

A CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE BIBLICAL HEBREW VERBAL SYSTEM
THEORIES OF JOHN COOK AND JAN JOOSTEN BY APPLYING ASPECT
PROMINENT THEORY AND RELATIVE TENSE THEORY TO PSALMS 1–41

by

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for the degree of Master of Arts (Christian Studies)

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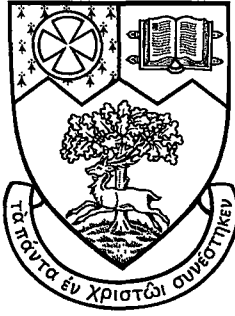
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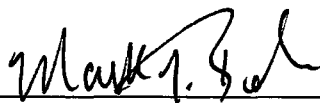
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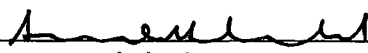
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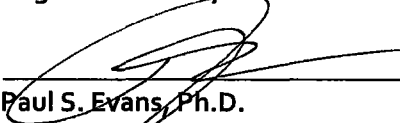
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ABSTRACT

Scholars have studied the Biblical Hebrew verbal system for an extended period of time. Over the last 150 years, scholarship on Biblical Hebrew grammar has been in transition. Historically, scholars observed the function of Hebrew verbs through the lens of traditional grammars. Currently, scholars are moving toward the study of Hebrew verbs through the application of complex linguistic methodologies. As a result of advancement and transition, the study of Biblical Hebrew grammar is convoluted. In 2012, John Cook and Jan Joosten each published their own understanding of the function of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. Through the application of an aspect prominent method, Cook considers the Biblical Hebrew verbal system to primarily express aspect. Joosten approaches the Biblical Hebrew verbal system through the lens of relative tense theory and concludes that Biblical Hebrew is primarily a temporal and modal language. Each scholar establishes their interpretation of verbal function through an observation of the same texts, but each arrives at an opposing conclusion. In this thesis, I provide a review of each scholar's theory. Particular attention is given to the *YIQTOL* verbal form. Following an exhaustive review, I provide possible criteria that can be used to determine *YIQTOL* function in real instances in real texts. I take the criteria of each method and apply them to Pss 1–41 as a test case. I provide each method an opportunity to observe *YIQTOL*'s function in Biblical Hebrew poetry. This study reveals that each method can effectively be applied to Biblical Hebrew poetry despite the fact that this genre of literature was the focus of either methodology. While each method is seen to be transferable between literary genres, I highlight instances where either theory could not explain *YIQTOL*'s function.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	<i>Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BHVS	Biblical Hebrew Verbal System
CS	Common Semitic
E	Time of the event
EA	El-Amarna
ES	Eastern Semitic
HB	Hebrew Bible
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NWS	North West Semitic
OT	Old Testament
Ptcp-Su	Participle-Subject
PS	Proto Semitic
R	Reference point
RH	Rabbinic Hebrew
S	Time of Speech
Su-Ptcp	Subject-Participle
TAM	Tense, Aspect, and Modality
WS	Western Semitic

LIST OF SYMBOLS

1, 2, 3	Person
Ø	Nothing
→	Becomes (Indicates the temporal precedence between two points)
←	Became (Indicates the temporal precedence between two points)
,	(Indicates the temporal simultaneity)
?	Possibly unacceptable
=	Equals
°	Composed
+	Plus or with
*	Unattested or reconstructed (for word forms)
X-VS	Verb-subject word order triggered by some fronted element (X)

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System

1.1. Introduction

Since the mid-nineteenth-century, the discussion of the universal categories Tense, Aspect, and Modality (TAM) has developed into a significant topic among grammarians and linguists. While tense was the primary category of debate in the early stages of TAM discussions, scholars have since turned their attention toward tense and aspect functioning together, the independent and dominating presence of aspect, and the functionality of modality within a language's verbal system. This area of study is a developing frontier of language analysis.

A popular topic among Hebrew Bible (HB) scholars is the discussion of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System (BHVS). Recently, scholars have realized that a variety of grammatical and linguistic methodologies reveal different understandings of the BHVS's function. HB scholars can no longer solely accept classic Biblical Hebrew (BH) grammars as the highest authority for understanding the BHVS or a majority of other grammatical elements of the language.¹ Furthermore, these grammatical reference materials and their categorization and division of the BH language units are increasingly found to be inaccurate or inadequate. Thus, BH language scholarship has been in transition for the last 150 years. Grammars are only used as instructional tools for beginning and intermediate BH students, while advanced students study modern linguistic methods.

¹ Traditional grammars are increasingly found to be unable to account for instances of abnormality in BH texts: e.g., Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*; Davidson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar*; Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*.

1.2. History of Research

During this era of transition, the BHVS has been subject to a wide variety of competing hypotheses. Jan Joosten states,

[S]cholars have argued that the Hebrew verbal forms express:

- Tense: whether absolute or relative;
- Aspect: perfective vs. imperfective, or stative vs. dynamic;
- Mood: indicative vs. non-indicative;
- Text-linguistic functions;
- “Exotic” functions.

In light of these divergent views, no consensus can be said to exist.²

Currently, it would appear that aspect theory is the most influential. In the following section I will review a portion of significant literature that discusses the TAM of the BHVS. In this section I will also address the theories of scholars who study other world languages, yet have a noticeable impact on the study of BH linguistics.³

Before the reader can truly appreciate the construction of this history of research, I must supply a few preliminary statements. First, I have not yet provided an explanation for the scope of this thesis intentionally. However, in order to understand why certain theories are discussed, I must present somewhat of an abstract. This thesis seeks to conduct a comparative analysis of two theories that have recently emerged from the chaotic waters of BHVS scholarship. These are the relative tense theory of Jan Joosten and the aspect prominent theory of John Cook. I intend to present a detailed review of each verbal system, but particular attention is given to the BH *YIQTOL* verbal form. This does not include *WAYYIQTOL*. Moreover, this thesis seeks to test each of these

² Joosten, “Do the Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Express Aspect?” 49–50.

³ Also, all BH citations taken from the Old Testament (OT) are quoted from the Masoretic Text (MT) as it is found in the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS). Furthermore, all English citations from the OT are taken from the *New American Standard Bible* (NASB), which are cited for ease of decoding the BH text.

methodologies against the First Book of the Psalter (Pss 1–41). Second, in the history of BHVS scholarship, many significant works are written in languages I do not understand, such as German and French. Through my research of secondary sources and other scholars' literature reviews, I consider some of these works to be important to the development of the noted discipline and, thus, must be included in order for the reader to fully grasp the development of TAM theories of BH. In order to include these works written in languages unknown to me, I rely heavily on secondary sources and their citation of the primary text. Third, this review does lend some bias to the articulation of the history of literature. By this I imply that I cite Joosten and Cook as secondary sources when I present certain theories. This is done so that I can accurately present Joosten's and Cook's theories as they rely on these significant works yet to be cited.

1.2.1. A Grammarian Approach

Typically, *YIQTOL* is translated into English in seven ways: simple past, progressive past, conditional, present, progressive present, future, and modal.⁴ Leslie McFall expands on this list and argues for eight possible translations: past, present, future, non-past modal, past modal, imperative, jussive or cohortative, and non-verbal.⁵ This conflict in possible translations illustrates the dilemma that faces BH scholars. It seems impossible to reach conclusions regarding the semantic possibilities of *YIQTOL*,

⁴ Davidson and Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 61–80; Ewald, *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament*, 1–13; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 359–73; Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraische Grammatik*, 29; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 479–518.

⁵ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 186–7. McFall's statistics for English verbal forms used in the RSV to translate *YIQTOL*: a) Past = 774; b) Present = 3,376; c) Future = 5,451; d) Non-past Modal = 1,200; e) Past Modal = 423; f) Imperative = 2133; g) Jussive or Cohortative = 789; h) Non-verbal = 153; McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 187.

the BH verbal form of particular importance to this thesis. In this section, I will review a grammarian approach to the semantic possibilities of *YIQTOL*.

Wilhelm Gesenius' work first appeared in 1817.⁶ Since the original publication of his grammar there have been 28 subsequent editions. David Moomo considers Gesenius to be of an older model of comparative-historical studies because the basis of his understanding of BH grammar is rooted in empirical data drawn from a comparison of Hebrew and Arabic.⁷ However, for the purposes of this thesis, Gesenius' work is considered as a traditional grammarian approach, because his 1817 grammar primarily functions to explain the morphological abnormalities in the HB. The following is an explanation of his methodology:

The chief requirements for one who is treating the grammar of an ancient language are—(1) that he should *observe* as fully and accurately as possible the existing linguistic phenomena and *describe* them, after showing their organic connexion (the empirical and historico-critical element); (2) that he should try to *explain* these facts, partly by comparing them with one another and by the analogy of the sister languages, partly from the general laws of philology (the logical element).⁸

C. H. J. Van der Merwe emphasizes that “Gesenius [...] set the description of Old Hebrew free from the constraints which dogmatics of his day had on it and described it rationally like any other language.”⁹

Gesenius in his understanding of the BHVS argues that there are “only two *tense-forms* (*Perfect* and *Imperfect* [...]), besides an *Imperative* (but only in the active), two *Infinitives* and a *Participle*.”¹⁰ Gesenius explains,

⁶ Van der Merwe, “The Grammatical Description of Old Hebrew Since AD 1800,” 162.

⁷ Moomo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb,” 8–10.

⁸ Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §3.

⁹ Van der Merwe, “The Grammatical Description of Old Hebrew Since AD 1800,” 162. For additional discussion on the hindrance of dogmatic thought to the study of Hebrew, see Rooker, “The Diachronic Study of Biblical Hebrew,” 203.

¹⁰ Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, §40.a.

The perfect serves to express actions, events, or states, which the speaker wishes to represent from the point of view of completion, whether they belong to a determinate past time, or extend into the present, or while still future, are pictured as in their completed state.¹¹

The imperfect, on the other hand, “represents actions, events, or states which are regarded by the speaker at any moment as still continuing, or in process of accomplishment, or even as just taking place.”¹² A clear weakness of Gesenius’ argument has to do with the lack of empirical evidence supplied in order to support his claim for the tense prominent nature of BH. Moomo notes that this lack of supporting evidence causes Gesenius’ claim that as the grammatical categories of tense are found in other Indo-European languages, so it is also present in BH, to become void.¹³

Paul Jouon and Takamitsu Muraoka have a similar approach to the BHVS as Gesenius. They state, “Corresponding to what we call tenses Hebrew has two forms which we, for want of a better alternative, shall call *perfect* and *future*.”¹⁴ Regarding mood, they state that “the perfect [...] and future [...] are *indicative*.”¹⁵ In addition, Jouon and Muraoka understand the future form to express two volitive nuances, “namely the *jussive* mood [...] and the *cohortative* mood.”¹⁶ Jouon and Muraoka discuss their terminology in §111. Interestingly, they bring the term “aspect” into their argument and state:

These aspects are 1) unity and plurality of action, according to whether the action is represented as unique and solitary, or repeated; 2) instantaneity and duration of action, according to whether the action is represented as being accomplished in

¹¹ Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, §106.a.

¹² Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, §107.a.

¹³ Moomo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal Conjugation Form,” 10–11. Moomo also emphasizes that Gesenius does not discuss the parameters that distinguish a tense prominent language from an aspect prominent language. This particular focus of Moomo’s dissertation has to do with his thesis topic, the distinguishing features of an aspect prominent or tense prominent language.

¹⁴ Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §40.b.

¹⁵ Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §40.b.

¹⁶ Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §40.b.

one instant or over a more or less protracted period of time. Obviously, these two aspects are analogous, and in fact they are generally expressed by the same forms.¹⁷

While they do include some element of aspectual language and argument, Jouon and Muraoka primarily hold to a tense prominent understanding of the BHVS. Similar to Gesenius, they emphasize the parallelism of BH to other Indo-European languages and apply some elements of old comparative-historical studies.¹⁸

In conclusion, this section reviewed the classic grammatical theories of Gesenius, as well as Jouon and Muraoka. While Gesenius' study of the BHVS includes some element of linguistic theory, it is primarily a grammatical approach. Furthermore, each of the theories reviewed in this section that build from Gesenius' work understand the BHVS to be a tense prominent language, although Jouon and Muraoka do include some discussion of aspect. Not only are these approaches tense prominent, but they actually hold to an absolute tense paradigm. An absolute tense paradigm approach is distinct from the Ewald-Driver theory, which is discussed in the following section.

1.2.2. Standard Theory (Temporal-Aspectual Theory)

Heinrich Ewald and Samuel Driver provide appropriate places to begin to trace the historical development of a linguistic approach to the BHVS. McFall rightly observes, "[T]he majority of scholars [working on the BHVS] still go back to two nineteenth-century theories, those of Ewald (1835) and Driver (1874)."¹⁹ Prior to Ewald and Driver, the influential theory which shaped standard theory states that "BH has three

¹⁷ Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §111.c. Jouon and Muraoka also emphasize two different types of aspect: instantaneous aspect, i.e. "to find", and durative aspect, i.e. "to look for." For further discussion on this subject, see Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §111.d.

¹⁸ Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §111.b.

¹⁹ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 27.

absolute tenses corresponding to the three times.”²⁰ These three absolute tenses were briefly discussed in the Section 1.2.1. The following table presents these three absolute tenses and their corresponding BH verbal form conjugation. This content is presented in order to provide the reader with a foundational understanding of the basis of standard theory:

Table 1.2.2.1. Nineteenth-Century Absolute Tense Basis Paradigm		
BH Verbal Form		Corresponding Absolute Tense
<i>QATAL</i>	=	Past
<i>QOTEL</i>		Present
<i>YIQTOL</i>		Future

In this section, I will review the standard theory according to Ewald and Driver. I will emphasize that this theory does not account for all the possible temporal expression of *YIQTOL*.

Ewald published his first BH grammar in 1847.²¹ Ewald assumes that human language is an evolutionary process.²² McFall states,

[Humanity] has first acted, passed through an experience and sees before [them] something that is finished; but this very fact reminds [them] of that which does not yet exist [...] Hence the speaker views everything either as already finished, and thus before [them], or as unfinished and non-existent, and possibly becoming and coming.²³

This assumption led him to divide the BHVS into two categories: 1) the simple forms, and 2) the consecutive forms.²⁴ The simple forms consist of the perfect and imperfect

²⁰ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 80.

