Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew

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Introduction

The common assumption of grammarians that tense, like mood, in biblical Hebrew is determined by the form of the verb (*qtl* or *yqtl*) is the basic impediment to understanding the Hebrew tenses. A better theory, although it is only partially worked out and sporadically used,[1] is that tense, and sometimes mood, is marked in Hebrew by word order, and specifically by the position of the verb (*qtl* or *yqtl*), in the various types of clauses. According to this theory, tense is expressed by syntax, not by morphology, and verbal forms, besides marking mood and aspect, are most important in the definition of clause type. Tense, in short, is due to verb movement, not to verb form.[2]

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[1]   J.A. Hughes ("Another Look at the Hebrew Tenses", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 [1970] 12-24) realized that "there is something outside the verbal form itself which influences its usage" (p. 13) and found this to be "the entire idiomatic construction" in general (p. 14) and clause type in particular, but unfortunately limited his investigation to the use of certain particles. J. Kuryłowicz (*Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, Wroclaw, 1972, 82-83, 87; "Verbal Aspect in Semitic", *Orientalia* 42 [1973] 114-120) argued that tense, mood, and aspect (insofar as this last existed in Semitic) were expressed not by the forms of the perfect and imperfect but were conditioned by their contexts. B. Comrie (*Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* [Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics 2], Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976, 66-86) associates aspect with verbal forms (in languages such as Arabic in which aspect is not specifically marked), and describes tense as a derivative of grammar (overt indicators such as adverbials or auxiliaries) and syntax (context in general and subordination in particular). E. Talstra ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible, II: Syntax and Semantics", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 (1982) 26-38) argued that "both word order and the order of clauses can serve as markers of modality" (p. 30) and showed in particular cases which could easily be generalized that " ... use of the tenses, which formerly has been interpreted as a feature of the verbal forms themselves, can be described as an effect of the syntactic constructions in which they occur" (p. 35). A. Niccacci ("A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: Yiqtol and Position in the Sentence", *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Liber Annuus* 37 [1987] 7-19; "On the Hebrew Verbal System", R.D. Bergen, ed., *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics* [Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994], Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994, 117-137) argues that tense and mood depend on the position of the verb in the sentence. E.J. Revell ("The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 60 [1989] 1-37) stresses the importance of word order, particularly in modal clauses. W. Gross (*Verbform und Funktion. wayyiqtol für die Gegenwart? Ein Beitrag zur Syntax poetischer althebräischer Texte*, St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1976) illustrates the dependence of tense on word order and the sequence of clauses.

[2]   Cf. V. DeCaen, "On the Placement of the Verb in Standard Biblical Hebrew Prose", Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1995 (E. J. Revell and E.A. Cowper).

The morphological approach to Hebrew tenses hardens around an analysis of the verbal forms in consecutive clauses (*wayyiqtol* and *wĕqātal*). The tense expressed in these clauses is attributed to the bare prefixed (*yiqtol*) and suffixed (*qātal*) forms, without *waw*, and the attribution is defended by supposing that the forms are the frozen remnants of an archaic, but entirely hypothetical, Canaanite *yaqtul* preterite and *qātal* future. The syntactic theory works by retrieving the obvious elements which this fixation on morphology discards. That is, it is based on the observations (1) that these particular verbal forms (*wayyiqtol* and *wĕqatal*) occur only in clauses introduced by *waw*; (2) that they occur first in their clauses; (3) that this word order distinguishes consecutive clauses from the other types of clauses; and (4) that this type of clause, which occurs first in a discourse or in sequence on another clause, generally does not express its own tense but, by its peculiar use of *waw* and the opposite conjugation, either begins a past or future tense discourse or keeps the tense of the clause on which it is consecutive.[3]

Analogous observations can be made about the other types of verbal clauses. Grammars generally do not distinguish clause types, and usually do not consider the connection between clause type and tense, but instead suppose either that *qātal* marks past tense and *yiqtol* expresses present and future tense, or that *qātal* and *yiqtol* do not express tense but aspects of action and kinds of time.[4] In every type of

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[3]   The appeal to historical antecedents to justify the fixation on morphology can be traced to G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik I-II*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1918, 1929 (reprinted, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), vol. II. His work is put into historical perspective and the morphological theory is exposed by M.S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the WAW-Consecutive. Northwest Semitic Evidence from Ugarit to Qumran* (Harvard Semitic Studies 39), Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991. R. Meyer (*Hebräische Grammatik, III: Satzlehre*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972, 39-40) considered that Hebrew verbs were aspectual and did not mark tense but, yielding to the standard historical reconstruction, he conceded that there was a preterite *yaqtul which, anomalously, expressed tense rather than aspect. D.M. Gropp ("The Function of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew", *Hebrew Annual Review* 13 [1991] 45-62) recognizes the importance of clause types in his synchronic approach, but from a diachronic point of view regards the verbs in consecutive clauses as frozen forms and as vestiges of an earlier system which Hebrew had abandoned. But E.J. Revell ("The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose") observes that "the criterion by which the value of a form must be judged is not its historical origin but its use within the corpus" (p. 3), and considers that occurrences of *yqtl* in the past tense are not "vestiges of a once standard use of the preterite" but are simply "anomalous uses of the imperfect" (pp. 12-13). Von Soden, however, assumes there is a preterite *yaqtul* and is forceful in its defense (W. von Soden, "Zur Verwendung des Narrativs *waj-jiqtol* im nachexilischen Hebräisch", *ZAH* 7 [1994] 196-202]). J. Myhill ("Non-Emphatic Fronting in Biblical Hebrew", *Theoretical Linguistics* 21 [1995] 93-144) notes that the morphological ("morphosyntactic") explanation is unlikely since verb-first order in temporally sequenced clauses is not peculiar to Hebrew (p. 105). The main proponent of a Canaanite preterite is A.F. Rainey, most recently in his *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by the Scribes from Canaan*, Leiden: Brill, 1996, vol. II, pp. 221-264.

[4]   S.R. Driver (*A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892, pp. 2-3) distinguished between "order of time" ("a particular verbal form may exhibit a given action as prior or subsequent to some date otherwise fixed by the narrative") and "kind of time" ("an action ... as incipient, or as continuing or as completed") but thought that Hebrew verbal forms marked only the differences in the kind of time. B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor (*An*

clause, however, it can be shown that tense depends on (1) how the clause begins, (2) word order in the particular type of clause, and (3) the place of the clause in the syntax of the discourse, through sequence, subordination, and coordination.[5] The significance of this syntactic theory of tense, consequently, is that it can be generalized to include all the types of clauses separately and in their context.

A Syntactic Theory of Tense and Mood (Table 1)

In general, according to this syntactic theory, *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses regularly are past or present indicative, and are future indicative or modal (subjunctive, optative, conditional) only under specific syntactic conditions. In the past and present indicative *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses differ in their expression of time and aspect but agree in tense.[6] In *qātal* clauses time is relative (prior, complete, simultaneous), in

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Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990, pp. 482-486) distinguish aspect (which is equivalent to Driver's "kind of time") and time (equivalent to Driver's "order of time"), but instead of "tense" refer to the "time frame" in which these occur. In their view, consequently, time is "a nuance related to aspect" (p. 484) and *qātal* can represent "a past, present or future state related to a preceding situation, or a past situation relevant to a continuing later state" (p. 483), and in a past time frame signifies completed events (p. 485). In the case of *yiqtol* they distinguish aspect, time frame, and mood, or the relation of the situation to the speaker or subject, or to another situation (p. 496-518).

[5]   F.I. Andersen ("Salience, Implicature, Ambiguity, and Redundancy in Clause-Clause Relationships in Biblical Hebrew", R.D. Bergen, ed., *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994, 99-116) discusses connections between clause type, word order and tense. J. Myhill ("Word Order and Temporal Sequencing", D.L. Payne, ed., *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1992, 265-278) discusses word order, tense and sequence of clauses. J.H. Sailhamer ("A Database Approach to the Analysis of Hebrew Narrative", *Maarav* 5-6 [1990] 319-335) discusses clause types, but in relation to the segmentation of discourse, and not in relation to tense.

[6]   Tense is a grammaticalization of the past-present-future continuum. How it is grammaticalized is the issue: according to the standard theory, biblical Hebrew expresses tense through verbal forms; according to the theory presented here tense is expressed by word order and clause type. Time is a qualification of tense: it defines past, present or future actions, either in themselves (that is, in individual clauses: absolute time), or in relation to other actions (that is, in relation to another clause: relative time). Time is also known as *Aktionsart* ("kind of action"), or as a "situation" (an action or a state with an intrinsic temporal quality). In biblical Hebrew time has been seen as a quality inherent in the verbal forms, with *qātal* marking anteriority, and *yiqtol* expressing simultaneity or continuity (cf. J. Kuryłowicz, "Verbal Aspect in Semitic", *Orientalia* 42 [1973] 114-120), but if it is considered a feature of the verbal forms which varies according to word order and clause type, time is differently distributed and more nuanced (cf. Table 1). This notion of time and its distinction from aspect has been situated in historical perspective by V. DeCaen, "Ewald and Driver on Biblical Hebrew 'Aspect': Anteriority and the Orientalist Framework", *ZAH* 9 (1996) 129-151; see also, F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew", *ZAH* 8 (1995) 31-54; also, C. Bache, H. Basbøll, C.-E. Lindberg, eds., *Tense, Aspect and Action. Empirical and Theoretical Contributions to Language Typology* (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, 12), Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994. Aspect is a further specification of time, defining actions or states according to the time they take; in *qātal* clauses acts or states are expressed as matters of fact without temporal structure, taking no time, and their

yiqtol clauses it is absolute (either durative or habitual, repeated or distributive, progressive or incomplete). In *qātal* clauses aspect is punctual, but in *yiqtol* clauses it is continuous, so that the conjugations (*qātal* and *yiqtol*) contrast an act and the action which produced it, a state and a process, a deed and the doing, a fact without temporal dimension and an occurrence taking place in measurable time. In *qātal* clauses, the tense is perfect or pluperfect in prior time, preterite in complete time, and present or present perfect in simultaneous time; in *yiqtol* clauses, tense is past in durative or habitual time, imperfect in repeated or distributive time, and present in incomplete or in progressive time. The future indicative is expressed in *yiqtol* clauses in direct discourse, in conjunctive clauses introduced by *lākēn*, and in the apodoses of conditional, causal, comparative and interrogative clauses. Modality is expressed in *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses introduced by specific conjunctions (conditional, interrogative, purpose, result, comparative, temporal, objective, relative with deictic antecedents) or continuing modal sequences. In every case, tense and mood are marked syntactically - in a particular kind of clause or in a specific relationship with other clauses – and it is only in volitive clauses (imperative, cohortative, and jussive) that morphology is determinative.[7]

In particular, there are five types of clauses, and three significant word orders. The clauses, distinguished by how they begin are: consecutive (*wayyiqtol* or *wĕqatal*), disjunctive (*waw* + X + *qātal* or *yiqtol*), paratactic (*waw* + Ø + *qātal* or *yiqtol* [*wĕqatal* or *wĕyiqtol*]), conjunctive (a conjunction), asyndetic (without *waw* or a conjunction).[8] The word orders are: subject or subjective modifiers first; object or

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aspect is punctual; in *yiqtol* clauses, aspect is continuous and actions take time or extend over time. Aspect is a feature of the verbal forms: an analysis, relating it to situation and tense, is found in R.S. Hendel, "In the Margins of the Hebrew Verbal System: Situation, Tense, Aspect, Mood", *ZAH* 9 (1996) 152-181, pp. 163-168. When tense is considered a function of the verbal forms, rather than of syntax, it combines with time to produce what its proponents call "absolute tense" ("the reference point for the location of a situation in time is the present moment") or "relative" tense ("the reference point ... is some point in time given by the context"): cf. B. Comrie, *Tense* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 56; R.S. Hendel, "In the Margins of the Hebrew Verbal System", pp. 158-163.

