַעֲלֶה־לָּ֧נוּ אֶל־הַֽכְּנַעֲנִ֛י בַּתְּחִלָּ֖ה לְהִלָּ֥חֶם בּֽוֹ׃ ² וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהוָ֔ה יְהוּדָ֖ה יַעֲלֶ֑ה

Who shall go up first for us against the Canaanites, to fight against them? The Lord said, **Judah** shall go up.

In verse 2, "somebody must go up" is presupposed, and the focus item "Judah" makes this presupposed proposition into assertion.

Taking account of the pragmatic function of the argument-focus sentence, although it does signal discontinuity weakly, it does not mark discourse unit boundaries.

3.2.1.6.3 Summary

Identifying different sentence articulations helps the reader to distinguish paragraphs. The unmarked topic-comment sentences and the argument-focus sentences do not signal discourse unit boundaries, but signal topic continuity inside episodes in general. On the contrary, both the presentational sentence (often also the event-reporting sentence, see §3.2.1.3.1.1), and the marked topic-comment sentence, often occur at the borders of episodes to mark new discourse representation units.

3.2.2 Temporal Expressions and Episodes

"Time, alongside event, character and place, is considered as one of the major building blocks of a narrative" (Van der Merwe 1997a:42). [124] If coherent discourse tends to maintain the same or contiguous time and the same or contiguous location over a span of several propositions, discontinuities of situation (time, location) fractionates the text into sub-units. Hence, identifying temporal markers may help the reader to determine whether the beginning of a new discourse unit is marked, or not.

Why do readers regard temporal changes as signals of a new discourse representation unit? [125] Investigations into reference time have shed light on this question. A

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[124] In this regard, De Regt (1999b) states, "generally, change of time or period or of place, introduction of new participants and full noun phrase reintroduction (or reidentification) of old participants are some of the context-changing devices that may mark the beginning of a new paragraph. [Change in] spatial setting is usually marked by a locative adverbial phrase (not a prolocative one such as 'here'), and almost always marks a theme shift. This implies that paragraphs may not only start when participants are referred to by name; they may also begin at a change of place or time, which is often introduced by וַיְהִי (e.g. Ruth 1:6)" (De Regt 1999b:17).

[125] It is necessary to clarify the concepts of and difference between temporal adverbs, temporal adverbials, temporal adjuncts for the purposes of this study. Temporal adverb refers to the word class. Temporal adverbials are temporal adverbs or phrases that refer to a position in time (e.g. in the morning), during (e.g. for the entire day), or frequency of an event or state of affairs. The

distinction must be made between different types of time on the time-line in order to identify what the reference time is: (1) event time (E), the time of the event itself; (2) speech time, the time when reference is made to an event (S); (3) reference time (R), the point in time that provides one with a vantage point from which an event can be viewed. Relations between different types of time on the time line can be illustrated as follows:

a) Samuel met Saul at nine o'clock.
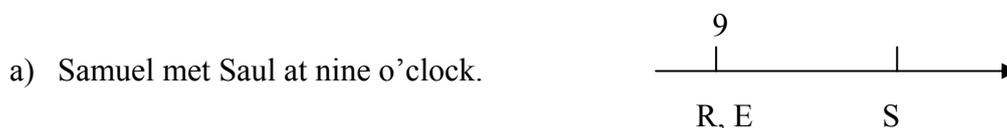
In a), reference time coincides with event time, and both precede speech time.

b) Samuel has met Saul.

In b), reference time coincides with speech time, and event time precedes them.

c) At nine o'clock, Samuel had met Saul.

In c), event time precedes reference time, which itself precedes speech time.

One of the narrative discourse principles[126] is the reference time succession principle (Couper-Kuhlen 1988:354ff). The main events of a narrative are chained together via reference time. In simple linear progression, the reference time lies just after the preceding event. However, a speaker and/or writer may choose to update or specify the

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temporal adjunct refers to a sentence constituent. A temporal adverb (e.g. He came *today*), a temporal adverbial (He came *on that day*), two or more temporal adverbials (He came *in the morning, on that very hot day*), a temporal adverb plus a temporal adverbial (He came *early in the morning*), a temporal sentence (He came *when we were about to leave*) may be the temporal adjunct of a sentence. Concerning the difference between sentence adverbial and temporal adverbial in cognitive and segmentational function, see §2.6.2.2

126 This term describes three recognized principles as follows: I. The narrative principle: "A narrative involves at least two unique events which take place in temporal sequence" (Couper-Kuhlen 1988:353). II. The lexico-syntactic principle: "The events which the narrator esteems salient are put in relief or foregrounded via lexico-syntactic means:(1) they are encoded lexically and syntactically as discrete, whole events with clearly determined initial and/or final boundaries; (2) their occurrence is asserted in main, i.e. syntactically independent clauses" (Couper-Kuhlen 1988:353). III. The iconicity principle: "… the salient events of a narrative are textualized in the order of their occurrence. This forms the so-called 'story line,' which is thought of as progressing in time" (Couper-Kuhlen 1988:354). Couper-Kuhlen (1988:354 ff) proposes an additional, viz. "the reference time succession principle."

reference time of a subsequent event. This often happens when an event takes place at a point in time remote from the previous one. In this case, the sentence is modified by a frame adjunct such as "on Tuesday," "at three o'clock," "in June" or a when-clause, and the reference time is determined according to that adverb (Hatav 1997:76). This is updating the reference time.

a) Peter brought a camera, and went to the beach.

$$\underline{}\quad R_1E_1 \longrightarrow \quad \underline{}\quad R_2E_2 \quad \underline{} \longrightarrow$$

b) Peter brought a camera. Two hours later he went to the beach.

$$\underline{}\quad R_1E_1 \longrightarrow \quad \text{two hours later} \quad \underline{}\quad R_2E_2 \quad \underline{} \longrightarrow$$

In a) and b) the situation reported in the second clause follows the situation reported in the first, i.e., they express the sequentiality relation. However, relations between the reference times in each sentence are not the same. In a) R_2 is just after R_1; however, in b) they have a gap (two hours) between them. In b), temporal frame adverbial "two hours later" updates reference time. When a new frame of time is established, it is usually detached from the current discourse topic (or theme).[127] A jump of time is a kind of segmentation, as is identified in psycholinguistic experiments, where for instance, a shift in time causes a switch in the scenario (or mental model). Here a new discourse unit begins. Hence, readers understand the reference time update as a signal to create a new discourse representation unit.

However, not all temporal adjuncts can be used to update reference time. The reference time of any event always implies a specific point, unspecified point, or a stretch of time on the time-line. When the reference time of an event is updated, temporal adjuncts referring to one or other temporal position on the time-line are therefore involved. For this reason, temporal adjuncts referring to the duration or frequency of events cannot be employed for updating the reference time (duration neither can anchor an event on the time-line, nor provide the temporal vantage point of an event). Only temporal adjuncts that denote temporal position can update the reference time (Van der Merwe 1997b:508-509; 1999a:96; Hatav 1997:4).

In BH, a special construction with the discourse marker וַיְהִי is used to update reference time so that readers may create a new discourse representation unit.[128] Temporal

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127   In this regard, see the psycholinguistics investigation presented in the preceding chapter (§2.6.2.2).

128   Other types of temporal adjuncts that can be distinguished in BH are the following:

adjuncts occurring at the right-hand boundary of a clause, and that are separated from the rest of the clauses by means of wāw (dislocated position) can signal the onset of a new episode. This is the prototypical construction that is often employed to signal the borders of episodes specifying or updating the vantage time (i.e., updating the reference time) (Van der Merwe 1997b:523-524).[129]

וַיְהִ֗י כַּאֲשֶׁ֤ר זָקֵן֙ שְׁמוּאֵ֔ל וַיָּ֧שֶׂם אֶת־בָּנָ֛יו שֹׁפְטִ֖ים לְיִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃	**And then when Samuel became old**, he made his sons judges over Israel
	1 Sam 8:1

In this verse, reference time is updated. Reference time does not stand after the preceding event (then he would come back to Ramah, for his home was there, and there also he administered justice to Israel. And he built there an altar to the Lord (1 Sam 7:17)).

Among dislocated temporal adjuncts, exact point in time adjuncts are often used at the climax or turning point of an episode (Van der Merwe 1999a:111; BHRG §44.5.i).

וַיְהִ֞י כְּהַזְכִּיר֣וֹ׀ אֶת־אֲר֣וֹן הָאֱלֹהִ֗ים וַיִּפֹּ֣ל מֵֽעַל־הַכִּסֵּ֞א אֲחֹרַנִּ֗ית	**The moment when he mentioned the ark of God**, Eli fell over from his seat
	1 Sam 4:18

Temporal adjuncts that are fronted. This case can be treated under the pragmatic function of fronting. In the following example, the fronted temporal adjunct is an argument focus. It does not signal the onset of a new discourse unit, but continuity.

וַיֹּֽאמְרוּ֙ אַנְשֵׁ֣י יָבֵ֔ישׁ מָחָ֖ר נֵצֵ֣א אֲלֵיכֶ֑ם	Therefore the men of Jabesh said, **Tomorrow** we will give ourselves up to you 1 Sam 11:10

Temporal adjuncts that occur in the final position of the main field.

וַיַּשְׁכִּ֤מוּ אַשְׁדּוֹדִים֙ מִמָּחֳרָ֔ת	And when the people of Ashdod rose early **the next day** 1 Sam 5:3

Temporal adjuncts that occur in the non-final position of the main field

וַיַּכּ֞וּ בַּיּ֤וֹם הַהוּא֙ בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים מִמִּכְמָ֖שׂ אַיָּלֹֽנָה	They struck down the Philistines **that day** from Michmash to Aijalon 1 Sam 14:31

However, these do not update reference time. (Van der Merwe 1997b:512-513)

129   In some verses, temporal adjuncts which follow וַיְהִי are not separated from the rest of the clause by wāw, e.g. Gen 14:1; 25:20. Van der Merwe (1999a:104) also identified the cases where the clause to which the temporal adjunct pertains follows it asyndetically (e.g. 1 Sam 18:30; 2 Kgs 14:28; 2 Kgs 4:8; 2 Chron 12:11).

The exact point in time adjunct is often expressed by "preposition כְּ + Infinitive constructus." The exact point in time adjunct כְּהַזְכִּירוֹ | אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים provides a new temporal frame in which the subsequent events can be located. In this example, Eli fell the moment when the messenger mentioned that the ark of God was taken. The event of Eli's death functions to provide momentum for a new development in the episode.

The temporal adjuncts which update reference time also occur with the discourse marker וְהָיָה.[130] Hatav (1997:82) argues that this "וְהָיָה + temporal adjuct" has a temporal segmentational function by updating reference time.

10b וּמֹשֶׁה אַהֲרֹן וְחוּר עָלוּ רֹאשׁ הַגִּבְעָה:	10b and Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill.	(S3+)	
11a וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר יָרִים מֹשֶׁה יָדוֹ	11a **And then when Moses held up his hand,**	(S1)	
11b וְגָבַר יִשְׂרָאֵל	11b Israel prevailed;	(S4)	
11c וְכַאֲשֶׁר יָנִיחַ יָדוֹ	11c and when he lowered his hand,	(S4)	
11d וְגָבַר עֲמָלֵק:	11d Amalek prevailed.	(S4)	

Exod 17:10b-11.

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130 In this case, וְהָיָה does not introduce future events or states, but past states or events. The variant feature of this case of וְהָיָה has been documented. Ogden (1971) and Driver (1890:13; 1892) regard this וְהָיָה as wāw copulative + qatal. According to Driver (1892:158-159), this וְהָיָה occurs because an idiom הִרְבְּתָה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל is employed. BDB (1907:225) also regards וְהָיָה here as wāw copulative + qatal. Joüon and Muraoka (§119: z) regard וְהָיָה in this case as a confusion of וַיְהִי due to the graphic resemblance. Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley (1910:§112. uu.) suggest וַיְהִי should be read instead of וְהָיָה. However, Mitchell (1914:50) argues that וְהָיָה should be retained. Mitchell (1914) argues that "וְהָיָה is used because the apodosis has a frequentative verb or verbs, and the introductory verb וְהָיָה should suggest the same idea. This form, however, may mean, not only "it used to be," but also "it continued to be". He gives some examples in this regard: the verb in apodosis is yiqtol: Exod 33:7, 8, 9; Judg 2:19; the verb in apodosis is weqatal: Gen 30:41; 38:9; Exod 17:11; Num 21:9; Judg 6:3; 12:5; 19:30; 1 Sam 16:23; 2 Sam 14:26; 2 Sam 15:5. He also argues that two verses (1 Sam 1:12; 25:20) should be regarded as the same cases, for the verb of the apodosis is a participle that denotes continuous action. However there are exceptions: in 1 Sam 10:9, 17:48; 2 Kgs 3:15; Jer 37:11, and Jer 38:28b-39:3, the verbs in apodosis are wayyiqtol. In this regard, Mitchell (1914:53) argues that these verses originally had וַיְהִי, or that וְהָיָה could be retained if Aramaic usage, that does not require a change of tense after wāw, is assumed. In addition, he argues that in these verses, וְהָיָה should be interpreted as the equivalent in meaning of the וַיְהִי, if וְהָיָה is retained.

In v. 11a, reference time is updated. In addition, the fact that Moses held up his hand provides momentum for subsequent events (or a new development). A new episode is initiated.[131]

In summary, reference time updating phrases are typically prefixed by וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה when they are sentence initial. When the reference time jumps forward, away from the current reference time, it is marked by וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה, and the temporal adjunct is preposed. Hence, when temporal frame adjuncts which follow וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה, occur, they often signal the beginning of a new episode.

3.2.3 Spatial Change and Episode

Discrete changes of place signals discontinuity, while same place or (for motion) continuous change signals continuity (Givon 1984:245). Space in which subsequent events that take place is introduced in the setting. In BH generally, shifts of space are not signalled by spatial adverbials. However, a shift of space is semantically specified or inferable at the beginning of episodes.

Spatial settings may be redefined during the course of a text, either by describing where each new setting is located, or by a relative redefinition that takes the most recent setting as its point of departure.

²¹ וַיֹּסֶף יְהוָה לְהֵרָאֹה בְשִׁלֹה כִּי־נִגְלָה יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל בְּשִׁלֹו	²¹ And the LORD appeared again at Shiloh, for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel
בִּדְבַר יְהוָה: פ ^{4:1a} וַיְהִי דְבַר־שְׁמוּאֵל לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	at Shiloh by the word of the LORD. ^{4:1a} And the word of Samuel came to all Israel.
^{1b} וַיֵּצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל לִקְרַאת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיַּחֲנוּ עַל־הָאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר וּפְלִשְׁתִּים חָנוּ בַאֲפֵק:	^{1b} Now Israel went out to battle against the Philistines; they encamped at Ebenezer, and the Philistines encamped at Aphek.
	1 Sam 3:21-4:1b.

In 1 Sam 4:1b, a change of space occurs. In the preceding episode, the spatial setting is Shiloh. Samuel grew up at Shiloh. 1 Sam 1:4a is a summary of the preceding episode. 1 Sam 4:1b, the spatial setting is Ebenezer. Hence, at this point a new episode begins. This new episode continues until the spatial setting changes. In 1 Sam 4:1b-11, the spatial setting changes three times, viz. from Shiloh to Ebenezer, from the battlefield to the camp, and from the camp to the battlefields.

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131   In this example, the temporal adjunct is separated by wāw, however, that is not always the case: in Exod 33:8, and 9, temporal adjuncts are not separated by wāw.

3.2.4 Other Segmentation Devices

Investigations in BH linguistics have revealed other devices that may mark discourse unit boundaries. In this section, these devices are reviewed to determine whether they provide any useful criteria for distinguishing episodes.

3.2.4.1 Atemporal Wayyiqtol

Investigations into the BH verbal system have established that the wayyiqtol does not always express sequentiality. It also expresses; 1) a variety of temporal relations other than sequential, between wayyiqtol clauses;[132] and 2) some totally atemporal relations between wayyiqtol clauses viz. enumeration, evaluation, and summary (Heimerdinger 1999:85-93; BHRG §21.2.2-3). Furthermore, these wayyiqtols that do not express sequentiality are often employed at paragraph boundaries in narrative texts.

Wayyiqtols that express atemporal (or non-temporal) inter-clause relationships are often identified in the sentences that function as a topic introducer (flashback) or closure device (evaluation, summary).

- Evaluation

וְיַעֲקֹב נָתַן לְעֵשָׂו לֶחֶם וּנְזִיד עֲדָשִׁים וַיֹּאכַל וַיֵּשְׁתְּ וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלַךְ וַיִּבֶז עֵשָׂו אֶת־הַבְּכֹרָה:	Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentils, and he ate and drank, and rose and went his way. **Thus Esau despised his birthright.** Gen 25:34

The wayyiqtol clause וַיִּבֶז עֵשָׂו אֶת־הַבְּכֹרָה is not sequentially ordered in time in a series of preceding wayyiqtol chains, but is a conclusive statement, which gives an appraisal of Esau. Hence this clause signals the end of an episode.

- Summary (BHRG §21.2.3. i)

וַיַּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהִנֵּה־טוֹב מְאֹד וַיְהִי־עֶרֶב וַיְהִי־בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי: וַיְכֻלּוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָם:	And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good. And there was evening and there was morning, a sixth day. **Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them**. Gen 1:31-2:1.

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132 For instance, the wayyiqtol can repeat the idea of the preceding wayyiqtol (e.g. two wayyiqtols in Judg 10:8).

The sentence וַיְכֻלּ֛וּ הַשָּׁמַ֥יִם וְהָאָ֖רֶץ וְכָל־צְבָאָֽם has a wayyiqtol, but the event in time it reports does not follow the event reported in the preceding verse. This clause is a summary of the creation story in chapter 1 in Genesis. After this clause a new paragraph should be distinguished.

- Pluperfect Wayyiqtol (Flashback)[133] (BHRG §21.2.3. iii)

In general, pluperfect is expressed by the marked form "x-qatal." However, pluperfect can also be expressed by an unmarked wayyiqtol.[134] A number of scholars have investigated the pluperfect function of wayyiqtol (Heimerdinger (1999:86-90), Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze (1999:169), Buth (1994),[135] Collins (1995),[136] and Cook (2004:260-261)).[137] Cook (2004:260-261) divides the pluperfect meaning of a

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133 Heimerdinger (1999:86-90) has identified two specific non-chronological meanings: flashback (e.g. Jonah 4:1 and 4:5) and overlap (Gen 25:9). BHRG §21.2.3 has also identified pluperfect (1 Kgs 13:12) and simultaneous events (e.g. Gen 45:2) of wayyiqtol.

134 In this regard, Driver (1892:88) is of a different opinion. He argues that if the pluperfect had been designed by author, the change of word order, e.g. "x-qatal", could have been used unambiguously, without abandoning the normal and natural sense of wayyiqtol, in the course of a continuous piece of narrative.

135 Buth (1994:147) finds "two limited environments for unmarked temporal overlay." 1) Some lexical redundancy or reference specifically points back to a previous event. 2) From common cultural experience an event can be interpreted as giving a reason for comment on the immediately preceding events. Within these environments, for instance, 1 Sam 10:10 refers to a pluperfect event. In respect of motivation for this wayyiqtol use, Buth purports: "we can hypothesize that the author is primarily portraying mainline events with the wayyiqtol structure. The constraint of adding details to a passage without also demoting them off the mainline gives rise to this nonsequential use of the wayyiqtol. …. Thus, wayyiqtol can be used where wāw-X-qatal would be expected in order to pragmatically make the event a 'normal' part of narrative foreground; wāw-X-qatal can be used where wayyiqtol would be expected in order to pragmatically make the event a 'pause.'"

136 Collins (1995:127-128) gives broader criteria for the wayyiqtol pluperfect than Buth. 1) Some anaphoric reference explicitly points back to a previous event. 2) The logic of the referent described requires that an event presented by a wayyiqtol verb form actually took place prior to the event presented by a previous verb. 3) The verb begins a section or paragraph. This was the sole instance allowed by Driver, in which he agreed that "the chronological principle" of the wayyiqtol might be "in abeyance." In these criteria, a wayyiqtol form with a pluperfect function may be used to introduce a new episode.

137 From the philological point of view, Cook (2004:258) argues that "Wayyiqtol developed from prefixed preterite *yaqtul conjugation, i.e., wayyiqtol developed from a past tense verb. Based

wayyiqtol form into three types: (1) synchronized temporal overlay (1 Kgs 18:1-3,5,7a), (2) Flashback storyline (e.g. 2 Kgs 13:13-20), (3) Interrupted storyline (e.g. 1 Kgs 22:35-37). Among these, the flashback of pluperfect wayyiqtol often begins a new episode.

⁹ וְהָיָה כְּהַפְנֹתוֹ שִׁכְמוֹ לָלֶכֶת מֵעִם שְׁמוּאֵל וַיַּהֲפָךְ־לוֹ אֱלֹהִים לֵב אַחֵר וַיָּבֹאוּ כָּל־הָאֹתוֹת הָאֵלֶּה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא: ס ¹⁰ וַיָּבֹאוּ שָׁם הַגִּבְעָתָה וְהִנֵּה חֶבֶל־נְבִאִים לִקְרָאתוֹ וַתִּצְלַח עָלָיו רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים וַיִּתְנַבֵּא בְּתוֹכָם:	⁹ When he turned his back to leave Samuel, God gave him another heart; and all these signs came to pass on that day. ¹⁰ **When they had come to** Gibeah, behold, a band of prophets met him; and the spirit of God came mightily upon him, and he prophesied among them.

<div align="right">1 Sam 10:9-10</div>

Samuel told Saul that three signs would occur. All these signs happened on that same day (verse 9). In verses 10-13, the third sign is described in detail (Bergen 1996:129; Keil and Delitzsch 1882:433). This is a pluperfect wayyiqtol (flashback), for the reason that the flashback returns to a certain point in time of the event (a shift of time) from which point the event is viewed; hence a flashback wayyiqtol could begin the beginning of a new episode.
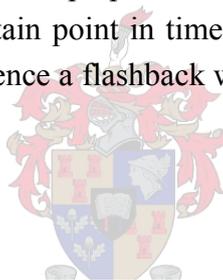
3.2.4.2 The Nominal Clause

In his investigation of Genesis, Judges, Joshua, Deuteronomy, Ruth, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the poetry section, De Regt (1999a) has described the delimitational function of the nominal clause. 1) It often occurs at the beginning of a paragraph by

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on cross-linguistic patterns with respect to the interaction of past tense and perfective verbs with stative predicates, it is clear that BH wayyiqtol preserves the past tense value of its antecedent form *yaqtul." Hence, as a past tense verb, wayyiqtol defaults for the perfective aspect in narrative discourse, just as the English simple past tense does.

introducing participants,[138] and 2) at the end of a paragraph by giving evaluation or summary or conclusion.[139]

- Nominal clauses often occur when a paragraph comes to an end (De Regt 1999a:282)[140]

וַתָּשֹׁבְנָה הֶעָרִים אֲשֶׁר לָקְחוּ־פְלִשְׁתִּים מֵאֵת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעֶקְרוֹן וְעַד־גַּת וְאֶת־גְּבוּלָן הִצִּיל יִשְׂרָאֵל מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיְהִי שָׁלוֹם בֵּין יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵין הָאֱמֹרִי:

The cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron to Gath; and Israel rescued their territory from the hand of the Philistines. **There was peace also between Israel and the Amorites**.   1 Sam 7:14

The nominal clause occurs the end of an episode by concluding an episode.[141]

3.2.4.3 Discourse Markers

וַיְהִי is a discourse marker that "anchors an event, state of affairs, scene, episode or narrative to the time line (BHRG §44.5.1)". Van der Merwe's (1999a) and BHRG investigation into the function of וַיְהִי have demonstrated the segmentational function of the discourse marker וַיְהִי in a BH narrative text.[142] The fact of the matter is that more than two segmentational markers are as a rule involved in the places where וַיְהִי

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138   See §3.2.1.3.1.1 concerning the presentational nominal sentence, in which a nominal clause often occurs with "וַיְהִי." It introduces the setting of subsequent episodes with new characters or circumstances which represent the setting of subsequent episodes (e.g. 1 Sam 1:1; 9:1). In his investigation into information structure in BH narrative, Floor (2004:309-310) has also established that the וַיְהִי clause functions as a presentational clause which introduces a brand-new participant.

139   Besides marking the episode boundaries, de Regt (1999a) has observed that a nominal clause also marks the beginning of direct speech, and gives background information.

140   In which case, "וַיְהִי + nominal clause" often signals the end of an episode (e.g. 1 Sam 7:14; 10:27; 18:9; 19:7; 2 Sam 2:11; 13:38). (§3.2.4.2 and 3.2.4.3).

141   In this regard, de Regt (1999a:276) has stated that "nominal clauses occur when, while relevant to the narrative at large or at a certain point, a statement concerning a participant stands outside of the chronological chain of events. Most of these instances conclude a narrative section. (Gen 6:4; 9:18; 12:6; 13:13; 16:16; 19:37; 25:26; 39:11)."

142   In line with Ska (1990), Van der Merwe (1999a) distinguishes episodes and scenes. The first subdivision of a larger narrative is the episode. An episode may be subdivided into scenes. Although this division differs from that used in this study, relevant to this study is the fact that Van der Merwe (1999a) regards וַיְהִי as a segmentation marker.

occurs. These other segmentation markers may include a temporal adjunct, a wayyiqtol, a full NP subject, and/or nominal clause.[143]

- "וַיְהִי + temporal frame adjunct"[144] signals the beginning of an episode. When temporal frame adjunct signals the beginning of an episode, temporal frame adjunct functions as temporal frame for a subsequent event (1 Sam 6:1; 7:2; 7:10; 8:1; 11:11).[145] (BHRG §44.5.1.i; see §3.2.2).

- "וַיְהִי + nominal clause" introduces the setting of subsequent episodes with new characters or circumstances which represent the setting of subsequent episodes (e.g. 1 Sam 1:1; 9:1) (See §3.2.4.2).

- "וַיְהִי + nominal clause" often occurs at the end of an episode (e.g. 1 Sam 7:14; 10:27; 18:9; 19:7; 2 Sam 2:11; 13:38) (See §3.2.4.2)

- "וַיְהִי + nominal clause" appears in the inside of the episode that functions as a setting for subsequent episodes (1 Sam 1:2; 8:2; 2 Sam 3:2; 21:20). וַיְהִי marks the participant(s) or "the reference to a state of affairs that plays in pivotal role in the narrative it is part of" (Van der Merwe 1997d:162).

וְלֹו שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים שֵׁם אַחַת חַנָּה וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִית פְּנִנָּה וַיְהִי לִפְנִנָּה יְלָדִים וּלְחַנָּה אֵין יְלָדִים׃

He had two wives; the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah. And **Peninnah had children, but Hannah had no children**.

1 Sam 1:2

Hannah and Peninnah play a pivotal role in the subsequent episodes. In addition, the fact (state of affairs) that Peninnah had children is in contrast to Hannah's infertility, and also plays an important role in the episodes that follow.

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143 According to the iconicity principle (Givón 1983b:18; 1985:196), the co-occurrence of segmentational markers accumulates in the signaling of topic discontinuity. They function to reinforce one another. "The degree of this synergy of signals could be so great that in real terms there would be no need for the writer and the reader to determine alternative interpretations" (Goutsos 1997:86).

144 When the temporal adjunct functions as a temporal frame for a subsequent event, it is called a temporal frame adjunct, which refers to the time frame within which the continuing discourse must be understood.

145 Van der Merwe (1999a:106-107) classifies "וַיְהִי + temporal frame adjunct" according to the pragmatic function in the plot moments, when it signals the beginning of a discourse unit. However, in this study, no further classification is needed for distinguishing the episode, for the reason that in all cases, "וַיְהִי + temporal frame adjunct" functions as a segmentational marker which signals the beginning of a new discourse unit.

The discourse marker וְהָיָה marks discourse unit boundaries (Van der Merwe 1997d:164; BHRG §44.4).[146] In general, וְהָיָה is used to introduce future events or states that describe proceedings, e.g. the sacrificial procedure. When וְהָיָה precedes a sentence or an adverbial phrase (often with a temporal connotation), it introduces a new episode (BHRG §44.4.1; Hatav 1997:82) (See §3.2.2).

3.3   SUMMARY

Identifying linguistic devices both within episodes and at the borders of episodes may help the reader to distinguish episodes. In particular, participant reference, temporal adjuncts, spatial changes, different sentence articulations, atemporal wayyiqtol, nominal clause, and discourse markers which, in interaction, provide some useful criteria interacting for the identification of episodes.

- Investigations into participant reference in different contexts help to determine default and marked forms. Null reference signals the continuity of the same subject in a narrative clause. Hence null references on the inside of an episode signal that the current episode continues. By contrast, overspecified referential expressions among participant reference often signals discontinuity and episode boundaries. In particular, when a continued subject is encoded by over-encoding such as a proper name or full NP's, in most cases it signals to readers that either a new episode is commencing or the current episode is about to terminate. In particular, when the over-encoded subject signals the beginning of an episode, it often occurs with temporal adjuncts. When it is not accompanied by a shift of time or space, it often signals a development unit in the episode.