²¹ It is interesting to consider the historical notes produced by Waltke and O’Connor. They state that Ewald is thought to be the first scholar to argue for an aspectual understanding of the BHVS; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 463. However, McFall argues that Johann Jahn is the first to apply the terms *perfectum* (perfect) and *imperfectum* (imperfect) to a Hebrew verb. McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 44. Citing Johann Jahn, *Grammatica linguae Hebraeae*, 1809. Despite the disagreement as to the origin of aspectual language in the BHVS, Ewald is the first to present the most convincing and comprehensive argument for BH as an aspectual language.

²² McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 44.

²³ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 44.

²⁴ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 44, 46.

opposition, as well as stative verbs. McFall explains that the perfect “is used [for] actions which the speaker from his present [point] regards as actually past and therefore *complete*.”²⁵ Furthermore, “[The perfect] is also used for actions which are regarded as finished but which reach right into the present.”²⁶ The imperfect “is used to describe *incomplete actions*, also what does not yet exist, what is going on or progressing towards completion.”²⁷

Cook goes further than McFall and observes that Ewald’s description of the “*QATAL* : *YIQTOL* opposition makes it clear that he understood them as aspectual even though he did not label them as such.”²⁸ DeCaen identifies Ewald’s binary opposition theory, the etymological distinctions between *QATAL* and *YIQTOL*, as rooted in a Latin Stoic-Varronian tense-aspect theory.²⁹ Ewald adapts its tense parameters in order to account for the two BH verbal forms in the simple verb form category: 1) incomplete (imperfect), and 2) complete (perfect).

Table 1.2.2.2. Ewald’s Chart of Stoic-Varronian Latin Verbs³⁰			
Aspect/Time	Past	Present	Future
Incomplete	<i>Amabam</i> (Imperfect) “I was loving”	<i>Amo</i> (Present) “I love”	<i>Amabo</i> (Future) “I shall love”
Complete	<i>Amaveram</i> (Pluperfect) “I had loved”	<i>Amavi</i> (Perfect) “I have loved”	<i>Amavero</i> (Future Perfect) “I shall have loved”

²⁵ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 45.

²⁶ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 45.

²⁷ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 46.

²⁸ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 84. Cook cites,

Da also die begriffe des vollendeten und unvollendeten nach der kraft und freiheit der einbildung auch beziehungsweise (relativ) so gebraucht werden können daß der redende, in welchem der drei reinen zeitkreise (vergangenheit, gegenwart, zukunft) er eine handlung sich denken mag, sie da entweder als vollendet oder als werdend und kommend setzen kann. Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch Der Hebraischen Sprache Des Alten Bundes*, 350.

²⁹ DeCaen, “Ewald and Driver on Biblical Hebrew ‘Aspect,’” 138.

³⁰ Binnick, *Time and the Verb*, 22; Robins, *A Short History of Linguistics*, 65.

McFall explains, when Ewald states “*allgemein*” he presumably implies the etymological meaning of complete and incomplete of *perfectum* and *imperfectum*.³¹

Cook states that Ewald’s theory is to be considered as an early aspectual theory. He explains, “By ‘early’ I mean to distance Ewald’s concept of aspect from the more recent and well-refined universal theories about aspect that distinguish perfective and imperfective from the misleading ideas of complete(d) and incomplete(d).”³²

Samuel R. Driver provides an expanded version of Ewald’s standard theory. McFall states that Driver popularized Ewald’s theory.³³ However, McFall notes that Driver did not acknowledge Ewald as the source of his work. Yet, according to McFall, an observation of Driver’s work clearly suggests a considerable amount of influence from Ewald.³⁴ While there are similarities between the two theories, Driver sets himself apart. For example, Driver begins his analysis by stating, “The Hebrew language in contrast to the classical languages in which the development of the verb is so richly varied, possesses only two of those modifications which are commonly termed *tense*.”³⁵ Driver maintains Ewald’s analysis of the opposition between *QATAL* and *YIQTOL*. However, Driver’s conception of the BHVS entails a three-fold contrast between *QATAL*, *QOTEL*, and *YIQTOL*, which expresses three ontological times—past, present,

³¹ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 44. McFall cites, “[...] diese namen aber nicht in dem engen sinne der Lateinischen Grammatik sondern ganz allgemein verstanden.” Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebraischen Sprache des Alten Bundes*, 350.

³² Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 86. There is some debate between DeCaen and Cook regarding Ewald’s use of aspectual language. Moomo notes that DeCaen voices some objection that Ewald never uses the term aspect in his description of the BHVS. Moomo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb,” 13 ft. 2 citing DeCaen, “Ewald and Driver on Biblical Hebrew ‘Aspect,’” 133. Cook, however, rejects this statement and provides his own translation of Ewald’s grammar. Cook emphasizes that the language Ewald uses clearly lends the theory to an aspectual understanding of the BHVS. Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 84–85 ft. 10.

³³ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 76.

³⁴ McFall, *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 61.

³⁵ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 1.

and future. Ewald also holds to a three-fold opposition, but his work emphasizes the use of the past and future, thus, leaving behind the present. Driver interprets these three ontological times aspectually, yet does not entirely reject the existence of tense. He also argues for three types of actions expressed by the BHVS—complete, continuing and incipient.³⁶ Furthermore, Driver’s theory is based on two principles. First, Driver has a distinct notion of “time.” He understands BH to exhibit two forms of time: 1) order of time, and 2) kind of time.³⁷ Both of these forms of time exhibit a function that is similar to tense, however, only “tenses mark [...] differences in the kind of time.”³⁸ Second, Driver explains the meaning of the Hebrew verb in the categories of accent or tone.³⁹ He concludes, “[U]pon these two facts, the whole theory of the tense has to be constructed.”⁴⁰

In conclusion, Ewald and Driver are not entirely clear in their aspectual interpretation of the BHVS. This is in part due to the lack of demonstrated linguistic evidence.⁴¹ Of particular interest to this thesis, Ewald classifies *YIQTOL* as an imperfect under the simple form category and, therefore, expresses incomplete actions. Driver’s theory describes *YIQTOL* as denoting an “incipient” action. In addition to incipient, Driver states that this form also has aspectual value: imperfect, ergressive, nascent,

³⁶ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 2.

³⁷ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 2.

³⁸ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 2.

³⁹ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 115.

⁴⁰ Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 2.

⁴¹ Moomo emphasizes this point and argues that “[i]f Driver [and Ewald would have] described the features of tense and aspectual languages based on crosslinguistic metacategories, it would have been possible to compare the features of Hebrew with those of other languages.” Moomo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb,” 16. This point Moomo makes is somewhat one sided considering his emphasis on comparative-historical studies throughout his dissertation. However, I am inclined to agree with the argument that the aspectual and tense components of BH is confused in the work of Driver and Ewald. A clear distinction between the two categories is difficult to discern in their theories.

progressive continuance, inchoative, and incomplete.⁴² He does not designate a single value to *YIQTOL*.

1.2.3. Comparative-Historical Studies

Since the mid-nineteenth-century, comparative-historical studies have contributed significantly to our understanding of the BHVS. From the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century, there has been rapid development in our knowledge of Semitic languages. Cook argues that this advancement has led to three notable developments in BH scholarship. First, in the 1850's, scholars discovered how to decipher Akkadian, "which instigated a new phase of discussions regarding the development of the Semitic verbal system."⁴³ Second, in 1887, a cache of cuneiform tablets were discovered in Tel el-Amarna, "the capital and residence of the Egyptian king Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV) (ca. 1353 BCE)."⁴⁴ William Moran studied Amarna correspondence that originated in Byblos, delaying the impact of this discovery at Tel el-Amarna. However, Moran discovered "that the TAM system in the letters was almost wholly North West Semitic [(NWS)], reflecting the native dialects of the local scribes."⁴⁵ Third, in 1929, a group of clay tablets inscribed with an alphabetic cuneiform writing system from the site of ancient Ugarit was discovered. Cook makes the following statement regarding our understanding of Ugaritic:

Although our understanding of the Ugaritic language of these tablets is hampered by the largely reconstructed vocalization of the texts, it is nevertheless significant to BH as the only well-attested native language of the Levantine area during the second millennium BCE.⁴⁶

⁴² Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew*, 1, 2 ft. 1, 5, 27, 119.

⁴³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 93.

⁴⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 94.

⁴⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 94. Citing Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, xi, 54.

⁴⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 94. Citing Pardee, "Ugaritic," 131, 288.

In the twentieth-century, additional ancient sources were discovered, for example Eblaite in 1928. There was also a continually growing group of texts including the Tel Dan inscription, ostraca from the Mousaieff collect, and the Tel Zayit inscription, all part of a collection of NWS epigraphs.⁴⁷

The comparative-historical information gained through the study of Akkadian, Ugaritic, and El-Amarna (EA) Canaanite has influenced our understanding of the BHVS. Cook discusses the etymological distinction between *WAYYIQTOL* and *YIQTOL* as one of the greatest discoveries of comparative-historical research:

The most important conclusion arrived at through the comparative-historical investigations is that [Western Semitic (WS)] originally possessed a Past prefix from *YAQTUL*. Comparison of the Akkadian Past *iprus* with BH *WAYYIQTOL* and the Arabic suntagm *lam YAQTUL* supported the supposition that a past prefix from *YAQTUL* existed in WS; the Ugaritic data, though not completely clear, appears to exhibit the form; and the Amarna Letters show evidence of the form in second-millennium Canaanite. To these data may be added others from Amorite onomastica and NWS epigraphs.⁴⁸

WS prefixed past *YAQTUL* verbal forms have been discovered in different NWS epigraphs. These include such epigraphs as Zakir (or Zakkur), Deir Alla, Mesha, and Tel Dan.⁴⁹ Commonly, these prefixed forms included a *WAW*. W. Randall Garr argues, “[T]his distribution suggest that the consecutive imperfect was a common NWS verb form.”⁵⁰ This distinction is significant to our understanding of the BHVS because it allows for a more isolated observation of *YIQTOL*.

⁴⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 94. Comparative-historical theory holds significant influence to the formulation of Cook’s aspect prominent theory. Due to a limitation of space, it is difficult for me to explore the true significance of this theory. However, in Chapter 2, it is made clear that this school of thought influences Cook.

⁴⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 118–19.

⁴⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 119; Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–1586 B.C.E.*, 184–86; Smith, *The Origins and Development of the WAW-Consecutive*, 18–19.

⁵⁰ Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.*, 186.

In comparison to the *WAYYIQTOL* : *YIQTOL* etymological distinction, comparative-historical studies have not provided sufficient evidence for the *WeQATAL* : *QATAL* etymological difference. Cook argues, “[W]ith or (less commonly) without *WAW*, *QATAL* exhibits a non-past meaning within conditional clauses in the Amarna texts.”⁵¹ Others have noted that this non-past meaning within conditional clauses is also present in Aramaic,⁵² Syriac,⁵³ Phoenician,⁵⁴ Arabic,⁵⁵ and Ethiopic.⁵⁶ However, “It is unclear how the optative or precative meaning for *QATAL* (in conditional clauses) can account for the semantics of *WeQATAL*.⁵⁷ Furthermore, certain comparative-historical scholars claim that *WeQATAL* developed on analogy with the *WAYYIQTOL* : *YIQTOL* opposition.⁵⁸ As a result, Terry Fenton renames the *WAW*-consecutive as “*WAW* analogicum.”⁵⁹

In this thesis I make a distinction between old comparative-historical studies and the more modern neo-comparative-historical studies as a result of Momo’s research in his recent dissertation.⁶⁰ Old comparative-historical studies includes the work of Ewald and Driver, which I classify as standard theory, since their methodological approach to

⁵¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 120.

⁵² Folmer, “Some Remarks on the Use of the Finite Verb Form in the Protasis of Conditional Sentences in Aramaic Texts from the Achaemenid Period.”

⁵³ Noldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 203–5, 65.

⁵⁴ Krahmalkov, “The *QATAL* with Future Tense Reference in Phoenician.”

⁵⁵ Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2.14–17.

⁵⁶ Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, 548; Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249–56.

⁵⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 120. Citing Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 31–3; Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, 366; Joosten, “Biblical *WeQATAL* and Syriac *WaQATAL* Expressing Repetition in the Past,” 3.

⁵⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 120. For further reading on this claim of comparative-historical studies see Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraische Grammatik*, 2.14; Bobzin, “Überlegungen Zum Althebraischen ‘Tempus’ System,” 153; Fenton, “Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies,” 39; Smith, *The Origins and Development of the WAW-Consecutive*, 6–8; Buth, “The Hebrew Verb in Current Discussions,” 101.

⁵⁹ Fenton, “Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies,” 39.

⁶⁰ Momo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb,” 8–31.

the BHVS is similar to that of neo-comparative-historical studies—“[t]hey all try to find the meaning of the Hebrew verb forms by tracing the forms in its evolutionary process from High Akkadian.”⁶¹

F. Fensham, a neo-comparative-historical studies scholar, argues that the HB is comprised of two distinct forms of ancient Hebrew: early BH and late BH. He argues that the older canonical books and poetic materials exhibit a language that is closer to Proto Semitic (PS).⁶² While this is not entirely relevant to neo-comparative-historical studies it is significant to the general stream of BH scholarship, Fensham also challenges scholars of the BHVS to consider the functionality of any particular BH verbal form within its context. He does not go as far as to endorse discourse linguistics, however, his challenge remains.

John Huehnergard claims that the primary verbal forms of PS, a forerunner to BH, are the perfective *YAQTUL* and the imperfective *YAQTULU*.⁶³ His analysis of PS verbal forms is founded on the explanation of C. Burney. Based on a study of Table I and XI of the Gilgamesh-epic and Table IV of the Creation-epic, Burney argues, “[I]n Babylonian, we find the peculiarity that the ordinary historical tense is not as in other Semitic languages the perfect, but a form (usually called the preterite).”⁶⁴ He argues that there is a connection between the verbal forms of BH and Akkadian.⁶⁵ Huehnergard also draws from the theory of Anson Rainey and maintains that the PS verbal system is better understood to denote aspect rather than tense. Huehnergard states,

⁶¹ Moomo, “The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb,” 16.