[7]   Participial and infinitival clauses also express time, aspect, and tense, and fill out the verbal system. The infinitive marks absolute time like *yiqtol* and a punctual act like *qātal*, while the participle expresses relative time like *qātal* and continuous action like *yiqtol*. Their tense depends on word order and clause type, and is subject to the usual syntactic conditions. Joosten treats the participle in various kinds of clauses and according to different word orders (subject-participle, and vice versa) but he ignores the effect of the clause types, and argues that the participial form as such always expresses present tense, and that the two word orders mark aspectual opposition: cf. J. Joosten, "The Predicative Participle in Biblical Hebrew", *ZAH* 2 (1989) 128-158.

[8]   The only possible surprise in the list of clause types is that *wayyiqtol* is the consecutive form of *qātal*, NOT a *yiqtol* clause, and that *wĕqatal* is consecutive *yiqtol*, NOT a *qātal* clause: this was suspected by Joosten who argued that *wĕqatal* is not *qātal* but a separate formal category with its own function, a continuation of *yiqtol* in many instances but nevertheless distinct from it (J. Joosten, "Biblical Hebrew *wĕqātal* and Syriac *hwā qātel* Expressing Repetition in the Past", *ZAH* 5 [1992] 1-14). This definition is based on the realization that tense is not due to verb form, but is a function of word order and clause type, and that both *qātal* and *yiqtol* sequences use *waw* and the opposite conjugation to mark consecutive clauses. They are simply verb-first clauses that mark consecution, and their distinctiveness is emphasized at times by changing their accentual pattern:

objective modifiers first; verb or verbal modifiers first.[9] Apart from first position, the word order of the remaining clausal elements is not significant for time, tense or aspect. In consecutive and paratactic clauses the order is always verb first, but in asyndetic, disjunctive and conjunctive clauses any order is possible.[10]

In detail, the time, tense, and aspect of these clauses in the past or present indicative depends on word order and on the order of clauses. Consecutive *qātal* clauses (*wayyiqtol*) mark a complete act in past time and so are preterite or, maintaining their time and aspect (complete and punctual), express the tense of the clause they continue. Consecutive *yiqtol* clauses (*wĕqatal*) express a repeated or distributive (occurring in each instance) action in past time and so are imperfect or, maintaining their time and aspect (continuous, distributive or repeated), have the tense of the lead clause. Paratactic *qātal* clauses (*wĕqatal*) mark a complete act in past time and so are preterite or, like consecutive clauses, maintain their own time and aspect (complete and punctual) and have the tense of the lead clause. Paratactic *yiqtol* clauses (*wĕyiqtol*) express a repeated or distributive action in past time and so are imperfect or, maintaining their time and aspect (continuous, repeated or distributive) continue the tense of the lead clause. Asyndetic and disjunctive clauses, both *qātal* and *yiqtol*, express past time when they are subject or object first, but express simultaneous or present time when they are verb first: in *qātal* clauses, subject first marks prior time, object first marks complete time, and verb first is simultaneous time (= present perfect in a past sequence, but present tense in a present, future, modal or nominal sequence); in *yiqtol* clauses, subject first expresses durative or habitual action in the past, object first expresses repeated or distributive action in the past, and verb first expresses ongoing and incomplete action in the present. Conjunctive clauses, like asyndetic and disjunctive clauses, express past time when they are object first, but they have the opposite system in the other word orders: subject first marks simultaneous or present time, and verb first expresses past time.[11]

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cf. R.L. Goerwitz, "The Accentuation of the Hebrew Jussive and Preterite", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992) 198-203; E.J. Revell, "Stress and the *WAW* 'Consecutive' in Biblical Hebrew", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 104 (1984) 437-444; id., "The Conditioning of Stress Position in *WAW* Consecutive Perfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew", *Hebrew Annual Review* 9 (1985) 277-300; E. Qimron, "Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: The Form of the Imperfect with *WAW* in Biblical Hebrew", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 77 (1986-87) 149-161.

[9] Verbal modifiers in first position influence tense only in verb-first clauses, notably in verb-first disjunctive clauses (*waw* + X + verb) as the element (X) which intervenes between the *waw* and the verb. They are insignificant for tense in the other word orders: that is, a verbal modifier may precede the subject or the object in subject first or object first clauses.

[10] Cf. W. Gross, "Zur syntaktischen Struktur des Vorfeldes im hebräischen Verbalsatz", *ZAH* 7 (1994) 203-214. Gross stresses the significance of initial position in a clause and explains which clausal elements may intervene in the *Vorfeld* between it and the verb: there are two slots, one for conjunctions or deictics, one for other nominal or pronominal constituents. In effect, clauses begin with or without *waw* or a conjunction and would include the five basic types (asyndetic, disjunctive, consecutive, paratactic and conjunctive), but conjunctive clauses, being assimilated to clauses with or without *waw*, seem to lose their distinctiveness.

[11] This theory of tenses is descriptive and practical. It may have linguistic, historical, and comparative justification, but these are not explored. It differs from recent work on the Hebrew verbal system – specifically that of Hendel ("In the Margins of the Hebrew Verbal System", [n. 6,

Illustrations of the Theory

The examples in the first section illustrate the paradigms (Table 1) of *qātal* and *yiqtol* in the past and present indicative. The second section (Table 2) is meant to confirm the paradigms rather than deal extensively with the rest of the verbal system. It illustrates the changes produced in the paradigm when these clauses occur in sequence, coordination, or subordination; consecutive and paratactic clauses maintain the tense of the clause on which they are sequential; coordinate clauses have the tense of the clause to which they are parallel; in quotations, stative verbs are present tense in any type of clause, and verb first *yiqtol* clauses are modal; there are classes of future and modal clauses which are introduced by specific subordinating conjunctions. The second section, by describing the contexts, or environments, that have an influence on tense and mood, deals with texts which might otherwise be considered exceptions to the theory.

The illustrations are clauses isolated from their literary but not from their syntactic context. Translations are included to focus the Hebrew: Hebrew and English idiom do not match, and Hebrew time, tense and aspect usually cannot be reproduced in idiomatic English or, when they can, are rendered by periphrasis, circumlocution, or subordination.[12] It is the Hebrew syntax, not the English translation, that makes the point.

I. THE PAST AND PRESENT INDICATIVE

The past and present indicative are the regular meanings of *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses. In this section there are illustrations of these tenses and their aspects in the various types of clauses and according to their different word orders. In the next section there will be examples of clauses in sequence, coordination and subordination. The illustrations are from prose and poetry: each has its preferences in word order, clause

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above]) and Müller (H.-P. Müller, "Das Bedeutungspotential der Afformativkonjugation. Zum sprachgeschichtlichen Hintergrund des Althebräischen", *ZAH* 1 [1988] 74-98, 159-190; "Nicht-junktiver Gebrauch von *w-* im Althebräischen", *ZAH* 7 [1994] 141-174, esp. pp. 165-170) in being particular rather than general, syntactic rather than semantic and, by distinguishing form and function, in dissociating meaning from verbal form and attaching it to specific clauses occurring in sequence, subordination and coordination. These may not be virtues, but ignoring word order and clause type, and opting instead for frozen verbal forms with the intrinsic meanings they carried from their preterite, future or modal origins, leads to complicated theories that, although they reveal the intricacies of the language, do not seem to resolve the very basic problems of tense and mood in biblical Hebrew.

[12] English is just the opposite of Hebrew in that it expresses tense by verbal forms, and aspect by grammar (auxiliaries and particles) and syntax (periphrasis): cf. L.J. Brinton, *The Development of English Aspectual Systems. Aspectualizers and Post-Verbal Particles* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 49), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. The incompatibility of idiom was stressed by Z. Zevit in "Talking Funny in Biblical Henglish and Solving a Problem of the *Yaqtul* Past Tense", *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988) 25-32.

type, and sentence structure, but the same principles of tense and mood are observed in both registers. An overview is given in Table 1.

Table 1

	QATAL	YIQTOL
Time =	Relative	Absolute
Aspect =	Punctual Act	Continuous Action

ASYNDETIC AND DISJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

	Time		Tense	Time		Tense
S...	prior	=	perfect pluperfect	durative habitual	=	past
O...	complete	=	preterite	repeated distributive	=	imperfect
V...	simultaneous	=	present present perfect	incomplete progressive	=	present

CONJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

	Time		Tense	Time		Tense
S...	simultaneous	=	present present perfect	incomplete progressive	=	present
O...	complete	=	preterite	repeated distributive	=	imperfect
V...	prior	=	perfect pluperfect	durative habitual	=	past

CONSECUTIVE AND PARATACTIC CLAUSES

	Time		Tense	Time		Tense
V...	complete	=	preterite	repeated distributive	=	imperfect

A. Asyndetic and Disjunctive Clauses

Asyndetic clauses have no marked beginning (neither *waw* nor a conjunction) and can have any word order. Disjunctive clauses interpose some clausal element (X) between the introductory *waw* and the verb (*waw* + *X* + *qātal* or *yiqtol*). With subject first and or object first they express past tense but with verb first they are present or simultaneous.[13]

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[13] The word order, and sometimes the tense, of asyndetic and disjunctive clauses is discussed in discourse analysis under headings like "backgrounding", "topicalization", "emphasis", or "topic

Illustrative clauses are separated by an oblique line (/) in the Hebrew text, and by a comma in translation. To illustrate the relative time of a *qātal* clause, the clause that sets the time is also included.

a. Subject First

Subject first *qātal* clauses mark prior time in the past, and subject first *yiqtol* clauses express durative or habitual actions in the past. Since their context is included, the subject of the subject first *qātal* clauses is capitalized.