- Various sentence articulations provide some useful criteria for identifying episodes. When an inactive referent is reintroduced in the unmarked topic-comment sentence, it often signals the beginning of a new episode. The marked-topic comment sentence often begins (topic framing device) or ends (summary) the episode. Brand-new participants are introduced by a presentational sentence signaling the beginning of a new episode.

- Temporal adjuncts that occur in a dislocated position with the discourse marker וַיְהִי or וְהָיָה, often mark the onset of a new episode signaling a shift in reference time.

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146   There are different opinions with regard to the macro-syntactic function of וְהָיָה. Longacre (1994:85) argues that וְהָיָה is a marker of significant following material (i.e., it has a cataphoric understanding function). However, Isaksson (1998) is of a different opinion viz. וְהָיָה is a marker which introduces background information.

Discrete changes of place also often mark discontinuity, and thereby signal the beginning of a new episode.

- BH is a VSO language. When events in a narrative happen one after the other, their succession is typically expressed by a sequence of wayyiqtol forms. However, wayyiqtol forms are also used where no succession is involved, for example, atemporal wayyiqtols are often found in utterances that are used to introduce a new topic (in the form of a flashback, or closure device (evaluation, summary, and conclusion). A presentational wayyiqtol marks the beginning of a new episode introducing new participants into the discourse world.

- A nominal clause often functions as a presentational sentence marking the beginning of a new episode. A nominal clause may also occur at the end of an episode.

- Two discourse markers, וַיְהִי and וְהָיָה, contribute to identifying episode boundaries. When they occur with temporal frame adjuncts, they as a rule introduce a new episode.

- Concurrence of several segmentational devices are often identified at episode boundaries. They provide a synergistic effect for signaling episode boundaries. This observation confirms the result of experimental psycholinguistics studies, viz. several overlapping cognitive processes may occur at episode boundaries. For instance, at the end of an episode, readers rehearse specific details and chunk the information from the episode, and at the beginning of a new episode, readers should identify the protagonist of the episode and establish a new memory location for the protagonist. Hence, more than one linguistic device often occurs at the boundary of an episode.

On the basis of our literature survey we have recognised and elucidated a range of criteria for identifying episodes in BH. In the next chapter the value and validity of these criteria will be tested by applying them in the analysis of selected texts.

CHAPTER 4 PARAGRAPHS IN TRANSLATIONS OF AND COMMENTARIES ON 1 SAMUEL 1-6

Corpus studies in text-linguistics and empirical research in psycholinguistics have established that texts are composed of structural thematic units which enable readers to process a text in chunks. Each chunk is processed independently. Chunks function as organizational units in memory, that is, they constitute blocks of memory, that are considered episodes.

Studies in text comprehension and text production have demonstrated that an episode can be distinguished from other episodes by recognition of segmentational devices at the episode boundaries. In text production, authors use linguistic devices at the episode boundaries so that the beginnings and endings of a discourse representation unit are indicated (§2.6.2.2.2).

On the basis of insights gained from investigations in text-linguistics and psycholinguistics, a linguistic description of BH has been undertaken in order to clarify the segmentation devices that have so far been described by BH scholars. Several segmentation devices are identified in BH: overspecified referential expressions in participant reference, different sentence articulations (e.g. the marked topic-comment sentence, presentational sentence, nominal clause), temporal adverbials, spatial change, different verbal forms, and discourse markers. These devices occur at the episode boundaries in BH narrative. Often more than one device can occur at an episode boundary. In contrast to these segmentational devices, argument focus, comparisons, pronominal reference, and null reference are identified as marking continuity.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the value of the sets of criteria identified in chapter 3. For this purpose, the paragraph distinctions in 1 Sam 1-6 used in translations and commentaries are used as a heuristic instrument to identify and critically consider episodes in terms of these proposed criteria.

- The text in 1 Sam 1-6 is divided according to the paragraphs,[147] which are made in a representative number of translations and commentaries.[148]

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[147] The term "paragraph" refers to a visual unit marked by textual conversions such as indentations, while the term "episode" refers to a thematic structural unit as well as a unit of memory as defined in §2.4.

[148] Translations : KJV, NAB, NIV, CEV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, AV; Commentaries: Smith (1912), McKane (1963), Hertzberg (1964), Philbeck (1970), Gordon

- Clauses in the texts are tagged according to the subject contexts and non-subject contexts based on Runge's (20006a) model. These tags help to identify whether a particular instance of participant reference is unmarked or marked (or overspecified). This in turn aids identification of the functions of participant reference in the process of distinguishing episodes.
- Attention is given to the segmentation devices, i.e., both the discontinuity devices that occur at the boundaries of episodes, and the continuity devices that occur on the insides of episodes.

To achieve the aim of this chapter, the following will be assumed:

- Paragraphs in BH narrative texts can be distinguished in more justifiable ways when linguistic devices that occur both on the inside and at the borders of episodes are taken into consideration.
- Many of the paragraph distinctions of commentaries and translations will be confirmed.
- It will be possible to point out instances where the divisions of translation cannot be adequately justified.
- There will be instances that are not clear-cut and where a decision is difficult to make.
- In the process, areas for further investigation will be identified.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 1 (§4.1) investigates paragraphs in translations and commentaries on the basis of the linguistic devices identified in chapter 3. It will show that recognizing segmentation devices at the episode boundaries (the beginning and the end), and continuity devices on the insides of episodes, helps readers to distinguish episodes. In section 2 (§4.2), paragraphs in 1 Sam 1-6 will be presented on the basis of our investigation into paragraphs in translations and commentaries. Section 3 (§4.3) concludes the chapter by summarizing the findings; the paragraph distinctions of commentaries and translations that were confirmed by our model, the instances that can be called into question, and instances that are difficult to decide are reviewed. Further research areas will be suggested.

(1986), Baldwin (1988), McCarter (1980), Birch (1998), Brueggemann (1990), Bergen (1996), Klein (1998)

4.1 AN INVESTIGATION INTO PARAGRAPHS IN TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Paragraphs in translations and commentaries will be carefully examined to determine whether they may qualify as paragraphs in the light of the criteria that are identified in chapter 3.

Most translations and commentaries divide their translations into units smaller than the chapter divisions by indenting the first sentence. However, when one compares the translations (NIV[149], CEV,[150] ESV,[151] GNT,[152] JB, NJB, AV,[153] and NKJV[154]) one

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149   In translating the Hebrew text, this study follows the RSV (1952) as far as possible. Instances where the RSV is not followed, will be otherwise indicated.

       The preface to the text (NIV 1978:xi) states that:

> … the text is organized in paragraph form, a more meaningful way of dividing the text. … paragraphs show the logical organization of the verse or sentences of the text. Subheadings show the logical organization of the paragraphs.

       It is noted that the NIV distinguishes embedded poetry, citation of the OT, letters, and lists in narrative text by use of double spaces.

150   The CEV distinguishes paragraphs and places a heading on each paragraph. The preface claims that it considers the paragraphs supposedly made by the Masoretes:

> In order to attain these goals of clarity, beauty, and dignity, the translators of the Contemporary English Version carefully studied every word, phrase, clause, and paragraph of the original.

       It is uncertain how they determined the original paragraphs and which manuscripts they consulted and followed where are inconsistency exists among manuscripts.

151   The ESV distinguishes sections which are composed of paragraphs, and inserts section headings.

       The ESV preface states:

> Section headings have been included throughout the text of the ESV Classic Reference Bible. While the headings are not part of the Bible text itself, they have been provided to help identify and locate important themes and topics throughout the Bible.

       If the sections are distinguished according to the themes, paragraphs which compose sections could be distinguished according to the themes. Paragraphs in sections are signalled by indentations.

152   The GNT preface (1976: viii) states:

> In order to make the text easier to understand, various kinds of reader's helps are supplied. The text itself has been divided into sections, and headings are provided which indicate clearly the contents of the section.

finds that they often differ regarding where these paragraphs breaks are made. From these variations, it is evident that different criteria have been employed. Furthermore, when one considers the divisions of commentaries, it appears that paragraphs are distinguished on the basis of thematic considerations.

- 1:1-8 (KJV, NAB, GNT, JB, NJB, AV, McKane (1963), Philbeck (1970))

Hebrew	English
וַיְהִי֩ אִ֨ישׁ אֶחָ֜ד מִן־הָרָמָתַ֛יִם צוֹפִ֖ים מֵהַ֣ר אֶפְרָ֑יִם ¹ᵃ	¹ᵃThere was a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim of the hill country of Ephraim, (Intro)
וּשְׁמ֣וֹ אֶ֠לְקָנָה בֶּן־יְרֹחָ֧ם בֶּן־אֱלִיה֛וּא בֶּן־תֹּ֥חוּ בֶן־צ֖וּף אֶפְרָתִֽי: ¹ᵇ	¹ᵇwhose name was Elkanah the son of Jeroham, son of Elihu, son of Tohu, son of Zuph, an Ephraimite. (PRE)[155]
וְלוֹ֙ שְׁתֵּ֣י נָשִׁ֔ים ²ᵃ	²ᵃ He had two wives; (Intro)
שֵׁ֤ם אַחַת֙ חַנָּ֔ה ²ᵇ	²ᵇ the name of the one was Hannah, (PRE)
וְשֵׁ֥ם הַשֵּׁנִ֖ית פְּנִנָּ֑ה ²ᶜ	²ᶜ and the name of the other Peninnah. (PRE)
וַיְהִ֤י לִפְנִנָּה֙ יְלָדִ֔ים ²ᵈ	²ᵈ And Peninnah had children,
וּלְחַנָּ֖ה אֵ֥ין יְלָדִֽים: ²ᵉ	²ᵉ but Hannah had no children.
וְעָלָה֩ הָאִ֨ישׁ הַה֤וּא מֵֽעִירוֹ֙ מִיָּמִ֣ים ׀ יָמִ֔ימָה לְהִֽשְׁתַּחֲוֺ֧ת וְלִזְבֹּ֛חַ לַיהוָ֥ה צְבָא֖וֹת בְּשִׁלֹ֑ה ³ᵃ	³ᵃ And this man used to go up year by year from his city to worship and to sacrifice to the LORD of hosts at Shiloh. (S4)
וְשָׁ֞ם שְׁנֵ֣י בְנֵֽי־עֵלִ֗י חָפְנִי֙ וּפִ֣נְחָ֔ס כֹּהֲנִ֖ים לַיהוָֽה: ³ᵇ	³ᵇ And there[156] the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were priests of the LORD. (Intro, PRE)
וַיְהִ֣י הַיּ֔וֹם וַיִּזְבַּ֖ח אֶלְקָנָ֑ה ⁴ᵃ	⁴ᵃ On a day when Elkanah sacrificed, (S4)
וְנָתַ֞ן לִפְנִנָּ֣ה אִשְׁתּ֗וֹ וּֽלְכָל־בָּנֶ֛יהָ וּבְנוֹתֶ֖יהָ מָנֽוֹת: ⁴ᵇ	⁴ᵇ Ø would give portions to Peninnah his wife and to all her sons and daughters; (S1/N4)

The GNT seems to make use of indentations to signal smaller units, i.e., it uses indentations for every turn in dialogue. Hence, it is uncertain whether the GNT regards every turn in dialogue as units smaller than the paragraph.

153   The AV (1954:vii) states in the preface,

      It has been done, and obviously it meets the needs of modern readers. It is the arrangement of the text in paragraph form instead of the usual division into verses, with headlines to indicate the content of the main sections, and sub-headings to mark the flow of the story. Great restraint has been exercised to keep the divisions as few as possible, and to use for the headings such words of scripture as occur in the text.

154   The NKJV states that prose is divided into paragraphs to indicate the structure of thought.

155   PRE: primary referring expression.

156   The deictic adjunct "שָׁם" rendered into "there" to make clear that it refers to Shiloh (v. 3a) anaphorically.

וּלְחַנָּ֕ה יִתֵּ֖ן מָנָ֣ה ^{5a}	^{5a} and, to Hannah,[157] Ø would give double
אַחַ֣ת אַפָּ֑יִם	portions,[158] (S1/N4)
כִּ֥י אֶת־חַנָּ֖ה אָהֵ֑ב ^{5b}	^{5b} for[159] Hannah[160] Ø loved. (S1/N1)
וַֽיהוָ֖ה סָגַ֥ר רַחְמָֽהּ׃^{5c}	^{5c} The LORD had closed her womb.[161] (Intro)
וְכִֽעֲסַ֤תָּה צָֽרָתָהּ֙ גַּם־כַּ֔עַס בַּעֲב֖וּר ⁶	⁶ And her rival used to provoke her sorely, to
הַרְּעִמָ֑הּ כִּֽי־סָגַ֥ר יְהוָ֖ה בְּעַ֥ד	irritate her, that the LORD had closed her womb.[162]
רַחְמָֽהּ׃	(S4/N3)
וְכֵ֨ן יַעֲשֶׂ֜ה שָׁנָ֣ה בְשָׁנָ֗ה ^{7a}	^{7a} So Ø used to do year by year,[163] (S4)
מִדֵּ֤י עֲלֹתָהּ֙ בְּבֵ֣ית יְהוָ֔ה ^{7b}	^{7b} as often as Ø went up to the house of the LORD, (S4)
כֵּ֖ן תַּכְעִסֶ֑נָּה ^{7c}	^{7c} thus[164] used Ø to provoke her. (S4/N3)
וַתִּבְכֶּ֖ה ^{7d}	^{7d} Therefore Ø wept (S3)
וְלֹ֥א תֹאכַֽל׃ ^{7e}	^{7e} and Ø would not eat. (S1)
וַיֹּ֨אמֶר לָ֜הּ אֶלְקָנָ֣ה אִישָׁהּ֮ חַנָּה֒ ⁸	⁸ And Elkanah, her husband, said to her, "Hannah,
לָ֣מֶה תִבְכִּ֗י וְלָ֙מֶה֙ לֹ֣א תֹֽאכְלִ֔י וְלָ֖מֶה	why do you weep? And why do you not eat? And
יֵרַ֣ע לְבָבֵ֑ךְ הֲל֤וֹא אָֽנֹכִי֙ ט֣וֹב לָ֔ךְ	why is your heart sad? Am I not more to you than
מֵעֲשָׂרָ֖ה בָּנִֽים׃	ten sons?" (S4/N3)

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157 "לְחַנָּה to Hannah" is placed in the fronted position in the rendering to contrast it with Peninnah in v. 4b.

158 It is controversial what the exact meaning of מָנָה אַחַת אַפָּיִם is. אַפָּיִם means "faces," however it does not make sense here. The LXX reads אַפָּיִם כִּי as אֶפֶס כִּי (πλὴν ὅτι "although") on the basis of 2 Sam 12:14. According to the LXX, verse 5 can be rendered as follows: "To Hannah he would give *one portion* … although he loved her…," the RSV is based on the LXX. Many translations render מָנָה אַחַת אַפָּיִם as "one portion," separating אַפָּיִם from the phrase "כִּי אַפָּיִם." Various solutions have been proposed. Taking the MT text (accentuation, viz. אחת and אפים should be read together.) and verse 7a (in particular כֵּן …כֵּן) into consideration, this phrase should express Elkanah's affection towards Hannah. Therefore I wish to keep the traditional interpretation, viz. "double portion" that shows Elkanah's greater affection for Hannah. If Elkanah loved Hannah, one would expect him to give her more than one portion as a way of privileging her.

159 See footnote 158.

160 The argument focus 'Hannah' is fronted in the rendering.

161 The RSV renders v. 5c as "because the Lord had closed her womb;" however, כִּי in v. 5b governs only v. 5b.

162 כִּי-clause is regarded as an object clause.

163 Elkanah is regarded as the subject of the verb "יַעֲשֶׂה."

164 כֵּן which corresponds to כֵּן in v. 7a, should be rendered.

In v. 1, the onset of a new episode is specified by four linguistic devices, namely, the "discourse marker וַיְהִי" which updates the reference time (v.1a),[165] the introduction of a brand-new participant (אִישׁ אֶחָד "a certain man") in the presentational sentence (Floor 2004:309-310),[166] and a device that establishes the newly-introduced participant's identification (the deictic expression מִן־הָרָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים מֵהַר אֶפְרָיִם).[167] Continuity is indicated by the enclitic pronoun וֹ (in שְׁמוֹ in v. 1b), which refers to אִישׁ אֶחָד in v. 1a, the assignation of the primary referring expression (proper name אֶלְקָנָה) to the brand-new participant (אִישׁ אֶחָד), and the genealogy which makes him more identifiable (בֶּן־אֱלִיהֵוּא בֶן־תֹּחוּ בֶן־צוּף אֶפְרָתִי בֶּן־יְרֹחָם).

In v. 2a, continuity is signalled by the enclitic pronominal subject לוֹ (Elkanah) of the nominal clause. In this nominal clause, other new participants (two wives) are introduced as a part of the predicate. Their identifiability is established by being anchored to the active referent לוֹ (Elkanah).[168] Continuity also is indicated by the assignation of the primary referring expressions to the "two wives," viz. Hannah and Peninnah (v. 2b and 2c), the discourse marker וַיְהִי which signals that the reference to a state of affairs plays a pivotal role in the subsequent episodes (Van der Merwe

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165   In the MT, Judges ends as follows:

²⁴וַיִּתְהַלְּכוּ מִשָּׁם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּעֵת הַהִיא אִישׁ לְשִׁבְטוֹ וּלְמִשְׁפַּחְתּוֹ וַיֵּצְאוּ מִשָּׁם אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ׃ ²⁵בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֵין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה׃

²⁴ And the people of Israel departed from there at that time, every man to his tribe and family, and they went out from there every man to his inheritance. ²⁵ In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes (RSV).

The discourse marker וַיְהִי in v.1a signals readers not to integrate subsequent information into the preceding event (i.e. Judg 21:24-25), but to begin a new discourse representation unit by updating the reference time.

166   The nominal clause (state of affairs) which follows "the discourse marker וַיְהִי" functions as a presentational sentence, which introduces new characters or circumstances that represent the setting of a new episode (Van der Merwe 1999a:100).

167   According to the iconicity principle, the number of linguistic devices which signal thematic (topic) discontinuity increases at the structural unit boundaries, e.g. episode boundaries (§2.6.1.1.5).

168   De Regt (1999b:32) describes how minor characters are introduced: "But in quite a number of cases a participant is given a name only after he has been introduced in the preceding clause. This first clause refers to the participant only in terms of class or group membership." These minor participants are filed under main participant, for the reason of being not thematically important in current episode.

1997d:162; 1999a:101) (v. 2d),[169] and the fronting which signals that two topics (Peninnah in v. 2d and Hannah in v. 2e) are contrasted with each other (v. 2e).

In v. 3, continuity is specified by giving iterative information[170] for the subsequent episodes in the setting (v. 3a), NP ("הָאִישׁ הַהוּא") encoding for the semi-active referent (S4),[171] the deictic adjunct שָׁם which refers to Shiloh in v. 3a (v. 3b). The setting continues to introduce other new participants "sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas" in the nominal sentence by anchoring them to the unidentifiable referent Eli (pragmatic bootstrapping). Hophni, Phinehas, and Eli become identifiable as well as being activated by simply being introduced.

Vv. 1-3 form the setting of subsequent episodes.[172] The participants introduced in the setting play an important role as the main participants in the subsequent episodes. Hence, v. 1-3 can be separated from subsequent episodes, for in general the setting is dealt with separately from the episodes. Empirical investigations have demonstrated that readers separate the setting from episodes when they process a text. The NASB, ESV, RSV, and Brueggemann (1990) separate v. 3 from vv. 1-2. Smith (1912) distinguishes three paragraphs in vv. 1-3, i.e. v. 1, v. 2, and v. 3. No translations or commentaries separate vv.1-3 from other episodes.

In v.4a, the initiation of a new episode is signalled by the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + dislocated temporal adjunct הַיּוֹם" (de Regt 1991:157; 1999b:17; Van der Merwe

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169   The fact that Peninnah has children but Hannah does not, will play a pivotal role in the subsequent episodes.

170   The predicate verb weqatal וְעָלָה gives iterative information, viz. Elkanah's custom to visit Shiloh annually.

171   Relexicalization (i.e., the primary referring expression) was not employed to reactivate the semi-active referent. Hence, the NP does not signal a new episode. If the narrator wanted to signal the beginning of a new episode, he would have opened v.3 with the primary referring expression, i.e., proper name "Elkanah" (relexicalization) (see §3.2.1.3.2).

172   "Where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place constitute a separate kind of information called SETTING" (Grimes 1975:51). The setting serves two functions in the story. It introduces the main character(s) and it describes the social, physical, or temporal context in which the remainder of the story occurs. The type of information contained in the setting is basically stative in nature and refers to long-term or habitual states of characters or location.

1997b:518ff; 1999a:104-105; BHRG §44.5.i).[173] The temporal frame adjunct provides a temporal frame for the subsequent events in the episode by updating the reference time. In addition, reintroduction of the semi-active referent using relexicalization (the primary referring expression: the proper name) signals the beginning of a new episode. In our model, it was not evident that the reintroduced semi-active referent (S4) opens a new episode. However, it is evident that the reintroduced semi-active referent signals the onset of a new episode. Further investigation is needed with regard to the segmentation function of the semi-active referent. The null reference subject (S1: Elkanah) (v. 4b) specifies continuity.[174]

In v. 5, continuity is maintained by the fronted secondary topic "Hannah (לְחַנָּה)" (N4),[175] the null reference subject (S1: Elkanah) (v. 5a), yiqtol יִתֵּן, which expresses Elkanah's habitual action corresponding to weqatal וְנָתַן in v. 4b (v. 5a), כִּי, which introduces the reason for giving double portions in v. 5a (v. 5b), the fronted אֶת־חַנָּה (the argument focus) (v. 5b), the null reference subject in אָהֵב (S1: Elkanah) (v. 5b),[176] and the fronted subject יהוה in x-qatal which signals a pluperfect (background information) (v. 5c).[177]

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173 וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם does not refer back to the previous narrative in the sense of the same day, but refers to "a certain day," or "one day." The definite article in הַיּוֹם is used to mark what is definite in the imagination, i.e., the day is connected in anticipation with the events about to be described as happening upon it, and is thus regarded as defined (GKC §126. S; Driver 1890:6; Waltke-O'Connor §13.5.1.19). However, in English it is expressed by the indefinite article.

174 Its predicate verb weqatal (וְנָתַן) expresses Elkanah's habitual actions (the repeated custom of giving portions when Elkanah used to go up to Shiloh year by year (v. 3a)).

175 "Hannah" is reactivated by being fronted in order to compare or contrast her with "Peninnah (v. 4b)."

176 Taking the presupposed predicate אָהֵב in v. 5b into consideration, the giving of a larger portion to Hannah in v. 5a should be understood as expressing Elkanah's greater affection for Hannah.

177 This is a narrator's commentary that Hannah's infertility was no accident of nature, but it was the deliberate work of the Lord. In addition, this pluperfect clause expresses concession in connection with v. 5b (continuity). Elkanah loved Hannah although the Lord had closed her womb. This pluperfect clause also "serves as an anticipatory remark pointing to the next section where the fact that Yahweh had closed her womb is given as the reason for Peninnah's provocation, and perhaps even for Hannah's subsequent bitter plea to Yahweh" (Kotzé 1990:76).

In v.6, continuity is maintained by giving background information using weqatal כְּעֲסַתָּה which expresses the provocation of Hannah which took place annually.[178] In background information, Peninnah's new role which she has in the subsequent utterance is described by NP "צָרָתָהּ her rival" (marked encoding).[179] Continuity is further signalled by the enclitic pronoun "her" in צָרָתָהּ (which glues to "Hannah" in v. 5c); the focus particle גַם, which indicates something is added to the preceding expression, also expresses continuity (BHRG §41.4.5.2.(i)).[180]

In v. 7, fronted כֵן (argument focus) in v. 7a,[181] fronted כֵן (argument focus) in v. 7c which corresponds to כֵן in v.7a, and the null reference subjects in vv. 7a (S4: Elkanah)[182], 7b (S4: Hannah),[183] 7c (S4: Peninnah),[184] 7d (S3: Hannah),[185] and 7e (S1: Hannah) signal continuity.

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178 After wayyiqtol וַיִּזְבַּח in v. 4a, progression ceases, and background information is being given by weqatal (וְנָתַן in v. 4b), yiqtol (יִתֵּן in v. 5a), and x-qatal (in 5c). This iterative background information continues to v. 7c.

179 It "served as a technical term for 'rival wife' in Syriac and Arabic (Gordon 1986:74)." Birch (1998:975) also states in this regard: "Peninnah is described as a 'rival' (צרה), a term seldom used in describing family relationships and often translated as 'enemy' or 'adversary' in describing relationships between peoples or nations." כְּעֲסַתָּה expresses the same idea.

180 The fact that the Lord had closed her womb made Hannah bitter (v. 5c). This bitterness was exacerbated by the behavior of her rival towards her.

181 It refers anaphorically to the state of affairs in vv. (4b-)5a

182 In this episode, Elkanah is the only male participant, and a frame is involved here, viz. annual appearance at Shiloh, sacrifice and Elkanah's giving portions to his wives after the sacrifice (fronted כֵן and wayyiqtol יַעֲשֶׂה which expresses habitual action evoke the frame.). Null reference is employed as default encoding for the semi-active referent (the context disambiguates the participants), although in general the semi-active referent is reintroduced by relexicalization. This encoding has not been identified in our model.

183 This case cannot be explained only by the frame. It may be explained as follows: Null reference is utilized, for the state of affairs in v. 7a resolves referential ambiguity, i.e., it is obvious that Elkanah used to do so to Hannah.

184 Semi-active referent (S4: Peninnah) is encoded by null reference in v.7c. It may be due to the fact that context disambiguates referential ambiguity, viz. Peninnah provoked Hannah. Readers can identify who provoked whom on the basis of the semantics of the verb תַּכְעִסֶנָּה in the context (v.6). This encoding has not been identified in our model.

185 Default encoding (null reference) is utilized for the subject S3, because the context resolves referential ambiguity (see §3.2.1.3.2).

In v. 8, continuity is indicated by the over-encoded participant reference אֶלְקָנָה אִישָׁהּ "Elkanah her husband" (S4,)[186] which signals the importance of the content of quotation (continuity)[187] as well as slowing down the narrative at the end of the episode (Longacre 1985:89ff),[188] and the default encoding לָהּ (N3: Hannah), which connects v. 8 to the preceding utterances (vv. 7d and e).

NASB, ESV, RSV, and Brueggemann (1990) regard vv.3-8 as one paragraph. Smith (1912) regards vv. 4-8 as one paragraph. In the NKJV, vv.1:1-7 is one paragraph. McKane (1963), and Philbeck (1970) distinguish vv. 1:1-8 as one paragraph. As far as paragraph boundaries on the basis of segmentation devices are concerned, the beginning of NASB, ESV, RSV, and Brueggemann (1990) can be called into question. Only the paragraph in Smith (1912) can be justified in terms of the segmentation devices we have identified.

- 1:9-18 (KJV, GNT, JB, NJB, Brueggemann (1990), McKane (1963), Philbeck (1970))

[9a] וַתָּקָם חַנָּה אַחֲרֵי אָכְלָה בְשִׁלֹה וְאַחֲרֵי שָׁתֹה	[9a] Hannah rose after eating in Shiloh, after drinking.[189] (S2)
[9b] וְעֵלִי הַכֹּהֵן יֹשֵׁב עַל־הַכִּסֵּא עַל־מְזוּזַת הֵיכַל יְהוָה:	[9b] Now Eli the priest was sitting on the seat beside the doorpost of the temple of the LORD. (S5)
[10a] וְהִיא מָרַת נָפֶשׁ	[10a] She was deeply distressed (S4)
[10b] וַתִּתְפַּלֵּל עַל־יְהוָה	[10b] and Ø prayed to the LORD, (S1/N4)
[10c] וּבָכֹה תִבְכֶּה:	[10c] and Ø wept bitterly. (S1)

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186   In general, encoding for the semi-active referent (S4) is relexicalization (see §3.2.1.3.2). Here it is encoded by relexicalization and repeated role of Elkanah (i.e. her husband)). Runge (2006b:96ff) makes a distinction between interpersonal anchoring relations and non-interpersonal anchoring relations. Concerning interpersonal anchoring relations Runge states: "Only interpersonal relations have the semantic capacity to indicate centers of attention… interpersonal relations can also pragmatically highlight thematic relations… but this effect is apparently secondary to identifying the center of attention" (Runge 2006b:97).

187   Elkanah tried to comfort his weeping beloved wife Hannah as Jacob did to Rachel. "The reference "ten sons" suggests the ten sons born to Jacob during Rachel's period of barrenness (cf. Gen 29:31-30:22). The patriarchal allusion also suggests a parallel between Jacob's love for Rachel and Elkanah's for Hannah" (Bergen 1996:67).