⁶² Fensham, “The Use of the Suffix Conjugations and the Prefix Conjugations,” 13.

⁶³ Huehnergard, “The Early Hebrew Prefix Conjugations,” 19.

⁶⁴ Burney, “A Fresh Examination of the Hebrew Tenses,” 200.

⁶⁵ Burney, “A Fresh Examination of the Hebrew Tenses,” 200.

If, as Rainey's examples show, both *YAQTUL* and *YAQTULU* express verbal action in the past and yet are not identical in meaning, then it seems clear that we must posit a distinction between them other than the expression of tenses; in other words, they are also aspectually different.⁶⁶

Rooted in the observation of the historical evolution of BH, Huegnegard concludes that BH is an aspectual language.

In conclusion, the cross-linguistic element of old comparative-historical studies and neo-comparative-historical studies significantly progressed the development of our understanding of the BHVS. Specifically, as a result of evidence from Akkadian texts, *YIQTOL* and *WAYYIQTOL* are considered etymologically distinct. Furthermore, founded on this evidence of the Akkadian preterite, Cook argues that *WAYYIQTOL* is fundamentally distinct on syntactical and developmental levels. Morphology is the only similarity *WAYYIQTOL* shares with *YIQTOL*. Otherwise, the syntactic function of *WAYYIQTOL* is closer to *QATAL*. Observing development, the verbal grams *YIQTOL* is related to are distinct from *WAYYIQTOL*. While some scholars base their argument for etymological, syntactical, and developmental distinctions between *WAYYIQTOL* and *YIQTOL* on evidence from Akkadian, others consider *WAYYIQTOL* to be similar to *YIQTOL* through the observation of proto-Canaanite evidence. Specifically, through the observation of poetic texts, like the Pss 1–41, *YIQTOL* is seen to function as a preterite like *WAYYIQTOL* as it can reference the past temporal sphere—e.g., Ps 18. However, for this thesis, I consider *WAYYIQTOL* to be a distinct verbal form from *YIQTOL*. It will be found that each scholar considers it possible for *YIQTOL* to reference the past temporal sphere, but this function of *YIQTOL* is not the result of any shared grammatical features with *WAYYIQTOL*. Neither scholar arguments for syntactical similarities

⁶⁶ Huehnergard, "The Early Hebrew Prefix Conjugations," 21.

between *YIQTOL* and *WAYYIQTOL*. Therefore, only *YIQTOL* and *WeYIQTOL* will be observed, not *WAYYIQTOL*.

1.2.4. Discourse Linguistic Theory

“Discourse analysis,” “discourse grammar,” “discourse linguistics,” or “textlinguistik/text-linguistics” as terminologies were first applied to linguistics by Zellig Harris in 1952 with his publication of “Discourse Analysis” and “Discourse Analysis: A Sample Text” in *Language*.⁶⁷ He used the terms in a conservative manner as he allowed them to only “refer to the analysis of discourse through breaking it up into its fundamental elements.”⁶⁸ It is a methodology that observes sentence grammar rather than isolated elements of a sentence or clause.⁶⁹ R. Dooley and S. Levinsohn state that discourse linguistics studies the sequence of sentences in a coherent whole.⁷⁰ There are two presuppositions of discourse linguistics that must be noted which are a result of the methodology’s development. First, Roy Heller argues “that [the] ‘meaning’ of any particular verbal form arises *only* out of the ‘use’ and ‘function’ of that verbal form within its context.”⁷¹ Second, discourse linguistics presupposes “that relationships between sentences are often the same as those we find between elements of a single sentence.”⁷²

⁶⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 149.

⁶⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 149. Ellen Prince argues that “discourse analysis” is the most loosely and improperly used term in the entire field of linguistics. Furthermore, she argues that this is possibly the result of consistently insufficient or improper definitions of discourse analysis. Prince, “Discourse Analysis,” 164.

⁶⁹ Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 19–20.

⁷⁰ Dooley, *Analyzing Discourse*, 10.

⁷¹ Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 20.

⁷² Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 20.

There are two primary schools of thought within BH discourse linguistic theory:

(1) the Longacre “school” and (2) the (Weinrich/Schneider)/Talstra/Niccacci “school.”⁷³

Robert Longacre’s discourse model was not specifically developed for BH considering he studies many languages. However, BH is definitely an area of specialty for Longacre.

He succinctly states the thrust of his research in the following way:

I posit here that every language has a system of discourse; each discourse type has its own characteristic constellation of verb forms that figure in that type; the uses of given tense/aspect/mood form are most surely and concretely described in relation to a given discourse type.⁷⁴

I argue that Longacre’s methodology is not solely concerned with the TAM of the BHVS. Instead, his theory has more to do with supra-sentence level patterns, thus, discourse constellations and grammar.⁷⁵ He is particularly interested in the distinct text-types that comprise patterns throughout a narrative that construct a story—these patterns are known as discourse constellations. However, Longacre studied BH discourse linguistics “to shed light on the various [TAM] forms of the verb in BH.”⁷⁶ He wrote multiple articles to address a void area in the field of biblical scholarship. He placed each verbal form in “context with other forms in various types of discourse and [enquired] as to the functions of each verb form within a given discourse type.”⁷⁷

⁷³ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 133. Not all of the (Weinrich/Schneider)/Talstra/Niccacci school of thought is reviewed in this section. Specific attention is given to the work of the Weinrich-Schneider Approach and the work of Alviero Niccacci. For further reading on Eep Talstra, see Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 138–39; Talstra, “Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible I”; Talstra, “Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible II”; Talstra, “Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew”; Talstra, “Tense, Mood, Aspect and Clause Connections in Biblical Hebrew,” 85–6.

⁷⁴ Longacre, *Joseph*, 59.

⁷⁵ For further reading on Longacre’s definition of discourse constellations see Longacre, *Joseph*, 80–136; Longacre, “Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verbal System.”

⁷⁶ Longacre, “Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb,” 177

⁷⁷ Longacre, “Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb,” 177.

Longacre, based on the theories of P. J. Hopper and Alviero Niccacci, developed two insights for the purpose of accounting for “the highly nuanced texture of biblical storytelling.”⁷⁸ First, Longacre defines four primary categories of discourse:

1. Narrative Discourse, in which a character reports a series of events that have occurred;
2. Predictive Discourse, in which a character proposes or plans for events that have not occurred;
3. Expository Discourse, in which a character explains or describes a fact or situation; and
4. Hortatory Discourse, in which a character attempts to elicit a response from another character or other characters.⁷⁹

Second, Longacre discusses the use of *QATAL* in BH prose. He argues that the verb “to be” impacts the development and function of a sentence, not only in BH, but also in all languages. He argues that when the BH verb *hayâ* (“to be”) appears, it does not progress the narrative. Instead, it is explanatory because of the nature of the verb.⁸⁰

Eep Talstra and Cook provide two characterizations for the Weinrich-Schneider approach. First, this approach describes the “formal structure of text”⁸¹ by going beyond the phrase and clause level. Second, the Weinrich-Schneider model approaches language as a mode of “human communication.”⁸² According to this model, verbal forms are not primarily semantic, but discourse-pragmatic—verbs have a direct relationship with the “natural language expressions and their uses in specific situations.”⁸³ Cook argues,

⁷⁸ Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 22.

⁷⁹ Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 23; Longacre, *Joseph*, 80–136. Within discourse linguistics, there is not complete agreement regarding the exact number or definition of these categories of text-types.

⁸⁰ Longacre, *Joseph*, 66.

⁸¹ Talstra, “Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew,” 269; Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 136.

⁸² Talstra, “Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew,” 269; Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 136.

⁸³ Bussmann, “Pragmatics,” 926.

“[T]hey provide a preliminary sorting (‘Vorsortierung’) of the world of discourse for the speaker and listener.”⁸⁴

The Weinrich-Schneider model has three parameters. First, the term “*Sprechhaltung*” refers to the discourse altitude: speech (“*Besprechen*”) and narrative (“*Erzählen*”). These discourse altitudes are “determined by the statistical predominance of certain verb forms in each.”⁸⁵ Cook explains, “[P]resent, future, and perfect verbs are statistically dominant in speech discourse, whereas past, imperfect, past perfect, and conditional verbs are dominant in narrative discourse in European languages.”⁸⁶ The second parameter is called “relief.” This refers to an event highlighted as “foreground” or “background.”⁸⁷ The third parameter has to do with the perspective of a text, “which may be backwards (past), neutral, or forward (future).”⁸⁸ The following table explains the three parameters of the Weinrich-Schneider Approach:

Table 1.2.4.1. Schneider/Talstra Discourse Theory of BH based on Weinrich’s Discourse Theory⁸⁹					
	Narrative		Speech		
Foreground	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		<i>YIQTOL</i> /Imperative		
Background	x- <i>QATAL</i>	x- <i>YIQTOL</i>	x- <i>QATAL</i>	<i>QATAL</i>	<i>WeQATAL</i>
Perspective	[past]	[future]	[past]	[neutral]	[future]

Niccacci, placed within the Weinrich-Schneider school, takes a text-linguistic approach to the BHVS. He believes that Schneider, a forerunner of his methodological approach, introduced the text-linguistic approach. Niccacci states,

The truth is that Schneider has opened the way for an approach to the problem, which I believe to be correct. The solution he proposes is not synchronic but

⁸⁴ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137.

⁸⁵ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137.

⁸⁶ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137.

⁸⁷ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137.

⁸⁸ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137.

⁸⁹ Table adapted from Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 137; Talstra, “Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew,” 272. Cook references Schneider, *Grammatik Des Biblischen Hebraisch*, 208; Bartelmus, *HYH*, 79.

diachronic in character and instead of considering the origins of verbal forms in isolation it is concerned with their actual use and function in a text.⁹⁰

Niccacci divides prose clauses into two categories, “discourse” and “narrative.”⁹¹ He explains, “Narrative concerns persons or events which are not present or current in the relationship involving writer-reader and so the third person is used.”⁹² He continues, “[In] discourse, [...] the speaker addresses the listener directly (dialogue, sermon, prayer).”⁹³ Discourse as a category is further divided into two more groups: “discourse (proper)” and “comment.” These categories are used “when the writer holds up the story in order to relate his reflection on the events narrated or to define them in some way” within a narrative.⁹⁴ Heller states, “According to Niccacci, in discourse, *YIQTOL* is the main, dominant form, both *QATAL* and *WeQATAL* being secondary, while in narrative *WAYYIQTOL* is the main form, and *QATAL* is secondary.”⁹⁵

In conclusion, discourse linguistics appears to be a verbal centric methodology. However, the analysis of TAM of any language’s verbal system does not seem to be this methodology’s primary purpose. However, discourse linguistics does have some significance to this thesis. I entirely agree with the method’s primary directive that the analysis of a language’s verbal system must be done with context in mind. As a result of this conviction, my evaluation of each *YIQTOL* instance in the First Book of the Psalter will be observed within its discourse context.

⁹⁰ Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 9–10.

⁹¹ Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 29.

⁹² Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 29.

⁹³ Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 29.

⁹⁴ Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 33–34.

⁹⁵ Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations*, 22.

1.2.5. Tense Theory

Twentieth-century BH tense theories represent an evolution from medieval thought. These twentieth-century tense theories, in Cook's opinion, have reached a certain level of sophistication through their incorporation of the parameter of syntactic variation.⁹⁶ Cook states, "These theories are credited with the exploitation of syntax as a means to disambiguate homonymous forms in the BHVS."⁹⁷ Twentieth-century tense theory is distinct from the Ewald-Driver and pre-Ewald-Driver tense or absolute-tense theories. The most obvious point of distinction is the era of publication. Twentieth-century tense theory is distinct from the Ewald-Driver and pre-Ewald-Driver theories in the sense that these two realms of historical thought are building blocks. This rebirth of tense theory evolves the concepts, as noted by Cook in the above quote. With this distinction in mind, there are three key movements in this section: (1) the application of Bauer's and Driver's *Mischsprache* idea, (2) a proposed relative tense theory, and (3) a theory that observes the duplicate semantic value of the *WAW*-prefixed forms compared to the non-*WAW*-prefixed forms.

Frank R. Blake and James A. Hughes are the founders of the first key movement in tense theory—the application of Driver's *Mischsprache* idea. This theory was developed through the publication of a series of articles and monographs that challenged standard theory. Blake states, "The whole [standard aspectual] treatment presents a picture strongly characterized by complexity, obscurity and artificiality."⁹⁸ Blake develops this theory through the adoption of Bauer's diachronic approach and a

⁹⁶ Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 110.

⁹⁷ Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 121.

⁹⁸ Blake, *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tense*, 1.

resurveyed list of the meanings of each BH verb from Driver and Gesenius. Blake summarizes his conclusions and states,

The imperfect may denote any tense or mood [...] The perfect may denote past tenses but also present or future [...] Verb forms immediately following [*WAW*] have in most case meanings equivalent to that of the preceding verb. Converted imperfects and converted perfects may be used independently of any leading verb. Converted imperfects are regularly past [...] Perfects with [*WAW SHEVA*] may have any of the normal meanings of the imperfect (present-progressive past-future-modal), but in many cases they are ordinary perfects with past meaning.⁹⁹

Hughes took this theory a little further a few years later. Similarly, he uses Bauer's and Driver's diachronic approach, but he depends less on Gesenius. Moomo considers Hughes' approach to be within the neo-comparative-historical studies school of thought. However, Hughes' argument for the tense prominent nature of BH leads me to conclude that his approach is better placed within the tense theory category.¹⁰⁰

Hughes argues that BH has two tense forms—past and future.¹⁰¹ He states,

After an exhaustive survey of the uses of the simple Imperfect and the Perfect with *WAW* in past time and the simple Perfect in future time in the prose sections of the [OT], we have reached the conclusion which is opposed to the aspect theory.¹⁰²

Hughes argues that these two tense forms have an aorist meaning, which implies that the aorist is not only confined to past time.¹⁰³ He arrives at this conclusion through an observation of the Akkadian *QATIL*, a stative aorist, and *YAQTUL*, an active aorist. Hughes does not hold to the traditional Perfect : Imperfect opposition in Akkadian and BH. Instead, he argues that *QATAL* and *YIQTOL* should be understood as an opposition between the performative aorist and affirmative aorist.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Blake, *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tense*, 73.