(i) Subject First *Qātal* Clauses

1   *ʾABRAM yāšab bĕʾereṣ kĕnaʿan / WĕLOṬ yāšab bĕʿārê hakkikkār / wayye ʾĕhal ʿad sĕdom* (Gen 13:12). "ABRAM (had) settled in the land of Canaan, and LOT (had) settled in the cities of the rift, and he pitched his tent near Sodom."
2   *hinnēh hakkesep ʾittî / ʾANI lĕqaḥtîw* (Judg 17:2). "I have the silver, I took it."
3   *ʾARYEH šāʾag / mî loʾ yîrāʾ* (Amos 3:8). "A LION has roared, who can not fear?"
4   *YHWH lammabbûl yāšab / wayyēšēb yhwh melek lĕʿôlam* (Ps 29:10). "YHWH was enthroned on the flood, and Yhwh has been enthroned as king for ever."

(ii) Subject First *Yiqtol* Clauses

5   *mošeh yĕdabber / wĕhāʾĕlohîm yaʿănennû bĕqôl* (Exod 19:19). "Moses spoke, and God answered him in thunder."
6   *ʾîš hayyāšār bĕʾênāyw yaʿăśeh* (Judg 17:6). "Each one did what was right in his own eyes."
7   *wĕhûʾ bammĕlākîm yitqallās* (Hab 1:10). "And he held kings in derision."
8   *yhwh ʿoz lĕʿammô yittēn / yhwh yĕbārēk ʾet ʿammô baššālôm* (Ps 29:11). "Yhwh gave strength to his people, Yhwh blessed his people with wellbeing."

b. Object First

Object first *qātal* clauses mark a completed act in past time and are preterite. Object first *yiqtol* clauses express repeated or distributive (by each subject, each time) actions in past time and are imperfect. The object is direct, indirect or an objective complement.

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switching": cf. T. Givón, "The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect", C.N. Li, ed., *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*, Austin: University of Texas, 1977, 181-254. But J. Myhill ("Non-Emphatic Fronting in Biblical Hebrew") observes that their word order is due to both discourse and syntactic factors, and that it is syntax which determines which element of the clause is put first in the clause when the verb is not first (pp. 138-139).

(i) Object First *Qātal* Clauses

9   *wĕ'êlê ṣo'nĕkā lo' 'ākāltî / tĕrēpâ lo' hēbē'tî 'ēlêkā* (Gen 31:38-39). "And rams from your flock I did not eat, prey I did not bring to you."
10   *'ĕlohîm lo' yĕdā'ûm* (Deut 32:17). "Gods (whom) they did not know."
11   *'iššâ rā'îtî bĕtimnātā* (Judg 14:2). "I saw a woman in Timnah."

The next example contrasts an object first (complete time) and a subject first (prior time) *qātal* clause:
12   *kol mamlĕkôt hā'āreṣ nātan lî yhwh 'ĕlohê haššamāyim / wĕhû' pāqad 'ālay libnot lô bayit* (Ezra 1:2). "All the kingdoms of the world Yhwh the God of Heaven gave to me, and he has commissioned me to build him a house."

(ii) Object First *Yiqtol* Clauses

13   *'elep 'olôt ya'ăleh šĕlomoh 'al hammizbēaḥ hahû'* (1 Kgs 3:4). "Solomon offered a thousand burnt offerings on that altar."
14   *wĕhe'ārîm yahărosû / wĕkol ḥelqâ tôbâ yašlîkû 'îš 'abnô* (2 Kgs 3:25). "And they demolished the cities, and each one threw a rock on every fertile field."
15   *hodeš yihyû ballĕbānôn* (1 Kgs 5:28). "For a month they were in Lebanon."
16   *lî yiz'āqû* (Hos 8:2). "To me they cried."

The next example contrasts object first (repeated action) and subject first (habitual action) *yiqtol* clauses:
17   *kol hayyôm kāzāb wāšod yarbeh / ûbĕrît 'im 'aššûr yikrotû / wĕšemen lĕmiṣrayim yûbāl* (Hos 12:2). "He kept accumulating lies and ruin, and they kept making treaties with Assyria, and oil was regularly brought to Egypt."

c. Verb First

Verb first *yiqtol* clauses express continuous (incomplete or progressive) action in the present. Verb first *qātal* clauses mark simultaneous time which, following on a present, future, modal or nominal clause (## 18-21), is present tense but, following a past tense clause (# 22), is past tense. Verbal modifiers may precede the verb in asyndetic clauses, but they must precede the verb in disjunctive clauses.

Since their context is also included, the verb first *qātal* clauses are distinguished by capitalizing their verbs.

(i) Verb First *Qātal* Clauses

18   *kullānû bĕnê 'îš 'eḥād naḥnû / kēnîm 'ănaḥnû / lo' HĀYÛ 'ăbādêkā mĕraggĕlîm* (Gen 42:11). "All of us are sons of one man, we are honest, your servants ARE NOT spies."
19   *hăbēl hăbālîm / 'ĀMAR qohelet* (Qoh 1:2). "'Vanity of vanities', SAYS Qohelet."

20   *kî ʿāmad melek babel ʾel ʾēm hadderek / běroʾš šnê hadděrākîm / liqsom qāsem / QILQAL bahissîm / ŠAʾAl battěrāpîm / RAʾA bakkābēd / bîmînô HAYA haqqesem yěrûšālāyim* (Ezek 21:26-27). "For the king of Babylon has halted at the parting of the ways, at the top of the two roads, to perform divination. He TOSSES arrows, CONSULTS the teraphim, INSPECTS the liver, in his right hand IS Jerusalem's fate."

21   *ʾeprayim lěšammâ tihyeh běyôm tôkēḥâ / běšibtê yiśrāʾēl HODAʿTI ne ʾěmānâ* (Hos 5:9). "Ephraim will become desolate on the day of rebuke, among the tribes of Israel I PROCLAIM the truth."

22   *hāʾôyēb tammû / hŏrābôt laneṣah / wěʿārîm nātaštā / ʾABAD zikrām hēmmâ* (Ps 9:7). "The enemy had been wiped out, ruined forever, and you tore down (their) cities, their very name HAS DISAPPEARED."

(ii) Verb First *Yiqtol* Clauses

23   *lammâ lî rob zibhêkem / yoʾmar yhwh* (Isa 1:11). "'What are your many sacrifices to me', says Yhwh."

24   *ʾal rāʾšê hehārîm yězabbēhû / wěʿal haggěbāʿôt yěqattěrû* (Hos 4:13). "On the mountain tops they sacrifice, and on the hills they offer incense."

25   *ʿim hāsîd tithassād / ʿim gěbar tāmîm tittammām / ʿim nābār titbārār / wě ʿim ʿiqqēš titpattāl* (Ps 18:26). "With the faithful you are faithful, with the blameless you are blameless, with the pure you are pure, and with the crooked you are perverse."

The following examples contrast the time and aspect of verb first *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses:

26   *ʾēlêhā yāboʾû roʿim wě edrêhem / TĀQĚʿÛ ʿālêhā ʾŏhālîm sābîb / RAʿU ʾîš ʾet yādô* (Jer 6:3). "Against her come shepherds and their flocks, they PITCH tents all around her, they GRAZE, each one his allotted area."

27   *bězaʿam tiṣʿad ʾāreṣ / běʾap tadûš goyim / YĀSĀʾTĀ lěyēšaʿ ʿammekā* (Hab 3:12-13). "In rage you bestride the earth, in anger you trample nations, you COME FORTH to deliver your people."

Conclusion

Asyndetic and disjunctive *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses generally agree in expressing past or present tense. They are distinguished from each other by their time and aspect, and by the nuances of each. Time and aspect are not independent or separable features, but attributes of tense which are inherent in the verbal forms. Tense is not expressed by verbal forms, but by word order, and by the position of the verb, in specific types of clauses.

B. CONJUNCTIVE CLAUSES

Conjunctive clauses begin with a conjunction and can have any word order. Object first conjunctive clauses have the same time and tense as object first asyndetic and

disjunctive clauses, but the temporal significance of the other orders is reversed in conjunctive clauses. Subject first conjunctive clauses express simultaneous time or present tense, like verb first asyndetic and disjunctive clauses. Verb first conjunctive clauses express past time, prior in *qātal* clauses, durative or habitual in *yiqtol* clauses, like subject first asyndetic and disjunctive clauses. Whatever the reason for this reversal, there may be some analogy with the use of the opposite conjugation in consecutive *qātal* (= *wayyiqtol*) and *yiqtol* (= *wĕqātal*) clauses.

Some conjunctions, such as *lākēn*, indicate that a *yiqtol* clause is future tense, and other conjunctions, such as *ka ʾăšer*, mark *yiqtol* clauses as modal. Generally, however, a *qātal* or *yiqtol* clause headed by a conjunction (notably *kî* and *ʾăšer*) is past or present indicative.

a. Subject First

Subject first *yiqtol* clauses express continuous (incomplete or progressive) action in the present tense. Subject first *qātal* clauses mark simultaneous time, which is present tense relative to a future, modal, present or nominal clause (## 28-33), present perfect or past tense in past contexts (## 34-35).

Since their context is also included, the subject first *qātal* conjunctive clauses are capitalized.

(i) Subject First *Qātal* Clauses

28   *wĕ ʾim tĕma ʾănû / ûmĕrîtem / hereb tĕ ʾukkĕlû / KI PI YHWH DIBBER* (Isa 1:20). "And if you refuse, and rebel, you will be devoured by the sword, FOR THE MOUTH OF YHWH IS SPEAKING."

29   *šim ʿû šāmāyim / wĕha ʾăzînû ʾeres / KI YHWH DIBBER* (Isa 1:2). "Hear, Heavens, and listen, Earth, FOR YHWH IS SPEAKING."

30   *šoptēnî yhwh / KI ʾANI BETUMMI HALAKTI* (Ps 26:1). "Judge me Yhwh, FOR I WALK IN MY INTEGRITY."

31   *ha ʿŏd lānû heleq wĕnahălâ bĕbêt ʾābînû / HALO ʾ NOKRIYYOT NEHŠABNU LO* (Gen 31:14-15). "Do we still have a share or an inheritance in the house of our father? ARE WE NOT THOUGHT OF AS ALIENS BY HIM?"

32   *wĕzeh lĕkā hā ʾôt / KI ʾANOKI ŠILLAHTIKA* (Exod 3:12). "And this is the sign THAT I AM SENDING YOU."

33   *ʾattem ro ʾîm hārā ʿâ / ʾăšer ʾănahnû bāh / ʾAŠER YERUŠALAYIM HAREBA* (Neh 2:17). " 'You have seen the difficulty we are in, HOW JERUSALEM IS IN RUINS.' "

34   *wayyo ʾmer yhwh ʾĕlohîm / HEN HA ʾADAM HAYA KE ʾAHAD MIMMENNU* (Gen 3:22). "And Yhwh God said, 'BEHOLD, THE MAN HAS BECOME LIKE ONE OF US.' "

35   *wĕlo ʾ yāda ʿ ya ʿăqob / KI RAHEL GENABATAM* (Gen 31:32). "And Jacob did not know THAT RACHEL WAS STEALING THEM."