188   This processing functions of S4 was not identified in our model.

189   Hannah is regarded as the subject of the verb (infinitive) אָכְלָה and שָׁתֹה.

Hebrew	English
¹¹וַתִּדֹּר נֶדֶר וַתֹּאמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אִם־רָאֹה תִרְאֶה ׀ בָּעֳנִי אֲמָתֶךָ וּזְכַרְתַּנִי וְלֹא־תִשְׁכַּח אֶת־אֲמָתֶךָ וְנָתַתָּה לַאֲמָתְךָ זֶרַע אֲנָשִׁים וּנְתַתִּיו לַיהוָה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו וּמוֹרָה לֹא־יַעֲלֶה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ:	¹¹ And Ø vowed a vow and said, "O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thy maidservant, and remember me, and not forget thy maidservant, but wilt give to thy maidservant a son, then I will give him to the LORD all the days of his life, and no razor shall touch his head." (S1/N4)
^{12a}וְהָיָה כִּי הִרְבְּתָה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה	^{12a} And then¹⁹⁰ as Ø prayed long before the LORD, (S1)
^{12b}וְעֵלִי שֹׁמֵר אֶת־פִּיהָ:	^{12b} Eli observed her mouth. (S4)
^{13a}וְחַנָּה הִיא מְדַבֶּרֶת עַל־לִבָּהּ	^{13a} Hannah was speaking in her heart; (S3)
^{13b}רַק שְׂפָתֶיהָ נָּעוֹת	^{13b} only her lips moved, (S4)
^{13c}וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשָּׁמֵעַ	^{13c} and her voice was not heard; (S4)
^{13d}וַיַּחְשְׁבֶהָ עֵלִי לְשִׁכֹּרָה:	^{13d} therefore Eli took her to be a drunken woman. (S4/N3)
¹⁴וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ עֵלִי עַד־מָתַי תִּשְׁתַּכָּרִין הָסִירִי אֶת־יֵינֵךְ מֵעָלָיִךְ:	¹⁴ And Eli said to her, "How long will you be drunken? Put away your wine from you." (S1/N1)
¹⁵וַתַּעַן חַנָּה וַתֹּאמֶר לֹא אֲדֹנִי אִשָּׁה קְשַׁת־רוּחַ אָנֹכִי וְיַיִן וְשֵׁכָר לֹא שָׁתִיתִי וָאֶשְׁפֹּךְ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה: ¹⁶אַל־תִּתֵּן אֶת־אֲמָתְךָ לִפְנֵי בַּת־בְּלִיָּעַל כִּי־מֵרֹב שִׂיחִי וְכַעְסִי דִּבַּרְתִּי עַד־הֵנָּה:	¹⁵ But Hannah answered, "No, my lord, I am a woman sorely troubled;¹⁹¹ I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I have been pouring out my soul before the LORD. ¹⁶ Do not regard your maidservant as a base woman, for all along I have been speaking out of my great anxiety and vexation." (S2/N2)
¹⁷וַיַּעַן עֵלִי וַיֹּאמֶר לְכִי לְשָׁלוֹם וֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתֵּן אֶת־שֵׁלָתֵךְ אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַלְתְּ מֵעִמּוֹ:	¹⁷ Then Eli answered, "Go in peace, and the God of Israel grant your petition which you have made to him." (S2/N2)
^{18a}וַתֹּאמֶר תִּמְצָא שִׁפְחָתְךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ	^{18a} And she said, "Let your maidservant find favor in your eyes." (S2/N2)
^{18b}וַתֵּלֶךְ הָאִשָּׁה לְדַרְכָּהּ	^{18b} Then the woman went her way (S1)
^{18c}וַתֹּאכַל	^{18c} and Ø ate, (S1)
^{18d}וּפָנֶיהָ לֹא־הָיוּ־לָהּ עוֹד:	^{18d} and her countenance was no longer sad. (S4)

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190   The discourse marker "וְהָיָה" is rendered as "and then" to make it clear that the discourse marker updates the reference time.

191   קְשַׁת רוּחַ occurs only here. Driver (1912) is of a different opinion. According to analogy of קְשֵׁי לֵב (Ezek 3:7 hard-spirited), קְשֵׁה יוֹם (Job 30:25 hard of day, i.e., one upon whom times are hard), Driver (1912:14) proposes the meaning here as "hard-spirited, i.e. obstinate, unyielding."

In v 9, the onset of a new episode is signalled by over-encoding חַנָּה for S2, which signals a new development unit (v. 9a),[192] accompanying with reintroduction of the inactive participant "Eli" by making use of a full NP "Eli the priest (proper name and epithet)" in the presentational participial clause.[193]

In v.10a, the independent personal pronoun subject הִיא (Hannah) (v. 10a)[194] and the null reference subjects (S1: Hannah) in vv. 10b and c, signal continuity.

In v.11, continuity is maintained by the null reference subject (S1: Hannah).

V.12a is initiated by the discourse marker וְהָיָה.[195] Reference time is updated. In addition, the event of Hannah praying long provides a momentum for subsequent events. However, it is uncertain whether the discourse marker וְהָיָה functions as a segmentation device, because the null reference subject (S1) co-occurs (הִרְבְּתָה). Null reference signals thematic continuity, and no pronouns can reach across paragraph boundaries (Hofmann 1989:243). Hence, it is difficult to understand the reason why null reference is utilized, if the discourse marker וְהָיָה here signals the beginning of a new episode. It appears that two linguistic devices (a segmentation device and a continuity device) are in conflict.[196] In v. 12b, the reactivated semi-active referent "Eli" (relexicalization: default encoding), signals continuity.

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192   Default encoding for S2 (the subject that was the addressee in the preceding clause) is null reference (see. §3.2.1.3.2). Over-encoding for S2 accomplishes either highlighting the content of the quotation or signaling a development unit (see §3.2.1.4).

193   This participial clause is regarded as a presentational sentence. It prompts the inactive referent into discourse register (Lambrecht 1994:178). Eli was referred to in part of the status constructus (sons of Eli) when Hophni and Phinehas was introduced in v. 3. As its mental representation was not well established in the reader's mind, it is reintroduced by the primary referring expression and epithet through a presentational sentence as if it were introduced for the first time. This participial clause also gives background information.

194   The discourse active participant Hannah is resumed by independent personal pronoun (IPP) in the nominal sentence. This encoding is default, and IPP is obligatory. Hence, it does not signal discontinuity.

195   This is a case where וַיְהִי should be read.

196   According to (Goutsos 1997:82-83), there is the hierarchy of linguistic signals, and often those linguistic signals conflict with one another. Sometimes a theme continuity device and a theme discontinuity device occur at the same time in the same sentence. In this case, linguistic devices which are higher in the hierarchy are more significant. However, the current position in BH

In v 13, default encoding (relexicalization) for the role switch subject S3 (v.13a),[197] NP encodings ("lips" and "voices") for semi-active (identifiable) entities (body parts) (S4) (vv. 13b, and c), enclitic pronouns in שְׂפָתֶיהָ and קוֹלָהּ, which link vv. 13b and 13c to v. 13a, and default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active referent (S4) "Eli" (v. 13d) signal continuity.[198] Continuity is also signalled by the fronted entity קוֹלָהּ which signals that different entities (her lips and her voices) are involved in the same situation.

In v. 14, proper name "Eli" for S1 (marked encoding) is employed to mark a development unit.[199] The current episode continues.

In v. 15 and 17, both over-encodings for S2 (proper name חַנָּה (v.15) and עֵלִי (v.17))[200] and multiple quotative frame (Miller 1994:219ff)[201] (וַתַּעַן ... וַתֹּאמֶר (v.15) and וַיַּעַן ... וַיֹּאמֶר (v.17)) highlight the content of the quotation (continuity).[202]

In v. 18a, the null reference encodings for S2/N2 in a non-initial quotative frame, which signal speech turn, signals continuity. However, the over-encoded NP subject (S1: הָאִשָּׁה) in v. 18b introduces a new development unit. This development unit terminates the current episode. The null reference subject (S1 in וַתֹּאכַל) (v. 18c.) signals

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linguistics is that no research is available in this regard. In addition, it is not yet certain whether a hierarchy of considerations should be distinguished. This issue needs further investigation.

197 In this context, relexicalization is the default encoding (see §3.2.1.3.2). Relexicalization is utilized to disambiguate the participants.

198 In v. 13d, encoding for N3 (drunken woman) is also default encoding. It is the most informative encoding in this context.

199 Eli, blindly, did not recognize piety, but took Hannah to be drunken. This false accusation initiates a new development.

200 In §3.2.1.3.2, null references are identified as default encodings for subjects and non-subjects (viz. S2/N2) in non-initial quotative frames. They signal speech turns.

201 Unlike single verb frames, multiple verb frames are regarded as marked (Miller 1994:215ff).

202 Hannah asked that Eli not take her for a בַּת־בְּלִיָּעַל, i.e., one who failed to give due respect to God (cf. 1 Sam 2:12). She was not a drunken woman, but, was pouring out her soul to the Lord as a woman who trusts the Lord. In Ps 62:9 "pouring out heart" parallels with "trust the Lord."

בִּטְחוּ בוֹ בְכָל־עֵת ׀ עָם שִׁפְכוּ־לְפָנָיו לְבַבְכֶם אֱלֹהִים מַחֲסֶה־לָּנוּ

Trust in him at all times, O people, pour out your heart before him; God is a refuge for us.

Eli quickly corrected his error, and joined Hannah in prayer that God would grant her petition. This makes Hannah feel confident that her prayer will be answered.

continuity. The end of the current episode is signalled by the "x-qatal," in which an identifiable entity "her face" is introduced as the primary topic by an NP. This "x-qatal" often occurs in the summary or conclusion of an episode (Floor 2004:92).[203]

In terms of our model, only one paragraph should be distinguished in 1 Sam 1:9-18. However, if וְהָיָה is interpreted as a marker and the introduction of a new paragraph (which we do not believe it does here), two paragraphs could be distinguished. This also explains the differences between the translations: KJV, GNT, JB, NJB, Brueggemann (1990), and McKane (1963) regard vv.1:9-18 as one paragraph, while NASB, ESV, RSV, AV, and Smith (1912) distinguish two paragraphs, i.e., 1:9-11 and 1:12-18. The paragraphs in the NAB (vv. 1:9-19a)[204] and in the NKJV (vv. 1:8-18) cannot be justified in terms of any linguistic criteria.

- 1:19-28 (KJV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, AV, Smith (1912), Philbeck (1970))

Hebrew	English	
[19a] וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ בַבֹּקֶר	[19a] Ø rose early in the morning	(S4)
[19b] וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה	[19b] and Ø worshiped before the LORD;	(S1)
[19c] וַיָּשֻׁבוּ	[19c] then Ø returned	(S1)
[19d] וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־בֵּיתָם הָרָמָתָה	[19d] and Ø went to their house at Ramah.	(S1)
[19e] וַיֵּדַע אֶלְקָנָה אֶת־חַנָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ	[19e] And Elkanah knew Hannah his wife,	(S1/N3)
[19f] וַיִּזְכְּרֶהָ יְהוָה׃	[19f] and the LORD remembered her;	(S4/N1)
[20a] וַיְהִי לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים וַתַּהַר חַנָּה	[20a] and at the circuit of the days[205] Hannah conceived	(S3)
[20b] וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן	[20b] and Ø bore a son,	(S1)
[20c] וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שְׁמוּאֵל כִּי מֵיְהוָה שְׁאִלְתִּיו׃	[20c] and Ø called his name Samuel, "I have asked him of the LORD."	(S1)
[21] וַיַּעַל הָאִישׁ אֶלְקָנָה וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ לִזְבֹּחַ לַיהוָה אֶת־זֶבַח הַיָּמִים וְאֶת־נִדְרוֹ׃	[21] And the man Elkanah and all his house went up to offer to the LORD the yearly sacrifice, and to pay his vow.	(S4)
[22a] וְחַנָּה לֹא עָלָתָה	[22a] But Hannah did not go up,	(S4)
[22b] כִּי־אָמְרָה לְאִישָׁהּ עַד יִגָּמֵל הַנַּעַר וַהֲבִאֹתִיו וְנִרְאָה אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה וְיָשַׁב שָׁם עַד־עוֹלָם׃	[22b] for Ø said to her husband, "As soon as the child is weaned, I will bring him, that he may appear in the presence of the LORD, and abide there forever."	(S1/N4)

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203   In vv. 9-18, Hannah is introduced as a woman whose soul is deeply distressed (v. 10a) and who weeps bitterly (v. 10c), viz. her face is full of sadness; however, in the last verse 18d, her face is no longer sad (summary or conclusion).

204   See further discussion regarding these paragraphs under the next sub-heading: vv. 1:19-28.

205   See footnote 113.

^{23a}וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ אֶלְקָנָה אִישָׁהּ עֲשִׂי הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינַיִךְ שְׁבִי עַד־גָּמְלֵךְ אֹתוֹ אַךְ יָקֵם יְהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ

^{23a}Elkanah her husband said to her, "Do what seems best to you, wait until you have weaned him; only, may the LORD establish his word.[206]"　　　(S2/N2)

^{23b}וַתֵּשֶׁב הָאִשָּׁה

^{23b}So the woman remained　　　(S2)

^{23c}וַתֵּינֶק אֶת־בְּנָהּ

^{23c}and Ø nursed her son,　　　(S1/N4))

^{23d}עַד־גָּמְלָהּ אֹתוֹ׃

^{23d}until she weaned him.　　　(S1/N1)

^{24a}וַתַּעֲלֵהוּ עִמָּהּ

^{24a}And Ø took him with her　　　(S1/N1)

^{24b}כַּאֲשֶׁר גְּמָלַתּוּ בְּפָרִים שְׁלֹשָׁה וְאֵיפָה אַחַת קֶמַח וְנֵבֶל יַיִן

^{24b}when Ø had weaned him, along with three bulls,[207] an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine;　　　(S1/N1)

^{24c}וַתְּבִאֵהוּ בֵית־יְהוָה שִׁלוֹ

^{24c}and Ø brought him to the house of the LORD at Shiloh;　　　(S1/N1)

^{24d}וְהַנַּעַר נָעַר׃

^{24d}and the child was young.[208]　　　(S3)

^{25a}וַיִּשְׁחֲטוּ אֶת־הַפָּר

^{25a}and Ø slew the bull,　　　(S4)

^{25b}וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶת־הַנַּעַר אֶל־עֵלִי׃

^{25b}and Ø brought the child to Eli.[209] (S1or S4/N4)

²⁶וַתֹּאמֶר בִּי אֲדֹנִי חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ אֲדֹנִי אֲנִי הָאִשָּׁה הַנִּצֶּבֶת עִמְּכָה בָּזֶה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל אֶל־יְהוָה׃ ²⁷אֶל־הַנַּעַר הַזֶּה הִתְפַּלָּלְתִּי וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה לִי אֶת־שְׁאֵלָתִי אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַלְתִּי מֵעִמּוֹ׃ ^{28a}וְגַם אָנֹכִי

²⁶ And Ø said, "Oh, my lord! As you live, my lord, I am the woman who was standing here in your presence, praying to the LORD. ²⁷ For this child I prayed; and the LORD has granted me my petition which I made to him.^{28a} Therefore I have lent him

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206　The LXX reads דְּבָרוֹ as "τὸ ἐξελθὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου (what comes out your mouth)" (The NEB follows the LXX).

207　The LXX reads as here the equivalent of " a three year old bull."

208　The LXX (1:24-25) have a long reading of v. 24.

²⁴καὶ ἀνέβη μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς Σηλωμ ἐν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ οιφι σεμιδάλεως καὶ νεβελ οἴνου καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἶκον κυρίου ἐν Σηλωμ, καὶ τὸ παιδάριον μετ᾽ αὐτῶν. ²⁵καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον κυρίου, καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν ἐποίει ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸ παιδάριον καὶ ἔσφαξεν τὸν μόσχον. καὶ προσήγαγεν Αννα ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ παιδαρίου πρὸς Ηλι

²⁴And she went up with him to Selom with a calf of three years old, and loaves, and an ephah of fine flour, and a bottle of wine: and she entered into the house of the Lord in Selom, and the child with them. ²⁵And they brought him before the Lord; and his father slew his offering which he offered from year to year to the Lord; and he brought near the child, and slew the calf; and Anna the mother of the child brought him to Heli.

According to the LXX, in v.24d, "the inference is that, between the two occurrences of the word 'child,' some words were lost from the early Hebrew exemplar" (Baldwin 1988:54).

209　The LXX makes Hannah the subject in v.25 b.

הִשְׁאִלְתִּהוּ לַיהֹוָה כָּל־הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר   to the Lord; as long as he lives, he is lent to the

הָיָה הוּא שָׁאוּל לַיהֹוָה   Lord."   (S1/N1)

²⁸ᵇ וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ שָׁם לַיהֹוָה׃ פ   [28b]And Ø worshipped the Lord there.   (S4)

In v. 19, the commencement of a new episode is designated by a temporal change (v. 19a) and a spatial change (v. 19c and d), and the enclitic pronominal (or null reference) subject (S4 in וַיִּשְׁכִּמוּ). In v. 19a, it is improbable that "they" in וַיִּשְׁכִּמוּ refers to the antecedent which is across several paragraphs (Elkanah, his two wives, and children in vv. 4-5). "They" in this case should be regarded as referring to the antecedent which is activated in the frame involved. When the antecedent is found, the whole family may be the antecedent in the frame, for the whole family goes to Shiloh to worship the Lord. Taking v. 18 (the conclusion of the preceding paragraph) into consideration, although v. 19a opens with null reference, v. 19a should be the onset of a new episode. This instance is an exceptional case of the general rule of null reference. As a general rule, null reference cannot open a new discourse unit. However, it is evident that the null reference subject (semi-active referent) signals a new episode. This null reference encoding for the semi-active referent (S4) was not identified, either in our model or in the research of Levinsohn (2000a) and Runge (2006a). This encoding needs further investigation. Continuity is retained by the null reference subjects (S1) (vv. 19b, c, and d), the over-encoded subject (S1:Elkanah) which signals a development unit (v.19e). The story develops towards the peak. Encoding for N3 is also marked by interpersonal anchoring (חַנָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ) for the same reason. [210] In v. 19f, default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active referent and the enclitic pronominal object[211] N1 in וַיִּזְכְּרֶהָ signal continuity.

Continuity is signalled by the climax, which is signalled by 1) the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + exact point in time adjunct לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים"[212] which is often found in the climax or turning point of the episode, and 2) the proper name subject חַנָּה (S3) which signals a new development unit.[213] Continuity is further signalled by the null reference subjects (S1: Hannah) (vv.20 b and c).

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210   In the context, the proper name "Hannah" is sufficient to disambiguate the participants, viz. whom Elkanah knew.

211   It glues v. 19f to v. 19e.

212   A stretch of time is treated as a point in time, i.e., punctually conceptualized (Van der Merwe 1999a:106).

213   Over-encoding for S3 is utilized, although null reference is sufficient to disambiguate the participants, viz. who conceived (the Lord or Hannah) taking "Elkanah knew Hannah (v. 19e)

In v.21, the start of a new episode is indicated by an implied shift in time,[214] and an over-encoded participant reference (S4:אֶלְקָנָה הָאִישׁ וְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ). Default encoding for the semi-active referent is relexicalization. However, here Elkanah is not reintroduced by relexicalization, but by overspecification. The segmentational function of S4 was not identified in our model; it is beyond doubt that this over-encoding accompanied by a shift in time initiates a new episode. This function of S4 needs further investigation.

In v.22, continuity is signalled by the contrasted topic חַנָּה which is fronted to contrast it with the topic of v.21 (v. 22a),[215] and the null reference subject (S1: Hannah) (v.22b).

In v. 23, continuity is specified by the over-encoded subject (S2: אֶלְקָנָה אִישָׁהּ) for highlighting the content of conversation (v. 23a),[216] the enclitic pronoun in לָהּ (v. 23a) which signals a speech turn as well as linking v. 23a to v. 22b, the over-encoded subject הָאִשָּׁה (S2: Hannah) which signals a new development unit (v. 23b),[217] and the null reference subjects (S1: Hannah) (vv. 23c and d).

In v. 24a, it is difficult to decide whether the onset of a new episode is demarcated. Two linguistic signals conflict. Spatial and temporal changes are implied, although explicit devices are not employed (from Ramathaim-zophim to Shiloh, and at least three or four years of temporal shift). However, in v. 24a, the null reference subject S1 (Hannah), and

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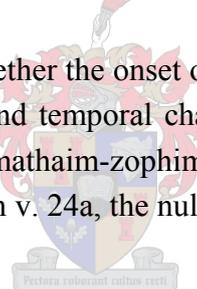
and the Lord remembered her" into consideration (see §3.2.1.4). Here a new development unit forms the climax of the episode.

214   Although a temporal adverbial is not used, a temporal shift is identifiable to readers (due to the pilgrimage to Shiloh).

215   Hannah did not accompany the family to Shiloh for the annual feast after the birth of Samuel until the child was old enough to be weaned. This usually took place between two and three years of age.

216   Verse 23a indicates the role of husband in the law of the vow. According to the law of the vow in Num 30: 6-15, a husband had power of confirmation or veto of any vow undertaken by his spouse. He accepts his wife's vow by invoking divine assistance towards its fulfillment. It is clear that Elkanah had been told of the vow Hannah had made concerning her desired son, and that he entered fully into his wife's purpose.

217   As far as distinguishing the episode is concerned, the development unit in an episode is regarded as not signaling discontinuity so that one may distinguish a new episode.

the enclitic pronoun N1 (him: Samuel) signal continuity.[218] Continuity is specified by the null reference subjects, objects (S1: Hannah and N1: Samuel), and by background information (nominal clause) (vv. 24b c, and d).

In v. 25, continuity is indicated by the enclitic plural pronominal subject S4 (וַיִּשְׁחֲטוּ) (v. 25a),[219] and the null reference subject (v.25b).[220]

In v. 26-28, continuity is specified by the null reference subject (S1 Hannah) (v. 26), the focus particle גַם (v. 28a),[221] and the null reference subject (S4)[222] (v. 28b).[223] Verse

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218 Further research is required to establish whether the hierarchy of linguistic signals should be considered, and which device plays the more crucial role, or dominates, when continuity devices and discontinuity devices co-occur at the episode boundaries.

219 Its antecedent does not seem to be found in the preceding text. A frame may be involved, viz. a process of sacrifice which is associated with the presentation of the boy (Samuel). Verse 25a may describe the sacrifice (possibly a thank offering, or a peace offering), although only slaughtering is given as its procedure. If a frame is involved here, "they" is the semi-active participant (S4). The subject "they" may refer to the temple attendants (possibly Levites) (Driver 1890:21; McKane 1963:35). In this regard, Keil and Delitzsch (1882:380) states:" a particular sacrifice is referred to, which was associated with the presentation of the boy, that is to say, the burnt-offering by virtue of which the boy was consecrated to the Lord." In 1 Sam 4:4, וַיִּשְׂאוּ in וַיִּשְׁלַח הָעָם שִׁלֹה וַיִּשְׂאוּ מִשָּׁם אֵת אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים is also used without antecedent in the text, because a frame is involved. Robinson (1993:18), however, is of different opinion. He regards "they" in vv. 1 Sam 1:25 and 28 as referring to "Elkanah and whole family." The LXX also reads "his father slew his offering," i.e. Elkanah slew the offering.

220 It is not certain whether the null reference subject refers to temple attendants (S1), or Elkanah and Hannah (S4). If the same frame continues, the null reference subject refers to temple attendants (S1). However, if another frame is involved, the subject will be Elkanah and Hannah, who present Samuel to the Lord, for it is unlikely that Hannah alone went up to Shiloh, although in v. 24a the subject is Hannah alone. If 1 Sam 1:3, 21 and 2:11 are taken into consideration, a frame here, viz. the custom that the whole family go up Shiloh to worship the Lord, may be involved. In addition, when taking the null reference subject in v. 26 into consideration, Elkanah and Hannah is more probable for the subject of v. 25b (maybe even for v. 25a), because the null reference subject of וַתֹּאמֶר in v. 26 presupposes that its antecedent is included in the plural subject of 25b (וַיָּבִיאוּ). If so, the subject in v. 25b is S4 (semi-active in the frame). Whatever the subject of v. 25a and 25b may be, the null reference subject signals continuity.

221 גַם expresses Hannah's response to what the Lord already has done (v. 27) (BHRG §41.4.5.2.iii).

28 b seems to refer to the last procedure in the dedication ritual. It may be regarded as a conclusion remark of the current episode (Hannah's fulfillment of her vow, viz. her dedication of Samuel to the Lord).

In the light of the above-mentioned analysis, two or three episodes can be distinguished in 1 Sam 1:19-28, viz.: 19-20, 21-28 (and possibly 21-23, 24-28). These episodes are distinguished by the temporal and/or spatial change (update of temporal and/or spatial setting), and participant reference. It is uncertain whether v. 24 can be the onset of a new episode, for the reason that continuity and discontinuity signals are in conflict.

Paragraphs distinguished in 1 Sam 1:19-28 in translations and commentaries are not consistent with one another: NAB (1:19b-23, 24-2:11), NIV and Bergen (1996) (1:21-28), CEV and RSV (1:19-20, 21-28a), NASB (1:19-21, 22-28), ESV and Brueggemann (1990) (1:19-20, 21-28), NEV (1:21-28), McKane (1963) (1:19-20, 21-28), Herzberg (1964) (1:1-20, 21-2:11a), Philbeck (1970) (1:19-28), Gordon (1986) (1:1-2:10), Baldwin (1988), Birch (1998), and McCarter (1980) (1:1-28).

When the paragraph boundaries (beginnings and ends) are examined, 1:19b (NAB) and 1:22 (NASB) cannot open a new episode, because no segmentational linguistic signal occurs. 1:28a (CEV, RSV) cannot end the paragraph, because the focus particle גַּם in v. 28a expresses the response of Hannah to the Lord who answered to her prayer. It expresses continuity. Verse 28b is a summary or conclusion of the episode. Hence, 28b (CEV, RSV) cannot be regarded as the onset of a new paragraph, but rather the conclusion of the current paragraph.

- 2:1-10 POETIC SECTION

- 2:11(CEV, NASB, NEV, RSV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996))

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222   If we say more accurately, it is not clear under which criteria this subject should be classified, because its activation status cannot be classified as either continued (S1) or semi-active (S4), for the reason that its antecedent Hannah is the subject in the preceding clause (active); however, its antecedent Elkanah, is semi-active.

223   It is uncertain whether the antecedent of the subject in וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ are Hannah and Eli or Hannah and Elkanah or the whole family including Hannah. Whatever they might be, it signals continuity.

^{11a}וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶלְקָנָה הָרָמָתָה עַל־בֵּיתוֹ   ^{11a}Then Elkanah went home to Ramah.[224]   (S5)

^{11b}וְהַנַּעַר הָיָה מְשָׁרֵת אֶת־יְהֹוָה   ^{11b}And the boy became the servant who serves the

אֶת־פְּנֵי עֵלִי הַכֹּהֵן: LORD, in the presence of Eli the priest.   (S5)

In v. 11, after a long poetic section, the commencement of a new episode is indicated by the reintroduction of the inactive referent "Elkanah" (S5) in a wayyiqtol clause (v. 11a) (§3.2.1.3.1),[225] and the reintroduced inactive referent (הַנַּעַר: the boy=Samuel) in the "x-qatal" clause which compares it with Elkanah in v. 11a (v. 11b).[226] As a transitional sentence, v. 11 introduces a new episode. As far as linguistic devices are concerned, v. 11 cannot form a paragraph, because v. 11b does not signal discontinuity. The paragraph in CEV, NASB, NEV, RSV, Smith (1912), and Bergen (1996) is not justifiable in terms of segmentational signals. Verse 11 should be a part of vv. 11-17.

- 2:12-17 (NAB, CEV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996))

^{12a}וּבְנֵי עֵלִי בְּנֵי בְלִיָּעַל   ^{12a}Now the sons of Eli were worthless men   (S5)

^{12b}לֹא יָדְעוּ אֶת־יְהֹוָה: ^{12b}Ø had no regard for the LORD.   (S1/N4)

^{13a}וּמִשְׁפַּט הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־הָעָם   ^{13a}The custom of the priests with the people:

^{13b}כָּל־אִישׁ זֹבֵחַ זֶבַח   ^{13b}when any man offered sacrifice,   (S3)

^{13c}וּבָא נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן כְּבַשֵּׁל הַבָּשָׂר   ^{13c}the priest's servant would come, while boiling the meat,

וְהַמַּזְלֵג שְׁלֹשׁ־הַשִּׁנַּיִם בְּיָדוֹ:   with a three-pronged fork in his hand,   (S4)

^{14a}וְהִכָּה בַכִּיּוֹר אוֹ בַדּוּד אוֹ   ^{14a}and Ø would thrust it into the pan, or kettle, or

בַקַּלַּחַת אוֹ בַפָּרוּר   caldron, or pot;   (S1)

^{14b}כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה הַמַּזְלֵג יִקַּח   ^{14b}all that the fork brought up the priest would take

הַכֹּהֵן בּוֹ   with it.   (S4)

^{14c}כָּכָה יַעֲשׂוּ לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל   ^{14c}So Ø would do to all the Israelites who came

הַבָּאִים שָׁם בְּשִׁלֹה: there in Shiloh.   (S1/N4)

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224   The LXX reads as follows: Καὶ κατέλιπον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Αρμαθαιμ (And they left him there before the Lord, and departed to Armathaim).

225   Although Elkanah left, the setting remains Shiloh. Elkanah left Shiloh, while Samuel remained there, and that is the location of the subsequent section. For this reason, in the subsequent clause in this episode the reactivated topic אֶלְקָנָה does not appear again.

226   This reactivated referent "Samuel" does not appear as the topic again until v. 18. It seems that v. 11 may function as a transitional sentence from the poetic section to the narrative proper. Its function is similar to a topic framing sentence (e.g. Gen 4:1) (Buth 1995:89), where inactive Adam is reactivated; however, it does not appear again, but Cain and Abel appear as topics in the subsequent episodes.