¹⁰⁰ Moomo, "The Meaning of the Biblical Hebrew Verb," 17–19.

¹⁰¹ Hughes, "Another Look at the Hebrew Tenses," 12.

¹⁰² Hughes, "Another Look at the Hebrew Tenses," 12.

¹⁰³ Hughes, "Another Look at the Hebrew Tenses," 12.

¹⁰⁴ Hughes, "Another Look at the Hebrew Tenses," 13.

Jerzy K. Kurylowicz is the founder of the second key movement within tense theory—relative tense theory. He claims that based on an analysis of classical Arabic and BH the WS verbal system is not primarily defined by aspect or tense. He states, “The primary meaning of *YAQTULU* is action simultaneous with the moment of speaking.”¹⁰⁵ In order to support his claims, he adopts the Prague School concept of privative oppositions. Cook summarizes his approach in the following way,

He proposed a privative opposition between [WS] *QATALA* and *YAQTULU*: the former, marked member expresses anteriority, and the latter, unmarked member neutrally expresses non-anteriority or negatively expresses simultaneity. While West Semitic can express the same range of tense-aspect values as, for instance, Indo-European languages, these values are context conditioned functions of the single morphological pair.¹⁰⁶

While Cook clearly summarizes Kurylowicz’s position, it becomes difficult to categorize Kurylowicz’s theory considering there are moments when he treats Semitic aspect as absolute time instead of relative tense. This becomes more convoluted when one observes his use of the labels “anteriority” and “simultaneity.”¹⁰⁷

The third movement among tense theories observes the duplicate semantic value of the *WAW*-prefixed forms compared to the non-*WAW*-prefixed forms. This approach begs the question of why syntactic alternation is important in the BHVS. Joshua Blau, E. J. Revell and Brian Peckham will be reviewed in this section.

¹⁰⁵ Kurylowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, 115.

¹⁰⁶ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 112. Citing Kurylowicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics*, 80; Kurylowicz, “Verbal Aspect in Semitic,” 116.

¹⁰⁷ For additional comments on this convolution see Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 133–34; Binnick, *Time and the Verb*, 285–86. In an attempt to explain this position, Kurylowicz states,

A binary system like Ar[abic] *YAQTULU*: *QATALA* excludes not only the category of aspect, but also the category of tense [...] The fundamental relation A [= *YAQTULU*] : B [= *QATALA*] is neither one of aspect nor one of tense. Its correct definition is *simultaneity* (or *non-anteriority*) versus *anteriority*. Kurylowicz, “Verbal Aspect in Semitic,” 115.

Joshua Blau claims that there is a distinction between the *WAW*-prefixed forms and the non-*WAW*-prefixed forms. This distinction is not one of semantics but rather is syntactical. Blau first addresses BH prose and states,

Biblical prose exhibits a verbal system that denoted tenses, since the alternation of [*QATAL/WAYYIQTOL*] and [*YIQTOL/WeQATAL*] is due to the syntactic environment (the impossibility/possibility of the uses of [*WAW*] copulative). Accordingly, one will assume a similar system in the spoken language.¹⁰⁸

Then Blau directs the conversation toward BH poetry. He states,

Deviations in the usage of verbs in biblical poetry have to be interpreted as intentional archaism. Since it is impossible to reconstruct such an intricate system as the verbal system is, from mere archaic features (including, no doubt, pseudo-archaic ones), nothing certain can be inferred from them as to the nature of the Proto-Hebrew verbal system.¹⁰⁹

Blau's theory was not meant to answer all the questions of the BHVS. Yet, other scholars consider it foundational enough that they use his theory as their base of study.

E. J. Revell built off the argument of M. H. Silverman who primarily echoes Blau. Revell took Silverman's fuller explanation for a syntactical approach to the BHVS that studied the placement of a verb within a clause.¹¹⁰ Revell focuses more on modality than aspect. Specific to the *YIQTOL*, he argues that the tense model features a syntactic distinction between indicative and modal *YIQTOL*. *YIQTOL* as modal is clause initial, and the indicative *YIQTOL* is non-clause initial.¹¹¹

Brian Peckham is also significant to this third movement. He built on the theory developed by Blau. He maintains a syntactic tense approach and states, "Tense, in short,

¹⁰⁸ Blau, "Marginalia Semitica 6," 26.

¹⁰⁹ Blau, "Marginalia Semitica 6," 26.

¹¹⁰ Silverman, ed. *Syntactic Notes on the WAW Consecutive*, 175.

¹¹¹ Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose," 7–21. Revell was not the first to observe this distinction. For further reading see DeCaen, "On the Placement and Interpretation of the Verb in Standard Biblical Hebrew Prose"; Shulman, "The Use of Modal Verb Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose"; Niccacci, "A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: *YIQTOL* and Position in the Sentence"; Gentry, "The System of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew."

is due to verb movement, not to verb form.”¹¹² In cooperation with this view of tense he adopts aspect and mood in his theory as well. Of all the reviewed scholars in this section, Peckham presents the most sophisticated tense based model for the BHVS.

“Time” according to Peckham consists of tense and aspect characteristics. He states,

Time is a qualification of tense: it defines past, present or future actions, either in themselves (that is, individual clauses : absolute time), or in relation to other actions (that is, in relation to another action or state with an intrinsic temporal quality). Time is also known as *Aktionsart* (“kind of action”), or as a “situation” (an action or a state with an intrinsic temporal quality).¹¹³

Particular to *YIQTOL*, it also expresses durative or habitual, repeated or distributive, and progressive or incomplete as absolute values. Peckham produced the following table in order to articulate his theory:

¹¹² Peckham, “Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew,” 139.

¹¹³ Peckham, “Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew,” 141 ft. 6.

Table 1.2.5.1. Peckham's Syntactic Tense-Aspect Model of BH¹¹⁴			
	<i>QATAL</i> (relative time, punctual aspect)	<i>YIQTOL</i> (absolute time, continuous action)	
<i>Word Order</i>	<i>Tense (Time)</i>	<i>Tense (Time)</i>	<i>Clause Type</i>
Subject first	Perfect Past perfect (prior)	Past (durative/habitual)	Asyndetic and Disjunctive
Object first	Preterite (complete)	Imperfect (repeated/distributive)	
Verb or modifiers first	Present perfect Present (simultaneous)	Present (incomplete/progressive)	
Subject first	Present perfect Present (simultaneous)	Present (incomplete/progressive)	Conjunctive
Object first	Preterite (complete)	Imperfect (repeated/distributive)	
Verb or verb modifiers first	Perfect Past perfect (prior)	Past (durative/habitual)	
Verb first	Preterite (complete)	Imperfect (repeated/distributive)	Consecutive and Paratactic

Peckham's system treats five different syntagma: consecutive *QATAL* (=WAY¹¹⁵*YIQTOL*) and consecutive *YIQTOL* (=We¹¹⁶*YIQTOL*), disjunctive (*WAW* + *X* + *QATAL/YIQTOL*), paratactic (*WAW* + Ø + *QATAL/YIQTOL* = We¹¹⁷*QATAL/WeYIQTOL*), conjunctive (clauses with a conjunction), and asyndetic (clauses without a conjunction).¹¹⁵ These are then combined into three syntagma with the parameters of word order: subject first, object first, and verb or modifiers first.¹¹⁶ Peckham argues that tense and mood are relative. He treats "tense (and aspect) and mood in various types of interclausal contexts, for example, subordination, coordination, and sequencing of clauses."¹¹⁷ Regarding parallel lines, these clauses "assume the tense or mood of the clause of which it is

¹¹⁴ Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 119. Table modified from Peckham, "Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew," 145.

¹¹⁵ Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 119.

¹¹⁶ Peckham, "Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew," 145–47.

¹¹⁷ Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 120.

parallel, but maintains its own time and aspect.”¹¹⁸ For verbs in consecutive clauses, they maintain the tense of the leading clause.

In conclusion, some consider tense to be an insufficient or incorrect explanation of the BHVS. Cook argues that it is unable to “deal with examples in the Hebrew Bible that *prima facie* demonstrate the ability of a single form (e.g., [*QATAL/YIQTOL*]) to function in all three times—past, present, and future.”¹¹⁹ In light of Cook’s statement, a majority of tense prominent scholars consider BH to only exhibit the past and future. Tense theory is significant because it provides for us a better understanding of the development of Joosten’s relative tense theory. An accurate understanding of this theory’s development allows us to entirely appreciate Joosten’s argument that *YIQTOL* only expresses tense and modality.

1.2.6. Aspect Theory

Aspectual or aspect prominent theory is a direct descendant of the Ewald-Driver standard theory. Aspectual theory recognizes like standard theory that the basic distinctions in the BHVS are aspectual.¹²⁰ Another influential theory to the development of aspectual theory is that of Bauer. Even though Bauer rejects aspect for tense distinction in the BHVS based on his diachronic analysis of the Semitic verb, other scholars realize its compatibility with standard aspectual theory.¹²¹ Marcel Cohen, for example, highlights,

[W]hile accepting Bauer’s contention that the *WAW*-prefixed forms were archaisms, Cohen argued, contra Bauer, that the forms were aspectual: the “imparfait” (*YIQTOL*) and “le parfait en rôle d’imparfait” (*WeQATAL*) are

¹¹⁸ Peckham, “Tense and Mood in Biblical Hebrew,” 160.

¹¹⁹ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 131.

¹²⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 121.

¹²¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122.

“l’inaccompli,” while the “parfait” (*QATAL*) and “le imparfait en role de parfait” (*WAYYIQTOL*) are “l-accompli.”¹²²

Furthermore, the publication of Brockelmann’s article “subjektiven Aspect” in 1951 aided in the renewal of scholars interest in aspect theory. Cook states, “[T]his article represented a reversal of his earlier analysis of the Semitic verbal systems as expressing tense.”¹²³

Joosten, although not a believer in the aspectual argument, provides a well-articulated definition of the fundamental opposition in aspect theory: the perfective and imperfective aspect. He states,

[T]he perfective aspect looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation; the imperfective aspect looks at the situation from inside; and as such is crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation.¹²⁴

He contrasts this definition cited from Bernard Comrie against that of Carlota S. Smith.

Joosten argues,

[S]entences with a perfective viewpoint presents a situation as a single whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and final endpoints of a situation: it is closed informationally; imperfective viewpoints present part of the situation, with no information about its endpoints. Thus imperfectives are open informationally. The unmarked imperfective spans an interval that is internal to the situation.¹²⁵

Joosten clearly states that this opposition as seen in BH is between *QATAL* and *YIQTOL*.

¹²² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122. Citing Cohen, *Le Systeme Verbal Semitique et L’Expression du Temps*, 9, 10–12, 286.

¹²³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122. Citing Brockelmann, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*, 144–51. Brockelmann also directed scholars away from the use of the Ewald-Driver terminology *imperfectum* : *perfectum* and introduced the Latinate terms “konstatierent Aspekt” (Latinate *constare* “stand still, exist”) and “kursiv Aspekt” (Latinate *cursus* “running, coursing”). Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122. Citing Brockelmann, “Die ‘Tempora’ des Semitischen,” 134; Brockelmann, *Hebraische Syntax*, 39. For additional comments on this transition of terminology see Mettinger, “The Hebrew Verbal System,” 65.

¹²⁴ Joosten, “Do the Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Express Aspect?” 50. Citing Comrie, *Aspect*, 4.

¹²⁵ Joosten, “Do the Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Express Aspect?” 50–51. Citing Smith, *The Parameter of Aspect*, 11.

Firth of Rundgren developed the privative opposition theory based on the “linguistic principles of synchrony and private oppositions.”¹²⁶ Tryggve Mettinger argues that Rundgren’s theory draws from comparative-historical data, but treats it as if derived from a single synchronic entity.¹²⁷ Cook notes, “The concept of privative oppositions derives from phonological theory in the Prague school of linguistics.”¹²⁸ For example, Rundgren’s theory explores the semantics of synonyms such as the English word *dog* and *bitch*. “*Dog* can express two values with respect to [+female] *bitch*, to which it stands in privative opposition: (1) it may express the negative counterpart of male canine [+male], or 2) it may express the neutral meaning of canine [-/+female] or [-/+male].”¹²⁹ The following is a table that illustrates Rundgren’s model of privative oppositions in Semitic:

Table 1.2.6.1. Rundgren’s Model of Privative Oppositions in Semitic¹³⁰	
Stative (marked) : Dynamic (unmarked)	
↙	↘
Cursive (marked) : Constative (unmarked)	
↙	↘
Punctual (marked) : Neutral (unmarked)	

Regarding the BHVS, Rundgren makes the distinction between two temporal levels: a present-future time level and past time level. The following table explains Rundgren’s model of temporal levels:

¹²⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122.

¹²⁷ Mettinger, “The Hebrew Verbal System,” 74.

¹²⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122, 34 ft. 28.

¹²⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 122.

¹³⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 123. Citing Rundgren, *Dan Althebräische Verbum*, 109–10.

Table 1.2.6.2. Rundgren's Model of the BHVS¹³¹			
Stative <i>QATAL</i> : Dynamic <i>YAQTUL(U)</i>			
<div style="text-align: center;"> \swarrow \searrow B $[\Sigma]$¹³² </div>			
Present-future time level	B ₁ Present (<i>YIQTOL</i>)	Σ_1 Coincidental (<i>QATAL</i>)	Σ_{01} Modal <i>YIQTOL</i> (Jussive) > (<i>We</i>) <i>QATAL</i>
Past time level	B ₂ Imperfect <i>YIQTOL</i> (long)	Σ_2 Punctual Aorist <i>YIQTOL</i> (short)	Σ_{02} Neutral Aorist (<i>WAY</i>) <i>YIQTOL</i>

According to Rundgren, the most basic distinction in the BHVS is between the stative *QATAL* and the dynamic prefix conjugations.¹³³ Cook states,

The latter bifurcates into a marked Cursive value for both present-future time (B₁ Present) and past time (B₂ Imperfect) and a neutral Constative value. This Constative unmarked value is in turn divided into yet a tertiary-level privative opposition between a marked value in present-future (Σ_1 Coincidental; neutralized with Present B₁) and past (Σ_2 Punctual Aorist = remnants of the prefix preterite with *WAW*) time, and a neutral value also represented in both present-future time (Σ_{01} Modal forms, including modal *WeQATAL*) and past time (Σ_{02} Neutral *WAYYIQTOL*)¹³⁴

Rundgren's theory is based, in Cook's opinion, on deductive "idealization."¹³⁵

Another model that falls under the category of aspect prominence is the diachronic *systemüberlagerung* theory of Rudolf Meyer. Meyer's theory is determined by comparative-historical data drawn from a comparative investigation of Afro-Asiatic and Semitic, primarily East Semitic (ES), as well as Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite.¹³⁶ He also applies Brockelmann's terminology of "konstatierenden Aspekt" versus "kursiven Aspekt" to his analysis of these Semitic verbal systems.