The next example contrasts the tenses of conjunctive and asyndetic subject first *qātal* clauses:

36   *wĕ°omĕrâ °ēlāyw* ... / *KI °ANŠE MIQNEH HAYU* / ... *wa°ămartem* / *°anšê miqneh hāyû °abādêkā minnĕ°urēnû* (Gen 46:31, 34). "And I will say to him, '... BECAUSE THEY ARE HERDSMEN', ... and you will say, 'Your servants have been herdsmen from our youth'."

(ii) Subject First *Yiqtol* Clauses

37   *kî haggôyim hā°ēlleh* / *°ăšer °attā yôrēš °ōtām* / *°el mĕ°onĕnîm yišmā°û* (Deut 18:14). "For these nations, whom you are dispossessing, listen to mantics and diviners."

38   *kî yhwh yismĕkēnî* / *lo° °îrā°* ... (Ps 3:6-7). "Because Yhwh sustains me, I am not afraid ..."

39   *kî lipnê lahmî °anhātî tābô°* (Job 3:24). "Because my sighing comes before my food."

The next example contrasts the aspects of conjunctive *qātal* (punctual) and conjunctive *yiqtol* (continuous) clauses. The *qātal* clause is capitalized; the following *yiqtol* clause is not.

40   *layhwh hā°āres ûmĕlô°āh* / *tēbēl wĕyošĕbê bāh* / *KI HU° °AL YAMMIM YESADAH* / *wĕ°al nĕhārôt yĕkonĕnehā* (Ps 24:1-2). "To Yhwh belongs the earth and its fulness, the world and those who live in it, BECAUSE HE FOUNDS IT ON THE SEAS, and maintains it on the rivers."

b. Object First

Object first *qātal* clauses are preterite, marking completed and punctual activity in past time. Object first *yiqtol* clauses are imperfect, expressing repeated or distributive action in the past. The object is direct, indirect or an objective complement.

(i) Object First *Qātal* Clauses

41   *kî °eres hannegeb nĕtattānî* / *wĕnātattā lî gullot mayim* (Josh 15:19). "Since you gave me the land of the Negeb, give me the water rights as well."

42   *kî štayim rā°ôt °āśâ °ammî* / *°ōtî °āzĕbû* ... (Jer 2:13). "Because my people committed two crimes, they abandoned me ..."

43   *wĕhālĕkû kā°iwrîm* / *kî layhwh hātā°û* (Zeph 1:17). "And they will walk like blind men, because they sinned against Yhwh."

(ii) Object First *Yiqtol* Clauses

44   *kî lĕ°ośê hammĕlā°kâ yittĕnuhû* (2 Kgs 12:15). "Because they used to give it to the artisans."

45   *kî ma°ălēh hallûhît bibkî ya°ăleh bô* / *kî derek hôronayim za°ăqat šeber ye°o°ērû* (Isa 15:5). "For the ascent of Luhith with tears they ascended, on the road to Horonaim they raised a cry of destruction."

46   *kî hammāqôm / ᵓăšer yipneh hāroᵓš / ᵓahărāyw yēlēkû* (Ezek 10:11). "Because in the direction in which the front (wheel) faced, together with it they went."

c. Verb First

Verb first conjunctive *qātal* clauses, like subject first asyndetic or disjunctive *qātal* clauses, mark prior time in the past: prior time relative to a past tense clause is pluperfect, and relative to a present, future, modal or nominal clause is perfect. Verb first conjunctive *yiqtol* clauses, like subject first asyndetic or disjunctive *yiqtol* clauses, express habitual or durative action in the past.

The conjunctive *qātal* clauses are capitalized to distinguish them from their context.

(i) Verb First *Qātal* Clauses

47   *wayĕšallĕhēhû yhwh ᵓĕlohîm miggan ᶜēden laᶜăbod ᵓet hāᵓădāmâ / ᵓAŠER LUQQAH MIŠŠĀM* (Gen 3:23). "And Yhwh God sent him from the garden of Eden to till the soil FROM WHICH HE HAD BEEN TAKEN."

48   *wayyoᵓmĕrû / kēn taᶜăśeh / KAᵓAŠER DIBBARTA* (Gen 18:5). "And they said, 'Do just AS YOU HAVE SAID."

49   *ᵓEKA HAYETA LEZONA / qiryâ neᵓĕmānâ* (Isa 1:21). "HOW SHE HAS BECOME A HARLOT, the faithful city."

50   *wayyoᵓmer / loᵓ ᵓašallēhăkā / KI ᵓIM BERAKTANI* (Gen 32:27). "And he said, 'I will not let you go, UNTIL YOU HAVE BLESSED ME'."

(ii) Verb First *Yiqtol* Clauses

51   *kî min habbĕᵓēr hahîᵓ yašqû hāᶜădārîm* (Gen 29:2). "For from that spring they used to water the flock."

52   *wĕkol śîah haśśadeh terem yihyeh bāᵓāreṣ* (Gen 2:5). "Before there was any shrub of the field on the earth."

53   *ᵓaz yiqrāᵓ yehôšuaᶜ* (Josh 22:1). "Then Joshua summoned."

54   *wĕšāmaᶜ ᵓēt kol ᵓašer yaᶜăśûn bānāyw ... / wĕᵓēt ᵓăšer yiškĕbûn ᵓet hannāšîm* (1 Sam 2:22). "And he kept hearing what his sons were doing, and how they were sleeping with the women."

55   *wayĕdabber ᵓēlêhā / kî ᵓadabbēr ᵓel nābôt hayyizrĕᵓēᵓlî* (1 Kgs 21:6). "And he said to her, 'Because I talked to Naboth the Jezreelite'."

The temporal and aspectual difference between *qātal* (prior time, punctual act) and *yiqtol* (past time, habitual or durative) is illustrated in the next example. Both clauses are capitalized.

56   *wayyassēg ᵓet hammaqlôt / ᵓAŠER PISSEL / bārŏhāṭîm / bĕšiqătôt hammayim / ᵓAŠER TABOᵓNA HASSOᵓN LIŠTOṬ* (Gen 30:38). "And he arranged the rods, WHICH HE HAD PEELED, in the runnels, in the drinking troughs, WHERE THE SHEEP USED TO COME TO DRINK."

Conclusion

Conjunctive clauses, like asyndetic and disjunctive clauses, generally are past or present. They differ from them by reversing the time and tense of subject first and verb first clauses.

C. CONSECUTIVE AND PARATACTIC CLAUSES

Consecutive and paratactic *qātal* clauses are preterite: like object first asyndetic, disjunctive, and conjunctive clauses they state a fact or mark an activity or narrate an event completed in past time. Consecutive and paratactic *yiqtol* clauses, similarly, like object first asyndetic, disjunctive and conjunctive clauses, express repeated or distributive actions in past time.

Paratactic *qātal* clauses begin *wĕqatal*, paratactic *yiqtol* clauses begin *wĕyiqtol*. Affirmative consecutive clauses begin with *waw* and the opposite conjugation: an affirmative consecutive *qātal* clause begins *wayyiqtol*, an affirmative consecutive *yiqtol* clause begins *wĕqatal*. This beginning is the distinctive feature of this type of clause and, since it is evident from the other types of clause that the conjugations differ in time and aspect but not in tense, this use of the opposite conjugation confirms the perfect balance of the verbal system. Negative consecutive clauses, in which *waw* is separated from the verb by the negative particle (*loʾ*), revert to the original conjugations, becoming *wĕloʾ qātal* in *qātal* clauses, and *wĕloʾ yiqtol* in *yiqtol* clauses.

The two uses of *wĕqātal* are distinguished by their syntactic contexts. A *wĕqātal* clause is paratactic *qātal* in or following a *qātal* sequence. A *wĕqātal* clause is consecutive *yiqtol* in all the other syntactic contexts, namely, in or following a *yiqtol*, modal or nominal sequence.

A construction peculiar to consecutive and paratactic *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses is the use of formulaic *wayhî* or *wĕhāyâ*, plus a temporal or circumstantial phrase or clause, which is continued by consecutive clauses. If introduced by *wayhî*, the construction is *qātal*; if introduced by *wĕhāyâ*, it is either paratactic *qātal* or consecutive *yiqtol*, in accordance with the syntactic context.

a. Consecutive *qātal* Clauses

Affirmative consecutive *qātal* clauses begin *wayyiqtol*. In the negative, they begin *wĕloʾ qātal*.

57   *wĕloʾ yākol yôsēp lĕhitʾappēq lĕkol hannissābîm ʿālāyw / wayyiqrāʾ* ... / *wĕloʾ ʿāmad ʾîš ʾittô* ... / *wayyittēn ʾet qôlô* ... (Gen 45:1-2). "Joseph was not able to control himself in front of those waiting on him, and he announced ..., and no one stayed with him ..., and he raised his voice ..."

58   *wayyišmĕʿû kol yābēš gilʿad* .../ *wayyāqûmû kol ʾîš hayil / wayyiśĕʾû ʾet qupat šāʾûl wĕʾet qupôt bānāyw / wayyēbîʾēm yābēšâ / wayyiqbĕrû ʾet ʿasmôtêhem* ... / *wayyasûmû šibʿat yāmîm / wayyamot šāʾûl bĕmaʿǎlô / ʾǎšer māʿal bayhwh* ... (1 Chron 10:11-14). "And all Jabesh Gilead heard ..., and all the brave men arose,

and they carried Saul's body and the bodies of his sons to Jabesh, and they buried their bones ..., and they fasted seven days, and Saul died for his trespass, which he committed against Yhwh ..."

59   *wayhî / ʾaḥar haddĕbārîm hāʾēlleh / wattiśśāʾ ʾēšet ʾădonāyw ʾet ʿênêhā ʾel yôsēp / watto̊ʾmer* ... (Gen 39:7). "It happened, after these things, that his master's wife set her eyes on Joseph and she said ..."

b. Consecutive *yiqtol* Clauses

In the affirmative *yiqtol* clauses begin *wĕqātal*; negative clauses begin *wĕloʾ yiqtol*. They may be introduced by *wĕhāyâ* + an adverbial phrase or clause.

60   *wayyihyû šnêhem ʿārûmîm / hāʾādām wĕʾištô / wĕloʾ yitbošāšû* (Gen 2:25). "The two of them were naked, the man and his wife, and they were not ashamed."

61   ... *kî min habbĕʾēr hahîʾ yašqû hāʾădārîm / ... / wĕneʾespû šammâ kol hāʾădārîm / wĕgālălû ʾet hāʾeben ... / wĕhišqû ʾet haṣṣo̊n / wĕhēšîbû ʾet hāʾeben* ... (Gen 29:2-3). "... for from that spring they used to water the flocks ..., and all the flocks would gather there, and they would roll away the stone ..., and they would water the sheep, and they would return the stone ..."

62   *wĕʿēlî zāqēn mĕʾod / wĕšāmaʿ ʾēt kol ʾăšer yaʿăśûn bānāyw* (1 Sam 2:22). "And Eli was very old, and he kept hearing what his sons were doing."