¹⁵ᵃ גַּם֩ בְּטֶ֨רֶם֩ יַקְטִר֤וּן אֶת־הַחֵ֨לֶב֙	¹⁵ᵃ Even,[227] before Ø made sacrifice smoke (they burned the fat), (S4)
¹⁵ᵇ וּבָ֣א ׀ נַ֣עַר הַכֹּהֵ֗ן	¹⁵ᵇthe priest's servant would come (S4)
¹⁵ᶜ וְאָמַר֙ לָאִ֣ישׁ הַזֹּבֵ֔חַ תְּנָ֣ה בָשָׂ֗ר לִצְל֣וֹת לַכֹּהֵ֔ן וְלֹֽא־יִקַּ֧ח מִמְּךָ֛ בָּשָׂ֥ר מְבֻשָּׁ֖ל כִּ֥י אִם־חָֽי׃	¹⁵ᶜand Ø would say to the man who was sacrificing, "Give meat for the priest to roast; for he will not accept boiled meat from you, but raw." (S1/N4)
¹⁶ᵃ וַיֹּ֨אמֶר אֵלָ֜יו הָאִ֗ישׁ קַטֵּ֨ר יַקְטִיר֤וּן כַּיּוֹם֙ הַחֵ֔לֶב וְקַֽח־לְךָ֖ כַּאֲשֶׁ֣ר תְּאַוֶּ֣ה נַפְשֶׁ֑ךָ	¹⁶ᵃ And if the man said to him, "Let them burn the fat first, and then take as much as you wish," (S2/N2)
¹⁶ᵇ וְאָמַ֥ר ׀ לוֹ֙ כִּ֣י עַתָּ֣ה תִתֵּ֔ן וְאִם־לֹ֖א לָקַ֥חְתִּי בְחָזְקָֽה׃	¹⁶ᵇ Ø would say, "No, you must give it now; and if not, I will take it by force." (S2/N2)
¹⁷ᵃ וַתְּהִ֨י חַטַּ֧את הַנְּעָרִ֛ים גְּדוֹלָ֥ה מְאֹ֖ד אֶת־פְּנֵ֣י יְהוָ֑ה	¹⁷ᵃ The sin of the young men was very great in the sight of the LORD;
¹⁷ᵇ כִּ֤י נִֽאֲצוּ֙ הָֽאֲנָשִׁ֔ים אֵ֖ת מִנְחַ֥ת יְהוָֽה׃	¹⁷ᵇfor the men treated the offering of the LORD with contempt.[228] (S3)

In v. 12a, the onset of a new episode is signalled by the reintroduction of the inactive referents (S5: sons of Eli) alongside the reintroduction of the inactive referent in v. 11b. Verse 11 should be read together with vv. 12-17, for the same spatial setting is retained (at Shiloh). The segmentational function of S5 is not identified in our model. However, it is difficult to reject the possibility that the initiation of a new episode is signalled by the reintroduction of the inactive referent (S5). The null reference subject (S1: the sons of Eli) in v. 12b indicates continuity.

Verse 13a begins to provide the reason why the sons of Eli are worthless men, by giving a customary practice (continuity is retained).[229] הַכֹּהֲנִים in מִשְׁפַּט הַכֹּהֲנִים refers to sons

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227 The focus particle גַּם here should be rendered as "even," for it expresses surprise (BHRG §41.4.5.2.i).

228 Bergen (1996:79) interprets "כִּי נִאֲצוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֵת מִנְחַת יְהוָה:" as follows: "the MT suggests that the priestly actions were causing the worshipers to look disrespectfully upon the freewill offerings made to the Lord. Priestly abuse was giving religion a bad name in Israel." In the Hebrew manuscripts in the editions of Kennicott, de Rossi, and Ginsburg, and Qumran manuscripts, and the LXX, הָאֲנָשִׁים is missing. According to these readings, the subject of v. 17b is הַנְּעָרִים (Eli's sons).

229 They have already been mentioned as priests in Shiloh (cf. 1 Sam 1:3). The custom of the priests here does not reflect the normal custom. Taking גַּם "even" (in v.15a) into consideration, v.13ff should be regarded as describing an abuse (Driver 1890:29; McKane 1963:38; Hertzberg 1964:34; Gordon 1986:82; Robinson 1993:19).

of Eli. Now v. 13b begins the concrete custom exercised by sons of Eli. Default encoding for S3 (כָּל־אִישׁ) (in v. 13b) signals continuity. In v.13c, the semi-active participants (the priest's servant) are introduced by the NP.[230] This encoding does not signal a discontinuity.

In v. 14, the null reference subject (S1: the priest's servant) (v. 14a), fronted " כֹּל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה הַמַּזְלֵג (an argument focus)" (v. 14b) and NP subject הַכֹּהֵן (S4: the sons of Eli) (v. 14b),[231] and the null reference subject (S1) (v. 14c)[232] signal continuity. In addition, weqatal (וְהִכָּה) which corresponds to וּבָא (v. 13c.), weqatal יִקַּח (v.14 b) which corresponds to the preceding weqatals, yiqtol יַעֲשׂוּ (v. 14c), which corresponds to the preceding weqatals and fronted כָּכָה (argument focus) (v. 14c), which refer anaphorically to the variation of custom committed by Eli's sons, all signal continuity.

In v.15, the focus particle גַּם ("even") (v.15a),[233] and the null reference subject (S4) (v.15a),[234] default encoding (relexicalization נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן) for the semi-active referent (v.

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230   נַעַר הַכֹּהֵן is identifiable. His reference here is understood as the servant of the sons of Eli; it is a new participant. In the subsequent clauses, the behaviour of the priest's servant should be regarded as the behaviour of the sons of Eli, because they act as the proxy of the priests.

231   "The priest" refers to Eli's sons (possibly one of Eli's sons in particular). It reminds the reader of "the custom of the priests" in v. 13a. Here the inactive referent "Eli's sons" is reactivated to make it clear who is abusing the sacrificial system. Its encoding is default. They would not wait to take portions prescribed by the law; they would take whatever they wanted. How could the priest do things like this? According to priestly legislation in the Pentateuch, the clergy were to receive the breast and the right thigh of the sacrificial animals (Lev 7:28–36) while, according to Deuteronomy, they were to receive the shoulder, the two cheeks (or jowls), and the stomach of any sacrificial ox or sheep (Deut 18:3). At Shiloh, however, apparently an alternative system was being followed.

232   Although the (continued) subjects were encoded by the singular in vv. 13b-14b (וּבָא, וְהִכָּה, and יִקַּח), here it is encoded by the plural (יַעֲשׂוּ), for the reason that vv. 13b-14b is an example of the abuse committed by Eli's sons (i.e., a servant of Eli's sons would come with three-pronged fork ….).

233   The focus particle גַּם expresses that Eli's son committed unexpected and unthinkable abuse of custom by demanding the gift of the meat even before the fat was burnt (viz. an even more surprising abuse of custom was being committed). It is inconceivable that the priest should behave in that manner (BHRG §41.4.5.2.i.c).

234   The semi-active participant is encoded by null reference (a frame may be involved here). The subject "they" (in יַקְטִרוּן) may refer to either temple attendants (Levites) (if a frame is involved),

15b), and the null reference subject (S1) (v. 15c), signal continuity. In addition, continuity is signalled by weqatal וְאָמַר (v. 15c) which corresponds to weqatal וּבָא in v. 15b.

In v. 16a and 16b, the null reference encodings for S2 and N2 in non-initial quotative frames, signal speech turn (continuity).[235]

Verse 17 closes the current episode with evaluation of the crime of Eli's sons by making use of non-temporal wayyiqtol וַתְּהִי.[236]

The KJV, and McCarter (1980) regard 1 Sam 2:11-26 as one paragraph. Klein (1998), and Brueggemann (1990) consider 1 Sam 2:11-36 as one paragraph. As far as linguistic signals are concerned, the paragraph (vv. 2:12-17) in NAB, CEV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, JB, JNB, NKJV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912), and Bergen (1996) cannot be justified, because v. 12 does not open a new episode. In terms of the model we use, the paragraph starts at v. 11 and terminates with v. 17.

- 2:18-21 (NAB, CEV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, AV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), Philbeck (1970))

Hebrew		English	
וּשְׁמוּאֵל מְשָׁרֵת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה	18a	18a Samuel was ministering before the LORD,	(S5)
נַעַר חָגוּר אֵפוֹד בָּד:	18b	18b (He was) a boy girded with a linen ephod.	(S1)
וּמְעִיל קָטֹן תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ אִמּוֹ	19a	19a And his mother used to make for him a little robe	(S5)
וְהַעַלְתָה לוֹ מִיָּמִים׀ יָמִימָה	19b	19b and Ø used to bring it to him each year,	(S1)
בַּעֲלוֹתָהּ אֶת־אִישָׁהּ לִזְבֹּחַ אֶת־זֶבַח הַיָּמִים:	19c	19c when Ø went up with her husband to offer the yearly sacrifice.	(S1)
וּבֵרַךְ עֵלִי אֶת־אֶלְקָנָה וְאֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאָמַר יָשֵׂם יְהוָה לְךָ זֶרַע מִן־הָאִשָּׁה הַזֹּאת תַּחַת הַשְּׁאֵלָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁאַל לַיהוָה	20a	20a Then Eli would bless Elkanah and his wife, and say, "The LORD give you children by this woman for the petition which she asked to the LORD";	(S5/N4)
וְהָלְכוּ לִמְקֹמוֹ:	20b	20b so then Ø would return to their home.	(S2)
כִּי־פָקַד יְהוָה אֶת־חַנָּה	21a	21a And indeed the LORD visited Hannah,[237]	(S4/N3)

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or Israelites who came to Shiloh. Taking "the custom of the people" (v. 13a) into consideration, Israelites would seem to be more correct.

235 Driver (1890:31) proposes to read וַיֹּאמֶר as weqatal in accordance with other weqatal verbs, and GKC (§112. ll) is of the same opinion; they both regard וַיֹּאמֶר as scribal error.

236 In v. 17, it is not certain whether הַנְּעָרִים (v. 17a) and הָאֲנָשִׁים (v.17b) refer to different people (both the sons of Eli and Israelites who went up to Shiloh) or the same people (viz. Eli's sons).

<div dir="rtl">

21b וַתַּהַר

21c וַתֵּלֶד שְׁלֹשָׁה־בָנִים וּשְׁתֵּי בָנוֹת

21d וַיִּגְדַּל הַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל

עִם־יְהוָה: ס

</div>

21b and Ø conceived (S3)

21c and Ø bore three sons and two daughters. (S1)

21d And the boy Samuel grew in the presence of the LORD. (S4)

In v. 18a, the onset of a new episode is signalled by the reintroduced inactive referent (S5: Samuel) (v. 17 ends the preceding episode). Reintroduction of the inactive referent is encoded only by the proper name (without being anchored), for its identifiability is well established (it was mentioned last in verse 11 with NP הַנַּעַר) (see §3.2.1.3.4).[238] Continuity is signalled by the elided subject (S1) (v. 18b).[239] Although the inactive referent (Samuel) is reintroduced, it does not seem to function as the primary topic in the subsequent clauses in this episode. Verse 18 seems to function as a framing device.

In v. 19, the fronted מְעִיל קָטֹן "little robe," which signals an event reporting sentence (v. 19a), pronominal suffixes in לוֹ and אִמּוֹ (v. 19a), the null reference subjects (S1) (vv. 19b, and c), and weqatal וְהַעַלְתָה in v. 19b, which corresponds to yiqtol תַּעֲשֶׂה in v. 19a, all specify continuity.

In v. 20, continuity is indicated by default encoding (relexicalization) for the inactive referent "Eli" (v 20a), the predicate verbs (וּבֵרַךְ...וְאָמַר),[240] which express habitual actions corresponding to the habitual yiqtol תַּעֲשֶׂה in v. 19a and weqatal וְהַעַלְתָה in v. 19b (v 20a), the null reference subject (S2) (v. 20b) and weqatal (וְהָלְכוּ), which corresponds to וּבֵרַךְ...וְאָמַר in v. 20a (v. 20b).

כִּי in v. 21a, which introduces an affirmative comment of the narrator (BHRG §41.3.9), signals that vv. 21a-c is to be linked to vv. 20a-b. Hence, default encoding for the semi-active referent S4 (the Lord: relexicalization) and N3 (Hannah) (v. 21a), the null

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237 Text uncertain. Qumran manuscript reads כִּי־פָקַד as וַיִּפְקֹד. The LXX reads כִּי־פָקַד as καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο κύριος τὴν Avvαv (and Lord visited Anna).

238 The segmentational function of the inactive referent is not identified in our model. This function needs further investigation regarding the conditions in which it can initiate a new episode.

239 The continued subject (S1) is elided in the nominal clause, because the reader can identify the subject.

240 A multiple verb frame (וּבֵרַךְ...וְאָמַר) highlights the content of the quotation: "Eli annually pronounced over Elkanah and Hannah a blessing calling for the Lord to compensate the couple for relinquishing Samuel" (Bergen 1996:80).

reference subject (S3: Hannah) (v.21b),[241] and the null reference subject (S1) (v. 21c) also signal continuity. In v. 21d, over-encoding (הַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל) is utilized for the semi-active referent S4 to signal the end of the current episode.[242]

NASB, ESV, NEV, and RSV distinguish two paragraphs in vv. 2:18-21, viz.: 18-20, and 21. However, v. 21a introduces an affirmative comment of the narrator, and it continues to vv. 21b-c, hence v. 21 should be read with v. 20. As far as segmentational signals are concerned, the paragraphs in NAB, CEV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, AV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), and Philbeck (1970) can be justified.

- 2:22-26 (NAB, GNT, NEV, JB,NJB, AV, Philbeck (1970))

Hebrew	English	
וְעֵלִי זָקֵן מְאֹד ²²ᵃ	²²ᵃ Now Eli was very old,	(S4)
וְשָׁמַע אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשׂוּן בָּנָיו ²²ᵇ לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכְּבוּן אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים הַצֹּבְאוֹת פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:	²²ᵇand Ø would hear²⁴³ all that his sons were doing to all Israel, and how they would lay²⁴⁴ with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting.	(S1)
וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לָמָּה תַעֲשׂוּן ²³ כַּדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי שֹׁמֵעַ אֶת־דִּבְרֵיכֶם רָעִים מֵאֵת כָּל־הָעָם אֵלֶּה: אַל בָּנָי כִּי לוֹא־טוֹבָה ²⁴ הַשְּׁמֻעָה אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי שֹׁמֵעַ מַעֲבִרִים עַם־יְהוָה: ²⁵ᵃ אִם־יֶחֱטָא	²³ And Ø said to them, "Why do you do such things? For I hear of your evil dealings from all the people. ²⁴ No, my sons; no good is the report that I hear, (it is) spreading²⁴⁵ among the people of the Lord. ²⁵ᵃ If a man sins against a man, God will mediate for him; but if a man sins against the	

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241 The role changed subject "Hannah" (S3) is encoded by null reference, because in this context, the only woman is Hannah: the context disambiguates the participants, i.e., who conceived.

242 This segmentational function of S4 is not identified in our model.

243 Weqatal וְשָׁמַע expresses habitual actions (BHRG §32.3.1.i).

244 Yiqtol יִשְׁכְּבוּן expresses habitual actions (BHRG §19.3.4.i).

245 The text is not certain. Two Hebrew mansucripts in the editions of Kennicott, de Rossi, and Ginsburg read מַעֲבִרִים as מעבדים (אתם), and the LXX reads מַעֲבִרִים as τοῦ μὴ δουλεύειν (for the reports which I hear *are* not good, so that the people *do not serve* God.). מַעֲבִרִים might mean "spreading" or "causing to transgress." Driver (1890:34-35) however, states in this regard: "'(Ye) *make* the people of Israel *to transgress*' is doubly questionable: 1) אתם is desiderated after מעבירים, 2) עבר, when it signifies to transgress, is always followed by an accus. Of the law or precept 'overpast,' e.g. את פי יי 14:24. Num 14:41; תורה Isa. 24:5, and in the Hif. does not occur in this sense at all." HALOT (electronic edition: page number does not appear) reads הֶעֱבִיר שְׁמֻעָה as "to start up a rumour." I render מעבירים as "a rumour which is spreading (or starting up)" in line with Driver (1890), HALOT and McKane (1963:38-39).

אִישׁ לְאִישׁ וּפִלְלֻוֹ אֱלֹהִים וְאִם LORD, who can intercede for him?"
לַיהוָה יֶחֱטָא־אִישׁ מִי יִתְפַּלֶּל־לֹו (S1/N3)
25b וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ לְקוֹל אֲבִיהֶם 25bBut Ø would not listen to the voice of their father; (S2)
25c כִּי־חָפֵץ יְהוָה לַהֲמִיתָם: 25cfor the LORD had decided to slay them. (S4)
26 וְהַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל הֹלֵךְ וְגָדֵל וָטֹוב 26The boy Samuel continued to grow both in stature and in
גַּם עִם־יְהוָֹה וְגַם עִם־אֲנָשִׁים: ס favor with the LORD and with men. (S5)

In v. 22a, the initiation of a new episode is signalled by reintroduction of the semi-active referent Eli (S4) in a nominal sentence.[246] In v. 22b, the null reference subject (S1: Eli), signals continuity.[247]

In v. 23, the null reference subject (S1: Eli), signals continuity.

In v. 25, continuity is designated by the null reference subject (S2) (v. 25b), and כִּי (v. 25c) which provides the reason for v. 25b.

In v. 26, the inactive referent Samuel is reintroduced by making use of over-encoding (הַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל "the boy Samuel") in the participial clause.[248] It is not certain whether this over-encoding signals the end of the current episode; in our model, this was not considered to be a segmentation marker. When we look at 2:27, the beginning of a new episode is signalled by the introduction of a brand-new referent. Hence, 2:22-26 forms a paragraph.

NASB, ESV, RSV, Smith (1912), and Bergen (1996) divide vv. 2:22-26 into two paragraphs, i.e., 2:22-25, and 26. However, v. 26 contrasts with v.25b, hence 26 cannot be regarded as forming a paragraph. The NKJV distinguishes 1 Sam 2:22-36 as one paragraph (which is generally considered too large for a paragraph). The paragraph structure of NAB, GNT, NEV, JB, NJB, AV, and Philbeck (1970) can be accepted in terms of the segmentational signals distinguished in our model.

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246   The processing function S4 is not identified in our model.

247   The LXX v. 22 reads as follows: Καὶ Ηλι πρεσβύτης σφόδρα, καὶ ἤκουσεν ἃ ἐποίουν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ (And Eli was very old, and he heard what his sons did to the children of Israel). In the LXX the equivalent of וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכְּבוּן אֶת־הַנָּשִׁים הַצֹּבְאוֹת פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (how they would lie with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting) is missing.

248   Although the referential gap is not big, when a referent was mentioned last in the preceding episode, it's activation state should be regarded as inactive, because at the end of an episode, readers form a macro-proposition, then store it in their long term memory.

- 2:27-36 (KJV, NAB, NIV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, NB/NJB, RSV, AV, McCarter (1980), Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), McKane (1963), Philbeck (1970))

^{27a} וַיָּבֹא אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים אֶל־עֵלִי

^{27b} וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו

כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה הֲנִגְלֹה נִגְלֵ֫יתִי֙ אֶל־בֵּ֣ית אָבִ֔יךָ בִּהְיוֹתָ֥ם בְּמִצְרַ֖יִם לְבֵ֥ית פַּרְעֹֽה: ²⁸ וּבָחֹ֣ר אֹת֡וֹ מִכָּל־שִׁבְטֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵל֩ לִ֨י לְכֹהֵ֜ן לַעֲל֣וֹת עַֽל־מִזְבְּחִ֗י לְהַקְטִ֥יר קְטֹ֨רֶת֙ לָשֵׂ֤את אֵפוֹד֙ לְפָנַ֔י וָֽאֶתְּנָה֙ לְבֵ֣ית אָבִ֔יךָ אֶת־כָּל־אִשֵּׁ֖י בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל: ²⁹ לָ֣מָּה תִבְעֲט֗וּ בְּזִבְחִי֙ וּבְמִנְחָתִ֔י אֲשֶׁ֣ר צִוִּ֣יתִי מָע֔וֹן וַתְּכַבֵּ֥ד אֶת־בָּנֶ֖יךָ מִמֶּ֑נִּי לְהַבְרִֽיאֲכֶ֗ם מֵרֵאשִׁ֛ית כָּל־מִנְחַ֥ת יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל לְעַמִּֽי:

³⁰ לָכֵ֗ן נְאֻם־יְהֹוָה֮ אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵל֒ אָמ֣וֹר אָמַ֔רְתִּי בֵּֽיתְךָ֙ וּבֵ֣ית אָבִ֔יךָ יִתְהַלְּכ֥וּ לְפָנַ֖י עַד־עוֹלָ֑ם וְעַתָּ֤ה נְאֻם־יְהֹוָה֙ חָלִ֣ילָה לִּ֔י כִּֽי־מְכַבְּדַ֥י אֲכַבֵּ֖ד וּבֹזַ֥י יֵקָֽלּוּ: ³¹ הִנֵּה֙ יָמִ֣ים בָּאִ֔ים וְגָֽדַעְתִּי֙ אֶת־זְרֹ֣עֲךָ֔ וְאֶת־זְרֹ֖עַ בֵּ֣ית אָבִ֑יךָ מִֽהְי֥וֹת זָקֵ֖ן בְּבֵיתֶֽךָ:

^{27a} And there came a man of God to Eli, (Intro)

^{27b} and Ø said to him, (S1/N1)

"Thus the LORD has said, 'Did I reveal myself to the house of your father when they were in Egypt subject to the house of Pharaoh? ²⁸ And did I choose him out of all the tribes of Israel to be my priest, to go up to my altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod before me? I gave to the house of your father all my offerings by fire from the people of Israel. ²⁹ Why do you trample on my sacrifice and on my offering which I have ordered for my Dwelling [the Temple],[249] and honor your sons above me by fattening yourselves on the choicest parts of every offering of my people Israel?' ³⁰ Therefore the LORD the God of Israel declares:' I promised[250] 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, but those who despise me shall be lightly esteemed. ³¹ Behold, the days are coming, when I

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249   The verb תִבְעֲטוּ in the MT means "to stamp [or, to kick]." The second person plural pronoun is generally thought to refer to Eli and his sons (however, in the LXX and Qumran manuscript, the second person singular occurs). When the MT is maintained, this could be rendered into "Why do you trample on (e.g. the NJB) or why do you scorn (e.g. the NIV) …?" The LXX reads "why have you looked upon my incense-offering and my meat-offering with a shameless eye (ἀναιδεῖ ὀφθαλμῷ)," i.e. the LXX reads תִבְעֲטוּ as תַּבִּיט (you (m.sg.) look upon), and מָעוֹן as מְעֹיֶן (eyeing), omitting אשר צויתי. BDB (1907:508) and HALOT read מָעוֹן as "dwelling" or "envy" (HALOT proposes to read it as "envy.") Some translations read מָעוֹן as "envy" following the LXX. I render v. 29 maintaining MT and taking the meaning of מָעוֹן as "dwelling" (McKane 1963:39).

250   The "infinitive absolute + verb (אָמוֹר אָמַרְתִּי)" intensifies the verbal idea. "In statements speakers commit themselves to the verity of what they say, predict or promise what will happen "(BHRG §20.2.1).

³²וְהִבַּטְתָּ֙ צַ֣ר מָע֔וֹן בְּכֹ֥ל אֲשֶׁר־יֵיטִ֖יב אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל וְלֹא־יִהְיֶ֥ה זָקֵ֛ן בְּבֵיתְךָ֖ כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים׃ ³³וְאִ֗ישׁ לֹֽא־אַכְרִ֤ית לְךָ֙ מֵעִ֣ם מִזְבְּחִ֔י לְכַלּ֥וֹת אֶת־עֵינֶ֖יךָ וְלַאֲדִ֣יב אֶת־נַפְשֶׁ֑ךָ וְכָל־מַרְבִּ֥ית בֵּיתְךָ֖ יָמ֥וּתוּ אֲנָשִֽׁים׃ ³⁴וְזֶה־לְּךָ֣ הָא֗וֹת אֲשֶׁ֤ר יָבֹא֙ אֶל־שְׁנֵ֣י בָנֶ֔יךָ אֶל־חָפְנִ֖י וּפִֽינְחָ֑ס בְּי֥וֹם אֶחָ֖ד יָמ֥וּתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶֽם׃ ³⁵וַהֲקִימֹתִ֥י לִ֨י כֹּהֵ֜ן נֶאֱמָ֗ן כַּאֲשֶׁ֧ר בִּלְבָבִ֛י וּבְנַפְשִׁ֖י יַעֲשֶׂ֑ה וּבָנִ֤יתִי לוֹ֙ בַּ֣יִת נֶאֱמָ֔ן וְהִתְהַלֵּ֥ךְ לִפְנֵֽי־מְשִׁיחִ֖י כָּל־הַיָּמִֽים׃ ³⁶וְהָיָ֗ה כָּל־הַנּוֹתָר֙ בְּבֵ֣יתְךָ֔ יָבוֹא֙ לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֺ֣ת ל֔וֹ לַאֲג֥וֹרַת כֶּ֖סֶף וְכִכַּר־לָ֑חֶם וְאָמַ֗ר סְפָחֵ֥נִי נָ֛א אֶל־אַחַ֥ת הַכְּהֻנּ֖וֹת לֶאֱכֹ֥ל

will cut off your strength and the strength of your father's house, so that there will not be an old man in your house. ³² Then in distress you will see distress in my dwelling[251] in spite of all the good that I do good to Israel; and there shall not be an old man in your house forever. ³³ A man I shall not cut off from my altar to cause your eyes to fail and to grieve your heart;[252] and all the increase[253] of your house shall die as men.[254] ³⁴ And this shall be the sign to you, which shall befall your two sons, Hophni and Phinehas: both of them shall die on the same day. ³⁵ And I will raise up for myself a faithful priest. According to what is in my heart and in my mind he will do. And I will build him a sure house, and he shall go in and out before my anointed forever. ³⁶ And everyone who is left in your house shall come to implore him for a piece of silver or a loaf of bread, and shall say, "Put me, I

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251 Translations differ because they understand the meaning of מָע֔וֹן differently (Cf. footnote 248).

252 The LXX reads לְכַלּ֥וֹת אֶת־עֵינֶ֖יךָ וְלַאֲדִ֣יב אֶת־נַפְשֶׁ֑ךָ as "to cause his eyes to fail and to grieve his heart," for the LXX regards אִישׁ as referring to Abiathar, who was David's faithful attendant during his lifetime, but was removed from the priesthood by Solomon. Many interpreters (e.g. Driver 1890; McKane 1963) think that the fate of Abiathar, long after Eli's death, cannot cause Eli sorrow. Many translations (e.g. ESV, GNT, RSV, and NJB) follow the LXX and a manuscript from Qumran, which both read "his eyes" and "his soul." However, other translations (e.g. KJV, DARBY, ASV, NET, and NIV) render the Hebrew text לְכַלּ֥וֹת אֶת־עֵינֶ֖יךָ וְלַאֲדִ֣יב אֶת־נַפְשֶׁ֑ךָ into "your eyes … your heart," maintaining the MT.

253 מַרְבִּ֥ית could mean "the greater part" as in 1 Chron 12:30; 2 Chron 30:18 (Driver 1890:40; BDB (1907:916; HALOT).

254 The LXX reads יָמ֥וּתוּ אֲנָשִֽׁים as "ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνδρῶν (by the sword of men)," by inserting the words "by the sword (ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ)." ESV, NJB, RSV, and NRSV follow the LXX. However, "אֲנָשִֽׁים יָמ֥וּתוּ (shall die as men)" may mean "shall die when they have reached mature manhood (or shall die in the prime of life)" (McKane 1963:40; DARBY, ASV, KJV, NET, NASB, and NIV), for the substantive אֲנָשִׁים defines their condition at the time of dying (GKC §118q; Driver 1890:40). However, as "אֲנָשִׁים does not signify adults, in contradistinction to men of any other age" (Driver:1890:40), Driver believes that a word has fallen out in the MT, taking the LXX into consideration (Qumran manuscripts also add בחרב.)

פַּת־לָחֶם: ס   pray you, in one of the priest's places, that I may
eat a morsel of bread.""""

In v. 27a, the beginning of a new episode is indicated by a brand-new participant אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים introduced in the presentational wayyiqtol וַיָּבֹא. Its identifiability is established by a generic noun. In v.27b, the null reference subject (S1) signals continuity. Verses 27b-36 are a quotation - 10 verses long. Distinguishing paragraphs in the quotation will be affected by the genre to which it belongs. This quotation is an oracle. Criteria for distinguishing paragraphs may therefore be different from the criteria used for narrative texts.[255] The quotation opens with a prophetic formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהֹוָה. Parunak (1994:505) states in this regard:

> The T[hus] S[says] L[ord] formula .... is most common in the body of an oracle, where it is one of several devices that can mark off distinct paragraphs within a single oracle. In addition to marking paragraphs within an oracle, TSL validates the message that it introduces as the words from Yahweh.

Another prophetic formula נְאֻם־יְהֹוָה in this quotation occurs in v.30. According to Parunak (1994:510), this formula is often recognized as a formula of closure.