¹³¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 123. Citing and based on Rundgren, *Das Althebräische Verbum*, 109–10.

¹³² Due to an inability to find the matching symbol used by Rundgren, I have applied Σ in its place.

¹³³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 123.

¹³⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 123. Cook cites Rundgren, *Das Althebräische Verbum*, 105–6 and directs the reader that direction for additional reading on Rundgren's definition of his Semitic distinctions of B₁, B₂, B₀₁, Σ_1 , Σ_2 , and Σ_{01} .

¹³⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 123.

¹³⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 124.

Meyer's understanding of the BHVS centers on his argument for "direct and concomitant effects of the development of fientive (dynamic) *QATALA* in [WS] from the Common Semitic (CS) stative *QATILA* form against the background of this Old Canaanite verbal system—the overlay of a 'younger' system on the 'older' one."¹³⁷ This development in understanding of the Canaanite verbal system by Meyer led to three new conclusions. First, "[T]he new *QATALA* form appropriated some of the past-narrative and jussive functions of the Preterite/Jussive *YAQTUL*, as well as the narrative-past function of the narrative (indicative) *YAQTULU*."¹³⁸ Second, the Durative *YAQATTAL* fell into disuse due to its similarity with the "D-stem."¹³⁹ Third, *YAQTULU* was later limited in its semantic range to the present-future and joined together with the Finalis *YAQTULA* "when final short vowels were elided throughout the system."¹⁴⁰

Muller, similarly, takes a diachronic approach and explains the BHVS through *Systemreduktion* to emphasize the distinction between *YAQTUL* and *YAQTULU* "and a *Systemuberlagerung* in the development of *QATAL*."¹⁴¹ The primary points of emphasis of Muller's theory are his use of the terms "subjective aspect ("subjektiven aspekte"), objective aspect ("objektiven aspekt"), and tense.¹⁴² He sets aside the Jussive and

¹³⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 124–5. Citing Meyer, "Das Hebraische Verbalsystem im Licht der Gegenwartigen Forschung," 313–14.

¹³⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 125. Citing Meyer, "Das Hebraische Verbalsystem im Licht der Gegenwartigen Forschung," 314–16.

¹³⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 125. Citing Meyer, "Das Hebraische Verbalsystem im Licht der Gegenwartigen Forschung," 314–16.

¹⁴⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 125. Citing Meyer, "Das Hebraische Verbalsystem im Licht der Gegenwartigen Forschung," 316.

¹⁴¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 125. Citing Muller, "Zur Geschichte des Hebraischen Verbs," 37–8; Muller, "Polysemie im Semitischen und Hebraischen Konjugationssystem," 370–71; Muller, "Again on the Tel Dan Inscription and the Northwest Semitic Verb Tenses," 147–49.

¹⁴² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 125. Citing Muller, "Zur Geschichte des Hebraischen Verbs," 52.

Imperative forms.¹⁴³ Cook summarizes the most important arguments from Muller's theory:

1. *WAYYIQTOL* (<*YAQTUL*) expresses perfective aspect (*Aspekt*), momentary-punctual action (*Aktionasart*), and past tense
2. *QATAL* expresses perfective aspect, punctual action, and past tense; also (usually with *We-* conjunction) present-future and modal meanings¹⁴⁴
3. *YIQTOL* (<*YAQTULU*) expresses imperfective aspect, durative action, and present-future tense¹⁴⁵

Furthermore, Muller created "three-conjugation tense systems of *QATAL* (past), Participle (present) and *YIQTOL* (future).¹⁴⁶

In conclusion, the majority of aspect prominent theories developed in the last fifty years are in some way rooted in the Ewald-Driver standard theory or are related to comparative-historical studies. Yet, as an independent methodology, there are two primary issues that face aspect prominent theory. First, it appears that scholars have a difficult time entirely articulating an exact or proper definition of aspect. As illustrated in this section, some scholars have realized the insufficiency of the term aspect and, thus, attempt to employ a different set of terminologies. Second, Cook makes the case that methodology is another issue that faces the aspect-prominent scholar. Considering this theory exhibits a considerable amount of involvement with comparative-historical studies and the Ewald-Driver standard theory, scholars do not effectively articulate their methodological approach or clearly state what counts as evidence.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ For further reading on his classification of terminology and the argument behind why he sets the Jussive and Imperative aside, see Muller, "Zur Geschichte Des Hebraischen Verbs," 55–56; Muller, "Again on the Tel Dan Inscription and the Northwest Semitic Verb Tenses," 146–49.

¹⁴⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 126. Citing Muller, "Polysemie Im Semitischen Und Hebraischen Konjugationssystem," 385.

¹⁴⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 126.

¹⁴⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 126. Citing Muller, "Again on the Tel Dan Inscription and the Northwest Semitic Verb Tenses," 150–51.

¹⁴⁷ Further comment is made on the methodology employed by the Aspect-Prominent Theory in Chapter 4 when I discuss John Cook's theory following my analysis of the First Book of the Psalter.

1.2.7. The Recent Theories of John Cook and Jan Joosten: Research Methodology

Within the chaotic waters of BHVS scholarship, there are two theories that have emerged recently and have exerted a considerable amount of influence within scholarly BH circles. These are the theories of Cook and Joosten. Their conversation formally began with the publication of an article each in *The Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society*.¹⁴⁸ These two scholars continued their conversation as each published a monograph on the subject.¹⁴⁹

This thesis will focus on these two scholars. In the subsequent chapters, I will provide an extensive description of their theories. Following the extensive description, I will emphasize the tension that exists between each scholar's understanding of the function of *YIQTOL* in BH. Each scholar represents some of the most recent linguistic work published on the BHVS in the last decade. Furthermore, each scholar is a representative of a distinct stream of thought within the academic conversation. Once this tension is established, I will present a fundamental argument for the function of *YIQTOL* in BH along with criteria for determining *YIQTOL* function in actual texts according to each theory.

While a comparison of the two approaches is the primary scope of this thesis, it is also my purpose to take each of the theories and introduce them to an unfamiliar literary environment—BH poetry. Both scholars designed their verbal theories based on an analysis of BH prose and narrative. It is my purpose to take the fundamental

¹⁴⁸ Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect"; Joosten, "Do the Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Express Aspect?"

¹⁴⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*; Joosten, *The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System*. Within each monograph, these scholars discuss the BHVS with one another through primary arguments and footnotes.

arguments and criteria for *YIQTOL* function in BH and apply each theory to real instances in poetic texts.

Jan Joosten and John Cook represent varying thoughts on the forms and functions of BH verbal forms in BH. Cook represents an aspect prominent approach, and Joosten a relative tense approach. Through an application of each distinct verbal theory to Pss 1–41, the designated corpus for this work, this thesis will demonstrate that neither system accounts for all instances of *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. While this thesis will present evidence of abnormalities, I will conclude by presenting possible ways to take this research forward. By this, I intend to present a thesis that is foundational for further work on the BHVS in BH poetry.

1.2.8. The Designated Corpus Defined

As previously stated, this thesis applies the verbal system theories of Cook and Joosten to real instances in real texts. I stated that the literary genre of these texts to be observed are BH poetry. Before I press forward into a presentation of each scholar's theory, I must first define the term "BH poetry." Furthermore, I must clarify what type of BH poetry I will observe.

BH poetry is present throughout the HB. This literary genre is dominant in Psalms, Proverbs, and the Major and Minor Prophets—after Second Kings. There are a few pieces of Hebrew poetry in classical BH texts—before Second Kings—such as Moses' song in Exodus. For this present thesis, I isolate my observation of BH poetry to the First Book of the Psalter—Pss 1–41. Throughout this thesis, when I use the term BH poetry, I specifically refer to Pss 1–41. I limit my observations to Pss 1–41 for a few reasons. When comparing the interact literary styles within the genre of Hebrew poetry, it is apparent that there are stylistic and functional differences between Psalmic,

prophetic, and proverbial poetry—grammatical structure, syntax, and verbal function, for example. I consider Psalmic poetry to be a simpler form of Hebrew poetry to observe rather than proverbial or prophetic poetry.¹⁵⁰

1.3. Conclusion

This present thesis is comprised of five chapters, including Chapter 1—this chapter. Chapter 1 presented an outline of historical research conducted on the BHVS. It began with the Ewald-Driver and pre-Ewald-Driver tense theories. It then progressed to the presentation of some of the most recent linguistic work conducted in BH, the recent works of Cook and Joosten. In the conclusion, I presented my research methodology and primary scope, along with a thesis statement.

Chapter 2 will dive into the verbal theories of Cook and Joosten. An extensive overview will be presented in order to support the claims made in Chapter One—Cook and Joosten each represent varying views of the BHVS in the scholarly conversation. Chapter 2 will primarily serve to present the overall tension that exists between an aspect prominent approach and a relative tense approach to the BHVS.

Chapter 3 will journey deeper into the verbal theories of Cook and Joosten. This chapter will focus on the *YIQTOL* verbal form and its function in BH according to each of the two theories. Criteria will also be presented which will be used in my analysis of all *YIQTOL* instances in Pss 1–41. Along with the presented criteria, I will provide examples when possible for each function of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry along with examples

¹⁵⁰ I must also state, I choose to observe the First Book of the Psalter due to my familiarity with this text. When compared to prophetic and proverbial texts, I have spent much more time and effort into research of BH poetry in the Psalms.

from the major works of Cook and Joosten. This chapter will conclude with a presentation of statistical rates of occurrences for each function of *YIQTOL* in Pss 1–41.

Chapter 4 will explore the unclassified instances categorized in the statistics section of Chapter 3 and presented in Appendix 1. In this section, I will discuss these unclassified instances according to the models of Cook and Joosten. I will present an argument for why each instance is categorized as unclassified. My intention is not to present a solution to the problem, but rather bring it to the reader's attention.

Chapter 5 will function as a conclusion chapter for this thesis. I will present some final insights and thoughts on the individual capabilities of Cook's and Joosten's models and their ability to analyze the function of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. Finally, I will discuss a few possible ways in which this research can be taken to the next level.

Chapter 2: Two Recent Biblical Hebrew Verbal System Theories: John Cook's Aspect Prominent Theory and Jan Joosten's Relative Tense Theory

2.1. Introduction

The last chapter ended by bringing Cook and Joosten to the forefront of our attention at the conclusion of the history of BHVS scholarship. This chapter seeks to provide a comprehensive review of both scholar's theories of the BHVS. In this review, I will provide supporting evidence for each scholar's position. This will include the citation of examples and the reference of influential scholars. It is important to note that this section does not critically engage with the presented content. My critique of the material proceeds the application of their methodologies to Pss 1–41 in Chapter 3.

2.2. John Cook's Aspect Prominent Theory

2.2.1. John Cook, the Foundational Question of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal Forms and His Methodology

In his article "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect," Cook illustrates three distinct responses to the question: "do the BH verbal forms primarily express tense or aspect?"¹ The first argues that BH verbal forms primarily express tense. He explains, "[T]hey denote the temporal location of past events with respect to the time of the statement or utterance, either using a binary distinction of versus non-past, or using a ternary distinction of past, present, and future."² The second claims that BH verbal forms primarily express aspect—"a central binary opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect."³ The third and most recent argument

¹ Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect," 21.

² Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect," 21.

³ Cook, "The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect," 21.

argues that BH verbal forms express relative tense—“they indicate events as relative to some point in time indicated in the discourse.”⁴

In an attempt to respond to this foundational question, Cook conducts a grammaticalization study of BH prose. Cook’s work takes on diachronic and synchronic data. Cristian Rata, in his dissertation, explains Cook’s approach and states, “[T]he grammaticalization process is cyclical, and languages are constantly developing new forms or new meanings for existing forms.”⁵ This is to say that at any given point in the development of a language, “multiple forms may be functioning in a particular semantic domain.”⁶ These developments can lead to differences in discourse pragmatics, or it may imply that neither a semantic nor a pragmatic distinction is possible. Simply, a language is consistently developing and may have one distinct or multiple functions.⁷ Cook approaches the BHVS with the presupposition that this language has evolved over time.

Cook does not define his methodological approach applied through his recent monograph until the half-way point. As previously stated, Cook applies a grammaticalization methodology to BH and observes synchronic and diachronic evidence in order to inform his understanding of the TAM of the BHVS. In his presentation of his methodology, Cook emphasizes his use of diachronic typology and grammaticalization in Section 3.1.3. Cook defines linguistic typology in terms of two primary procedures: “(1) the classification of languages in terms of a given linguistic structure, and (2) the development of generalizations regarding the pattern of a given

⁴ Cook, “The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect,” 21.

⁵ Rata, “The Verbal System in Job,” 55.

⁶ Rata, “The Verbal System in Job,” 55.

⁷ Rata, “The Verbal System in Job,” 55. For further discussion on this topic see John A. Cook, “Tense, Aspect and Modality,” 4.

linguistic structure across languages.”⁸ Cook emphasizes that while these two procedures are complementary, they must be understood as strictly ordered. William Croft states that they may be referred to as “‘typological classification’ and ‘typological generalization.’”⁹ When clarifying the use of these typological classifications, Cook states,

The typological classification of TAM systems in the World’s languages provides an important tool for assessing models of the BHVS in lieu of native speakers by providing “statistical tendencies” regarding types of TAM systems in the world’s languages.¹⁰

Cook presses forward in his definition of typology and explains that his approach to the subject-at-hand is one of diachronic typology. He cites Croft and argues, “In diachronic typology, synchronic language states are reanalyzed as stages in the process of language change.”¹¹ This is done for the simple reason that language states “are seen as the product of type transitions and diachronic processes in general.”¹² Simply, Cook’s approach acknowledges that synchrony is what diachrony explains.¹³

Grammaticalization in turn is closely associated with diachronic typology.¹⁴

Cook defines grammaticalization as a term that “refers to both a type of diachronic change in language—wherein lexical items become grammatical items or grammatical items become more grammatical—and a framework for examining diachronic

⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 185.

⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 185. Citing Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 1.

¹⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 185. Citing Newmeyer, *Language Form and Language Function*, 350. Cook also provides Dahl, *Tense and Aspect Systems*; Bybee, “The Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems in the Languages of the World,” and Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar* as examples for understanding these typological categories for TAM systems of world languages.

¹¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186. Citing, Croft, *Typology and Universals*, Chapter 8.

¹² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186. Citing, Bickel, “Typology in the 21st Century,” 239.

¹³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186. Citing, Moravcsik, “What Is Universal Typology?” 39.

¹⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186. Cook cites Croft and states that grammaticalization as a field possibly emerged from diachronic typology. Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 253.

changes.”¹⁵ He argues that his use of “grammaticalization studies in constructing a theory of the BHVS is limited to drawing on their data, which exhibit important statistical tendencies with respect to the way that TAM systems develop.”¹⁶

Cook’s methodology is comprised of “three successively more-narrow areas of study—linguistic typology, diachronic typology, and grammaticalization studies.”¹⁷ Each of these were explained in turn above. Here, Cook further defines his use of diachronic typology, as it is the second primary methodological tool next to grammaticalization. He states, “I use typological arguments (generalizations) based on the various typological classifications of the world’s TAM systems to argue for the most ‘plausible’ semantic identification of the various verb forms in the BHVS.”¹⁸ There are two primary types of typological generalizations he emphasizes: (1) unrestricted and (2) implicational. First, “[U]nrestricted generalizations hold across all languages.”¹⁹ Second, “[I]mplicational generalizations connect otherwise unrelated phenomena in languages.”²⁰ He clearly states that all of these generalizations are not causal explanations. Instead, all generalizations are rooted in the distribution of linguistic properties. This includes the diversity and uniformity of world languages. These generalizations “inform us not only of what is possible but what is probable and what is necessary in language.”²¹

¹⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186. Citing, Hopper, *Grammaticalization*, 1–2.

¹⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 186–87.

¹⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187.

¹⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187.

¹⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187.

²⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187. Citing, Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 52–59.

²¹ Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 187. Citing, Moravcsik, “What Is Universal Typology?” 29, 36.

As we can now see, Cook brings diachronic typology and grammaticalization together in order to explain the intricacies of the BHVS.²² Specifically, he argues, “These areas of study offer several interrelated principles of language change that help us explain the character of the BHVS.”²³ There are two primary principles he emphasizes. First, the change between languages and their stages is a step-by-step process that can be classified as languages states.²⁴ Second, the change in languages “tends to be unidirectional or irreversible, so that a return to the original states takes place through a cyclical process of renewal.”²⁵

Diachronic typology as a method of discovering alternative verbal forms is dependent on the creation of semantic maps. Cook states, “Semantic maps are one of the most important innovations in typology for representing the relationship between individual language and language universals.”²⁶ A semantic map, therefore, “consists of ‘mapping’ the relevant forms in a language onto a ‘conceptual’ space.”²⁷ The process of semantic mapping within diachronic typology uncovers “universal paths of development that represent the unidirectional stages of development within broad semantic domains.”²⁸ Cook argues that “conceptual space” is conceived diachronically, in its relationship between parts represented in the stages of development.²⁹

²² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187.

²³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187.

²⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187–88. Citing, Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 253.

²⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 187–88. Citing, Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 253.

²⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 189. Citing, Croft, *Typology and Universals*, 133–39.

²⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 189.

²⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 189.

²⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 189–90.

2.2.2. Tense, Aspect, and Modality

Cook argues that BH is an aspect-prominent language rather than aspect-dominant. The following sections will discuss the implications of this categorical understanding of the BHVS.

2.2.2.1. Aspect in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System

“Aspect” is the first category Cook discusses. According to his theory, there are three sub-categories of aspect: (1) “phasal aspect,” (2) “situational aspect,” and (3) viewpoint aspect.”

2.2.2.1.1. Phasal Aspect

“Phasal aspect” is defined as “creating an activity sub-event out of one of the three phases (onset, nucleus, or coda) of an event.”³⁰ Cook continues, “The most common types of onset-applying phasal aspects are inchoative and inceptive, which are distinct only in that the first refers to the alternation of the onset of a state and the second to the alternation of the onset a dynamic event.”³¹ In stative and dynamic events, both types are expressed lexically by the verb **הָלַל** (‘to begin’) along with a complementary infinitive.

“Coda phasal aspect” expresses a discontinuation of a situation. This includes “cessative (with [-telic] events) and completive (with [+telic] events).”³² The coda phasal is also a marker by a similar infinitival construction as “onset phasal aspect” but the marked words are **חָדַל** or **שָׁבַת** (‘cease’).

³⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 191.

³¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 191.

³² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 192.

The “nucleus” of an event structure that exhibits phasal aspect affects the progression of a situation. It is impacted through either “repetition (iterative and habitual) or extension with or without a pause (resumptive and continuative).”³³ This is a less common type of phasal aspect and is similar to resumptive aspect, yet it is distinct because it denotes a new interval of action. An example is the adverb עוֹד. While it does not necessarily denote a continuative aspect, it does suggest the sense of “to do again.”³⁴

2.2.2.1.2. Situational Aspect

“Situational aspect,” according to Cook, “[...] classifies situations in terms of their internal temporal constituency.”³⁵ In order to distinguish the different types of situations, he adopts a morphological distinction theory between stative and dynamic verbs. Briefly, he states, “the Qal *binyan* in the suffix-pattern, *QATAL*-conjugation dynamic verbs have an *a* theme vowel while stative verbs have an **i* (>*e*) or **u* (>*o*) theme vowel.”³⁶ He continues, “[I]n the prefix-pattern conjugations dynamic verbs have a **u* (>*o*) theme vowel while stative verbs have an *a* theme vowel.”³⁷ There are additional characteristics and syntactical elements that accompany the morphological pattern aiding the reader in his or her distinction between stative and dynamic verbs. For instance, stative verbs typically do not have an active participle form but are encoded verbally or adjectivally. Furthermore, there is a distinct pattern of interaction between *QATAL* and *WAYYIQTOL* conjugations within a stative verb category. Cook clarifies,

³³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 192. Cook states that he is unsure of a specific example that explains resumptive aspect in BH.

³⁴ Consider Gen 30:7 as an example.

³⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 194.

³⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 195.

³⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 195.

“[C]onjugated in *QATAL*, stative verbs default to a present stative meaning, whereas conjugated in *WAYYIQTOL*, they always express past states.”³⁸

2.2.2.1.3. Viewpoint Aspect

“Viewpoint aspect” has to do with how different viewpoints are integrated or encoded into a conveyed situation that is “distinct from the temporal constituency (situation aspect) and temporal location (tense) of the situation.”³⁹ Cook argues that the perfective *QATAL* and imperfective *YIQTOL* form the central opposition in viewpoint aspect. Here, Cook states that the BHVS is an aspect prominent language as he borrows the term from D. Bhat.⁴⁰

2.2.2.1.3.1. Perfective *QATAL*

The perfective aspect conjugation of *QATAL* is the starting point for defining the perfective and imperfective opposition in the BHVS. Cook states that traditional grammars typically have *QATAL* express “(1) present or past state, (2) simple past, (3) past perfect, (4) present perfect, (5) present, (6) performative, (7) future perfect, (8) counterfactual, (9) so-called prophetic perfect, and (10) optative/precative.”⁴¹ Cook, in turn, argues for a perfective understanding of *QATAL* based on a diachronic-typological examination of the form.⁴²

³⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 195

³⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 199.

⁴⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 200. For further reading on the origin of this term see Bhat, *The Prominence of Tense, Aspect, and Mood*.

⁴¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 201. Citing, Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraische Grammatik*, § 2.25–29; Davidson and Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 58–63; Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, 13–26; Gibson, “The Anatomy of Hebrew Narrative Poetry,” 60–70; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §112; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 486–95.

⁴² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 202.

When reviewing the comparative-historical development of *QATAL*, Cook makes the following three statements.

[First,] the origin of the form is a verbal adjective used as the predicate of a null copula; [second,] the most basic functions of the form in the [HB] are to denote perfective, perfect, and past events; [third,] by the end of the Tannaitic period, the conjugation becomes restricted to past temporal reference, even with stative roots. Even more importantly, the patterning of *QATAL* with stative predicates in BH and [Rabbinic Hebrew] (RH) strongly disposes one to identify the TAM of *QATAL* as perfective aspect in BH and past tense in RH.⁴³

Cook observes the historical development of *QATAL* in order to support this claim as the following table illustrates:

Table 2.2.2.1.3.1.1. Development of the Hebrew <i>QATAL</i> Conjugation ⁴⁴						
<i>Common Semitic</i> (cf. <i>Akkadian</i>)		<i>West Semitic</i> (e.g., <i>El-Amarna</i>)		<i>Biblical Hebrew</i>		<i>Rabbinic Hebrew</i> (e.g., <i>Mishnah</i>)
Resultative	→	Perfect	→	Perfective	→	Simple past

2.2.2.1.3.2. Imperfective *YIQTOL*

In order for there to be an imperfective identity of *YIQTOL*, it must follow the inevitable formation of the perfective *QATAL*. However, Cook does explain that the perfective and imperfective verbal conjugations formed after the imperative. What is being conveyed in this section has only to do with the development of the imperfective verbal gram and its development in relation to the perfective verbal gram. Cook explains, “[P]erfective grams develop only in languages that already possess an imperfective gram, with which the perfective stands in opposition.”⁴⁵ Yet to properly define the semantic range of *YIQTOL* as an imperfective proves to be more difficult than the perfective *QATAL* for two reasons. Cook argues, first, “*YIQTOL* exhibits a more

⁴³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 204. Cook cites Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 105 as the scholars who proposed the stated theory for the development of the perfective/past reference of *QATAL*.

⁴⁴ Adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 208.

⁴⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218. Citing, Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 91.

even distribution of meanings among all three temporal spheres between [the] realis and irrealis mood[s].”⁴⁶ This wide range of semantic values of *YIQTOL* is seen by traditional grammars to function in the following way: “(1) past progressive, (2) past habitual/iterative, (3) present progressive, (4) present gnomic, (5) general future, (6) future past, (7) deontic modality, (8) contingent modality, and (9) simple past.”⁴⁷ Second, the comparative-historical evidence for the imperfective *YIQTOL* is not as transparent as *QATAL*. However, Cook clearly states that diachronic typology is able to present an effective argument for the development and identity of *YIQTOL*.⁴⁸

Regarding the historical development of *YIQTOL*, Cook states that diachronic typology supports his claim that *YIQTOL* developed prior to *QATAL*.⁴⁹ Cook argues that *YIQTOL* is to be considered a reflexive in light of the comparative-historical evidence supplied by an observation of the Central Semitic *YAQTULU*. He states,

Explaining the precise origin of this gram is difficult because of its morphological similarity to the preterite-jussive Proto-Semitic **YATUL* (e.g., Akkadian *iprus*) and its semantic parallel with the imperfective or present [PS] **YAQATTAL* (e.g., Akkadian *iparras*) gram. The majority account of the Central Semitic **YAQTULU* is that it derives from the [PS] **YAQTUL* via the addition of an *-u* vocalic suffix.⁵⁰

Cook suggests that there is some difficulty with this proposed grammaticalization path of *YAQTUL*. He states,

⁴⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218.

⁴⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218. Citing, Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraische Grammatik*, §2.29–36; Davidson and Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 64–69; Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 27–49; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §113; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 502–14.

⁴⁸ Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 219.

⁴⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220. Cook provides greater detail in Section 2.3 regarding this diachronic typology argument for the historical development of *YIQTOL*.

⁵⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220. Citing, Kouwenberg, *The Akkadian Verb and Its Semitic Background*, 2; Kurylowicz, “Verbal Aspect in Semitic,” 60; Diakonoff, *Afrasian Languages*, 103; Kienast, *Historische Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, 338–39.

[T]here is no attested grammaticalization path between the resultative-perfect-perfective path with which *YAQTUL is associated (based on its *iprus* Akkadian reflex) and the progressive-imperfective path with which *YAQTULU is actually associated.⁵¹

In order to account for this difficulty, Cook adopts Bauer's suggestion "that the prefix forms in Semitic originated by adding agreement affixes to the infinitive base form *Q(U)TUL with Diaknoff's suggestion that the *u* suffix is perhaps a locative marker."⁵²

Cook also observes Andrason's proposed analogical explanation of the imperfective YIQTOL. Cook summarizes Andrason's argument and states, the "Central Semitic *YAQTULU is the 'direct functional successor' of [PS] *YAQATTAL analogically reshaped to the dominant *YAQTUL morphology."⁵³ This statement helps by drawing "attention to the undisputed opinion that Central Semitic *YAQTULU semantically corresponds to PS *YAQATTAL: both belong to the same path of development, which begins with a progressive construction that develops into an imperfective gram."⁵⁴ Andrason's imperfective YIQTOL grams include the (1) habitual and (2) gnomic categories.⁵⁵

In respect to the progressive-imperfective path of development, this does not adequately account for the future and irrealis mood of YIQTOL. In order to account for this difficulty, Cook observes the RH imperfective grams. As a result, the irrealis mood of YIQTOL becomes more central as the following table illustrates.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220.

⁵² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220. Citing, Bauer, "Die Tempora Im Semitischen," 8; Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, §66; Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian*, §28.3.

⁵³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220.

⁵⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 220–21.

⁵⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 221. Citing, Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 141; Comrie, *Aspect*, 25.

⁵⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 221.