63   *koh ʾāmar yhwh ʿal hannĕbîʾîm / hammatʿîm ʾet ʿammî / hannošĕkîm bĕšinnêhem / wĕqārĕʾû šālôm / waʾăšer loʾ yittēn ʿal pîhem / wĕqiddĕšû ʿālāyw milḥāmâ* (Mic 3:5). "Thus says Yhwh concerning the prophets, who have been leading my people astray, who have been chewing with their teeth and proclaiming peace, and who have been declaring war against anyone who did not give them (something to put) in their mouths."

64   *wĕhāyâ / kaʾăšer yārîm mošeh yādô / wĕgābar yiśrāʾēl / wĕkaʾăšer yānîḥ yādô / wĕgābar ʿămāleq* (Exod 17:11). "It happened, whenever Moses lifted his hand, Israel prevailed, and whenever he dropped his hand, Amalek prevailed."

c. Paratactic *qātal* Clauses

Paratactic *qātal* clauses generally are preterite, marking punctual acts in completed past time. They regularly begin or end a sequence but also occur in sequences individually or in series.

65   *ûmêšaʿ melek môʾāb hāyâ noqēd / wĕhēšîb lĕmelek yiśrāʾēl* ... (2 Kgs 3:4). "And Mesha, king of Moab, was a sheep breeder, and he remitted to the king of Israel ..."

66   *wĕheḥĕrîšû hāʿām / wĕloʾ ʿānû ʾotô dābār* (2 Kgs 18:36). "The people were silent, and they did not answer him a word."

67   *wĕyāsāʾ ʾel minnegeb lĕmaʿăleh ʾaqrabbim / wĕʿābar ṣinâ / wĕʿālâ ... / wĕʿābar ... / wĕʿālâ ... / wĕnāsab ... / wĕʿābar ... / wĕyāsāʾ ... / wĕhāyû toṣĕʾôt haggĕbûl yammâ / zeh yihyeh lākem gĕbûl negeb* (Josh 15:3-4). "And (the border) went south of the ascent of Akrabbim, and passed Zin ..., and went up ..., and

passed ..., and went up ..., and turned ..., and passed ..., and went ..., and the border ended at the sea: this was your southern border."

d. Paratactic *yiqtol* Clauses

Paratactic *yiqtol* clauses express repeated or distributive action in past time. They occur either in series, or separately, and often at the beginning or end of a sequence.

68   *wĕyištammēr ḥuqqôt ʿomrî / wĕkol maʿăśeh bêt ʾāḥʾāb / wattēlĕkû bĕmoʿăśôtām* ... (Mic 6:16). "And there was observance of the customs of Omri, and of all the practices of the house of Ahab, and they walked in their devices."
69   *bĕkoaḥ yādî ʿāśîtî / ... / wĕʾāsîr gĕbûlôt ʿammîm / ... / wĕʾôrîd kaʾabbîr yošĕbîm* (Isa 10:13). "By the strength of my hand I have acted, ..., and I changed the boundaries of peoples, ..., and like a bull I brought down their rulers."
70   *wĕhišmîʿû ʿalayik bĕqôlām / wĕyizʿāqû mārâ / wĕyaʿălû ʿāpār ʿal rāʾšêhem* (Ezek 27:30). "They made their moans for you heard, they cried bitter tears, they put dust on their heads."

CONCLUSION

Clauses in both conjugations regularly are past or present tense, and differ in time and aspect. Time and tense and nuances of aspect are marked by word order in each type of clause. Clause types are determined by their beginnings. Word order consists in the precedence of the subject, object or verb. Tense is retrieved by reading clauses as they were written, from the beginning, word by word, and in relation to their specific contexts.

II. TENSE AND MOOD IN CONTEXT

Tense is marked by word order in specific types of clauses, but it is also determined by context. Context is the syntactic relation between clauses, consisting of sequence, subordination, or coordination. Each context has specific and limited effects on tense and mood (Table 2).

According to context, a clause which regularly is past tense in the indicative may be present or future or modal, and a clause which usually is present tense may be past. These clauses, taken separately, apart from their context, would contradict the rules of the past and present indicative. The following illustrations, therefore, are meant to reaffirm the principles and paradigms of the past and present indicative. They confirm the effect of clause type by showing that it determines tense and mood not only in past and present indicative clauses but also in future and modal clauses. They extend the principle of word order – that what comes first affects the meaning of the clause – to the order of clauses in sequence and coordination. They prove that tense and mood are not a matter of morphology but a function of syntax.

Table 2

PAST and PRESENT	FUTURE	MODAL
	SUBORDINATION Consequential	Conditional Interrogative Comparative Temporal Purpose Result Object Relative
Parallelism Statives	**COORDINATION** Parallelism	Parallelism Verb initial *yiqtol*
Asyndetic Clauses Consecutive Clauses Paratactic Clauses	**SEQUENCE**	

A. SUBORDINATION (Table 2)

Conjunctive clauses introduced by specific conjunctions, or by particular categories of conjunctions, are modal or future. These clauses are sub-types of conjunctive clauses, distinguished by how they begin, and confirm the significance of clause type in the expression of tense and mood. They are subordinate, and their futurity and modality is a function of their particular syntactic relationship to the preceding or following clause.

1. Subordinate Modal Clauses

a. Conditional Clauses

Conditional clauses are introduced by conjunctions such as *kî ʿattā, ʾim*, or *ʾûlay* with *yiqtol* in real conditions, and by conjunctions such as *lû* and *lûlēʾ* with *qātal* in contrary-to-fact or unreal conditions. Modal conditional clauses can have any word order and, although they do not express tense, their word order defines their time and aspect. They are continued by consecutive, disjunctive, paratactic or conjunctive clauses.

The apodoses of real conditional clauses are future in *yiqtol* clauses, but keep their regular tense and aspect in *qātal* clauses. The apodoses of unreal conditions generally are modal.

(i) Real Conditions

71 *ʾûlay yĕmuššēnî ʾābî / wĕhāyîtî bĕʿênāyw kimtaʿtēaʿ* (Gen 28:20). "If my
father should feel me, I will be like a fool in his eyes."

72 *ʾim yihyeh ʾĕlohîm ʿimmādî / ûšĕmārānî badderek hazzeh … / wĕnātan lî
lehem leʾĕkol ûbeged lilboš / wĕšabtî bĕšālôm ʾel bêt ʾabî / wĕhāyâ yhwh lî
lēʾlohîm* (Gen 28:20). "If God should be with me, and should keep me on this
journey …, and should give me food to eat and clothing to wear, and (if) I should
return to my father's house in peace, Yhwh will be my God."

73 *ʾim kĕmôt kol hāʾādām yĕmutûn ʾēlleh / ûpĕquddat kol hāʾādām yippāqēd
ʿălêhem / loʾ yhwh šĕlāhānî* (Num 16:29). "If a common death all these should die,
and (if) a common fate should befall them, Yhwh has not sent me."

(ii) Unreal Conditions

74 *lûlê ʾĕlohê ʾābî … hāyâ lî / kî ʿattā rēqām šillaḥtānî* (Gen 31:42). "If the
God of my father … were not on my side, by now you would have sent me away
empty handed."

75 *ʾim loʾ hābîʾôtîw ʾēlĕkā / wĕhiṣṣagtîw lĕpānêkā / wĕhāṭāʾtî lĕkā kol
hayyāmîm* (Gen 43:9). "If I were not to bring him to you, and (were not to) set him
before you, I should be culpable before you for ever."

76 *kî lûlēʾ hitmahmāhnû / kî ʿattā šabnû zeh paʿămāyim* (Gen 43:10). "For if
we had not delayed, by now we would have returned twice."

77 *wayyoʾmer / ʾāhay bĕnê ʾimmî hēm / hay yhwh / lû hahăyitem ʾôtām / loʾ
hāragtî ʾetkem* (Judg 8:19). "And he said, 'They are my brothers, sons of my
mother. As Yhwh lives, if you had spared their lives, I would not kill you.'"

b. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative clauses are introduced by conjunctions or by interrogative pronouns,
and are continued by any type of clause. Interrogative *yiqtol* clauses are optative or
subjunctive, while interrogative *qātal* clauses are indicative or modal and if modal,
unreal, hypothetical or rhetorical. All these keep their proper time and aspect.

Simple interrogative conjunctions include *hă-* and *ʾim*, for instance, and compound
or complex questions are introduced by *hă- … wĕ* and by *hă- … kî*. Interrogative
pronouns are also either simple (*mâ, mî, meh*), compound (*mî … wĕ-*) or complex
(*ʿal meh, lammâ, mâ … kî, mî … kî*).

78 *wayyābēʾ ʾel hāʾādām lirʾôt / mâ yiqrāʾ lô* (Gen 2:19). "And he brought
(them) to Adam to see what he would call them."

79 *haʾēlēk wĕqārāʾtî lāk ʾiššâ mêneqet* (Exod 2:7). "Should I go and fetch you
a wetnurse."

80 *hamĕʿat kî heʿĕlîtānû … / kî tiśtārēr ʿālênû* (Num 16:13). "Is it too little
that you have brought us up here … that you would lord it over us?"

81   *mah besaᶜ kî nahărog ʾet ʾāḥînû* (Gen 37:26). "What profit (would there be) if we should kill our brother."

82   *mî ʾānokî kî ʾēlēk ʾel parᶜoh* (Exod 3:11). "Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh?"

83   *mî hāʾîš hehākām / wĕyābēn ʾet zoʾt / waʾăšer dibbēr pî yhwh ʾēlāyw / wēyaggîdāh* (Jer 9:11). "Who is the wise man, who might understand this, and what the mouth of Yhwh has spoken, and might recount it?"

84   *mî millēl lĕʾābrāhām / hênîqâ bānîm śārâ* (Gen 21:7). "Who would have said to Abraham, 'Sara has nursed children?'"

c. Purpose and Result Clauses

Purpose and result is expressed in *yiqtol* clauses introduced by specific conjunctions (such as *lĕmaᶜan*, *pēn*), or in paratactic *yiqtol* clauses (*wĕyiqtol*) in modal sequences. They are continued by *yiqtol* consecutive or disjunctive clauses.

85   *loʾ toʾkĕlû mimmennû / ... / pēn tĕmûtûn* (Gen 3:3). "Do not eat it ... lest you die."

86   *pēn yirʾeh bĕᶜênāyw / ûbĕʾoznāyw yišmaᶜ / ûlĕbābô yābîn / wĕšāb / wĕrāpāʾ lô* (Isa 6:10). "Lest (this people) see with its eyes, and hear with its ears, and understand in its heart, and repent, and find healing for itself."

87   *wĕhābîʾû ʾet ʾăḥîkem haqqāṭôn ʾēlay / wĕʾēdĕʾâ / kî loʾ mĕraggĕlîm ʾattem* (Gen 42:34). "And bring your youngest brother to me, so that I might know that you are not spies."

d. Comparative Clauses

Comparative clauses are introduced by *ʾăšer*, usually in combination with a preposition (*kāʾăšer, kĕ ... ʾăšer, bāʾăšer, mēʾăšer* and *mē- ... ʾăšer*). A *yiqtol* clause states a comparison that is real or likely, a *qātal* clause marks a comparison as unreal or impossible. In both the verb usually is first and, if they were not modal, they would express past time.