The quotation vv. 27b-36 can be divided into two paragraphs on the basis of the two prophetic formulas, thus: 27b-29, 30-36. The main concern in this study is to distinguish paragraphs in narrative texts. Further discussion with regard to distinguishing paragraphs in the oracle is beyond the scope of this project.

- 3:1-9 (NEV, AV)

Hebrew	English
[1a] וְהַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל מְשָׁרֵת אֶת־יְהֹוָה לִפְנֵי עֵלִי	[1a] Now the boy Samuel was serving the LORD before Eli. (S5/N4)
[1b] וּדְבַר־יְהֹוָה הָיָה יָקָר בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם	[1b] And the word of the LORD was rare in those days; (Intro)
[1c] אֵין חָזוֹן נִפְרָץ: ס	[1c] there was no frequent vision.[256]
[2a] וַיְהִי בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְעֵלִי שֹׁכֵב בִּמְקֹמוֹ	[2a] And then[257] at that time Eli was lying down in his place (S4)

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255   Parunak (1994:493ff) states that four distinctive components are found in oracles: body, dispatch, incipit, background. Typically, the body begins with "thus says the Lord, " dispatch begins with God's command to the prophet, incipit begins with "then the word of the Lord came to [Jeremiah], saying ... ," and in some cases, a background, i.e. a brief statement of the state of affairs that led to the sending of the message.

256   נִפְרָץ means "spread abroad," i.e., frequent (BDB 1907:829; HALOT).

²ᵇ וְעֵינָו הֵחֵלּוּ כֵהוֹת — ²ᵇAnd his eyesight had begun to grow dim, (S4)

²ᶜ לֹא יוּכַל לִרְאֽוֹת: — ²ᶜØ could not see; (S3)

³ᵃ וְנֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה — ³ᵃthe lamp of God had not yet gone out,

³ᵇ וּשְׁמוּאֵל שֹׁכֵב בְּהֵיכַל יְהֹוָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׁם אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים: פ — ³ᵇand Samuel was lying down within the temple of the LORD, where the ark of God was. (S4)

⁴ᵃ וַיִּקְרָא יְהֹוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל — ⁴ᵃThen the LORD called Samuel. (S3/N3)

⁴ᵇ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּֽנִי: — ⁴ᵇand Ø said, "Yes!"[258] (S2)

⁵ᵃ וַיָּרָץ אֶל־עֵלִי — ⁵ᵃand Ø ran to Eli, (S1)

⁵ᵇ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי־קָרָאתָ לִּי — ⁵ᵇand Ø said, "Here I am, for you called me." (S1/N1)

⁵ᶜ וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־קָרָאתִי שׁוּב שְׁכָב — ⁵ᶜBut Ø said, "I did not call; lie down again." (S2/N2)

⁵ᵈ וַיֵּלֶךְ — ⁵ᵈSo Ø went (S2)

⁵ᵉ וַיִּשְׁכָּב: ס — ⁵ᵉand Ø lay down. (S1)

⁶ᵃ וַיֹּסֶף יְהֹוָה קְרֹא עוֹד שְׁמוּאֵל — ⁶ᵃAnd the LORD called again "Samuel !"[259] (S4/N3)

⁶ᵇ וַיָּקָם שְׁמוּאֵל — ⁶ᵇAnd Samuel arose (S3)

⁶ᶜ וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִי — ⁶ᶜand Ø went to Eli, (S1)

⁶ᵈ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי קָרָאתָ לִּי — ⁶ᵈand Ø said, "Here I am, for you called me." (S1/N1)

⁶ᵉ וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־קָרָאתִי בְנִי שׁוּב שְׁכָֽב: — ⁶ᵉBut Ø said, "I did not call, my son; lie down again." (S2/N2)

⁷ᵃ וּשְׁמוּאֵל טֶרֶם יָדַע אֶת־יְהֹוָה — ⁷ᵃNow Samuel had not yet known the LORD, (S2/N4)

⁷ᵇ וְטֶרֶם יִגָּלֶה אֵלָיו דְּבַר־יְהֹוָֽה: — ⁷ᵇand the word of the LORD had not yet been revealed to him. (S4)

⁸ᵃ וַיֹּסֶף יְהֹוָה קְרֹא־שְׁמוּאֵל בַּשְּׁלִשִׁית — ⁸ᵃAnd the LORD called Samuel again the third time. (S3/N1)

⁸ᵇ וַיָּקָם — ⁸ᵇAnd Ø arose (S3)

⁸ᶜ וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִי — ⁸ᶜand Ø went to Eli, (S1/N4)

⁸ᵈ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי קָרָאתָ לִּי — ⁸ᵈand Ø said, "Here I am, for you called me." (S1/N1)

⁸ᵉ וַיָּבֶן עֵלִי כִּי יְהֹוָה קֹרֵא לַנָּֽעַר: — ⁸ᵉEli perceived that the LORD was calling the boy. (S2)

⁹ᵃ וַיֹּאמֶר עֵלִי לִשְׁמוּאֵל לֵךְ שְׁכָב וְהָיָה אִם־יִקְרָא אֵלֶיךָ וְאָמַרְתָּ דַּבֵּר יְהֹוָה כִּי שֹׁמֵעַ עַבְדֶּךָ — ⁹ᵃEli said to Samuel, "Go, lie down; and if he calls you, you shall say, 'Speak, LORD, for thy servant hears.'" (S1/N3)

⁹ᵇ וַיֵּלֶךְ שְׁמוּאֵל — ⁹ᵇSo Samuel went (S2)

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257 The discourse marker וַיְהִי is rendered as "and then" to make it clear that the discourse marker updates the reference time.

258 The discourse marker הִנֵּנִי here is rendered as "Yes," for it is "used to refer to a character's reply, after someone has called them" (BHRG §44.3.4.ii).

259 Klein (1998:32) proposes to reconstruct the text as "Samuel!, Samuel!," because such duplications are also found in other divine appearances (Gen 22:11; 46:2; Exod 3:4).

וַיִּשְׁכַּב בִּמְקוֹמוֹ׃ ^{9c} ^{9c}and Ø lay down in his place. (S1)

In v. 1a, the commencement of a new episode is suggested by the reintroduced inactive referent Samuel (S5) making use of over-encoding ("the boy Samuel") in the participial clause, which functions as a presentational sentence, which prompts the inactive referent into discourse register. The fronted identifiable דְבַר־יְהוָה (v. 1b) in the "x-qatal" clause, which signals that different entities are involved in the same situation,[260] and the participial clause which provides one more situation (v. 1c), signal continuity. Verse 1 functions as the setting, introducing participants and providing the state of affairs for the subsequent episodes.[261] The setting should be separated from episodes. It forms a separate memory block in the mind (§2.2.2.1.2, 2.2.2.1.4, and 2.2.2.1.9).

In v. 2a, a new episode is initiated with the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא." The "temporal adjunct בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא" provides the temporal frame for the subsequent event. The semi-active participant Eli (S4) is reintroduced by relexicalization. Verses 2b-3b provide background information for subsequent events. The fronted semi-active entity עֵינָו (body part) (S4) (v. 2b),[262] and the null reference subject (S3) (v.2c),[263] signal continuity.

In v. 3a, fronted נֵר אֱלֹהִים also signals that v. 3 is background information provided in the beginning of a new episode.[264] Furthermore, v.3a specifies the temporal setting, i.e., נֵר אֱלֹהִים טֶרֶם יִכְבֶּה (the lamp of God had not yet gone out) implies that the time was most likely early morning (predawn hours) (Bergen 1996:86; Klein 1998:32). Verse 3b redefines (specifies) the spatial setting, namely, near the ark of God in the

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260 When Samuel was serving the Lord, theophanic revelations ("the word of the Lord") were rare.

261 This circumstance that can be linked to divine displeasure (cf. 14:37; 28:6), and helps explain why society was so degenerate at that time (cf. Prov 29:18; Amos 8:11). In other words, the chief reason for this is certainly inferred as being the conduct of the house of Eli. The Lord had hidden his face.

262 This anterior construction provides background information at the beginning of a new episode (BHRG §47.2.iii).

263 It is default encoding, for the context disambiguates the participant, namely, the one who could not see.

264 In v. 3a, "the lamp of God" is identifiable, for readers know the spatial setting is the sanctuary. Although the spatial setting was not provided, readers know where Samuel is serving the Lord, namely, at Shiloh. The lamp referred to here is the sacred lamp that was set up in the tabernacle outside the curtain in front of the Covenant Ark. It was to be lit each evening and allowed to burn until morning (Exod 27.20; Lev 24.2).

temple. In v.3b, the semi-active participant Samuel is relexicalized (default encoding) to disambiguate the participant, namely, who was lying here (continuity).

In v. 4, default encoding (relexicalization) for S3 (v. 4a),[265] and the null reference subject (S2), which signals speech turns,[266] signal continuity.

In v. 5, continuity is retained by the null reference subject (S1) (vv. 5a and b) and the null reference encodings for S2/N2 in a non-initial quotative frame (v.5c), the null reference subject (S2) (v.5d),[267] and the null reference subject (S1) (v. 5e), signal continuity.

In v. 6, default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active referent (v. 6a),[268] relexicalization for S3 (v. 6b),[269] the null reference subjects S1 (vv. 6c and d), null reference encodings for S2/N2 (v. 6e), signal continuity.

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265   S3 (role change) is encoded by relexicalization (proper names "the Lord") to make clear who called to Samuel (the Lord) (see §3.2.1.3.2).

266   Its encoding is default (null reference), because default encoding for S2 in a non-initial quotative frame is null reference.

267   Null reference encoding for S2 is employed here, the reason being that the context disambiguates the participants (imperative "lie down again," so "[he] went"). Readers will not misunderstand, i.e., they will not regard the null reference as referring to the continued subject (S1), i.e. Eli. In other words, in v. 5c, a speech turn occurred (from Samuel to Eli), hence readers will expect that speech turns (from Eli to Samuel) will occur again. From this expectation, and the imperative "lie down again" in v. 5c, readers will be able to identify "who went," when they encounter וַיֵּלֶךְ with the null reference, i.e. Samuel went.

268   "The Lord" is reactivated by proper name (relexicalization) to disambiguate the participant, namely, who called Samuel.

269   Encoding for S3 (proper name Samuel) is employed to disambiguate the participants (compare with null reference in v.5d). In this context, when the Lord calls Samuel again in v.6a, readers will expect that Samuel will answer "yes!" in v. 6b as he did in v. 4b. However, in v. 6b, an action occurs instead of the answer "yes!" (וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּנִי). Furthermore, a new verb וַיָּקָם occurs instead of וַיָּרָץ. If the same verb וַיָּרָץ were used as in v.5d, the null reference would have been sufficient to disambiguate participants. However, the new verb וַיָּקָם needs the explicit reference "Samuel" to disambiguate the participants (if not, the null reference would have been regarded as referring to "the Lord."). For this reason, the proper name "Samuel" does not break continuity.

In v.7, the anterior construction (x-qatal) gives background information concerning why Samuel ran to Eli twice, when the Lord called him (continuity). Verse 7b further defines v. 7a, viz. that Samuel had had no experience of direct communication form (continuity).

In v.8a, the proper name "the Lord" (S3) signals a new development unit.[270] The current episode continues. The null reference subject S3 (v.8b),[271] and S1 (vv. 8c, and d) signal continuity. In v.8e, the over-encoded subject (S2: proper name Eli) signals a new development unit.[272]

In v. 9a, the continued subject S1 is over-encoded by the proper name "Eli" to highlight the content of quotation.[273] In v. 9b, the over-encoded subject (S2: proper name "Samuel") opens a new development unit.[274] The null reference subject (S1: Samuel) in v. 9c signals continuity.[275] As far as segmentation signals are concerned, the current

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270 The Lord's third calling forms a new development in the story. See §3.2.1.4.

271 Null reference encoding is utilized for S3, although role change/topic change occurs (in this context, relexicalization is default encoding in general. See §3.2.1.3.2). Null reference encoding here is under-encoding (this issue was not discussed in the model of this study). The pragmatic effect of under-encoding for S3 is "to build as tight a unity as possible," "even at the risk of creating some ambiguity" (Runge 2006a:114). As the verb וַיָּקָם has already occurred in v. 6b (וַיָּקָם שְׁמוּאֵל) with the explicit subject Samuel, it will not be difficult for readers to identify who the subject is when they meet וַיָּקָם after the event of the Lord's calling.

272 The fact that Eli perceived that the Lord was calling to Samuel provides a new development in the episode.

273 Eli instructed Samuel what to do. He instructed Samuel to respond to God's call correctly. He is to indicate his willingness to listen. This time, Eli says to Samuel "לֵךְ שְׁכָב go, lie down" instead of saying "שׁוּב שְׁכָב lie down again." This implies that Samuel should wait, without returning to sleep. Eli again instructs Samuel to respond to the Lord's call properly. Even if the narrator said "וַיֹּאמֶר לֵךְ שְׁכָב" without saying "וַיֹּאמֶר עֵלִי לִשְׁמוּאֵל," readers could have understood who is addressing whom on the basis of the context thus far, because Eli twice instructed Samuel to lie down. Hence, the proper name "Eli" is not used to disambiguate the participants. In addition, as a general rule, the null reference subject signals continuation of the same subject.

274 Even if null reference were used here, readers would not have been confused, the reason being that the verb וַיֵּלֶךְ occurs and is used only for Samuel after Eli's instruction to Samuel to lie down (v.5d).

275 בִּמְקוֹמוֹ "in his place" is used for the first time here to create tension regarding what will happen (In v. 5e, only וַיִּשְׁכָּב is employed.).

episode continues. Thus, v. 10 should be taken into account when considering whether a paragraph should be terminated at v. 9b.

When translations and commentaries are compared, one finds that different paragraphs are distinguished in 1 Sam 3:1-9. The NASB, and the RSV distinguish two paragraphs in this passage, i.e., 3:1, and 2-9; they regard 3:1 as a separate paragraph. However, vv. 2-9 cannot form a paragraph, because v. 10 continues the paragraph in terms of our model (see next passage). The ESV distinguishes four paragraphs in this passage (3:1-3,4-5,6-7,8-9). However, in terms of our model vv. 6a, and 8a do not initiate a new episode, but a new development unit. In the KJV, and Smith (1912), 1 Sam 3:1-10 forms one paragraph. In NIV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, McCarter (1980), Klein (1998), and Brueggemann (1990), 1 Sam 3:1-4:1a forms one paragraph. The NAB, and Bergen (1996) regard 1 Sam 3:1-18 as one paragraph. In terms of our analysis of the segmentation signals in 1 Sam 3:1-9, v. 1 forms a new episode, which functions as the setting for the subsequent event, and v. 2a initiates a new episode with the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא" (This episode continues to 1 Sam 3:14.) The paragraph structure of KJV, NIV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, Smith (1912), McCarter (1980), Klein (1998), Brueggemann (1990), NAB, and Bergen (1996) can therefore all be called into question.

- 3:10-14 (ESV, NEV, RSV, AV)

Hebrew	English	
^{10a} וַיָּבֹא יְהוָה	^{10a}And the LORD came	(S4)
^{10b} וַיִּתְיַצַּב	^{10b}and Ø stood forth,	(S1)
^{10c} וַיִּקְרָא כְפַעַם־בְּפַעַם שְׁמוּאֵל׀ שְׁמוּאֵל	^{10c}and Ø called as at other times, "Samuel! Samuel!"	(S1/N4)
^{10d} וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל דַּבֵּר כִּי שֹׁמֵעַ עַבְדֶּךָ׃ פ	^{10d}And Samuel said, "Speak, for hears thy servant."	(S2/N2)

¹¹ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי עֹשֶׂה דָבָר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר כָּל־שֹׁמְעוֹ תְּצִלֶּינָה שְׁתֵּי אָזְנָיו׃ ¹² בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אָקִים אֶל־עֵלִי אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ הָחֵל וְכַלֵּה׃ ¹³ וְהִגַּדְתִּי לוֹ כִּי־שֹׁפֵט אֲנִי אֶת־בֵּיתוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם בַּעֲוֹן אֲשֶׁר־יָדַע כִּי־מְקַלְלִים לָהֶם בָּנָיו וְלֹא

¹¹ Then the LORD said to Samuel, "Behold, I am about to do a thing in Israel, at which the two ears of every one that hears it will tingle. ¹² On that day I will fulfill against Eli all that I have spoken concerning his house, from beginning to end. ¹³ And I tell him that I am about to punish his house forever, for the iniquity which he knew, because his sons were blaspheming God,[276] and

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276 The LXX reads מְקַלְלִים לָהֶם בָּנָיו as "κακολογοῦντες θεὸν υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ (his sons cursed God)." However, Driver (1890:44) is of a different opinion. He argues that "קלל does not mean *to bring a curse upon* any one, and is followed not by a *dative*, but by an *accusative* …. If the

כָּהָה בָּם: ¹⁴ וְלָכֵן נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְבֵית עֵלִי
אִם־יִתְכַּפֵּר עֲוֹן בֵּית־עֵלִי בְּזֶבַח
וּבְמִנְחָה עַד־עוֹלָם:

he did not restrain them. ¹⁴ Therefore I swear to the house of Eli that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be expiated by sacrifice or offering forever."   (S2/N2)

In v. 10, continuity is specified by default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active referent "the Lord" (S4) (v. 10a),[277] the null reference subjects (S1: the Lord) (vv.10b, and 10c), and marked encoding (proper name) for S2 in a non-initial quotative frame which highlights the content of the quotation (v.10d).[278]

In v. 11, continuity is designated by over encodings (proper names) for S2/N2 (speaker: the Lord/ addressee: Samuel) in a non-initial quotative frame which highlights the content of the quotation (the judgment on Eli's house: vv. 11-14).[279] Verses 1 Sam 3:10-14 should be read with 1 Sam 3:2-9, because 1 Sam 3:2 initiates a new episode with "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא," and 1 Sam 3:9 & 10 do not signal any discontinuity.

As far as linguistic devices at the episode boundaries are concerned, no segmentation devices are found in this passage (v. 10 does not initiate a new episode, but is included in the episode which begins in 1 Sam 3:2. Nor does v. 13 signal the end of the current episode). The subsequent passage should be investigated to determine whether segmentation signals are found (1 Sam 3:15 initiates a new episode. See the discussion of v. 15.)

Smith (1912) distinguishes one paragraph in 1 Sam 3:11-14. However, v. 11 is a part of speech turn in the dialogue that begins from v. 10c. With regard to segmentation signals, v. 11 cannot be the onset of a new episode. In KJV, 1 Sam 3:11-18 forms one paragraph.

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text be correct, להם can only be construed as a reflexive dative …'cursed for themselves' = at their pleasure." A few Hebrew manuscripts read לָהֶם as ומנחה (and offering).

277   This relexicalization is default and obligatory, for if null reference were utilized, it would have ambiguated the participants, i.e., who came.

278   This time, Samuel does not run to Eli after saying "Yes!" Instead, he says "Speak, for hears thy servant." Its significance is expressed by the word order, viz. predicate focus. שֹׁמֵעַ עַבְדֶּךָ is a predicate focus participial clause, implying that now Samuel receives the word of the Lord.

279   This (highlighting the content of the quotation) is confirmed by הִנֵּה in "הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי עֹשֶׂה דָבָר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל" which points to an event that is about to happen, and the expression "two ears of every one that hears it will tingle," which is used when a specially severe judgment is about to be pronounced (2 Kgs 21:12; Jer 19:3).

In terms of the segmentation markers we are using, the paragraph in KJV cannot be justified.

- 3:15-18 (ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912))

¹⁵ᵃ וַיִּשְׁכַּב שְׁמוּאֵל עַד־הַבֹּקֶר	¹⁵ᵃ Samuel lay until morning; (S2)
¹⁵ᵇ וַיִּפְתַּח אֶת־דַּלְתוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה	¹⁵ᵇ and Ø opened the doors of the house of the LORD. (S1)
¹⁵ᶜ וּשְׁמוּאֵל יָרֵא מֵהַגִּיד אֶת־הַמַּרְאָה אֶל־עֵלִי:	¹⁵ᶜ And Samuel had been afraid to tell the vision to Eli. (S1)
¹⁶ᵃ וַיִּקְרָא עֵלִי אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנִי	¹⁶ᵃ But Eli called Samuel and said, "Samuel, my son." (S3/N3)
¹⁶ᵇ וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּנִי:	¹⁶ᵇ And Ø said, "Yes." (S2/N2)
¹⁷ וַיֹּאמֶר מָה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלֶיךָ אַל־נָא תְכַחֵד מִמֶּנִּי כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תְּכַחֵד מִמֶּנִּי דָּבָר מִכָּל־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר אֵלֶיךָ:	¹⁷ And Ø said, "What was it that he told you? Do not hide it from me. May God do so to you and more also, if you hide anything from me of all that he told you." (S2/N2)
¹⁸ᵃ וַיַּגֶּד־לוֹ שְׁמוּאֵל אֶת־כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים	¹⁸ᵃ So Samuel told him everything (S2/N2)
¹⁸ᵇ וְלֹא כִחֵד מִמֶּנּוּ	¹⁸ᵇ and Ø hid nothing from him. (S1)
¹⁸ᶜ וַיֹּאמַר יְהוָה הוּא הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינָו יַעֲשֶׂה: פ	¹⁸ᶜ And Ø said, "It is the LORD; what is good in his eyes he will do." (S1)

In v. 15a, the beginning of a new episode is suggested by a shift in time[280] and the over-encoded subject (S2: the proper name) which signals a new development unit.[281] Continuity is signalled by the null reference subject (S1) (v 15b). The over-encoded subject (S1: "Samuel") in the x-qatal clause (v. 15c), which signals pluperfect, and provides background information, signals a new development unit (continuity).[282]

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280   The temporal setting moves from the predawn hour to the morning.

281   On the basis of the context thus far, even if null reference were utilized for "Samuel" (S2), readers would have identified who the null reference refers to because וַיִּשְׁכַּב has been used twice with null reference (Samuel), viz. in v. 5e, and in v. 9e. Hence, the proper name "Samuel" initiates a new development unit (see §3.2.1.4). Here it accompanies a shift of time, hence a new episode should be distinguished here.

282   The fact that Samuel had been afraid to disclose provides momentum for a new development in the story.

In v. 16, default encodings (relexicalization) for a subject and an object that change roles (S3/N3) (v. 16a),[283] and the null reference encodings for S2/N2 (Samuel/Eli) in the non-initial quotative frame (v. 16b), signal continuity.

In v. 17, continuity is maintained by null reference encodings for S2/N2 (Eli/Samuel).[284]

In v. 18a, the over-encoded proper name subject (S2) signals a new development unit.[285] At the same time, it signals that the current episode is about to end. In v. 18b, the null reference subject signals continuity. Verse 18b is a repetition of v. 18a (a summary). In v. 18c, the null reference subject (S1) signals continuity.[286] Samuel indicates an end of the Lord's announcement by confirming that the Lord will do what is good in his (the Lord's) eyes (v. 18c).

As far as segmentational devices are concerned, 3:15-18 can be regarded as one episode. Hence, the paragraph structure in ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, and Smith (1912) can be justified.

- 3:19-4:1a (NAB, CEV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996))

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283   The encodings (relexicalization) for S3/N3 here are default encodings (see §3.2.1.3.2)

284   "יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף כֹּה" is a familiar oath pattern in the OT (Ruth 1:17; 1 Sam 14:44; 1 Kgs 2:23).

285   V. 18a is indirect speech. Nevertheless, speech turn does occur. In general, the speech turn is encoded by the null reference; however, here S2 is encoded by over-encoding. (N2 is encoded by default encoding.) (see §3.2.1.3.2). Verses 18a-c form a summary or conclusion of the current episode. This can form a development unit in the story. Hence, in this case, the over-encoded proper name subject S2 in v. 18a can be regarded as signaling the end of the current episode as de Regt (1999b:15) recognized.

286   Translations differ as to who S1 is. For instance, DARBY, ASV, ESV, KJV, and NASB regard the subject as Samuel, while LXX, CEV, GNT, NET Bible, NAB, NCV, and NIV regard the subject as Eli. Commentators also differ in this regard. Philbeck (1970:21), for instance, states that "Eli's calm acceptance of the fate pronounced against his house is characteristic of the fatalism exhibited by many Near Eastern people." (See also Baldwin (1988:64), Bergen (1996:87), and Klein (1998:34)). However, when taking the general rule of participant reference to the continued subject into consideration, null reference should be regarded as referring to the same subject that occurs in the preceding clause. Hence, in v. 18c, it is reasonable to regard the null reference as referring to Samuel.

^{19a} וַיִּגְדַּל שְׁמוּאֵל	^{19a} And Samuel grew, (S1)
^{19b} וַיהוָה הָיָה עִמּוֹ	^{19b}and the LORD was with him (S4)
^{19c} וְלֹא־הִפִּיל מִכָּל־דְּבָרָיו אָרְצָה:	^{19c}and Ø did not let any of his words fall to the ground. (S1)
²⁰ וַיֵּדַע כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִדָּן וְעַד־בְּאֵר שָׁבַע כִּי נֶאֱמָן שְׁמוּאֵל לְנָבִיא לַיהוָה:	²⁰ And all Israel from Dan to Beer-sheba knew that Samuel was established as a prophet of the LORD. (S4)
^{21a} וַיֹּסֶף יְהוָה לְהֵרָאֹה בְשִׁלֹה	^{21a} And the LORD appeared again at Shiloh, (S3)
^{21b} כִּי־נִגְלָה יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל בְּשִׁלוֹ בִּדְבַר יְהוָה: פ	^{21b}for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel at Shiloh by the word of the LORD. (S1/N4)
^{4:1a} וַיְהִי דְבַר־שְׁמוּאֵל לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	^{4:1a} And the word of Samuel came to all Israel. (S4)

The opening of a new episode is indicated by the over-encoded subject (S1: Samuel). Continuity is signalled by the fronted primary topic יהוה (v. 19b),[287] and the null reference subject (S1: the Lord) (v. 19c).[288]

In v. 20, default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active referent[289] signals continuity.

In v. 21a, default encoding (relexicalization) for S3 (role change) signals continuity. The termination of the current episode is suggested by the over-encoded proper name

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287   It is fronted to signal that two topics, "Samuel" and "the Lord," are involved in the same situation. "The Lord was at work in Samuel's life - from the moment of his conception (1:19-20), through his early development (2:21, 26), into his entrance into the prophetic ministry (3:4, 6, 8, 10), and now in the maturation of that ministry" (Bergen 1996:88).

288   In v. 19c, the enclitic pronoun "his" in דְּבָרָיו (his words) refers to the Lord. Verse 19 is an idiom (2 Kgs 10:10, Josh 21:43 (45); 23:14; 1 Kgs 8:56). According to Deut 18:21-22, this idiom is the sign of a true prophet, i.e., all prophecies that are given in the name of the Lord come true. Even v. 19b can be regarded as a sign of the true prophet; the assurance of Yahweh's presence is an empowering word, present also in the calls of Moses, Gideon, Jeremiah and others.

289   Verse 19 evokes a frame, viz. who is the true prophet, hence, in the frame, the entity "all Israel" becomes semi-active, for the reason that it is an important entity in this frame. As Samuel matured, his reputation as God's spokesman spread throughout the land. "The Lord with him" authenticates his ministry by the fact that what Samuel said proved to be right (v. 20). From the northern to the southern borders, all Israel acknowledges Samuel's God-given authority. Samuel is a נָבִיא, one called to special duty by God to declare his word. "מִדָּן וְעַד־בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע" (from Dan to Beersheba) is employed to denote the entire territory of Israel. Dan is in the extreme north-east and Beersheba marks the south-west limit (Judg 20:1; 2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 5:5).

subject "the Lord" (S1) in v. 21b. The end of the current episode is also signalled by a summary or conclusion statement in 4:1a. In v. 4:1a, וַיְהִי is not the discourse marker, but a normal verb (wayyiqtol). The wayyiqtol וַיְהִי does not express the temporal inter-clausal relation obtaining between two wayyiqtol clauses: it introduces a summary or conclusion of the current episode (Driver 1890:44).[290] Hence, the first sentence of chapter 4 in 1 Sam belongs with 3:19-21.[291]

In KJV, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, and AV, 1 Sam 3:19-21 forms one paragraph. These translations do not include 1 Sam 4:1a in the paragraph. However, from our discussion above it is clear that 4.1a belongs to 3:19-21. Furthermore, from a semantic point of view, 4.1a does not make sense if it is used to open the next paragraph.

- 4:1B-11 (NIV, CEV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, McCarter (1980), Bergen (1996), Smith (1912))

^{1b} וַיֵּצֵא יִשְׂרָאֵל לִקְרַאת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לַמִּלְחָמָה	^{1b}Now Israel went out to battle against the Philistines;[292] (S3/Intro)	
^{1c} וַיַּחֲנוּ עַל־הָאֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר	^{1c}Ø encamped at Ebenezer, (S1)	
^{1d} וּפְלִשְׁתִּים חָנוּ בַאֲפֵק:	^{1d}while the Philistines encamped at Aphek (S4)	
^{2a} וַיַּעַרְכוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים לִקְרַאת יִשְׂרָאֵל	^{2a}The Philistines drew up in line against Israel, (S1)	
^{2b} וַתִּטֹּשׁ הַמִּלְחָמָה	^{2b}and the battle grew fierce,[293] (S4)	

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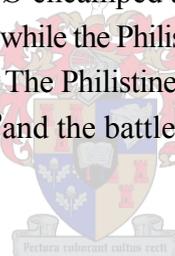
290   The LXX has a longer text. An equivalent reading is: "so Samuel was confirmed to be a prophet of the Lord for all Israel from one end of the land to the other end." This continues as: "but Eli was exceedingly old and his sons kept on doing worse and worse before the Lord."