Table 2.2.2.1.3.2.1 Development of the Hebrew <i>YIQTOL</i> Conjugation⁵⁷				
<i>Central Semitic</i>		<i>Biblical Hebrew</i>		<i>Rabbinic Hebrew</i>
Progressive *YA-QTUL-U	→	Imperfective <i>YIQTOL</i>	→	Irrealis <i>YIQTOL</i>

Cook explains that the remaining functions associated with *YIQTOL* are generic or gnomic.⁵⁸ *YIQTOL*, then, expresses a sense of inevitability. However, there are examples in the HB where *YIQTOL* could describe typicalities as well as inevitabilities.⁵⁹

2.2.2.2. Modality in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System

Cook defines modality in the following way: “[Modality refers] to the conceptual or semantic domain consisting of the theoretically limitless ways in which speakers might choose to relate an event or proposition to alternative situations.”⁶⁰ He continues, “[H]owever, there is a core group of these gram-type modalities that is attested widely cross-linguistically. The various modalities may be expressed alternatively, but not mutually exclusively, by modal systems or mood systems.”⁶¹ He concludes that BH does express mood as it is conveyed by the irrealis mood system and a directive-volitive mood system that contains morphological distinctions in the conjugations of the imperative and jussive.⁶²

Cook discusses the appropriateness of the irrealis mood category and states that it is “particularly useful in that it applies not only to the word order distinction of mood with the two primary conjugations, *QATAL* and *YIQTOL*, but applies likewise to the

⁵⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 222.

⁵⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 222.

⁵⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 222. Cook cites “typical” examples: Prov 10:1; 11:6; 12:25; 13:16; 14:17; 15:1, 2; 16:23; 18:1; 26:24; 29:2, 8; “inevitable” examples include Prov 11:11, 31; 13:13; 14:11; 17:2, 20; 19:5, 9; 21:11; 27:18; 29:23.

⁶⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234.

⁶¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234. Citing, Bybee, “Modality in Grammar Discourse,” 2; Bybee, “‘Irrealis’ as a Grammatical Category,” 262.

⁶² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234.

directive-volitive mood system.”⁶³ He states that the expressed modalities of the irrealis *QATAL* and irrealis *YIQTOL* are quite broad, thus, including subordinate modalities, habituality, volitive, and positive and negative directive meanings.⁶⁴

2.2.2.2.1. The Directive-Volitive Mood System

The directive-volitive mood system of the BH irrealis mood includes the following verbal forms: the (1) imperative, (2) jussive, and (3) cohortative.⁶⁵ Morphologically, these three forms are constructed on the prefix pattern in line with *YIQTOL* and *WAYYIQTOL*.⁶⁶ However, these three verbal forms exhibit unique morphological patterns.⁶⁷ Semantically, the imperative, jussive, and cohortative are understood to express the imperative, prohibitive, hortatory, permissive, and admonitory modalities.⁶⁸ Cook considers these modal understandings of these three forms to be limited or too narrow—even through the observation of typological data. As a result, with respect to the taxonomies presented in his first chapter, Cook adopts Jean-Christophe Verstraete’s subjective-deontic modality theory.⁶⁹

⁶³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234.

⁶⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234–35. Citing, Bybee, “‘Irrealis’ as a Grammatical Category,” 265 regarding the discussion of the categorization of grams that typically are labeled irrealis.

⁶⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 237.

⁶⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 237.

⁶⁷ For reference to the distinct morphological features of the imperative, jussive, and cohortative, see Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 237–41. The morphology of these forms is not the primary focus of this thesis. For this reason, I shall instead focus on the semantic features of these three forms as they relate to the universal language categories of TAM.

⁶⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 241. Citing, Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraiische Grammatik*, §2.45–53; Davidson and Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 86–95; Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, 50–69; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §114; Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 80–83, 105–7; Kautzsch, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, 319–26; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 564–79.

⁶⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 241–42. Citing, Verstraete, “Subjective and Objective Modality”; Verstraete, “Re-Thinking the Coordinate-Subordinate Dichotomy.”

Cook explains, “[The] ‘directive’ here is not limited to positive commands but also includes negative, prohibitive expressions”⁷⁰ as this was a shortcoming of typology.⁷¹ The following table encompasses Cook’s argument for a comprehensive understanding of the taxonomy of modalities:

2.2.2.2.1.1. Table of Taxonomy of Modalities⁷²		
1. Absolute modalities		
Declarative (neutral epistemic)	DECL	General expression of speaker knowledge
Epistemic	EPIS	Qualification of speaker knowledge
Obligation	OBL	General expression of obligation
Directive	DIR	Imposition of speaker will on addressee
Volitive/optative/commissive	VOL	Expression of speaker will
Dynamic	DYN	Expression of ability
2. Relative modalities		
Conditional (protasis)	COND	Alternative event(s) contingent on a postulated condition
Final (apodosis/purpose/result)	FIN	The outcome of a postulated or real event

This table “encompasses both the positive-directive imperative and the negative-directive jussive grams.”⁷³ The “volitive,” according to Cook, “does not distinguish between expressions that impose the speaker’s will on the addressee (hortative) and expressions that do not (optative).”⁷⁴ This is because they are categorized under the directive-volitive system.

2.2.2.2.2. Irrealis Modality

Irrealis modality is a part of the realis-irrealis mood opposition in BH. In this section, Cook focuses on the expression of this mood in two BH conjugations: (1)

⁷⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 242.

⁷¹ Cook discusses the short comings of a typological approach earlier in this section as he moves toward his conclusion that Vestræte’s subjective-deontic modality theory is the appropriate solution for understanding the TAM of the imperative, jussive, and cohortative. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 241–42.

⁷² Table adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 71.

⁷³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 242.

⁷⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 242.

QATAL and (2) *YIQTOL*. Particular emphasis is placed on instances where irrealis modality is expressed in VS clauses.⁷⁵ The following table illustrates Cook’s structure for the modality of the irrealis *QATAL* and irrealis *YIQTOL*:

Table 2.2.2.2.1. The BH Directive-Volitive Irrealis Mood Subsystem⁷⁶			
<i>Prefix Pattern</i>			
	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>	
First Person	Jussive	(rare)	Mostly volitive
Second Person	Imperative	𐤊𐤍 + Jussive	Mostly directive
Third Person	Jussive	𐤊𐤍 + Jussive	Directive and volitive

2.2.2.2.1. Irrealis *YIQTOL*

The irrealis *YIQTOL* has a broad range of possible meaning. This is in part due to its convoluted development. Cook considers this verbal form to have developed at the end of the progressive-imperfective diachronic path. However, others consider it to be a descendant of the progressive-imperfective-future/subjunctive diachronic path.⁷⁷ In order to make sense of the confused history of the irrealis *YIQTOL*’s development, Cook provides two factors that led to the contamination of *YIQTOL* into the irrealis mood system. There was a “(1) confusion of / merger between *YIQTOL* and jussive, and (2) the use of the form in the ancient law code (i.e., context-induced irrealis meanings).”⁷⁸

It would appear that Cook understands the irrealis *YIQTOL* to primarily express directive-volitive meaning. This is the result of the confusion of or merge between *YIQTOL* and jussive. The partial harmony between *YIQTOL* and the jussive, in Cook’s opinion, accounts for the development of the directive meaning of *YIQTOL*. This is

⁷⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 244.

⁷⁶ Adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 245.

⁷⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 245. Citing, Andrason, “The Panchronic *YIQTOL*,” 36, 45.

⁷⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 246.

especially important to note considering the disappearance of the jussive in post-BH and this function then entirely appropriated to *YIQTOL*.⁷⁹ Cook explains,

This gradual takeover is the simplest explanation for all the directive-volitive meanings expressed by irrealis *YIQTOL*, which the association of imperfective *YIQTOL* with epistemic expressions accounts for the object : subjective-denotic opposition with the prohibitive jussive.⁸⁰

The irrealis *YIQTOL* may express either objective or subjective-deontic modality depending on the context of the discourse.⁸¹

The irrealis *YIQTOL* also expresses dynamic and habitual modality. It is associated with epistemic modality and is also the result of a contamination from the directive-volitive system.⁸² Cook states, “[E]pistemic modality describes the probability of situations; dynamic situations describe potential situations; and habituality describes the regularity of situations rather than ‘actual’ situations.”⁸³

2.2.2.2.2. Irrealis *QATAL*

Cook’s argument for the irrealis modal expression of the perfective *QATAL* is rooted in the presupposition that *QATAL* and *WeQATAL* are reflexes of distinct conjugations in Semitic languages.⁸⁴ The irrealis *QATAL*, entirely separate from *WeQATAL*, typically occurs in VS clauses where the verb is preceded by **אם**, **כי**, **לו**, or

⁷⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 246.

⁸⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁸¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 247. Cook cites Shulman in order to explain this subjective-deontic expression:

The difference between utterance, in which these forms (Jussive and *YIQTOL*) occur, is close to the distinction between deontic and epistemic modality. Jussive forms are typically used for expressing deontic modality (wishes, commands and other expression of volition). The indicative forms, although they may be used for either deontic or epistemic modality, are typically used for epistemic modality. Shulman, “The Function of the ‘Jussive’ and ‘Indicative’ Imperfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose,” 180.

⁸² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁸³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁸⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249.

לֹלֵא.⁸⁵ Cook refers to these particles that precede an irrealis *QATAL* as “counterfactual conditions”—which “commonly feature grams with a past-temporal reference on the basis of the past-irrealis metaphor: that which is temporally removed from the speaker’s present irrealis.”⁸⁶ In such a grammatical environment, the irrealis *QATAL* can express (1) contingent modality, (2) directive modality, and (3) habituality.

The modality expressed by the irrealis *QATAL* is distinct and should not be confused with the modality expressed by the imperative, jussive, or cohortative verbal forms.⁸⁷ Cook presents this argument in light of two distinct characteristics of the irrealis *QATAL* that relate to the directive-volitive mood system. First, the source of the obligation expressed by the irrealis *QATAL* distinguishes verbal forms:

the directive-volitive forms are limited to expressing subjective-deontic modality, in which the source of obligation derives from the speaker, while irrealis *YIQTOL* directives may locate the source of obligation with the speaker or outside them. The preference of irrealis *QATAL* for procedural directives and law codes seem to place it alongside the irrealis *YIQTOL*’s expression of obligation, which derives from some source other than the speaker.⁸⁸

Cook states that this distinguishing feature of the discussed verbal form leads him to conclude that the irrealis *QATAL* can be used for subjective or objective deontic modality.⁸⁹

Second, the irrealis *QATAL* functions to present events as bounded. This influences the temporal succession of a narrative. This leads Cook to conclude that there is an aspectual distinction between the irrealis *QATAL* and irrealis *YIQTOL*.⁹⁰ It is

⁸⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249.

⁸⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 250. Cook does not provide a proper definition of “counterfactual conditions” in this section.

⁸⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 253.

⁸⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 253.

⁸⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 253.

⁹⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 254.

important to understand that the irrealis mood is tenseless. Cook explains, “[T]he successiveness of the bounded perfective irrealis *QATAL* is transferred to the sphere of modal alternative situations: the accessibility of situations is successive.”⁹¹

2.2.2.3. Temporality in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System

There has been much turmoil within BH scholarship regarding temporality. This is in part due to a confusion of terminology. In an attempt to supply clarity, Cook distinguishes between “temporality”—which describes the location of events past, present and future—and “tense”—which describes the grammaticalized location of an event in time.⁹² He argues that the BHVS expresses temporality in, first, the tensed gram *WAYYIQTOL*, and second, “via a default pattern of temporal interpretation of the aspectual grams.”⁹³

2.2.2.3.1. The Past Narrative *WAYYIQTOL* Conjugation

Cook argues that *WAYYIQTOL* is the primary verbal form that expresses temporality in BH. Statistically, there are 15,000 instances of *WAYYIQTOL* in BH and over 90 percent appear in prose narrative with past temporality.⁹⁴ Standard grammars state that *WAYYIQTOL* typically expresses the following:

- (1) simple past (usually with the idea of succession); (2) present perfect and past perfect (the latter under restricted circumstances); (3) logical consecution (past or present time), [and] (4) some exceptional (apparently) future uses in prophetic contexts.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 254. Citing, Verstraete, “Re-Thinking the Coordinate-Subordinate Dichotomy,” 42–47.

⁹² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 256.

⁹³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 256.

⁹⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 256.

⁹⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 256. Citing, Bergstrasser et al., *Hebraiische Grammatik*, §2.36–45; Davidson and Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 70–78; Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tense in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, 70–99; Gibson, *Davidson’s Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, 95–102; Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 389–96; Kautzsch, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, 326–30; Meyer, “Das Hebraische Verbalssystem im Licht der Gegenwartigen Forschung,” §2.44–46; Waltke, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 543–63.

Yet, a semantic analysis of *WAYYIQTOL* becomes confusing for any BHVS scholar consider its morphological similarities with *YIQTOL* and the semantic similarities with *QATAL*. Despite these confusions, there is agreement within scholarship that *WAYYIQTOL* exhibits some form of sequence.⁹⁶

Cook discusses *WAYYIQTOL* as a past narrative tense form that identifies with past tense grams. The conjugation of *WAYYIQTOL* developed along with the resultative-perfect-perfective-past diachrony of *QATAL*.⁹⁷ The diachronic placement of these verbs on this developmental path is clear because of their contrastive interaction with stative predicates—“*QATAL* with stative can express past or (default) present states, whereas *WAYYIQTOL* consistently exhibits a past-state meaning with stative predicates.”⁹⁸

WAYYIQTOL can also express simple past, present perfect, and past perfect meaning. However, these are not necessarily typical or standard meanings of this form. Cook explains,

[I]n most instances where a perfect meaning seems to be called for, the *WAYYIQTOL* or a series of *WAYYIQTOL*s is preceded by a *QATAL* that determines the perfect meaning [...]; no clear instances have been produced that require a perfect sense (i.e., simple past versus perfect seems optional at best.)⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 257. Cook goes on to discuss in great detail relevant comparative-historical data in order to present an argument for the development of *WAYYIQTOL*. Specifically, he discusses different theories for the *waC-* prefix that is universally present on the *WAYYIQTOL* form in BH prose. Furthermore, he discusses the possibility of *WAYYIQTOL* as a form being a derivative of a preterite form. For reference to this discussion see Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 257–59. Following this discussion, Cook explores the synchronic question of whether *YIQTOL* and *WAYYIQTOL* are reflexives of two distinct conjugations. He argues that comparative-historical data presents evidence for two distinct conjugations. For reference to Cook’s discussion of this subject see Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 260–63.