88   *kĕhol hayyām / ʾăšer loʾ yissāpēr mērōb* (Gen 32:13). "Like the sand in the sea, which in its abundance cannot be counted."

89   *kāʾăšer yĕdabbēr ʾîš ʾel rēᶜēhû* (Exod 33:11). "As a man might speak to his friend."

90   *wĕʾānokî holēk lāgûr / bāʾăšer ʾemṣāʾ* (Judg 17:9). "And I have been travelling to settle wherever I might find (a place)."

91   *wattĕhî lākem ḥāzût hakkol / kĕdibrê hassēper heḥātûm / ʾăšer yittēn ʾotô ʾel yôdēaᶜ sēper* (Isa 29:11). "And the entire vision became to you like the words of a sealed book, which one might give to someone who knows how to read."

92   *tôb ʾăšer loʾ tiddor / miššettiddôr / wĕloʾ tĕšallēm* (Qoh 5:4). "Better that you not vow, than that you should vow, and not fulfill."

93   *hahokmâ tāʿoz lĕhākām mēʿăśārâ šallîṭîm / ʾăšer hāyû bāʿîr* (Qoh 7:19). "Wisdom has always empowered the wise more than ten tyrants who might be in a city (would empower it)."

e. Object Clauses

A *yiqtol* clause introduced by *kî* which is the object of the verbs "know" (*yādaʿ*) or "hear" (*šāmaʿ*) is modal. A *qātal* clause is indicative (# 98) and has its usual tense and aspect.[14]

94   *wayyēdaʿ ʾônān / kî loʾ lô yihyeh hazzeraʿ* (Gen 38:9). "And Onan knew that the seed would not be his."

95   *hăyādôaʿ nēdaʿ / kî yoʾmar / hôrîdû ʾet ʾăhîkem* (Gen 43:7). "Could we have known that he would say, 'Bring your brother down?' "

96   *kî šāmĕʿû / kî šām yoʾkĕlû lāhem* (Gen 43:25). "Because they had heard that they would eat bread there."

97   *yādaʿtî / kî ʾănî ʾesdaq* (Job 13:18). "I know that I can be vindicated."

98   *wĕhûʾ loʾ yādaʿ / kî yhwh sār mēʿālāyw* (Judg 16:20). "And he did not know that Yhwh turned away from him."

f. Relative Clauses

Relative *yiqtol* clauses with deictic antecedents are modal. Deictic antecedents include demonstrative pronouns, substantives with the definite article, the object-marker *ʾet*, or a pronominal suffix, and *kol* ("any, all") when used substantively, or when it modifies the antecedent of the relative clause.[15]

99   *wĕzeh / ʾăšer taʿăśeh ʾôtāh* (Gen 6:15). "And this is how you should make it."

100   *wĕhannābîʾ wĕhakkohēn wĕhāʿām / ʾăšer yoʾmar ...* (Jer 23:34). "And the prophet, priest or people who might say ..."

101   *wĕ elîšaʿ hālâ ʾet holyô / ʾăšer yāmût bô* (2 Kgs 13:14). "And Elisha was ill with his illness from which he would die."

102   *wayyiqqah ʾet bĕnô habbĕkôr / ʾăšer yimlok taḥtāyw* (2 Kgs 3:27). "And he took his firstborn son, who was to reign after him."

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[14]   Cf. E. Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II: Syntax and Semantics", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 (1982) 26-38, p. 32.

[15]   E. Talstra ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II: Syntax and Semantics", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 [1982] 26-38, pp. 31-32) pointed out that a relative clause whose antecedent is modified by *kl* is modal. But he also argued that relative clauses whose antecedents have the definite article are present or future, and that it is clauses with indefinite antecedents (those without the definite article) which are modal. However, if antecedents with the definite article are included with other deictic antecedents, it seems better to analyze all these relative clauses as modal. The relative clauses with indefinite antecedents which Talstra analyzed as modal (Exod 21:13; 32:1; Judg 1:12) should be taken as future, not because of their antecedents, but because they are in direct discourse.

103   *wĕʾet mišpāṭay māʿăsû / ʾăšer yaʿăśeh ʾotām hāʾādām / wāḥay* (Ezek 20:13). "And they rejected my precepts, which a man might observe, and live."

104   *wĕkol / ʾăšer tittēn lî / ʿaśśer ʾăʿaśśĕrennû lāk* (Gen 28:22). "And of everything, which you might give me, I will give the tithe to you."

105   *mikkol / ʾăšer yēṣēʾ miggepen hayyayin / loʾ toʾkal* (Judg 13:14). "Whatever the grapevine might produce she must not eat."

g. Temporal Clauses

Temporal *yiqtol* clauses introduced by the compound relative *ʿad ʾăšer* are modal, and express indefinite time. Temporal *qātal* clauses – and temporal infinitival clauses (*ʿad šûb ...*, # 106) – which are introduced by *ʿad ʾăšer* are indicative.

(i) Temporal *Yiqtol* Clauses

106   *bĕraḥ lĕkā ʾel lābān ʾāḥî hārānâ / wĕyāšabtā ʿimmô yāmîm ʾăḥādîm / ʿad ʾăšer tāšûb ḥămat ʾāḥîkā / ʿad šûb ʾap ʾāḥîkā mimmĕkā / wĕšākaḥ ʾet ʾăšer ʿāśîtā lô* (Gen 27:44-45). "Flee to my brother Laban in Haran, and stay with him a few years, until your brother's rage might subside – until your brother's anger has subsided – and (until) he can forget what you have done to him."

107   *ʾēlēk / ... / ʿad ʾăšer yeʾšĕmû / ûbiqĕšû pānāy / baṣṣar lāhem yĕšaḥărunĕnî* (Hos 5:15). "I will go, ..., until they (might) acknowledge their guilt, and seek my face, in their distress search me out."

(ii) Temporal *Qātal* Clauses

108   *ʿad ʾăšer tammû kol haggôy laʿăbor ʾet hayyardēn* (Josh 3:17). "Until the whole nation had finished crossing the Jordan."

109   *wĕsāḥabnû ʾotô ʿad hannaḥal / ʿad ʾăšer loʾ nimṣaʾ šām gam sĕrôr* (2 Sam 17:13). "And we shall drag it into the valley, until not even a pebble is found there."

2. Subordinate Future Clauses

Clauses introduced by the conjunction *lākēn* ("therefore") express the temporal consequence of an action. With *yiqtol* they are always future, but with *qātal* (# 113) are past or present indicative. They are to be distinguished from clauses introduced by *ʿal kēn* which express a non-temporal consequence and which, with *qātal* or *yiqtol* (## 114-116), regularly are past indicative.

110   *lākēn ... šoršam kammāq yihyeh / ûpirḥām kāʾābāq yaʿăleh* (Isa 5:24). "Therefore ... their root will be like rot, and their fruit will go up like dust."

111   *lākēn hinnēh ʾānokî mĕpattêhā / wĕholaktîhā hammidbār* (Hos 2:16). "Therefore, behold I am enticing her, and I will lead her into the wilderness."

112   *lākēn koh ʾeʿĕśeh lĕkā yiśrāʾēl / ʿēqeb kî zoʾt ʾeʿĕśeh lāk* (Amos 4:12). "Therefore so I will do to you Israel, just as I did this to you."

113   *lākēn hāyĕtâ ṣiqlāg lĕmalkê yĕhûdâ ʿad hayyôm hazzeh* (1 Sam 27:6). "Therefore Ziklag has belonged to the kings of Judah until today."
114   *ʿal kēn qārāʾ šēm hammāqom sukkôt* (Gen 33:17). "Therefore he called the place Sukkot."
115   *ʿal kēn loʾ yidrĕkû kohănê dāgôn … ʿal miptān dāgôn ʿad hayyôm hazzeh* (1 Sam 5:5). "Therefore the priests of Dagon never stepped … on the threshold of Dagon to this very today."
116   *ʿal kēn yoʾmĕrû / hăgam šāʾûl bannĕbîʾîm* (1 Sam 19:24). "Therefore they used to say, 'Is Saul too among the prophets?' "

CONCLUSION

There are categories of subordinate conjunctive clauses which are always modal or future indicative. They are recognized by the conjunctions which introduce them and are distinct from past and present indicative conjunctive clauses. If they were not modal or future they would be exceptions to the general paradigms of tense.

B. COORDINATION

Coordination is the interclausal continuance of a subject, an object or a verb, through apposition, repetition, quotation or parallelism. Quotation and parallelism affect tense and mood, but only under specific conditions.

1. Parallelism

There are various kinds of parallelism, but only one which affects tense and mood. This kind consists of clauses (a) with the same word order, and (b) ellipsis in the parallel clause of one or more elements of the clause to which it is parallel. The parallel clause assumes the tense or mood of the clause to which it is parallel, but maintains its own time and aspect.
Parallel clauses are asyndetic, or disjunctive. They are parallel to asyndetic, disjunctive or conjunctive clauses. The second, parallel, clause elides the conjunction, subject and / or object, of the first clause. The tense and mood of the parallel clause is not that indicated by its own type and word order, but the tense of the first clause, as marked by the ellipsis in the second, parallel, clause.

a. Asyndetic Clauses

(i) Parallel to Asyndetic Clauses

117   *ʿālāyw yišʾăgû kĕpirîm / nātĕnû qôlām* (Jer 2:15). "At him the lion cubs growled, raised a din."
118   *bĕkā bāṭĕhû ʾăbôtēnû / bāṭĕhû wattĕpallĕṭēmô* (Ps 22:5). "In you our fathers trusted, trusted and you delivered them."
119   *kol ʿober ʿālêhā yišroq / yānîaʿ yādô* (Zeph 2:15). "Everyone who passed by her gasped, shook his hand."

120   *kol rēʿêhā bāgĕdû bāh* / *hāyû lāh lĕʾoyĕbîm* (Lam 1:2). "All her friends have betrayed her, have become her enemies."

(ii) Parallel to Conjunctive Clauses

121   *ʾêkā hāyĕtâ lĕzônâ qiryâ neʾĕmānâ* / *mĕlēʾātî mišpāṭ* (Isa 1:21). "How she has become a harlot, faithful city, (how) she was full of justice!"

122   *kî yeled yullad lānû* / *ben nittan lānû* (Isa 9:5). "For a child is born to us, a son is given to us."

123   *kî hinnēh hārĕšāʿîm yidrĕkûn qešet* / *kônĕnû hiṣṣām ʿal yeter* (Ps 11:2). "For behold the evil draw the bow, fix their arrows to the string."

(iii) Parallel to Disjunctive Clauses

124   *wayhwh lĕʿôlām yēšēb* / *kônēn lammišpaṭ kisʾô* (Ps 9:8). "And Yhwh ascended the throne for ever, he established his throne for judgment."

b. Disjunctive Clauses

125   *kî šām bālal yhwh śĕpat kol hāʾāreṣ* / *ûmiššam hĕpîṣām yhwh ʿal pĕnê kol hāʾāreṣ* (Gen 11:9). "Because there Yhwh confused the language of the whole world, and from there Yhwh dispersed them across the face of the whole world."