291   There is no suggestion that the Israelites mustered at Samuel's behest; indeed, the longer text of the LXX, favoured by the NEB, states that it was the Philistines who initiated the hostilities (Gordon 1986:92). Hence, if 4:1a opens a paragraph, it would be difficult to understand how Israel was defeated and the ark of God was captured by the Philistines. For "the word of Samuel came to Israel" provides the reason why Israel went to war against Philistines. It would be shocking that Israel was defeated and the ark of God was captured by Philistines, although Israel went to war according to the word of Samuel, the true prophet.

292   According to the MT, it is implied that Israel was the aggressor in the battle. However, the LXX adds "Καὶ ἐγενήθη ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ συναθροίζονται ἀλλόφυλοι εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ισραηλ (And then in those days Philistines gathered for war against Israel)." Between 1a and 1b, there seems a reference time shift. However, in the MT something might be missing (ויהי + temporal frame adjunct).

²ᶜוַיִּנָּ֤גֶף יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ לִפְנֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֔ים

²ᶜIsrael was defeated before the Philistines, (S4)

²ᵈוַיַּכּ֤וּ בַמַּֽעֲרָכָה֙ בַּשָּׂדֶ֔ה כְּאַרְבַּ֥עַת אֲלָפִ֖ים אִֽישׁ׃

²ᵈAnd Ø slew about four thousand men on the field of battle. [294] (S3/N3)

³ᵃוַיָּבֹ֣א הָעָם֮ אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶה֒

³ᵃAnd the people came to the camp, (S3)

³ᵇוַיֹּֽאמְרוּ֙ זִקְנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל לָ֣מָּה נְגָפָ֧נוּ יְהוָ֛ה הַיּ֖וֹם לִפְנֵ֣י פְלִשְׁתִּ֑ים נִקְחָ֧ה אֵלֵ֣ינוּ מִשִּׁלֹ֗ה אֶת־אֲרוֹן֙ בְּרִ֣ית יְהוָ֔ה וְיָבֹ֣א בְקִרְבֵּ֔נוּ וְיֹשִׁעֵ֖נוּ מִכַּ֥ף אֹיְבֵֽינוּ׃

³ᵇthe elders of Israel said, "Why has the Lᴏʀᴅ put us to rout today before the Philistines? Let us bring the ark of the covenant of the Lᴏʀᴅ here from Shiloh, that he may come among us and save us from the power of our enemies." (S4/N3)

⁴ᵃוַיִּשְׁלַ֤ח הָעָם֙ שִׁלֹ֔ה

⁴ᵃSo the people sent to Shiloh, (S2)

⁴ᵇוַיִּשְׂא֣וּ מִשָּׁ֗ם אֵ֣ת אֲר֧וֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָ֛ה צְבָא֖וֹת יֹשֵׁ֣ב הַכְּרֻבִ֑ים

⁴ᵇand Ø brought from there the ark of the covenant of the Lᴏʀᴅ of hosts, who is enthroned on the cherubim; (S4)

⁴ᶜוְשָׁ֞ם שְׁנֵ֣י בְנֵֽי־עֵלִ֗י עִם־אֲרוֹן֙ בְּרִ֣ית הָֽאֱלֹהִ֔ים חָפְנִ֖י וּפִֽינְחָֽס׃

⁴ᶜand there the two sons of Eli were with the ark of the covenant of God, Hophni and Phinehas. (S5)

⁵ᵃוַיְהִ֗י כְּב֨וֹא אֲר֤וֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה֙ אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶ֔ה

⁵ᵃWhen the ark of the covenant of the Lᴏʀᴅ came into the camp, (S3)

⁵ᵇוַיָּרִ֥עוּ כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל תְּרוּעָ֣ה גְדוֹלָ֑ה

⁵ᵇall Israel gave a mighty shout, (S3)

⁵ᶜוַתֵּהֹ֖ם הָאָֽרֶץ׃

⁵ᶜand the earth resounded. (S4)

⁶ᵃוַיִּשְׁמְע֤וּ פְלִשְׁתִּים֙ אֶת־ק֣וֹל הַתְּרוּעָ֔ה

⁶ᵃAnd the Philistines heard the noise of the shouting, (S4)

⁶ᵇוַיֹּ֣אמְר֔וּ מֶ֠ה ק֣וֹל הַתְּרוּעָ֧ה הַגְּדוֹלָ֛ה הַזֹּ֖את בְּמַחֲנֵ֣ה הָעִבְרִ֑ים

⁶ᵇAnd Ø said, "What does this great shouting in the camp of the Hebrews mean?" (S1)

⁶ᶜוַיֵּ֣דְע֔וּ כִּ֚י אֲר֣וֹן יְהוָ֔ה בָּ֖א אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶֽה׃

⁶ᶜAnd Ø knew that the ark of the Lᴏʀᴅ had come to the camp, (S1)

⁷ᵃוַיִּֽרְאוּ֙ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים

⁷ᵃthe Philistines were afraid; (S1)

⁷ᵇכִּ֣י אָמְר֔וּ בָּ֥א אֱלֹהִ֖ים אֶל־הַֽמַּחֲנֶ֑ה

⁷ᵇfor Ø thought, "A god has come into the camp." (S1)

⁷ᶜוַיֹּאמְרוּ֙ א֣וֹי לָ֔נוּ כִּ֣י לֹ֤א הָֽיְתָה֙ כָּזֹ֔את אֶתְמ֖וֹל שִׁלְשֹֽׁם׃

⁷ᶜAnd Ø said, "Woe to us! For nothing like this has happened before. ⁸ Woe to us! Who can deliver us

⁸א֥וֹי לָ֖נוּ מִ֣י יַצִּילֵ֔נוּ מִיַּ֛ד הָאֱלֹהִ֥ים הָאַדִּירִ֖ים הָאֵ֑לֶּה אֵ֣לֶּה הֵ֗ם

from the power of these mighty gods? These are the gods who smote the Egyptians with every sort

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293 The meaning of תִּטֹּ֖שׁ is uncertain. Translations and commentaries differ in their renditions. McCarter (1980:103) reads this as the qal passive, and he renders v.2b as follows: "and the battle lines were deployed."

294 With regard to "about four thousand men," Baldwin (1988:68) and Klein (1998:41) insist that "thousand" may have at this time designated a unit of soldiers of a particular size, now unknown, but almost certainly numbering considerably less than a thousand.

הָאֱלֹהִים הַמַּכִּים אֶת־מִצְרַיִם	of plague in the wilderness. [9] Take courage, and acquit yourselves like men, O Philistines, lest you become slaves to the Hebrews as they have been to you; acquit yourselves like men and fight."	(S1)
בְּכָל־מַכָּה בַּמִּדְבָּר: [9] הִתְחַזְּקוּ וִהְיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים פְּלִשְׁתִּים פֶּן תַּעַבְדוּ לָעִבְרִים כַּאֲשֶׁר עָבְדוּ לָכֶם וִהְיִיתֶם לַאֲנָשִׁים וְנִלְחַמְתֶּם:		
[10a] וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים	[10a] The Philistines fought,	(S1)
[10b] וַיִּנָּגֶף יִשְׂרָאֵל	[10b] and Israel was defeated,	(S4)
[10c] וַיָּנֻסוּ אִישׁ לְאֹהָלָיו	[10c] and Ø fled each to their home;	(S1)
[10d] וַתְּהִי הַמַּכָּה גְדוֹלָה מְאֹד	[10d] and there was a very great slaughter,	
[10e] וַיִּפֹּל מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף רַגְלִי:	[10e] and of Israel, thirty thousand foot soldiers fell.	(S3)
[11a] וַאֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים נִלְקָח	[11a] And the ark of God was captured;	(S4)
[11b] וּשְׁנֵי בְנֵי־עֵלִי מֵתוּ חָפְנִי וּפִינְחָס:	[11b] and the two sons of Eli were slain, Hophni and Phinehas.	(S4)

The start of a new episode is signalled by a spatial change and introduction of a brand-new participant (the Philistines). Continuity is signalled by the null reference subject (S1: Israel) (v. 1c) and x-qatal (v. 1d) which signals a contrast of two topics, i.e., the Philistines is contrasted with Israel. (continuity).

In v.2a, the over-encoded subject (S1: "the Philistines") signals a new development unit.[295] Default encodings for semi-active entities (the battle, and Israel) (vv. 2b, and c), and the null reference subject (S3: the Philistines) (v. 2d)[296] signal continuity. Verse 2d summarises the first battle.

A spatial shift occurs (from the battlefield to the camp אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה). In v. 3a, the encoding for S3 (NP הָעָם: role change) is default (continuity). It disambiguates the participants, i.e. who came to the camp. It is uncertain whether a new episode could be distinguished here.[297] In v. 3b, default encoding for the semi-active referent (S4: the elders of Israel) signals continuity. Verse 3 can be regarded as the result of the first battle.

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295 The Philistines initiate the battle, providing a new development in the story.

296 S3 (role change) is encoded by null reference (default encoding), because the context (v. 2c) and the semantics of the verbs וַיַּכּוּ disambiguate the participants, viz. who slew whom.

297 Two linguistic signals (continuity and discontinuity) collide. Participant reference does not signal discontinuity because its encoding is default; in addition, in our model, only the over-encoded S3 signals a new development unit. However, S3 here is default encoding., and a shift of space (came to אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה) signals discontinuity. When signals are in conflict, which one dominates? This issue needs further investigation.

In v. 4a, the over-encoded subject (S2: the people) signals a new development unit.[298] In addition, a shift of space is involved in v. 4 (מִשָּׁם, שִׁלֹה). Verse 4a can open a new episode. Continuity is retained by the null reference subject (S4) (v. 4b),[299] and background information (v. 4c).[300]

In v. 5a, the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + exact point in time adjunct (כְּ+infinitive)" signal that the story has arrived at an important point. The arrival of the ark of the Lord into the Israelites' camp provides momentum for subsequent events. The story develops towards the climax.[301] Default encodings (relexicalization) for S3 (role change in narrative) (vv. 5a, and b), and S4 (NP) (v. 5c), signal continuity.

In v. 6a, the onset of a new episode is signalled by a spatial shift (from the Israelites' camp to the Philistines' camp) and reintroduction of the semi-active referent (S4: the Philistines).[302] In v. 6b and c, the null reference subjects (S1: the Philistines) signal continuity.

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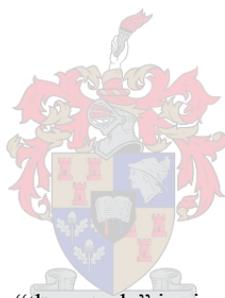
298   Null reference is sufficient for S2: "the people" is singular while "the elders of Israel" is plural.

299   Semi-active referent (Levites) is encoded by null reference, because a frame is involved.

300   Verse 4c reintroduces the inactive participant sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas as background information. At this point in the narrative the names Hophni and Phinehas strike an ominous note after the twofold pronouncement of doom upon them by prophetic utterance (Baldwin 1988:69). The fact that they will carry the ark with unclean hands will impact on the war against the Philistines.

301   'The discourse marker וַיְהִי + כְּ + infinitive (exact point in time)' in general signals the climax or turning point in an episode. It does not initiate a new episode (§3.2.2 and §3.2.4.3). As the ark came into the Israelite camp, "all Israel gave a mighty shout." This appears to be a ritual shout to indicate that the Lord was assuming his kingship and was rising up against his enemy from his position of residing on the ark. It is a war cry, as for instance, Num 10:35-36 "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee … ." (see also Josh 6:6; Ps 95:1-5) (Robinson 1993:31; Birch 1998:1001).

302   In our model, the segmentational function of the semi-active referent is not identified. However, it is evident that a new discourse unit (development unit or episode) is signalled, although its encoding is default. This issue should be investigated further.

In v. 7a, the over-encoded subject (S1: the Philistines) signals a new development unit.[303] In vv. 7b & c, the null reference subjects (S1: the Philistines) signal continuity. Verses 8-9 is the quotation (continuity).

In v. 10a, the commencement of a new episode is suggested by the over-encoded subject (S1: the Philistines)[304] accompanied by a shift in space (from the camp to battlefield). Default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active participant (Israel) (v. 10b), and the null reference subject (S1: Israel) (v. 10c) signal topic continuity. Verse 10d presents the state of affairs, viz. the result of the second battle. The content of vv. 10d-11b is a summary or conclusion of the current episode. Fronted אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהִים and שְׁנֵי בְנֵי־עֵלִי in vv. 11a and b signals this.

On the basis of segmentation signals, four episodes may be distinguished in this passage: 4:1b-3, 4-5, 6-9, 10-11. However, if v. 3 opens a new episode, five episodes should be distinguished. Translations and commentaries differ in distinguishing paragraphs. NAB distinguishes two paragraphs in 1 Sam 4:1b-11, viz. 4:1b-3, and 4-11. KJV also distinguishes two paragraphs: 4:1-9, and 10-11, and Smith (1912) distinguishes two paragraphs: 4:1b-2, 3-11. NASB, ESV, and RSV distinguish three paragraphs: 4:1-4, 5-9, and 10-11. As far as the beginning of the paragraph is concerned, 1) 4:1a cannot begin a paragraph: it ends the preceding paragraph; 2) it is not certain that v. 3 can open a new paragraph (two linguistic signals in conflict); 3) v. 4 opens a new paragraph (a shift of space, the over-encoded participant reference signals this); 4) a spatial shift and reintroduction of the semi-active referent signals the onset of a new episode at v. 6; 5) with regard to linguistic signals, v. 10 opens a new paragraph, for the reason that marked encoding S1 with a spatial shift is employed.

- 4:12-22 (NAB, NIV, CEV, NEV, McCarter (1980), Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), Brueggemann (1990))

וַיָּרָץ אִישׁ־בִּנְיָמִן מֵהַמַּעֲרָכָה 12a	12aA man of Benjamin ran from the battle line,	(Intro)
וַיָּבֹא שִׁלֹה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וּמַדָּיו 12b	12b and Ø came to Shiloh the same day, with his	
קְרֻעִים וַאֲדָמָה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ׃	clothes rent and with earth upon his head.	(S1)
וַיָּבוֹא 13a	13a When Ø arrived,	(S1)
וְהִנֵּה עֵלִי יֹשֵׁב עַל־הַכִּסֵּא יַךְ 13b	13bEli was sitting upon the seat by the road	
דֶּרֶךְ מְצַפֶּה	watching,	(S4)
כִּי־הָיָה לִבּוֹ חָרֵד עַל אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים 13c	13cfor his heart trembled for the ark of God.	(S4)

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303   The fear provides momentum of a new development.

304   Over-encoding for S1 here also signals who initiates the second battle, namely the Philistines.

וְהָאִישׁ בָּא לְהַגִּיד בָּעִיר	[13d]The man had come to tell into the city.	(S4)
וַתִּזְעַק כָּל־הָעִיר:	[13e]all the city cried out.	(S3)
וַיִּשְׁמַע עֵלִי אֶת־קוֹל הַצְּעָקָה	[14a] And Eli heard the sound of the outcry,	(S4)
וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה קוֹל הֶהָמוֹן הַזֶּה	[14b] And Ø said, "What is this uproar?"	(S1)
וְהָאִישׁ מִהַר	[14c]The man had hastened	(S4)
וַיָּבֹא	[14d]and Ø came	(S1)
וַיַּגֵּד לְעֵלִי:	[14e]and Ø told Eli.	(S1/N4)
וְעֵלִי בֶּן־תִּשְׁעִים וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה	[15a] Eli was ninety-eight years old	(S2)
וְעֵינָיו קָמָה	[15b]and his eyes were set,	(S4)
וְלֹא יָכוֹל לִרְאוֹת:	[15c]and Ø could not see.	(S3)
וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ אֶל־עֵלִי אָנֹכִי הַבָּא מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָה וַאֲנִי מִן־הַמַּעֲרָכָה נַסְתִּי הַיּוֹם	[16a] And the man said to Eli, "I am he who has come from the battle; I fled from the battle today." (S4/N3)	
וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה־הָיָה הַדָּבָר בְּנִי:	[16b]And Ø said, "How did it go, my son?" (S2/N2)	
וַיַּעַן הַמְבַשֵּׂר וַיֹּאמֶר נָס יִשְׂרָאֵל לִפְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים וְגַם מַגֵּפָה גְדוֹלָה הָיְתָה בָעָם וְגַם־שְׁנֵי בָנֶיךָ מֵתוּ חָפְנִי וּפִינְחָס וַאֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים נִלְקָחָה: פ	[17]He who brought the tidings answered and said, "Israel has fled before the Philistines, and there has also been a great slaughter among the people; what is worse, your two sons, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of God has been captured." (S2/N2)	
וַיְהִי כְּהַזְכִּירוֹ ׀ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים	[18a]The moment when he mentioned the ark of God,	(S1)
וַיִּפֹּל מֵעַל־הַכִּסֵּא אֲחֹרַנִּית בְּעַד ׀ יַד הַשַּׁעַר	[18b] Ø fell over backward from his seat by the side of the gate;	(S4)
וַתִּשָּׁבֵר מַפְרַקְתּוֹ	[18c]and his neck was broken	(S4)
וַיָּמֹת	[18d]and Ø died,	(S3)
כִּי־זָקֵן הָאִישׁ וְכָבֵד	[18e]for old is the man and heavy.	(S1)
וְהוּא שָׁפַט אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה:	[18f]He had judged Israel forty years.	(S1)
וְכַלָּתוֹ אֵשֶׁת־פִּינְחָס הָרָה לָלַת	[19a] And his daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas, was with child, about to give birth.[305]	(Intro)
וַתִּשְׁמַע אֶת־הַשְּׁמֻעָה אֶל־הִלָּקַח אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וּמֵת חָמִיהָ וְאִישָׁהּ	[19b]And when Ø heard the tidings that the ark of God was captured, and that her father-in-law and her husband were dead,	(S1)
וַתִּכְרַע	[19c]And Ø bowed	(S1)
וַתֵּלֶד	[19d]and Ø gave birth;	(S1)

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305   According to GKC (§114:h,i), וְכַלָּתוֹ אֵשֶׁת־פִּינְחָס הָרָה לָלַת is a clause in which הָיָה is elipsed. The construction "הָיָה לְ + infinitive construct" functions as the predicate of the clause and bears the *connotation of imminence* (something about to happen) (BHRG §20.1.3.vii).

^{19e} כִּי־נֶהֶפְכוּ עָלֶיהָ צִרֶיהָ:	^{19e}for her pains came upon her. (S4)
^{20a} וּכְעֵת מוּתָהּ	^{20a} And about the time when she died (S3)
^{20b} וַתְּדַבֵּרְנָה הַנִּצָּבוֹת עָלֶיהָ	^{20b}the women attending her said to her, "Fear not,
אַל־תִּירְאִי כִּי בֵן יָלָדְתְּ	for you have borne a son." (S4/N3)
^{20c} וְלֹא עָנְתָה	^{20c}But Ø did not answer (S2)
^{20d} וְלֹא־שָׁתָה לִבָּהּ:	^{20d}Nor put Ø her mind. (S1)
²¹ וַתִּקְרָא לַנַּעַר אִי־כָבוֹד לֵאמֹר	²¹ And Ø named the child Ichabod, saying, "The
גָּלָה כָבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־הִלָּקַח	glory has departed from Israel!" because the ark of
אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים	God had been captured and because of her father-
וְאֶל־חָמִיהָ וְאִישָׁהּ:	in-law and her husband. (S1)
²² וַתֹּאמֶר גָּלָה כָבוֹד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל כִּי	²² And she said, "The glory has departed from Israel, for
נִלְקַח אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים: פ	the ark of God has been captured." (S1)

In v. 12, the indication of a new episode is suggested by the spatial setting shifts (from battlefield to Shiloh) (v. 12a), and introduction of a brand-new participant ("a man of Benjamin") (v. 12a).[306] The device that establishes the identifiability of the newly introduced participant also signals a new episode (deictic reference which denotes an ethnic group (בִּנְיָמִן)). The null reference subject (S1) in v. 12b signals topic continuity.[307]

In v. 13, the null reference subject (S1: Benjamite) (v. 13a), default encoding for the semi-active referent "Eli" (v. 13b), כִּי which provides the reason for v. 13b (v. 13c), the fronted הָאִישׁ which signals pluperfect (v. 13d),[308] and default encoding for the role changed subject S3 (v. 13e), all signal continuity.

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306   "Some of the most memorable scenes in Hebrew narrative revolve around the figure of the messenger (e.g. 2 Sam 1:2-16; 18:19-22; Job 1:13-19). The narrator skillfully creates an air of suspense in the build-up to Eli's death, partly by means of narrative retardation (e.g. v. 15) and partly by repetition of the verb 'come' (vv. 12, 13) (twice; 'when he arrived' is lit[eral]. 'and he came.' v.14)" (Gordon 1986:96).

307   As the courier of bad tidings he bears the customary signs of mourning. Rending one's clothes and putting earth upon one's head was a sign of mourning (2 Sam 1:2). A person bringing sad news to the people was expected to come in mourning clothes (2 Sam 1:2; 15:32) (Robinson 1993:33; Birch 1998:1002).

308   It provides background information, namely, the reason why the Benjamite had come to Shiloh; he had come as an orderly from the battlefield.

In v. 14, default encoding for the semi-active participant (Eli) (v. 14a), the null reference subject (S1: Eli) (v. 14b), fronted הָאִישׁ which identifies pluperfect (v. 14c), and the null reference subjects (vv. 14d and e), signal continuity.

In v. 15a, the over-encoded S2 (proper name "Eli") signals a new development unit.[309] Default encoding for the semi-active entity (body part) (v. 15b) and the null reference subject (S3) (v. 15c), signal continuity.[310]

In v. 16, default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active participant (v. 16a), and null reference encodings for S2/N2 in non-initial quotative frame (v. 16b), signal continuity.

In v. 17, over-encoding for S2 (הַמְבַשֵּׂר) in the non-initial quotative frame indicates that the content of the quotation bears significant reports.[311] To enhance this, the multiple verb frame is utilized.[312]

In v. 18, continuity is signalled by the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + exact point in time adjunct (כְּ+infinitive)," which signals the climax (v. 18a), the clitic pronominal reference subject (S1) in כְּהַזְכִּירוֹ (v. 18a), the null reference subject (S4) (18b),[313] default encoding for the semi-active referent (S4:body part) (v. 18c), the null reference subject (S3) (v. 18d),[314] and (כִּי) which provides the reason why Eli fell and died (v. 18e).[315] The termination of the current episode is signalled by the marked

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309   Default encoding for S2 in a non-initial quotative frame is null reference (see §3.2.1.3.2)

310   S3 is encoded by the null reference (default encoding), because the context disambiguates the participant.

311   The man is expressed as הַמְבַשֵּׂר "the one bearing tidings." He is regarded not as a fugitive but as an official orderly. He bears not good but tragic news. It builds up to the dreaded climax (Klein 1998:45).

312   There is tragic progression in the recital of the messenger: the defeat of the army, the great number of casualties, the deaths of Eli's own sons, and most bitter of all, the capture of the ark.

313   The semi-active participant (S4) is reactivated by null reference, by virtue of the context, which disambiguates the participant, viz. who it was that fell from the seat.

314   Null reference is employed for S3, for the context disambiguates the participants (see §3.2.1.3.2).

315   זָקֵן הָאִישׁ is the nominal sentence, in which the predicated זָקֵן is fronted (predicate focus). It provides the main reason why he died (the fact that he was old is the more significant reason for his death). In addition he was heavy (כָּבֵד), which amplifies the impact of his fall.

topic-comment sentence (verse 18f). The fronted and over-encoded IPP subject signals the summary of Eli's life at the end of the current episode.

In v. 19, the beginning of a new episode is indicated by the introduction of a brand-new participant "Eli's daughter-in-law," making use of a presentational "x-qatal" clause (v. 9a). The identifiability of the newly introduced participant is established by being anchored to the anaphoric reference (כַלָּתוֹ).[316] The null reference subjects (S1: Eli's daughter-in-law) (vv. 19b, c, and d) and כִּי (v. 19e), which introduces the reason for vv. 19c and d, signal continuity.

In v. 20-22, the enclitic pronominal subject (S3: Phinehas' wife) (v. 20a),[317] default encoding for the semi-active participant (הַנִּצָּבוֹת "the women attending") (v. 20b),[318] the null reference subject (S2: Phinehas' wife) (v. 20c), and the null reference subjects (S1: Phinehas' wife) (vv. 20d v, v 21, and 22), signal continuity. As far as segmentation devices are concerned, it is not clear whether the current episode ends here; however, when we consider the next verse (1 Sam 5:1), it is clear that a new episode initiated.

In this passage (4:12-22), two episodes are distinguished in terms of linguistic signals: 4:12-18, and 19-22. KJV, NASB, ESV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, and AV also distinguish two paragraphs in 1 Sam 4:12-22, viz. 4:12-18, and 19-22. Regarding the linguistic signals, paragraphs in these translations can be justified.

- 5:1-12 (NIV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, McCarter (1980), Klein (1998))

Hebrew		English	
וּפְלִשְׁתִּים֙ לָקְחוּ֔ אֵ֖ת אֲר֥וֹן הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים	1a	1aThe Philistines had captured the ark of God,[319]	(S5/N1)
וַיְבִאֻ֛הוּ מֵאֶ֥בֶן הָעֵ֖זֶר אַשְׁדּֽוֹדָה׃	1b	1band Ø carried it from Ebenezer to Ashdod;	(S1/N1)
וַיִּקְח֣וּ פְלִשְׁתִּ֔ים אֶת־אֲר֖וֹן הָאֱלֹהִ֑ים	2a	2a And Philistines took the ark of God	(S1/N1)
וַיָּבִ֥יאוּ אֹת֖וֹ בֵּ֥ית דָּגֽוֹן	2b	2band Ø brought it into the house of Dagon	(S1/N1)
וַיַּצִּ֥יגוּ אֹת֖וֹ אֵ֥צֶל דָּגֽוֹן׃	2c	2cand Ø set it up beside Dagon.	(S1/N1)
וַיַּשְׁכִּ֤מוּ אַשְׁדּוֹדִים֙ מִֽמָּחֳרָ֔ת	3a	3a And the people of Ashdod went to the temple early[320] the next day.	(S4)

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316   Eli's death does not end the tragedy. But Eli's death provides further momentum together with the report that the ark of the Lord was captured, for other subsequent events (see v 19b).

317   S3 (role change) is encoded by the enclitic pronoun, because the context disambiguates the participants.

318   Here a frame is involved, viz. giving birth (pregnant woman, and midwife…).

319   "X-qatal" is rendered into "pluperfect."

3b וְהִנֵּה דָגוֹן נֹפֵל לְפָנָיו אַרְצָה לִפְנֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה

3bBehold, Dagon had fallen face downward on the ground before the ark of the Lord. (S4)

3c וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־דָּגוֹן

3cSo Ø took Dagon (S4/N3)

3d וַיָּשִׁבוּ אֹתוֹ לִמְקוֹמוֹ:

3dand Ø put him back in his place. (S1/N1)

4a וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ בַבֹּקֶר מִמָּחֳרָת

4a Ø went to the temple early in the morning on the next day. (S1)

4b וְהִנֵּה דָגוֹן נֹפֵל לְפָנָיו אַרְצָה לִפְנֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה

4bBehold, Dagon had fallen face downward on the ground before the ark of the Lord, (S4)

4c וְרֹאשׁ דָּגוֹן וּשְׁתֵּי | כַּפּוֹת יָדָיו כְּרֻתוֹת אֶל־הַמִּפְתָּן

4cand the head of Dagon and both his hands were lying cut off upon the threshold; (S4)

4d רַק דָּגוֹן נִשְׁאַר עָלָיו:

4donly the trunk of Dagon was left to him. (S4)

5 עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יִדְרְכוּ כֹהֲנֵי דָגוֹן וְכָל־הַבָּאִים בֵּית־דָּגוֹן עַל־מִפְתַּן דָּגוֹן בְּאַשְׁדּוֹד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: ס

5 Therefore, the priests of Dagon and all who enter the house of Dagon do not tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod to this day.