126   *kî ʾāḥîw mēt* / *wĕhûʾ lĕbaddô nišʾār* (Gen 42:38). "For his brother is dead, and he alone is left."

127   *kî ʾeben miqqîr tizʿāq* / *wĕkapis mēʿēṣ yaʿănennāh* (Hab 2:10ᵃ11). "For a stone from the wall cries out, and the creak of the beam answers it."

128   *ʾăšer yĕrûšālāyim hărēbâ* / *ûšĕʿārêhā niṣṣĕtû bāʾēš* (Neh 2:17). "How Jerusalem is in ruins, her gates destroyed by fire."

Conclusion

The effect of parallelism on tense and mood illustrates the importance of context, word order and the distinction of clause types. A parallel clause begins with ellipsis which marks it as belonging to the same clause type as the first. It maintains the word order of the first clause, and therefore has the same tense. Clauses can be distinguished but, as parallelism indicates, they cannot be separated from their syntactic context.

2. Quotation

Quotation is a form of coordination since the quoted speech is the object of the clause which introduces it, and is embedded in the discourse which contains it. In quoted speech, or direct discourse, all *yiqtol* clauses are future indicative, except those which are marked as modal, or as past or present indicative, by their verbal form, their clause type, or their syntax. The future clauses can be of any type and can have any word order.

Clauses are marked by their syntax as either modal or as past or present indicative by subordination (II A), coordination (II B 1) or sequence (II C). These clauses are not affected by direct discourse.

The clauses which are marked by their verbal form or their type and which do NOT become future in direct discourse are: (a) verb initial *yiqtol* clauses, first in the discourse, which are modal; (b) stative *yiqtol* and *qātal* clauses, of any type and with any word order, and anywhere in the quotation, which are present indicative.

Future *Yiqtol* Clauses

Unless otherwise marked, all *yiqtol* clauses are future in direct discourse. This includes clauses of all types – asyndetic, disjunctive, consecutive, paratactic, conjunctive – and with any word order.

129   *wayyoʾmer hāʾādām … / ʿal kēn yaʿăzob ʾîš ʾet ʾābîw wěʾet ʾimmô / wědābaq běʾištô / wěhāyû lěbāśār ʾehād* (Gen 2:23-24). "And Adam said, '…, therefore a man will leave his father and his mother, and will cling to his wife, and they will become one flesh.' "

130   *wayyiqrāʾ ʾet šěmô noah lēʾmor / zeh yěnahămēnû mimmaʿăśēnû* (Gen 5:29). "And he called his name Noah, saying 'This one will bring us relief from our work'."

131   *wěʾattā ʾāmartā / hêṭēb ʾêṭîb ʿimmāk* (Gen 32:13). "And you said, 'I will do you good'. "

132   *wěʾattā ʾāmartā bilbāběkā / haššamayim ʾeʿĕleh* (Isa 14:13). "And you said in your heart, 'I will ascend to heaven'."

133   *ʾāmar ʾôyēb / ʾerdop ʾaśśîg* (Exod 15:9). "The enemy said, 'I will pursue, I will overtake'."

134   *hôy ʾennāhēm miṣṣāray / wěʾinnāqěmâ mēʿoyěbay* (Isa 1:24). "Lo! I will get satisfaction from my adversaries, and I will take vengeance on my enemies."

135   *wayyoʾmer yhwh … / ʿad ʾānâ yěnaʾăṣûnî hāʿām hazzeh … / ʾakkennû baddeber …* (Num 14:11-12). "And Yhwh said, '… How long would this people despise me …, I will strike them with pestilence'."

Verb-Initial *Yiqtol* Clauses

An asyndetic *yiqtol* clause is modal in a quotation when it is (a) verb initial, (b) first in the direct discourse, and (c) second or third person. However, if the verb is first person (# 133), unless it is marked as modal (cohortative, # 138), or if it is not initial but is preceded by its subject, object, or verbal modifier (## 130-132), or if the clause is not at the beginning of the quotation (# 135), the *yiqtol* clause is future as usual.[16]

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[16]   Cf. W. Gross, "Die Position des Subjekts im hebräischen Verbalsatz, untersucht an den asyndetischen ersten Redesätzen in Gen, Ex 1-19, Jos-2Kön", *ZAH* 6(1993) 170-187. The verb initial clauses with first person singular verbs (p. 176, first section) are modal when the verb is cohortative (Gen 33:15; Judg 8:24; 14:12), but future when it is not (Gen 6:7; 34:11 [?]; Exod 3:17; 1 Sam 18:21; 2 Sam 10:2)

136   *ʾāmar ʾĕlohim / loʾ toʾkĕlû mimmennû* (Gen 3:3). "God said, 'You must not eat from it'."

137   *ʾāmôr lāhem / yĕbārekĕkā yhwh / wĕyišmĕrekā* (Num 6:23-24).[17] "Say to them, 'May Yhwh bless you, and keep you'."

138   *wayyoʾmer lāhem gidʿôn / ʾešʾălâ mikkem šĕʾēlâ* (Judg 8:24). "And Gideon said to them, 'Let me ask you a favor'."[18]

Stative Clauses

Stative clauses, of any kind, with any word order, whether *qātal* or *yiqtol*, are present tense in direct discourse. Outside of direct discourse they have the regular time, tense and aspect determined by their conjugation, word order and clause type. Stative clauses are defined by verb form and grammar. The verb forms have peculiar vocalic patterns in both conjugations (*qātēl*, *qātol*, *yaqtēl*). They are regularly intransitive, or are completed by object clauses, or by objective complements, rather than direct objects. Not all stative clauses belong to both these defining categories.

139   *wayhî / kî zāqēn yishāq ... / wayyoʾmer / hinnēh nāʾ zāqantî / loʾ yādaʿtî yôm môtî* (Gen 27:1-2). "And it happened, when Isaac had grown old, that he said, 'Behold, I am old, I do not know the day of my death'."

140   *wayyoʾmer yaʿăqob ... / qātontî mikkol hahăsādîm* (Gen 32:10ª11). "And Jacob said, 'I am unworthy of all the kindness'."

141   *waʾănî kaʾăšer šākoltî šākāltî* (Gen 43:14). " 'And I, as I am bereaved, I am bereaved'."

142   *kî kābēd mimmĕkā haddābār / loʾ tûkal ʿăśohû lĕbaddekā* (Exod 18:18). "'Because the task is too onerous for you, you are not able to do it alone'."

143   *wayyaʿănû ... / wayĕdabbĕrû ... / ʾēl ʾĕlohim yhwh / ʾēl ʾĕlohîm yhwh / hûʾ yôdēaʿ / wĕyiśrāʾēl hûʾ yēdaʿ* (Josh 22:21-22). "And they answered ... and said, 'Yhwh is God of Gods, Yhwh is God of Gods, he knows, and Israel knows'."

144   *meh ʿāśîtî ʿattā kākem ... / ûmah yākoltî ʿăśôt kākem* (Judg 8:2-3). "What have I done in comparison with you, and what can I do in comparison with you."

145   *wattoʾmar / raq śānēʾtānî / wĕloʾ ʾāhabtānî* (Judg 14:16). "And she said, 'You just hate me, and you do not love me'."

146   *wayyoʾmer ʾēlîšaʿ / hay yhwh sĕbāʾot / ʾăšer ʿāmadtî lĕpānāyw* (2 Kgs 3:14). "And Elisha said, 'As Yhwh of Hosts lives, before whom I stand'."

147   *yoʾmar yhwh / śābaʿtî ʿolôt* (Isa 1:11). "Says Yhwh, 'I am sated with burnt offerings'."

148   *ʾêk toʾmĕrî / loʾ nitmēʾtî* (Jer 2:23). "How can you say, 'I am not unclean'."

When not in direct discourse, stative clauses follow the general rules of moods and tenses. For instance:

149   *wĕhāʾādām yādaʿ ʾet hawwâ* (Gen 4:1). "And Adam knew Eve."

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[17]   Cf. A. Niccacci, "A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: Yiqtol and Postion in the Sentence", (n. 1), p. 8.

[18]   Cf. J. Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose", (n. 1) p. 16.

150   *wayyirē°û °ehāyw / kî °otô °āhab °ābîhem ... / wayyiśně°û °otô / wělo°*
yākělû dabběrô lěšālôm (Gen 37:4). "And his brothers saw that their father loved
him ..., and they hated him, and they could not speak to him peaceably."

151   *wětimmē° °et hattopet* (2 Kgs 23:10). "And he defiled the Tophet."

152   *kěmar°îtām wayyiśbā°û* (Hos 13:6). "As they grazed they were sated."

Conclusion

The changes effected by direct discourse exemplify the general principle that tense
and mood are determined by syntax and not merely by morphology. Verb-initial
yiqtol clauses would be present tense in ordinary discourse, but are modal in direct
discourse. Stative clauses in either conjugation are like any other clause in ordinary
discourse, but are present tense in quoted speech. In effect the quotation marks
heading a speech in direct discourse mark the changes in specific kinds of clauses.

C. SEQUENCE

Sequence is the syntactic relation between clauses of the same kind. It is most
common and most familiar in consecutive clauses, but it connects like clauses of all
types.

Sequence affects tense only under specific conditions: (1) consecutive and paratactic
clauses maintain the tense of the lead clause; (2) verb-initial asyndetic clauses in the
wayhî or *wěhāyâ* consecutive construction maintain the past tense of the formulaic
introduction; (3) in verb first asyndetic and disjunctive *qātal* clauses which are also
first in their sequence, simultaneous time is measured against the preceding
sequence, and is either past or present accordingly. In these clauses, evidently, first
or second position in the sequence overrides the usual tense prescribed by word
order and clause type.

1. Consecutive and Paratactic Clauses

Tense is affected by sequence in consecutive and paratactic clauses. Taken
separately, these clauses express past tense. In sequence, they maintain the tense and
mood of the lead clause.[19] Since past tense is common, the illustrations are confined
to sequence of consecutive and paratactic clauses on a present tense clause.

153   *wayyo°mer mošeh lěhotěnô / kî yābo° °ēlay hā°ām lidroš °ělohîm / ... / bā°*
°ēlay / wěšapattî bên °îš ûbên rē°ēhû / wěhôda°tî °et huqqê hā°ělohîm wě°et
tôrotāyw (Exod 18:15-16). "And Moses said to his father-in-law, 'If the people
should come to me to inquire of God ..., they come to me, and I judge between a
man and his neighbor, and I make known the precepts of God and his laws'."

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[19]   This is the common opinion. Waltke and O'Connor, who advocate a tenseless system and
analyze consecutive clauses as fulfilling a subordinate function, call it "the common error" and
dismiss it (*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, p. 554).