6a וַתִּכְבַּד יַד־יְהוָה אֶל־הָאַשְׁדּוֹדִים

6a The hand of the Lord was heavy upon the people of Ashdod, (S4)

6b וַיְשִׁמֵּם

6band Ø brought devastation unto them (S1/N1)

6c וַיַּךְ אֹתָם בַּעֳפָלִים אֶת־אַשְׁדּוֹד וְאֶת־גְּבוּלֶיהָ:

6c and smote them with tumors, both Ashdod and its territory.[321] (S1/N1)

7a וַיִּרְאוּ אַנְשֵׁי־אַשְׁדּוֹד כִּי־כֵן

7a And the men of Ashdod saw how things were, (S3)

7b וְאָמְרוּ לֹא־יֵשֵׁב אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּנוּ כִּי־קָשְׁתָה יָדוֹ עָלֵינוּ וְעַל דָּגוֹן אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

7b Ø said, "The ark of the God of Israel must not remain with us; for his hand is heavy upon us and upon Dagon our god." (S1)

8a וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ

8aSo Ø sent (S1)

8b וַיַּאַסְפוּ אֶת־כָּל־סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים אֲלֵיהֶם

8band Ø gathered together all the lords of the Philistines, (S1/Intro)

8c וַיֹּאמְרוּ מַה־נַּעֲשֶׂה לַאֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

8cand Ø said, "What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel?" (S1/N1)

8d וַיֹּאמְרוּ גַּת יִסֹּב אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי

8d Ø answered, "Let the ark of the God of Israel be

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320 וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ should be rendered as "they went to the temple early," taking v. 3b into consideration. The meaning of השכים is "do early." "The earliness of the action is often emphasized by adding an adverbial expression such as בבקר" (HALOT).

321 The LXX provides a longer version. The equivalent reads: "and the hand of the Lord was heavy upon Azotus, and he brought evil upon them, and it burst out upon them into the ships, and mice sprang up in the midst of their country, and there was a great and indiscriminate mortality in the city." This reference to mice or rats in the longer text makes sense in terms of the symbolic golden offerings of tumors and mice sent back with the ark in 1 Sam 6:4, 5, and 11.

	English	
יִשְׂרָאֵל	brought around to Gath."	(S2/N2)
^{8e} וַיַּסֵּבּוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: ס	^{8e}And Ø brought the ark of the God of Israel there.[322]	(S1/N3)
^{9a} וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי׀ הֵסַבּוּ אֹתוֹ	^{9a}After Ø had brought it around,	(S1/N1)
^{9b} וַתְּהִי יַד־יְהוָה׀ בָּעִיר מְהוּמָה גְדוֹלָה מְאֹד	^{9b}the hand of the LORD was against the city causing a very great panic,	(S4)
^{9c} וַיַּךְ אֶת־אַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר מִקָּטֹן וְעַד־גָּדוֹל	^{9c}and Ø smote the men of the city, both young and old.	(S1)
^{9d} וַיִּשָּׂתְרוּ לָהֶם עֳפָלִים:	^{9d}so that tumors broke out upon them.	(S4)
^{10a} וַיְשַׁלְּחוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עֶקְרוֹן	^{10a}So Ø sent the ark of God to Ekron.	(S3/N4)
^{10b} וַיְהִי כְּבוֹא אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עֶקְרוֹן	^{10b}But the moment when the ark of God came to Ekron,	(S3)
^{10c} וַיִּזְעֲקוּ הָעֶקְרֹנִים לֵאמֹר הֵסַבּוּ אֵלַי אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַהֲמִיתֵנִי וְאֶת־עַמִּי:	^{10c}the people of Ekron cried out, "They have brought around to me the ark of the God of Israel to slay me and my people."	(S3)
^{11a} וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ	^{11a}Ø sent	(S1)
^{11b} וַיַּאַסְפוּ אֶת־כָּל־סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים	^{11b}and Ø gathered all the lords of the Philistines,	(S1/N4)
^{11c} וַיֹּאמְרוּ שַׁלְּחוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשֹׁב לִמְקֹמוֹ וְלֹא־יָמִית אֹתִי וְאֶת־עַמִּי	^{11c}and Ø said, "Send away the ark of the God of Israel, and let it return to its own place, that it may not slay us and our people."	(S1/N1)
^{11d} כִּי־הָיְתָה מְהוּמַת־מָוֶת בְּכָל־הָעִיר	^{11d}For there was a deathly panic throughout the whole city.	(S4)
^{11e} כָּבְדָה מְאֹד יַד הָאֱלֹהִים שָׁם:	^{11e}Very heavy was the hand of God there	(S4)
^{12a} וְהָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־מֵתוּ הֻכּוּ בַעֳפָלִים	^{12a}the men who did not die were stricken with tumors,	(S4)
^{12b} וַתַּעַל שַׁוְעַת הָעִיר הַשָּׁמָיִם:	^{12b}and the cry of the city went up to heaven.	(S4)

The start of a new episode is indicated by a reintroduction of the inactive referent "the Philistines" making use of the primary referring expression (v. 1a).[323] In addition, the

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322   The LXX reads the equivalent of "and they send and gather the lords of the Philistines to them, and say, What shall we do to the ark of the God of Israel? And the Gittites say, Let the ark of God come over to us (καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Γεθθαῖοι Μετελθέτω κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς); and the ark of the God of Israel came to Geth." According to the LXX, Gath spontaneously offers to take care of the ark.

323   The processing function of S5, was not identified in our model. However, it is beyond doubt that here S5 opens a new episode. This issue needs further investigation.

inactive referent is reintroduced in x-qatal, which indicates the pluperfect.[324] The pluperfect shifts the spatial setting from Shiloh to the Philistines' territory. In v. 1b the null reference subject (S1: the Philistines) signals continuity.

In v 2a, the over-encoded subject (S1: the Philistines) initiates a new development unit. In vv. 2b and c, the null reference subjects (S1) signal continuity.

In v. 3, the indication of continuity is presented by default encoding for the semi-active referent (S4: the people of Ashdod) (v.3a),[325] the event-reporting sentence (הִנֵּה + participial clause) (v. 3b) (Floor 2004:311ff),[326] the null reference subjects S4 (v. 3c),[327] and S1 (v. 3d).

In v. 4, the null reference subject (S1: the temple attendants) (v. 4a),[328] the event-reporting sentence ("הִנֵּה + participial clause") (v. 4b and c),[329] the elaborating statement of v. 4b (vv. 4c and d), default encoding for the semi-active entities (body parts) (v. 4c) and fronted דָּגוֹן with רַק (argument focus) (v. 4d) all indicate continuity.

Verse 5 addresses a practice that was performed at the time this account was written. It is a kind of an aside. עַל־כֵּן does not imply that v. 5 is the conclusion of an episode. It

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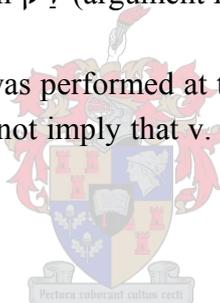
324 The Philistines had taken the ark of God long before Phinehas' wife learned about the capture of the ark, although the event, which follows v. 1a is written after Phinehas' wife's sudden childbirth and death, as v.1a returns the reader to the beginning of the event when the ark of God was captured.

325 Temporal adjunct מִמָּחֳרָת (the next day) in v. 3a does not initiate a new episode because it does not update reference time, but modifies the verb וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ.

326 It represents the state of affairs when people of Ashdod arrived at the temple. The statue of Dagon is found the next morning lying on its face, in the attitude of a slave before his master, a vassal before his king, or a worshipper before his god.

327 In this case, a frame is involved, that is, a specific people took the Dagon that had fallen face downward in the same way that only Levites carry the ark of God. Temple attendants put the Dagon back in its place (v. 3c and d).

328 The temporal adjunct בַּבֹּקֶר מִמָּחֳרָת in v. 4a does not update reference time, but modifies the temporal profile of an event.

329 The event-reporting sentence expresses the state of affairs that those temple attendants experienced (see v. 3b)

may be rendered as "for this reason."[330] Verse 5 does not signal the end of the current episode.

In v. 6, a new episode is initiated with segmentation devices incorporating a type of change of location (from the temple to the city in general) (v. 6a) and reintroduction of semi-active entity (יַד־יְהֹוָה body part) (S4) (v. 6a). Although our model does not identify the segmentational functions of the semi-active referent, it is evident that S4 initiates a new episode.[331] Continuity is indicated by the null reference subjects (S1: the hand of the Lord) (v. 6b and c).

In v. 7, the default encoding for the role changed subject (S3) (v. 7a),[332] and the null reference subject (S1: the men of Ashdod) (v. 7b), signal topic continuity.

In v. 8, continuity is retained by the null reference subjects (S1: the men of Ashdod) (vv. 8a, b, and c), the null reference encodings for S2/N2 (the lords of the Philistines/men of Ashdod) in the non-initial quotative frame (v. 8d), and the null reference subject (S1: the lords of Philistines) (v. 8e). As regards segmentational devices, the termination of the current episode is not signalled in v. 8e. However, the subsequent verse initiates a new episode.

A spatial change occurs in v. 9a (from Ashdod to Gath). A new event commences with the bringing of the ark around to Gath as a momentum. In addition, the 'discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct אַחֲרֵי| הֵסַבּוּ אֹתוֹ' updates the reference time.[333] Here temporal and spatial shifts make it reasonable to distinguish a new episode. However, in v. 9a, the null reference subject (S1: the lords of the Philistines) signals continuity. Here three discontinuity signals (spatial change, temporal adjunct, and discourse marker) and

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330   Verse 5 gives the reader an etiological explanation regarding the Philistine cultic practice of not treading on the "threshold of Dagon in Ashdod." They do not make a practice of walking on the threshold of Dagon, presumably because the podium had become "holy" through its contact with the parts of the god (Robinson 1993:35).

331   This issue should be investigated further.

332   S3 (role change) is encoded by the proper name to disambiguate the participant, i.e. who saw how things were.

333   A stretch of time אַחֲרֵי| הֵסַבּוּ אֹתוֹ is treated as a point in time, that is, punctually conceptualized (Van der Merwe 1999a:106).

one continuity indicators (null reference) co-occur.[334] Continuity is indicated by the default encoding (relexicalization: the hand of the Lord) for the semi-active entity (v. 9b), the null reference subject (S1) (v. 9c), and the semi-active referent (tumors)(v. 9d).

In v. 10a, continuity is specified by the null reference subject (S3) (v. 10a).[335] In v. 10b, the over-encoded S3 (אֲרֹון הָאֱלֹהִים֙) which signals a new development unit, [336] and the "discourse marker וַיְהִ֗י + exact point in time adjunct (כְּ+ infinitive) (כְּבֹ֨וא אֲרֹ֤ון הָֽאֱלֹהִים֙ עֶקְרֹ֔ון)," which often signals the turning point or the climax in the episode,[337] specify a new development unit, which may function as a climactic (or peak) unit in the episode. In v. 10c, the over-encoded S3 (הָעֶקְרֹנִ֜ים) also signals a new development unit with S3 in v. 19b.[338]

In verse 11, the null reference subjects (S1: people of Ekron) (vv. 11a, b, and c), כִּֽי which introduces the reason (vv. 11d-12a),[339] specify continuity. As far as segmentational signals are concerned, the end of a current episode is not signalled in v. 11. The following verse (v. 12a), however, opens a new episode.

As far as the linguistic signals are concerned in this passage, three episodes are distinguished: 5:1-5, 6-8, 9-12. KJV, NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, and Smith (1912) distinguish two paragraphs in this passage: 5:1-5, and 6-12, while McKane (1963) (5:1-8, 9, 10-12), Brueggemann (1990) (5:1-5, 6-10, 11-12) and the AV (5:1-5, 6-9, 10-12) distinguish three paragraphs. Regarding paragraph boundaries, v.1 opens a new episode. It is specified by the reintroduced topic "the Philistines" in x-qatal which indicates pluperfect. This pluperfect brings the event back to the moment of capture of the ark.

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334   The instances of co-occurrence of continuity and discontinuity devices at the borders of episodes need further investigation so that it can be determined whether a new episode should be distinguished, and how the hierarchy of linguistic signals should be constructed.

335   S3 (role change in narrative) is encoded by null reference, because the context disambiguates the participant, i.e. who sent the ark of God.

336   In the context, the singular enclitic pronoun for S3 (כְּבֹוא) would have been sufficient, because the ark of God is singular in contrast to other participants, which are plural.

337   The moment when the ark of God came to Ekron provides a momentum for subsequent events (developments).

338   Null reference would have been sufficient for S3 in the context, because the context disambiguates the participants, viz. who cried out: the people of Ekron or the ark.

339   The narrator provides the reason why the people of Ekron demanded the lords of the Philistines to send the ark of God to its own place.

Verse 6 initiates a new episode, for the reason that the onset of a new episode is indicated by the reintroduced semi-active referent יַד־יְהוָה (relexicalization) accompanied by a spatial change. In v 9a, the 'discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct,' which updates the reference time, and a spatial change specify the commencement of a new episode. As regards linguistic signals, the paragraph, i.e., 5:1-12, distinguished in NIV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, McCarter (1980), Klein (1998), Hertzberg (1964), Philbeck (1970), Gordon (1986), and Baldwin (1988) can be called into question. The CEV distinguishes 5:1-10, and 5:11-6:18 as paragraphs. However, in terms of linguistic devices, neither can the distinction of these paragraphs be justified.

- 6:1-9 (KJV, NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, Mckane (1963))

וַיְהִי אֲרוֹן־יְהוָה בִּשְׂדֵה פְלִשְׁתִּים שִׁבְעָה חֳדָשִׁים: ¹	¹ And then[340] the ark of the LORD was in the country of the Philistines seven months, (S4)
² וַיִּקְרְאוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים לַכֹּהֲנִים וְלַקֹּסְמִים לֵאמֹר מַה־נַּעֲשֶׂה לַאֲרוֹן יְהוָה הוֹדִעֻנוּ בַּמֶּה נְשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ לִמְקוֹמוֹ:	² the Philistines called for the priests and the diviners and said, "What shall we do with the ark of the LORD? Tell us with what (how) we shall send it to its place." (S3/Intro)
³ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִם־מְשַׁלְּחִים אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אַל־תְּשַׁלְּחוּ אֹתוֹ רֵיקָם כִּי־הָשֵׁב תָּשִׁיבוּ לוֹ אָשָׁם אָז תֵּרָפְאוּ וְנוֹדַע לָכֶם לָמָּה לֹא־תָסוּר יָדוֹ מִכֶּם:	³ Ø said, "If you send away the ark of the God of Israel, do not send it empty, but by all means return him a guilt offering. Then you will be healed, and it will be known to you why his hand does not turn away from you." (S2/N2)
^{4a} וַיֹּאמְרוּ מָה הָאָשָׁם אֲשֶׁר נָשִׁיב לוֹ	^{4a} And Ø said, "What is the guilt offering that we shall return to him?" (S2/N2)
^{4b} וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִסְפַּר סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים חֲמִשָּׁה עְפֹלֵי זָהָב וַחֲמִשָּׁה עַכְבְּרֵי זָהָב כִּי־מַגֵּפָה אַחַת לְכֻלָּם וּלְסַרְנֵיכֶם: ⁵ וַעֲשִׂיתֶם צַלְמֵי עְפֹלֵיכֶם וְצַלְמֵי עַכְבְּרֵיכֶם הַמַּשְׁחִיתִם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ וּנְתַתֶּם לֵאלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּבוֹד אוּלַי יָקֵל אֶת־יָדוֹ מֵעֲלֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וּמֵעַל אַרְצְכֶם: ⁶ וְלָמָּה תְכַבְּדוּ אֶת־לְבַבְכֶם כַּאֲשֶׁר כִּבְּדוּ מִצְרַיִם וּפַרְעֹה אֶת־לִבָּם הֲלוֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר הִתְעַלֵּל בָּהֶם וַיְשַׁלְּחוּם	^{4b} Ø answered, "Five golden tumors and five golden mice, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines; for the same plague was upon all of you and upon your lords. ⁵ So you must make images of your tumors and images of your mice that ravage the land, and give glory to the God of Israel; perhaps he will lighten his hand from off you and your gods and your land. ⁶ Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? After he had made sport of them, did not they let the people go, and they departed? ⁷ Now then,

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340   See footnote 257.

וַיֵּלְכוּ: ⁷ וְעַתָּה קְחוּ וַעֲשׂוּ עֲגָלָה
חֲדָשָׁה אֶחָת וּשְׁתֵּי פָרוֹת עָלֹות
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־עָלָה עֲלֵיהֶם עֹל
וַאֲסַרְתֶּם אֶת־הַפָּרוֹת בָּעֲגָלָה
וַהֲשֵׁיבֹתֶם בְּנֵיהֶם מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם
הַבָּיְתָה: ⁸ וּלְקַחְתֶּם אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהֹוָה
וּנְתַתֶּם אֹתוֹ אֶל־הָעֲגָלָה וְאֵת | כְּלֵי
הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר הֲשֵׁבֹתֶם לוֹ אָשָׁם
תָּשִׂימוּ בָאַרְגַּז מִצִּדּוֹ וְשִׁלַּחְתֶּם
אֹתוֹ וְהָלָךְ: ⁹ וּרְאִיתֶם אִם־דֶּרֶךְ
גְּבוּלוֹ יַעֲלֶה בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ הוּא עָשָׂה
לָנוּ אֶת־הָרָעָה הַגְּדוֹלָה הַזֹּאת
וְאִם־לֹא וְיָדַעְנוּ כִּי לֹא יָדוֹ נָגְעָה
בָּנוּ מִקְרֶה הוּא הָיָה לָנוּ:

take and prepare a new cart and two milch cows upon which there has never come a yoke, and yoke the cows to the cart, but take their calves home, away from them. ⁸ And take the ark of the LORD and place it on the cart, and put in a box at its side the figures of gold, which you are returning to him as a guilt offering. Then send it off, and let it go its way. ⁹ And watch; if it goes up on the way to its own land, to Beth-shemesh, then it is he who has done us this great harm; but if not, then we shall know that it is not his hand that struck us, it happened to us by chance."

In verse 1, "discourse marker וַיְהִי + nominal clause,"³⁴¹ a shift of time (seven months), and a reintroduction of the semi-active referent (אֲרוֹן־יְהֹוָה), specify the onset of a new episode.

In v. 2, default encoding (relexicalization: the Philistines) for S3 (role change) indicates continuity. In this verse, brand-new participants (priests and diviners) are introduced as part of the comment.
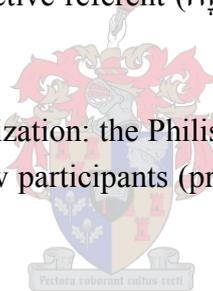
In v. 3, null reference encodings for S2/N2 (v. 3, vv. 4a and b) in non-initial quotative frames indicate continuity. Vv. 4b-9 is the speech of the priests and diviners who propose a series of tests to determine whether the hand of the Lord struck them or not (continuity).

Regarding the type of text, the quotation in vv. 4b-9 is not narrative: it is a hortatory discourse. Hence, the criteria for distinguishing paragraphs may be different from those used in a narrative text. Further research is required in this regard.

As regards linguistic signals, no signal that ends a current episode is identified in v. 9. Hence, v. 10 should be examined in terms of whether it opens a new episode or not. Brueggemann (1990) distinguishes two paragraphs in this passage, viz. 6:1-3, 4-9. NIV,

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341 A nominal clause acts as a temporal adjunct, which updates reference time, as "it depicts a point on the time-line when a subsequent event took place, viz., at the end of seven months" (Van der Merwe 1999a:100).

Hertzberg (1964), Philbeck (1970), Gordon (1986), Baldwin (1988), Birch (1998), McCarter (1980), Klein (1998), and Smith (1912) all distinguish 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 as one paragraph.

- 6:10-16 (NAB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, INT)

^{10a}וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים כֵּן	^{10a} The men did so.	(S2)
^{10b}וַיִּקְחוּ שְׁתֵּי פָרוֹת עָלוֹת	^{10b}and Ø took two milch cows	(S1/N4)
^{10c}וַיַּאַסְרוּם בָּעֲגָלָה	^{10c}and Ø yoked them to the cart,	(S1/N1)
^{10d}וְאֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם כָּלוּ בַבָּיִת׃	^{10d}and Ø shut up their calves at home.	(S1/N4)
¹¹וַיָּשִׂמוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה אֶל־הָעֲגָלָה וְאֵת הָאַרְגַּז וְאֵת עַכְבְּרֵי הַזָּהָב וְאֵת צַלְמֵי טְחֹרֵיהֶם׃	¹¹ And Ø put the ark of the LORD on the cart, and the box with the golden mice and the images of their tumors.	(S1/N4)
^{12a}וַיִּשַּׁרְנָה הַפָּרוֹת בַּדֶּרֶךְ עַל־דֶּרֶךְ בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ	^{12a} And the cows went straight in the direction of Beth-shemesh	(S4)
^{12b}בִּמְסִלָּה אַחַת הָלְכוּ הָלֹךְ	^{12b} along one highway Ø went on	(S1)
^{12c}וְגָעוֹ	^{12c}and Ø went on lowing	(S1)
^{12d}וְלֹא־סָרוּ יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאול	^{12d}and Ø turned neither to the right nor to the left,	(S1)
^{12e}וְסַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים הֹלְכִים אַחֲרֵיהֶם עַד־גְּבוּל בֵּית שָׁמֶשׁ׃	^{12e}and the lords of the Philistines went after them as far as the border of Beth-shemesh.	(S4)
^{13a}וּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ קֹצְרִים קְצִיר־חִטִּים בָּעֵמֶק	^{13a} Now Beth-shemesh were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley;	(Intro)
^{13b}וַיִּשְׂאוּ אֶת־עֵינֵיהֶם	^{13b}and Ø lifted up their eyes	(S1)
^{13c}וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרוֹן	^{13c}and Ø saw the ark,	(S1)
^{13d}וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ לִרְאוֹת׃	^{13d} And Ø rejoiced to see it.	(S1)
^{14a}וְהָעֲגָלָה בָּאָה אֶל־שְׂדֵה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי	^{14a} The cart had come into the field of Joshua of Beth-shemesh,	(S4)
^{14b}וַתַּעֲמֹד שָׁם	^{14b}and Ø stopped there.	(S1)
^{14c}וְשָׁם אֶבֶן גְּדוֹלָה	^{14c}A great stone was there;	(Intro)
^{14d}וַיְבַקְּעוּ אֶת־עֲצֵי הָעֲגָלָה	^{14d}and Ø split up the wood of the cart	(S4/N4)
^{14e}וְאֶת־הַפָּרוֹת הֶעֱלוּ עֹלָה לַיהוָה׃ ס	^{14e}and Ø offered the cows as a burnt offering to the LORD.	(S1)
^{15a}וְהַלְוִיִּם הוֹרִידוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וְאֶת־הָאַרְגַּז אֲשֶׁר־אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ כְלֵי־זָהָב	^{15a} And the Levites had taken down the ark of the LORD and the box that was beside it, in which were the golden figures,	(S1/N4)
^{15b}וַיָּשִׂמוּ אֶל־הָאֶבֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה	^{15b}and Ø set them upon the great stone;	(S1/N1)
^{15c}וְאַנְשֵׁי בֵית־שֶׁמֶשׁ הֶעֱלוּ עֹלוֹת	^{15c}and the men of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings	(S4)
^{15d}וַיִּזְבְּחוּ זְבָחִים בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	^{15d}and Ø sacrificed sacrifices on that day to the	

לַיהֹוָה:	LORD.	(S1)
וַחֲמִשָּׁה סַרְנֵי־פְלִשְׁתִּים רָאוּ ^{16a}	^{16a} And the five lords of the Philistines had seen it,	(S4)
^{16b}וַיָּשֻׁבוּ עֶקְרוֹן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא: ס	^{16b} Ø had returned that day to Ekron.	(S1)

In v. 10a, marked encoding for S2 (הָאֲנָשִׁים) signals a new development unit.[342] Hence, the current episode, with which 1 Sam 6:1 begins, continues. In v. 10b, c, d, v. 11, the null reference subjects (S1: the people) signal continuity.

In v. 12, continuity is specified by default encoding (relexicalization) for the semi-active entity (v. 12a), the argument focus sentence (בִּמְסִלָּה אַחַת is fronted) (v. 12b), the null reference subjects (S1: the cows) (vv. 12b, c, and d), and default encoding for the semi-active participant (relexicalization: "the lords of the Philistines").

In v. 13a, the onset of a new episode is specified by a spatial change (from Ashdod to Beth-shemesh), and the introduction of a new topic ("people of Beth-shemesh"). In vv. 13b, c and d, the null reference subjects specify continuity.

In v. 14, continuity is indicated by the fronted semi-active הָעֲגָלָה (S4), which indicates pluperfect (v. 14a), the null reference subject (S1: the cart) (v. 14b), background information expressed by the nominal clause (v. 14c), the null reference subject (S4) (v. 14d),[343] and a list that is signalled by the fronted אֶת־הַפָּרוֹת (v. 14e).[344]

In v. 15a, the beginning of a new episode is identified by the over-encoded subject (S1: the Levites), which is fronted to indicate pluperfect which shifts the temporal setting. It brings the event back to the point in time when the ark of God had arrived at Beth-shemesh.[345] Continuity is identified by the null reference subject (S1: the Levites) (v. 15b), the fronted semi-active participant אַנְשֵׁי בֵית־שֶׁמֶשׁ which contrasts it with the topic "the Levites (v. 15b)"(v. 15c), and the null reference subject (S1: the men of Beth-shemesh) (v. 15d).

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342   See §3.2.1.3.2 for default encoding for S2 and §3.2.1.4 for marked encoding for S2, and its function.

343   The semi-active participant is reactivated by null reference, because a sacrificial frame is involved. The null reference subject refers to Levites. This encoding was not identified in our model.

344   Fronting signals that the cows form a list with the wood of the cart in v. 14d.

345   A shift of time (flashback) with the over-encoded subject S1 can be regarded as a signal of a new episode.

In v. 16, continuity is signalled by the fronted semi-active participant חֲמִשָּׁה סַרְנֵי־פְלִשְׁתִּים (v. 16a),[346] which compares it with the people of Beth-shemesh, and the null reference subject (S1: the five lords of the Philistines) (v. 16b). The end of the current episode however, is not signalled in terms of segmentational devices. The next verses do not seem to be included in the current episode (see the subsequent passages).

Translations differ in distinguishing paragraphs in this passage: NASB (6:10-12 and 13-16), KJV (6:10-12 and 13-18), JB and NJB (6:1-12 and 13-19), in McKane (1963) (6:10-13, and 6:14-18), Brueggemann (1990) (6:10-16). In terms of distinguishing paragraphs on the basis of linguistic devices, 6:1-12 should form an episode, viz. 6:10-12 should be included in the preceding passage (6:1-9) in order to form an episode, because over-encoding for S2 in v. 6: 10a does not signal a new episode, but a development unit. Two episodes are identified in the rest of a passage (6:13-16), viz. 6:13-14 and 15-16. The beginning of each paragraph is marked by spatial shift, introduction of a brand-new participant, a temporal shift, and over-encoded participant reference (S1). With regard to the segmentation markers we have identified, the paragraphs distinguished in most of the translations and commentaries are not justified.

- 6:17-18 (NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV)

Hebrew	English
^{17a} וְאֵלֶּה טְחֹרֵי הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר הֵשִׁיבוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים אָשָׁם לַיהוָה ^{17b} לְאַשְׁדּוֹד אֶחָד לְעַזָּה אֶחָד לְאַשְׁקְלוֹן אֶחָד לְגַת אֶחָד לְעֶקְרוֹן אֶחָד: ס ^{18a} וְעַכְבְּרֵי הַזָּהָב מִסְפַּר כָּל־עָרֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים לַחֲמֵשֶׁת הַסְּרָנִים מֵעִיר מִבְצָר וְעַד כֹּפֶר הַפְּרָזִי ^{18b} וְעַד׀ אָבֵל הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ עָלֶיהָ אֵת אֲרוֹן יְהוָֹה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה בִּשְׂדֵה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֵּית־הַשִּׁמְשִׁי:	^{17a}These are the golden tumors, which the Philistines returned as a guilt offering to the LORD: ^{17b}one for Ashdod, one for Gaza, one for Ashkelon, one for Gath, one for Ekron; ^{18a}And the golden mice, according to the number of all the cities of the Philistines belonging to the five lords, both fortified cities and unwalled villages. ^{18b}The great stone, beside which they set down the ark of the LORD, is a witness to this day in the field of Joshua of Beth-shemesh.[347]

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346 While the people of Beth-shemesh offered the burnt offering, the five lords of the Philistines were watching to establish whether their offering had been accepted.

347 In v. 18b, the text וְעַד׀ אָבֵל הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר is uncertain, hence the meaning is uncertain. A few Hebrew manuscripts in the editions of Kennicott, de Rossi, and Ginsburg read אָבֵל as אֶבֶן (stone). RSV, NRSV, REB, TEV, NIV, and NJB read עַד ("as far as") as עֵד ("witness"). Taking these two readings into account, the preferred translation of וְעַד׀ אָבֵל הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ is "a witness is the great stone that they placed …."

Verses 17-18 constitutes the list. Verse 18b is an aetiological explanation (see 1 Sam 5:5). The model used in this study did not take the list and aetiological explanation into consideration. The list here seems to be incorporated into neither the preceding episode nor the subsequent episode. It seems to form an episode in itself, as many translations have recognised.

- 6:19-21 (KJV, NASB, ESV, AV, McKane (1963))

^{19a} וַיַּ֗ךְ בְּאַנְשֵׁ֣י בֵֽית־שֶׁ֔מֶשׁ	^{19a} And Ø slew some of the men of Beth-shemesh, (S3/N4)
^{19b} כִּ֤י רָאוּ֙ בַּאֲר֣וֹן יְהֹוָ֔ה	^{19b}because Ø looked into the ark of the LORD;[348] (S3/N3)
^{19c} וַיַּ֣ךְ בָּעָ֗ם שִׁבְעִ֤ים אִישׁ֙ חֲמִשִּׁ֣ים אֶ֣לֶף אִ֔ישׁ	^{19c} Ø slew people seventy men and fifty thousand men. (S3/N3)
^{19d} וַיִּֽתְאַבְּל֣וּ הָעָ֔ם	^{19d}and the people mourned (S3)
^{19e} כִּֽי־הִכָּ֧ה יְהֹוָ֛ה בָּעָ֖ם	^{19e}because the LORD slew the people. (S4/N3)
^{19f} מַכָּ֥ה גְדוֹלָֽה׃	^{19f} The slaughter was great.
²⁰ וַיֹּֽאמְרוּ֙ אַנְשֵׁ֣י בֵֽית־שֶׁ֔מֶשׁ מִ֣י יוּכַ֗ל לַעֲמֹ֞ד לִפְנֵ֨י יְהֹוָ֜ה הָאֱלֹהִ֤ים הַקָּדוֹשׁ֙ הַזֶּ֔ה וְאֶל־מִ֖י יַעֲלֶ֥ה מֵעָלֵֽינוּ׃ ס	²⁰ Then the men of Beth-shemesh said, "Who is able to stand before the LORD, this holy God? And to whom shall he go up away from us?" (S4)
²¹ וַֽיִּשְׁלְחוּ֙ מַלְאָכִ֔ים אֶל־יוֹשְׁבֵ֥י קִרְיַת־יְעָרִ֖ים לֵאמֹ֑ר הֵשִׁ֤בוּ פְלִשְׁתִּים֙ אֶת־אֲר֣וֹן יְהֹוָ֔ה רְד֛וּ הַעֲל֥וּ אֹת֖וֹ אֲלֵיכֶֽם׃	²¹ So Ø sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim, saying, "The Philistines have returned the ark of the LORD. Come down and take it up to you." (S1/Intro)

Verse 19a opens with the null reference subject (S3, role change in narrative) whose antecedent is not explicitly given. This case is difficult to explain. The context does not seem sufficient to identify to whom the null reference refers. Not until the reader has read v. 19b will he/she be in a position to determine to whom it refers, i.e. the Lord (see v. 19e). As far as the general rule of participant reference is concerned, null reference cannot open a new episode.[349] However, the content gives a strong evidence that a new episode begins here.[350] Continuity is indicated by the null reference subject (S3: men of

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348 The LXX adds "Καὶ οὐκ ἠσμένισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ιεχονιου ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν Βαιθσαμυς, ὅτι εἶδαν κιβωτὸν κυρίου (And the sons of Jechonias were not pleased with the men of Baethsamys, because they saw the ark of the Lord)."

349 Pronominal anaphora does not cross paragraph boundaries. In addition, null reference signals topic continuity (see §2.6.1.1.5).

350 This instance needs further investigation regarding whether null reference can initiate a new episode, or whether the text is corrupt.

Beth-shemesh) (v. 19b),[351] the null reference subject (S3: the Lord) (v. 19c),[352] and default encoding for S3 ("the people") (v. 19d),[353] relexicalization for the semi-active referent ("the Lord") (v. 19e).

Continuity is indicated by default encoding (relexicalization: אַנְשֵׁי בֵית־שֶׁמֶשׁ) for the semi-active referent (v. 20), and the null reference subject (S1: the men of Beth-shemesh) (v. 21). It is uncertain whether v. 21 terminates the paragraph, hence, the next paragraph should be investigated. [paragraphs in translations and commentaries include 1 Sam 7:1. See NAB and NEV (6:19-7:1), Smith (1912) (6:1-7:1), CEV (6:19-7:2), GNT (6:1-19, 20-7:1); also paragraphs in Hertzberg (1964), Philbeck (1970), Gordon (1986), Baldwin (1988), Birch (1998), McCarter (1980), and Klein (1998) include 7:1.]

- 7:1-2 (KJV, NASB, ESV, AV)

וַיָּבֹאוּ אַנְשֵׁי קִרְיַת יְעָרִים	1a And the men of Kiriath-jearim came	(S2)
וַיַּעֲלוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה	1b and Ø took up the ark of the LORD,	(S1/N4)
וַיָּבִאוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־בֵּית אֲבִינָדָב בַּגִּבְעָה	1c and Ø brought it to the house of Abinadab on the hill;	(S1/N1)
וְאֶת־אֶלְעָזָר בְּנוֹ קִדְּשׁוּ לִשְׁמֹר אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה: פ	1d and Ø had consecrated Eleazar his son to have charge of the ark of the LORD.	S1/Intro)
וַיְהִי מִיּוֹם שֶׁבֶת הָאָרוֹן בְּקִרְיַת יְעָרִים	2a And then from the day that the ark was lodged at Kiriath-jearim,	
וַיִּרְבּוּ הַיָּמִים	2b a long time passed,	
וַיִּהְיוּ עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה	2c it was twenty years,	
וַיִּנָּהוּ כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרֵי יְהוָה: ס	2d and all the house of Israel lamented after the LORD.	

In v. 1a, a new development unit is specified by over-encoded S2. Continuity is indicated by the null reference subjects (S1: the men of Kiriath-jearim) (vv. 1b, c and d), and the event-reporting sentence (v. 1d).[354] No linguistic signals specify the end of the

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351   S3 is encoded by null reference because the context disambiguates the participants.

352   The context disambiguates the participants (the same wayyiqtol וַיַּךְ has been utilized in v. 19a.), therefore null reference encoding is employed for S3.

353   The encoding "the people" is default encoding, because this encoding is the most informative encoding for this context (see §3.2.1.3.2).

354   אֶת־אֶלְעָזָר בְּנוֹ (Eleazar his son) is fronted in v. 7:1d. "Eleazar" is a brand-new entity, and its identifiability is established by being the anchor to his father (בְּנוֹ). Verse 1d is an event-reporting sentence (sentence focus).

current episode in v. 1. In v. 2a, however, the initiation of a new episode is specified by the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal frame adjunct," which signals the beginning of an episode. Reference time is updated to initiate a new episode. "From the day that the ark was lodged at Kiriath-jearim" provides a temporal frame for subsequent events. Hence, v. 1 terminates the paragraph.

As 1 Sam 6: 19a initiates a new episode, so vv. 6: 19-7:1 forms an episode (NAB, NEV). Translations and commentaries, however, differ in distinguishing paragraphs as follows: KJV, NASB, ESV, AV (6:19-21, 7:1-2), KJV, NASB, ESV, AV, McKane (1963) (6:19-21), Hertzberg (1964), Gordon (1986), Birch (1998), McCarter (1980), Klein (1998), Smith (1912) (6:1-7:1), Philbeck (1970), Baldwin (1988) (6:1-7:2), CEV (6:19-7:2), GNT (6:1-19, 20-7:1). With regard to segmentation signals, 7:2 initiates a new episode, hence, translations and commentaries that distinguish a new episode at v. 7:1 can be called into question.

4.2 EPISODES IN 1 SAMUEL 1-6

After this systematic analysis of 1 Sam 6 in terms of the segmentation markers identified in chapter three, and comparing the paragraphs that can be distinguished in terms of these markers with those in a representative sample of translations and commentaries, the findings will now be summarized. This will be carried out by first listing each paragraph distinguished, and then describing briefly the criteria used to justify each distinction. Instances where the criteria used were inadequate will be indicated.

- 1:1-3

  A new discourse unit is introduced by the "discourse marker וַיְהִי," which updates the reference time of the preceding event (Judges 21: 23-25). The introduction of brand-new participants who play a role as main participants in the subsequent episodes is identified as a feature of the setting. In addition, there are devices that establish the identifiability of brand-new participants (deictic expression, anchoring). State of affairs, which play a pivotal role in the subsequent episode as well, and iterative background information, are also described in the setting.

- 1:4-8 [Smith (1912)][355]

  The initiation of a new episode is signalled by the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct הַיּוֹם," which provides a temporal frame for the subsequent events by

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355   Translations and commentaries that are consistent with this study are given in square brackets.

updating the reference time, and by the reintroduction of the semi-active referent by making use of relexicalization. Termination of the current episode is signalled by the over-encoded participant reference, which functions to slow down the story at the end of episodes.

- 1:9-18 [KJV, GNT, JB, NJB, Brueggemann (1990), McKane (1963), Philbeck (1970)]

  The over-encoded subject (S2) and introduction of a new participant initiates a new episode. The "x-qatal" clause in which the primary topic is fronted, terminates the current episode, summarizing the current episode. In this episode, however, it is uncertain whether the discourse marker וְהָיָה in v. 12 functions as a segmentation device, because the null reference subject (S1), which in general signals thematic continuity, co-occurs. If the discourse marker וְהָיָה is employed to signal the beginning of a new episode, two episodes can then be distinguished (9-11, 12-18: NASB, ESV, RSV, AV, and Smith (1912)). However, further research should be done in order to determine which signal prevails when continuity signals and segmentation signals are in opposition.

- 1:19-20 [ESV, CEV, RSV, McKane (1963), Herzberg (1964), Brueggemann (1990)]

  Both temporal and spatial change initiate a new episode. The end of the current episode is not signalled by segmentation devices.

- 1:21-28 [NIV, ESV, NEV, McKane (1963), Bergen (1996), Brueggemann (1990)]

  A shift in time and over-encoded participant reference (S4) set up a new episode. A concluding remark ends the current episode. In this episode, spatial and temporal changes are implied in v. 24. If these changes are taken into consideration, two episodes can be distinguished (21-23, 24-28). However, the null reference subject (S1) and the enclitic pronoun object (N1) is employed here. Devices signaling continuity and those signaling discontinuity are in conflict here. Further investigations are required to establish whether a hierarchy of linguistic devices should be considered.

- 2:1-10 Poetic section

- 2:11-17

  A new episode is initiated by reintroducing an inactive referent in a wayyiqtol clause into the discourse register. A non-temporal wayyiqtol (evaluation) ends the current episode.

- 2:18-21 [NAB, CEV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, AV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), Philbeck (1970)]

  A new episode commences by reintroducing an inactive referent. In addition, v. 18 functions as a framing device at the beginning of a new episode. In v. 21, the

affirmative comment of the narrator introduced by כִּי, and over-encoded participant reference, close the current episode.

- 2:22-26 [NAB, GNT, NEV, JB,NJB, AV, Philbeck (1970)]
Reintroducing a semi-active referent introduces a new episode. Termination of the current episode is not signalled.

- 2:27-36 [KJV, NAB, NIV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, NB/NJB, RSV, AV, McCarter (1980), Smith (1912), Bergen (1996), McKane (1963), Philbeck (1970)]
Introducing a brand-new participant by means of a presentational sentence creates a new episode. No segmentational device is identified at the end of the current episode.

- 3:1
Verse 1 functions as the setting for the subsequent episode. It introduces the participants and the state of affairs for the subsequent episodes.

- 3:2-14
The "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא" begins a new episode providing the temporal frame for subsequent events in the episode. No segmentation devices are utilized at the end of the current episode.

- 3:15-18 [ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912)]
An over-encoded participant reference (S2) accompanied by a shift of time establishes a new episode. An over-encoded participant reference and summary statement closes the current episode.

- 3:19-4:1a [NAB, CEV, Smith (1912), Bergen (1996)]
An over-encoded participant reference introduces a new episode. A non-temporal wayyiqtol clause finishes the current episode by means of summary.

- 4:1b-3 [NAB]
The spatial change and reintroduction of a brand-new participant create a new episode. The summary statement in v. 2 brings the current episode to an end. However, in v. 3 a shift of space occurs although the default encoding for participant reference is employed. Verse 3 may be regarded as the result of the event of the current episode, i.e., it is regarded as signaling the end of the current episode. However, if v. 3 is separated, two episodes can be distinguished (4:1b-2 (Smith (1912)), 3).

- 4:4-5
An over-encoded participant reference (S2) accompanied by a shift of time and space creates a new episode. No segmentation devices are identified at the end of the current episode.

- 4:6-9
In v. 6 two linguistic signals viz. a spatial shift and the reintroduction of a semi-active referent, determine the onset of a new episode.

- 4:10-11

  An over-encoded participant reference accompanied by a shift of space sets up a new episode. A summary or conclusion statement terminates the current episode (Vv. 10d-11).

- 4:12-18 [KJV, NASB, ESV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, AV]

  A brand-new participant and a spatial setting shift signal the beginning of a new episode. An over-encoded participant reference in the fronted position signals the end of the current episode.

- 4:19-22 [KJV, NASB, ESV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, AV]

  Introducing a brand-new participant in a presentation "x-qatal" signals the beginning of a new episode. In addition, a device that establishes identifiability of a brand-new participant is also involved.

- 5:1-5 [KJV, NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912), Brueggemann (1990)]

  An "x-qatal" with a reintroduced inactive referent opens a new episode going back to the initial occurrence of the event (flashback). Segmentational devices are not found at the end of the current episode.

- 5:6-8

  A type of change of location, and reintroducing a semi-active referent, begin a new episode. The termination of the current episode is not signalled by segmentational devices.

- 5:9-12

  A spatial change and updating the reference time by means of the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct אַחֲרֵי| הֵסַבּוּ אֹתוֹ" creates a new episode. However a null reference subject (a continuity device) is also utilized. No segmentation signals are identified at the end of the current episode.

- 6:1-12 [JB, NJB]

  A temporal shift expressed by means of the "discourse marker וַיְהִי + nominal clause" introduces a new episode. No segmentation signals are employed at the end of the current episode.

- 6:13-14

  A spatial change and the introduction of a brand-new participant initiate a new episode. Termination of the current episode is not signalled by segmentation devices.

- 6:15-16

  An over-encoded participant reference (S1) in the marked topic-comment sentence (flashback), opens a new episode. In addition, a sentence of which the verb has a pluperfect function shifts the temporal frame. No segmentation device signals the end of the current episode.

- 6:17-18 [NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV]

  A list forms an episode. A list as a segmentation device was not considered in our model.

- 6:19-7:1 [NAB, NEV]

  No linguistic devices that initiate a new episode are used: in terms of the context it is evident that a new episode does not begin here. No segmentation signals are employed to terminate the current episode. However, 1 Sam 7:2 initiates a new episode with the "discourse marker וַיְהִי‎ + temporal frame adjunct."

4.3   CONCLUSION

Investigation into paragraphs in translations and commentaries in preceding sections has revealed that paragraph structures in translations and commentaries are not consistent with one another in many places. This is, among other things, demonstrates that it is not always easy to distinguish episodes.

In this chapter, we have sought to work in terms of an explicit set of interacting criteria. These criteria often confirmed the divisions of many of the translations and commentaries examined. As shown in the preceding sections (in particular, see §4.2), many of the paragraph distinctions of commentaries and translations are confirmed.

However, instances that can be called into question in terms of our criteria were identified in the paragraph structures of translations and commentaries (see discussions of paragraphs in commentaries and translations in §4.1). Two reasons can be offered for this.

- Linguistic signals, i.e., continuity devices, are often misunderstood (e.g. 1 Sam 1:3 (NASB, ESV, RSV, Smith (1912) and Brueggemann (1990); 1 Sam 4:1a (KJV, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, McKane (1963)).

- There is misunderstanding regarding the difference between the development unit as a sub-division within an episode and an episode as such. For this reason, when translations and commentaries distinguish paragraphs at the beginning of new developments, these distinctions can be called into question (e.g. 1 Sam 5:10 (RSV, AV); 6:10 (KJV, NAB, NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, McKane (1963); 7:1 (KJV, NASB, ESV, GNT, JB, NJB, NKJV, AV, McKane (1963)).

Some episodes that are distinguished on the basis of our model are not represented in any translations or commentaries: 1 Sam 1:1-3; 2:11-17; 3:1, 2-14; 4:4-5, 6-9, 10-11; 5:6-8, 9-12, 6:13-14, 15-16.

Instances that are difficult to decide were also identified in terms of our model. These instances can be divided into two groups where our model did not provide satisfactory criteria for distinguishing episodes.

1) In some places, the paradoxical co-occurrence of discontinuity devices and continuity signals make it difficult to decide the borders of episodes: 1:24 (a spatial shift and null reference subject S1 and clitic pronominal object N1 conflict), 4:3 (spatial shift and default encoding for S3 conflict), and 5:9 (spatial and temporal shifts and null reference subject (S1) conflict).

2) In some places, segmentational functions of participant reference that were not dealt with in our model were identified: 1 Sam 1:4, 2:22; 4:6; 5:6; 6:1 (reintroduced semi-active referent opens a new episode), 1 Sam 1:19 (a semi-active referent is introduced by the null reference and the null reference subject initiates a new episode.), 1 Sam 1:21 (over-encoded S4 signals the onset of a new episode), 1 Sam 1:9a, 12a; 2:18a; 3:1a; 5:1a (a reintroduced inactive referent signals the beginning of a new episode). [356]

These two instances need further investigation regarding the hierarchy of linguistic signals and the segmentational functions of a semi-active and inactive referent.

Other areas also identified for further investigation were the following.

1) Continuity devices identified that were not dealt with in our model were: 1 Sam 1:3 (שָׁם); 1:5 (כִּי); 1:6, 28 (the focus particle גַּם), 1 Sam 1:7 (כֵן). In addition, it has been observed that the null reference subject as default encoding for the semi-active referent signals continuity when a frame is involved, and/or it is identifiable from the context (1 Sam 1:7a-frame, 7b-frame and context, 7c-context, 25a-frame, 25b-frame; 2:15a-frame; 4:4b-frame, 18b-context; 5:3c-frame, 6: 14d-frame). Hence, the need for further investigation to determine the empirical status of these types of continuity devices.

2) Criteria should be provided that adequately distinguish the episode in the different genres. In 1 Sam 2:27b-36, an oracle is embedded in the quotation. It is broadly dealt with; however, further investigation is needed.

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356 Relexicalization (S5) seems to signal a new development in 2:12 (NAB, NIV, CEV, NASB, ESV, GNT, NEV, JB, NJB, NKJV, RSV, AV, Smith (1912), and Bergen (1996)); relexicalization of S4 may be regarded as signaling a new development unit in 3:10 (NASB, ESV, NEV, RSV, AV, Philbeck (1970), Smith (1912)). Relexicalization of S3 may also be the signal of a new development in 4:5 (NASB, ESV, RSV, McKane (1963)).

3) The study used the notion "development unit" as distinguished by Runge (2006a). In contrast to the notion "episode," the empirical status of a "development unit" is uncertain. For example, it is uncertain whether authors signal development units, and whether readers recognize them as such. Equally important (but still uncertain) is the relationship between episodes and development units. These issues need further research.
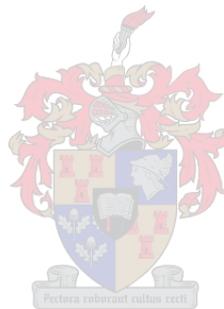
A comparison of translations, commentaries and this study

T/C CH	Translations												Commentaries											This study
	KJV	NAB	NIV	CEV	NASB	ESV	GNT	NEV	JB NJB	NKJV	RSV	AV	McKane	Hertzberg	Philbeck	Gordon	Baldwin	Birch	McCarter	Klein	Smith	Bergen	Brueggemann	PAL
1	1:1-8	1:1-8	1:1-20	1:1-18	1:1-2	1:1-2	1:1-8	1:1-20	1:1-8	1:1-7	1:1-2	1:1-8	1:1-8	1:1-20	1:1-8	1:1-2:10	1:1-28	1:1-28	1:1-28	1:1-28	1:1	1:1-20	1:1-2	1:1-3
																					1:2			
					1:3-8	1:3-8					1:3-8										1:3		1:3-8	
																					1:4-8			1:4-8
									1:8-18															
	1:9-18	1:9-19a			1:9-11	1:9-11	1:9-18	1:9-18			1:9-11	1:9-11	1:9-18		1:9-18						1:9-11		1:9-18	1:9-18 (1:9-11)
					1:12-18	1:12-18					1:12-18	1:12-18									1:12-18			(1:12-18)
	1:19-28			1:19-20	1:19-21	1:19-20	1:19-28		1:19-28	1:19-28	1:19-20	1:19-28	1:19-20		1:19-28						1:19-28		1:19-20	1:19-20
		1:19b-23																						
	1:21-28			1:21-28a	1:22-28	1:21-28		1:21-28			1:21-28a		1:21-28	1:21-2"11a								1:21-28	1:21-28	1:21-28
		1:24-2:11																						
				1:28b-2:10							1:28b													
2	2:1-10		2:1-11		2:1-10	2:1-11	2:1-11	2:1-10	2:1-11	2:1-11	2:1-10	2:1-11	2:1-10		2:1-10		2:1-20	2:1-10	2:1-10	2:1-10	2:1-2	2:1-10	2:1-2	2:1-10 Poetic Section
																					2:3-5		2:3-8	
																					2:6-8			
																					2:9-10		2:9-10	
	2:11-26			2:11	2:11			2:11			2:11		2:11-26		2:11-17	2:11-	2:11-36	2:11-36	2:11-26	2:11-36	2:11	2:11	2:11-36	2:11-17

													2:11b-36		4:1a									
		2:12-17	2:12-26	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17	2:12-17									2:12-17	2:12-17		
		2:18-21		2:18-21	2:18-20	2:18-20	2:18-21	2:18-20	2:18-21	2:18-21	2:18-20	2:18-21		2:18-21							2:18-21	2:18-21		2:18-21
					2:21	2:21		2:21			2:21														
		2:22-26		2:22-25	2:22-25	2:22-25	2:22-26	2:22-26	2:22-26	2:22-36	2:22-25	2:22-26		2:22-26							2:22-25	2:22-25		2:22-26
				2:26-36	2:26	2:26					2:26										2:26	2:26		
	2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36		2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36		2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36	2:27-36					2:27-36		2:27-36	2:27-36		2:27-36
3	3:1-10	3:1- 18	3:1-4:1a	3:1-18	3:1	3:1-3	3:1-4:1a	3:1-9	3:1-4:1a	3:1-4:1a	3:1	3:1-9	3:1-9	3:1-4:1a	3:1-9		3:1-4:1a	3:1-4:1a	3:1-4:1a	3:1–4:1a	3:1-10	3:1-18	3:1-4:1a	3:1
				3:2-9							3:2-9													3:2-14
						3:4-5																		
						3:6-7																		
						3:8-9																		
				3:10-18		3:10-14		3::10-14			3:10-14	3:10-14	3:10-14	3:10-14	3:10-14									
	3:11-18																				3:11-14			
				3:15-18		3:15-18		3:15-18			3:15-18	3:15-18	3:15-18		3:15-18						3:15-18			3:15-18
	3:19-21	3:19-4:1a		3:19-4:1a	3:19-21	3:19-21		3:19-21			3:19-21	3:19-21	3:19-21		3:19-4:1a						3:19-4:1a	3:19-4:1a		3:19-4:1a
4	4:1-9			4:1-4	4:1-4			4:1-11			4:1-4	4:1-11	4:1-2											
	4:1b-3	4:1b-11	4:1b-11				4:1b-11		4:1b-11	4:1b-11				4:1b-22	4:1B-22	4:1b-22	4:1b-22	4:1b-22	4:1b-11	4:1b-22	4:1b-2	4:1b-11	4:1b-11	4:1b-3 (4:1b-2)

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	4:10-11				4:10-11	4:10-11					4:10-11													4:10-11
	4:12-18	4:12-22	4:12-22	4:12-22	4:12-18	4:12-18	4:12-18	4:12-22	4:12-18	4:12-18	4:12-18	4:12-18	4:12-18					4:12-22			4:12-22	4:12-22	4:12-22	4:12-18
	4:19-22				4:19-22	4:19-22	4:19-22		4:19-22	4:19-22	4:19-22	4:19-22	4:19-22											4:19-22
5	5:1-5	5:1-5	5:1-12	5:1-10	5:1-5	5:1-5	5:1-12	5:1-5	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1-5	5:1-5	5:1-8	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1-12	5:1–12	5:1-12	5:1-6:12	5:1-5	5:1-5
	5:6-12	5:6-12			5:6-12	5:6-12		5:6-12			5:6-12	5:6-9											5:6-10	5:6-8
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				5:11-6:18																			5:11-12	
6	6:1-9	6:1-9	6:1-7:1		6:1-9	6:1-9	6:1-19	6:1-9	6:1-12	6:1-19	6:1-9	6:1-9	6:1-9	6:1-7:1	6:1-7:2	6:1-7:1	6:1-7:2	6:1-7:1	6:1-7:1	6:1–7:1	6:1-7:1		6:1-3	6:1–12
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	6:10-12	6:10-16			6:10-12	6:10-16		6:10-16			6:10-16	6:10-16	6:10-13										6:10-16	
	6:13-18				6:13-16				6:13-19													6:13-7:1		6:13-14
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		6:17-18			6:17-18	6:17-18		6:17-18			6:17-18	6:17-18											6:17-7:1	6:17-18
	6:19-21	6:19-7:1		6:19-7:2	6:19-21	6:19-21		6:19-7:1			6:19-7:2	6:19-21	6:19-21											6:19-7:1
							6:20-7:1		6:20-7:1	6:20-7:1														
7	7:1-2	7:1-2			7:1-2	7:1-2						7:1	7:1											

CHAPTER 5   CONCLUSION

The aim of this project was to provide inter-subjectively justifiable ways to distinguish paragraphs in BH narrative text. This study has provided some preliminary criteria for distinguishing paragraphs in BH narrative texts, the usefulness of which were tested and demonstrated in a corpus study of 1 Samuel 1-6.

This study arose from the following hypotheses. The first hypothesis states that a text has a hierarchical structure that can be delimitated into small units. By making use of published research results in the field of text-linguistic and psycholinguistic oriented studies, we have established that texts are structured according to episode units. In particular, an episode was recognised to be a thematically unified unit in the narrative text, and that its semantic structure can be identified by means of the surface structure features of the text (§2.2.2).

The second hypothesis states that an episode is a thematically defined intermediate processing unit between a sentence and a more comprehensive discourse unit. This hypothesis was confirmed by studies aiming to access the so-called boundary hypothesis, and by experiments to evaluate the constituent unit of an episode, and by recall studies. These studies proved that episodes are psychologically real units, and that an episode is a comprehension unit and organizational unit in memory, viz. memory block (§2.2.2.1). Further support for the hypothesis was provided by identifying linguistic devices such as temporal and spatial adverbials, and full NPs, which signal thematic discontinuity at the beginning of an episode (§2.2.2.2).

The third hypothesis states that an episode can be distinguished from other episodes according to thematic discontinuity. We have demonstrated that thematic continuity is signalled by such continuity devices as pronominal references, and that discontinuity is signalled by segmentation markers such as NPs, and temporal adverbials at the borders of episodes (§2.6).

The fourth hypothesis states that thematic discontinuity can be identified by linguistic devices. It was shown that structural units in a text can be identifiable grammatically (§2.2). In addition, experimental studies in psycholinguistics have determined that there are formal linguistic cues that signal thematic boundaries. Readers recognize these formal linguistic devices, and are thereby enabled to distinguish thematic units. We demonstrated that an episode, as a thematic unit, can be distinguished from other

episodes by recognizing linguistic devices in both the inside, and at the borders of episodes (§2.6). We established this from the perspective of text comprehension and text production. Authors use the linguistic devices both on the inside, and at the boundaries of episodes to signal theme continuity and discontinuity in discourse. Among these linguistic devices, segmentational functions of different forms of referential expressions, temporal, and spatial adverbials were identified. The use of these segmentation markers as "grammatical signals" helps readers to identify thematic change so that they begin to build a new discourse representation unit (§2.6.1.1-2.6.1.2). The segmentational functions of segmentation devices were further demonstrated by identifying the cognitive functions of linguistic devices in the comprehension processes (§2.6.2). It has been established that full NPs, temporal and spatial adverbials, which occur at the boundaries of episodes affect reader's comprehension processes (§2.6.2.2).

The fifth hypothesis states that linguistic devices that indicate thematic discontinuity in English may have parallels in BH. We identified several segmentational devices (different forms of referential expressions, temporal adverbials, and spatial change) as well as continuity markers in English (§2.6). We also found segmentation markers in BH similar to the ones we identified in English (chapter 3).

We demonstrated in chapter 4 that the segmentation markers and continuity markers identified in BH are useful devices for identifying episodes. In addition, we showed that these linguistic devices can be useful criteria for distinguishing episodes in BH narrative by using paragraphs of 1 Sam 1-6 in translations and commentaries as a heuristic tool.

Three areas for further investigations have been identified:
- This study has made use, on the basis of a literature review of BH linguistic publications, of only a limited set of linguistic devices as criteria for distinguishing episodes. However, our systematic analysis of 1 Sam 6 has indicated that there may be other devices that need to be taken into account, e.g. the segmentational functions of participant reference, in particular, of a semi-active, and an inactive referent were identified.
- The conflict between discontinuity devices and continuity devices was observed. Whether these devices form a hierarchy, and whether these hierarchies are applicable across languages and/or genres are questions that still need to be addressed.
- In his study of participant reference, Runge (2006a) used the notion "development unit." This concept has been widely used in this study. However, the exact

relationship between a development unit and an episode is not clear. The empirical status of a development unit in particular needs further investigation.
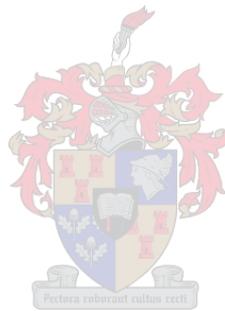
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