154 *lĕpānāyw yēlēk dāber / wĕyēṣēʾ rešep lĕraglāyw / ʿāmad / wayĕmodded*
ʾereṣ / rāʾâ / wayyatter gôyim / wayyitpoṣĕṣû harĕrê ʿad / šāhû gĕbāʿôt ʿôlām ...
(Hab 3:5-6). "Before him goes plague, and pestilence comes at his heels, he stands
and measures the earth, looks and scatters nations, and the eternal mountains are
disheveled, the everlasting hills collapse ..."

155 *kî yeled yullad lānû / ben nittan lānû / wattĕhî hammiśrâ ʿal šikmô /*
wayyiqrāʾ šĕmô ... (Isa 9:5). "For a child is born to us, a son is given to us, and
dominion is on his shoulder, and his name is called ..."

156 *wayyuggad lĕyôʾāb / hinnēh hammelek bokeh / wayyitʾabbēl ʿal ʾābšālôm* (2
Sam 19:2). "And it was reported to Joab, 'Behold the king is crying, and laments for
Absalom'."

157 *hahûʾ ʾāmar / wĕloʾ yaʿăśeh / wĕdibbēr / wĕloʾ yĕqîmennâ* (Num 23:19).
"Does he say, and not do, and speak, and not bring it about?"

158 *bĕʾor habboqer yaʿăśûhā ... / wĕhāmĕdû śādôt / wĕgāzālû / ûbattîm /*
wĕnāśāʾû / wĕʿāšĕqû geber ûbêtô / ʾîš wĕnahălātô (Mic 2:1-2). "At the crack of
dawn they do it, ..., they covet fields, and steal them, houses, and take them, they
oppress a citizen and his household, a man and his inheritance."

159 *šĕʾāgâ lô kallābîʾ / yišʾag kakkĕpîrîm / wĕyinhom wĕyoʾhēz ṭerep /*
wĕyaplît wĕʾên maṣṣîl (Isa 5:29). "He has a roar like a lion, he roars like lion cubs,
he growls and seizes his prey, he carries it off and no one can help."

2. Asyndetic Clauses in the *wayhî* and *wĕhāyâ* Construction

Formulaic *wayhî* or *wĕhāyâ*, followed by a circumstantial or a temporal phrase or
clause, usually are continued by a consecutive clause, but may be continued by an
asyndetic clause. When this asyndetic clause is verb first, the construction overrides
the usual tense of the clause, and the asyndetic clause is preterite (*qātal*) or imperfect
(*yiqtol*) like the consecutive clauses which regularly occur in the construction.

160 *wayhî / bĕʾahat ʿeśrēh šānâ ... / hāyâ dēbar yhwh ʾēlay ...* (Ezek 30:20). "It
happened, in the eleventh year ..., that the word of Yhwh occurred to me ..."

161 *ûmošeh yiqqah ʾet hāʾohel / wĕnātâ lô mihûṣ lammahăneh ... / wĕqārāʾ lô*
ʾohel môʿēd / wĕhāyâ / kol mĕbaqqēš yhwh / yēṣēʾ ʾel ʾohel môʿēd ... / wĕhāyâ
kēsēʾt mošeh ʾel hāʾohel / yāqûmû kol hāʾām / wĕniṣṣĕbu ... / wĕhibbîtû ... (Exod
33:7-8). "And Moses (always) took the tent, and he used to pitch it for himself
outside the camp, and he used to call it the tent of meeting, and it was the custom
that whoever inquired of Yhwh would go out to the tent of meeting ..., and it was
the custom that as Moses came out of the tent, the people would rise, and they
would stand ..., and they would gaze ..."

162 *wĕhāyâ / bĕmôt haššopēṭ / yāšûbû / wĕhišhîtû mēʾăbôtām* (Judg 2:19). "It
happened, when the judge died, that they went back and did worse than their
fathers."

3. Asyndetic and Disjunctive Clauses First in a Sequence

Asyndetic and disjunctive verb first *qātal* clauses mark simultaneous time (*qātal*). When they are first in their sequence, simultaneity is measured in relation to the preceding sequence: when it is past tense, they are preterite (*qātal*); when it is nominal, modal, present or future indicative, they are present.

Verb first asyndetic and disjunctive *yiqtol* clauses express absolute time and are not affected by position in a sequence, or by the tense of the preceding sequence. Their tense is present at the beginning of a sequence as it is within a sequence.

Verb First *Qātal* Clauses

The end of the preceding sequence is cited, but it is separated from the pertinent clauses by double slashes (//). It is not included in the biblical reference.

(i) Following a Past Tense Sequence

The verb first clauses are separated from the preceding sequences by their use of *waw*: they begin without *waw* after a sequence with *waw* (## 163-165), or they begin disjunctively (# 166) after a consecutive sequence.

163   *wayyipnû lipnê ʾîš yiśrāʾēl … / wĕhammilḥāmâ hidbiqathû … // kittĕrû ʾet binyāmin / hirdipûhû* (Judg 20:43). "And they turned before the men of Israel …, but the battle caught up with them … // They ambushed Benjamin, pursued him."

164   *wayyiben ʾet hehāṣēr happĕnîmît … // baššānâ hārĕbîʿît yussad bêt yhwh … / ûbaššānâ hāʾaḥat ʿeśrēh … kālâ habbayit* (1 Kgs 6:37-38). "And he built the inner court … // In the fourth year the foundation of the house of Yhwh was laid …, and in the eleventh year … the house was finished."

165   *wayyiqqābēr ʿim ʾăbotāyw bĕʿîr dāwid / wayyimlok ḥizqiyyāhû bĕnô taḥtāyw // bišnat štêm ʿeśrēh lĕʾāḥāz melek yĕhûdâ mālak hôšēaʿ ben ʾēlâ bĕšomrôn* (2 Kgs 17:1). "And he was buried with his fathers in the city of David, and Hezekiah his son reigned in his place. // In the twelfth year of Ahaz, king of Judah, Hoshea the son of Elah reigned in Samaria."

166   *wĕloʾ šāmĕʿû / wĕloʾ ʿāśû // ûbĕʾ arbaʿ ʿeśrēh šānâ lammelek ḥizqiyyâ ʿālâ sanhērîb melek ʾaššûr ʿal kol ʿārê yĕhûdâ* (2 Kgs 18:13). "And they did not listen, and they did not act. // And in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah, Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the cities of Judah."

(ii) Following a Non-Past Tense Sequence

The verb first asyndetic clauses begin a new sequence after nominal (# 166) or modal (# 167) sequences.

167   *hălôʾ ḥošek yôm yhwh wĕloʾ ʾôr / … // śānēʾtî māʾastî haggêkem / wĕloʾ ʾārîḥ bĕʾasserôtêkem* (Amos 5:21). "Is not the day of Yhwh darkness and not light … // I hate, I despise, your festivals, and I am not appeased by your assemblies."

168   šim῾â yhwh ... // bāḥantā libbî / pāqadtā laylâ / ṣĕraptānî bal timṣā᾽ / zammôtî bal ya῾ăbor pî (Ps 17:3). "Hear Yhwh ... // You try my heart, you visit me at night, you test me, you find nothing, I am resolute, my mouth does not transgress."

Verb First *Yiqtol* Clauses

The preceding sequences are consecutive or disjunctive and the asyndetic verb first *yiqtol* clauses, because of the change in the use of *waw*, begin separate sequences. The preceding sequences are past tense, and the present tense of the asyndetic verb first *yiqtol* clauses accentuates this segmentation of the text.

169   lo᾽ yāmîš ῾ammûd he῾ānān yômām wĕ῾ammûd hā᾽ēš laylâ lipnê hā῾ām (Exod 13:22). "The pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night do not move from before the people."
170   ῾al pî yhwh yisĕ῾û ... / wĕ῾al pî yhwh yaḥănû (Num 9:18). "At the word of Yhwh they set out ..., and at the word of Yhwh they camp."
171   yimṣā᾽ēhû bĕ᾽ereṣ midbar / ... / yĕsobĕbenhû yĕbonĕnēhû / yiṣṣĕrenhû kĕ᾽îšôn ῾ênô (Deut 32:10). "He finds him in a desert land ..., he encircles him, takes care of him, he protects him as the apple of his eye."[20]
172   yišgû so᾽nî bĕkol hehārîm (Ezek 34:6). "My sheep wander over all the mountains."
173   yišlaḥ mimmārôm / yiqqaḥēnî / yamšēnî mimmayim rabbîm / yaṣṣîlēnî mē᾽oyĕbî ῾oz ... (Ps 18:17-18). "He reaches down from on high, catches me, he takes me out of raging waters, saves me from my mighty enemy ..."

Conclusion

Sequence is the most fundamental of relationships between clauses. Together with subordination and coordination, its effect on tense and mood illustrates that these are not just a matter of verbal form, but a function of word order and clause type, and of super-clausal, and super-sentential syntactic relations.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Tense, and sometimes mood, is expressed by word order in the various types of clause. Word order consists in the precedence of the subject, object or verb. Clause type is determined by how the clause begins and by the conjugation (*qātal*, *yiqtol*) of the verb. The conjugations differ in aspect and time, but do not themselves express tense. Tense, according to clause type and word order, is regularly past or present

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[20]   These clauses are in a passage (Deut 32:10-11, 13) cited by A.F. Rainey ("The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation in the Light of Amarnah Canaanite", *Hebrew Studies* 27 [1986] 4-19, pp. 15-16) as evidence for "the ancient preterite ... employed without *wa*: as an archaism in contrast to the imperfect as past continuous" (which he finds in vv. 8-9 and 12).

indicative, but there are also specific kinds of subordinate conjunctive clauses, distinguished by their conjunctions, which are always future or modal.

Clauses, however, are not isolated, but are related to each other in sentences, and sentences accumulate in larger segments. Tense and mood are affected by these syntactic relations, but in a limited number of ways, and in line with the general principle that what comes first controls what follows. The most important syntactic relation, affecting both tense and mood is sequence: in asyndetic clauses it affects tense and mood at the beginning of a sequence or discourse or after *wayhî* and *wĕhāyâ*; consecutive and paratactic clauses in sequence continue the tense and mood of the lead clause. Coordination and quotation are like sequence in that what comes first is critical for the tense or mood of a following clause: *yiqtol* clauses are future in direct discourse; stative clauses, of any kind and with any word order are present tense ; parallel clauses have the same tense. Getting the tense and mood requires that the text be read as it was written - distinguishing clause types, following their word order, observing the sequence of clauses, paying attention to the development of the discourse.

The past and present indicative are relatively simple. They are the usual default tense and mood of the various clause types and word orders. They undergo regular changes according to their context. They can be distinguished from future and modal clauses, and from future and modal contexts. Their simplicity is a clue to the sophisticated verbal system built on the same principles.

Abstract:

Tense is a function of syntax, not of morphology. It is expressed in verbal clauses by word order, clause type, and syntactic context. Both *qātal* and *yiqtol* clauses are regularly past or present indicative, and are future or modal only under specifically marked syntactic conditions. This paper describes past and present indicative clauses, and the special effects of subordination, coordination, and sequence on tense and mood.

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