⁹⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 263.

⁹⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 263–64. Also see Section 3.2.2. Cook basis this argument for the values of *QATAL* and *WAYYIQTOL* on a list of roots provided by Jouon and Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, §41 and Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, 46–47 but excludes 14 forms listed in Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 264 ft. 99.

⁹⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 264. Cook cites the following examples as instances where *WAYYIQTOL* is translated as a perfect, but should be considered simple past: Gen 19:19; 31:9; 32:5; Isa 49:7; Jer 8:6; Prov 7:15 Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 263 ft. 100.

When *WAYYIQTOL* expresses the past perfect or simple past, it is typically preceded by *QATAL*. In such instances, *WAYYIQTOL* functions to provide progression or continuity within a narrative's time.¹⁰⁰

2.2.2.3.2. The “Default Pattern” of Temporal Interpretation in Biblical Hebrew

In an attempt to explain the “contextual” temporal interpretation of the BHVS, Cook adopts the recent research of C. S. Smith on temporal expression in tenseless languages.¹⁰¹ Cook applies this research “to BH in order to make a case that the aspectual grams in the BHVS (i.e. *QATAL*, *YIQTOL*, and the participle) have a default interpretation, most clearly evident in reported speech, which is in keeping with comparable aspectual form.”¹⁰² Smith presents three basic principles that account for how aspectual grams denote a default temporal interpretation: (1) the deictic pattern of temporal interpretation, (2) bounded event constraint, and a (3) simplicity principle of interpretation.¹⁰³

The first principle, the deictic pattern of temporal interpretation, is thought to be the most important of the three:

*The Deictic Pattern of Temporal Interpretation*¹⁰⁴

- a) Unbounded situations are located in the Present
- b) Bounded situations are located in the Past

¹⁰⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 265. Citing example 4.14 and Smith, *Modes of Discourse*, 94.

¹⁰¹ These works include Smith, “Temporal Interpretation in Mandarin Chinese”; Smith, “The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning”; Smith, “Time in Navajo”; Smith, “Time with and without Tense.”

¹⁰² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266.

¹⁰³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266–67. Citing, Smith, “The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning”; Smith, “Time with and without Tense.”

¹⁰⁴ Table is adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Citing Smith, “The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning,” 92; Smith, “Time With and Without Tense,” 235. Cook originally discusses bounded events in Section 1.5.3, 3.2.3.1, and 4.2.1.

Cook explains that “‘boundedness’ refers to whether an event is portrayed as having reached an endpoint or not.”¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, “[P]erfective aspect is one means of making an event bounded, while imperfective and progressive aspects are strategies for making an event unbounded.”¹⁰⁶ For this reason, on the one hand, the perfective aspect and past tense are closely related.¹⁰⁷ On the other, the imperfective and present tense are indistinguishable.¹⁰⁸

The second principle is similar to Smith’s first:

*Bounded Event Constraint*¹⁰⁹

a) Bounded situations may not be located in the Present

Reportative speech and performatives are the exceptions that prove this speech interval, which, in turn, “reach their endpoint during the speech interval.”¹¹⁰ From the first and second of Smith’s principles, Cook argues that *QATAL* and *WAYYIQTOL* present bounded events, while *YIQTOL* and the participle express unbounded events.¹¹¹

The third principle “qualifies the deictic pattern of interpretation [...] as a ‘default’ pattern that may be cancelled, such as by adverbial expressions that make endpoints or lack of endpoints explicit.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Citing, Depraetere, “On the Necessity of Distinguishing between (Un)Boundedness and (a)Telicity,” 2–3.

¹⁰⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266.

¹⁰⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Citing, Dahl, *Tense and Aspect Systems*, 79.

¹⁰⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Citing Bybee, *The Evolution of Grammar*, 126.

¹⁰⁹ Table is adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Citing Smith, “The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning,” 92.

¹¹⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266. Cook discusses reparative speech further in Section 1.7.6 and the end point of speech intervals in Section 3.2.3.1.

¹¹¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 266.

¹¹² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 267.

- a) Choose the interpretation that requires the least information added or inferred

This qualification is also associated with the boundedness of the perfective aspect and the unboundedness of the imperfective aspect. This may be influenced and, thus, cancelled by other variables.

2.2.3. John Cook's Tense, Aspect, and Modality System of Biblical Hebrew

As comparative-historical data is important to the development and framework of Cook's theory, he produces the following chart in order to illustrate the diachronic-typological development of BH:

Table 2.2.3.1. Development of the BHVS ¹¹⁴				
		<i>Pre-BH</i>	<i>BH</i>	<i>Post-BH</i>
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	Resultative Path	Perfect-perfective	→ Past (narrative)	→ Obsolete
<i>QATAL</i>		Resultative-perfect	→ Perfect-perfective	→ Past
<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive Path	Progressive imperfective	→ Imperfective-irrealis	→ Irrealis/future
Participle		Progressive (nominal encoding)	→ Progressive (nominal encoding)	→ Progressive (split nominal-locative encoding)

He states, "[T]hese reconstructed paths of development go beyond simple description to provide explanations for the range of meanings that individual verbal grams exhibit in the [HB]"¹¹⁵ in order to account for "'competition' among certain grams (e.g.,

WAYYIQTOL and *QATAL*; *YIQTOL* and the Participle)."¹¹⁶

Cook concludes the third chapter, which explains his theory, with the presentation of the following diagram:

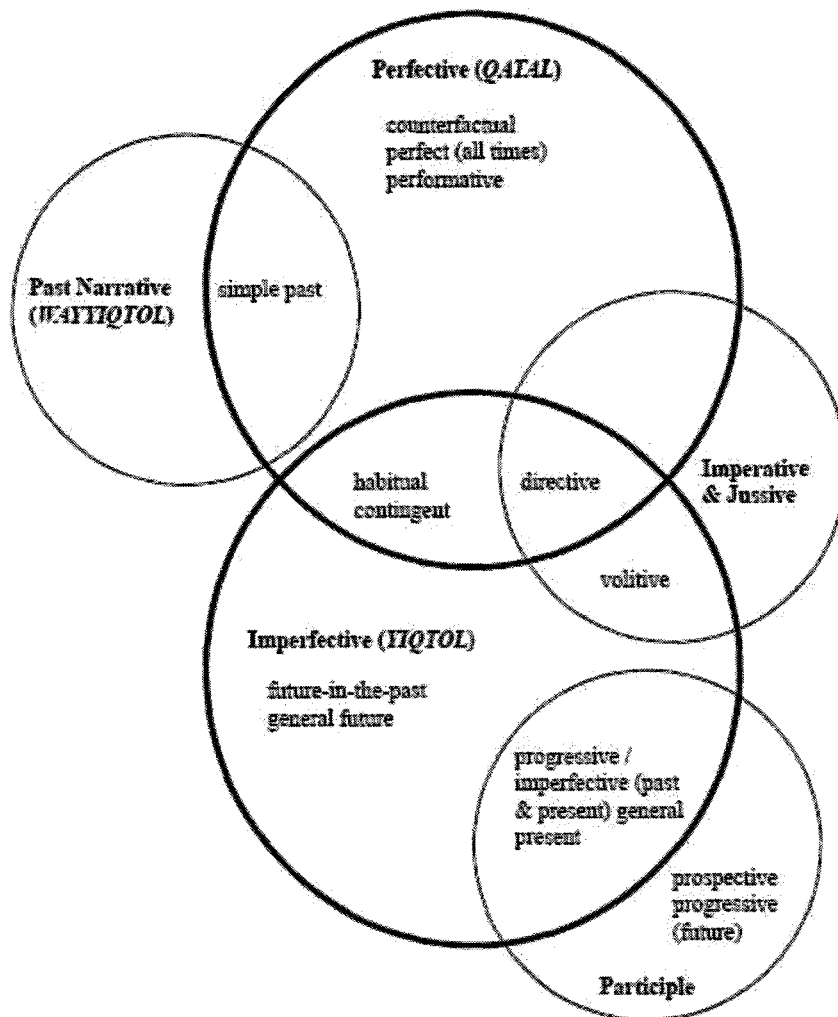
¹¹³ Table is adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 267. Citing Smith, "The Pragmatics and Semantics of Temporal Meaning," 93. Cook argues that this principle is a variation of Grice's pragmatic principle of quantity. See Lindblom, "Cooperative Principle," 176–83.

¹¹⁴ Table adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 269.

¹¹⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 269.

¹¹⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 269.

Figure 2.2.3.1. Semantic Mapping of the BHVS¹¹⁷



Cook explains,

The [...] Perfect *QATAL* and Imperfective *YIQTOL* underscore the centrality of their aspectual contrast in the system. At the same time, the smaller circles encompassing the Past Narrative *WAYYIQTOL*, Participle, and Imperative and Jussive forms underscore their distinct but less-central position in the BHVS: the Past Narrative is a specialized verb form in BH that becomes obsolete in post-BH; the Participle is not a finite verb but, in a supported copular structure, is a productive progressive gram; the Imperative and Jussive constitute a distinct directive-volitive system.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Table adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 270.

¹¹⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 271.

The meanings associated with these grams are cross-linguistic semantic categories. This chart does not include the full range of Cook's argument, but does serve to map the general construction of his TAM theory.

2.2.4. Summary

Cook approaches the BHVS with the understanding that it is primarily an aspectual language. Thus, his theory is titled aspect prominent. In summary of his position and verbal theory, the following table outlines the fundamentals of his argument for the function of the BHVS:

Table 2.2.4.1. An Overview of Cook's Argument for the Function of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System			
Verbal Conjugation	Category of Function	Related Verbal Grams	Explanation
<i>QATAL</i>	Counterfactual	Perfective	<i>QATAL</i> can function as an irrealis in conditional discourse with a subjective form in the opening clause to reference a present or past situation.
	Perfect (all times)	Perfective	<i>QATAL</i> can function to signify an action or event as completed in the present or past.
	Performative	Perfective	<i>QATAL</i> can function as a performative to describe actions that are partly under the control of the addressee in a present or past situation.
	Simple Past	Past Narrative / Perfective	<i>QATAL</i> can function in narrative or direct discourse as a simple past verb.
	Habitual Contingent	Perfective / Imperfective	<i>QATAL</i> can function to reference a common action on the part of the subject in the present or past.
	Directive	Perfective / Imperfective / Imperative & Jussive	<i>QATAL</i> can function within the directive-volitive system in the present or past.

<i>YIQTOL</i>	General Future	Imperfective	<i>YIQTOL</i> can function to express the general future or future-in-the-past.
	Future-in-the-Past	Imperfective	
	Habitual Contingent	Imperfective / Perfective	The habitual contingent functions in either the past or present temporal spheres. Typically, it is marked by the repeated use of <i>YIQTOL</i> that expresses a common action on the part of the subject. This can include rituals and similar activities.
	Directive	Imperfective / Perfective / Imperative & Jussive	The directive function of <i>YIQTOL</i> spans between all three spheres: the imperfective, perfective, and deontic modality. It can be used in the past, present, or future temporal spheres. It closely related to the imperative and cohortative verbal conjugations.
	Volitive	Imperfective / Imperative & Jussive	The volitive functions in close relation to the jussive verbal conjugation. It is used to denote the volition or will of the subject. It is commonly used by a subject when referring to a divine figure.
	Progressive / Imperfective (Past & Present) General Present	Imperfective / Participle	The progressive/imperfective general present functions to express progressive aspect in the past or present temporal spheres.
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	Past Narrative	Past Narrative	In narrative discourse, <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> can express the past-tense as well as function to provide temporal succession of events.
	Simple Past	Past Narrative / Perfective	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> can function independently, or in a discourse constellation with <i>QATAL</i> or <i>YIQTOL</i> to present an event or process in the simple past.

Imperative & Jussive	Imperative, Cohortative, and Jussive	Imperative & Jussive	The imperative, cohortative, and jussive verbal forms may function to express the volition of a subject or another character in a discourse. Furthermore, the imperative and cohortative may function to present a command or request made by the addresser to the addressee. This is a part of the directive-volitive system.
	Directive	Imperative & Jussive / Imperfective / Perfective	
	Volitive	Imperative & Jussive / Imperfective	
Participle	Prospective	Participle	A participle may be used to present a process as timeless, but from the point of view taken from the temporality or aspect implied by the text.
	Progressive	Participle	A participle can present an event or process as progressive with no reference to a specific temporal sphere.
	Progressive / Imperfective (Past & Present) General Present	Participle / Imperfective	The progressive/imperfective general present functions to express progressive aspect in the past or present temporal spheres. Typically, a participle will function with another distinct verbal form, like <i>YIQTOL</i> .

2.3. Jan Joosten's Relative Tense Theory¹¹⁹

Joosten approaches his study of the BHVS with a clear goal in mind—"to provide exegetes of biblical texts with a dependable analysis of the meaning and use of Hebrew verbal forms."¹²⁰ His 2012 monograph is not interested in confusing the reader with difficult terminology or complex ideas. It is not entirely possible to avoid confusing

¹¹⁹ All English renderings of the BH text in this section are quotations taken from Joosten's 2012 monograph. They are English translations that are in accordance with his theory as he presents them.

¹²⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 7.

the reader with complex ideas of unique terminology, but Joosten makes every effort to overcome these barriers in order to communicate simplicity.

Like Cook, Joosten is quick to state that considering BH is a dead language, the linguist is limited to an observation of the OT and a meagre collection of inscriptions as his or her corpus of texts. Yet, like all other human languages, BH can be observed with similar linguistic methods.

The methodology employed by Joosten does not “advocate any single linguistic doctrine.”¹²¹ However, he does lean toward the Saussurian-structuralist approach, which emphasizes a distinction between “*langue*,” the language system, and “*parole*,” the actual use of language.¹²² In principle, the Saussurian-structuralist approach is synchronic, which Joosten defines in the following way: “the language system reflects linguistic knowledge shared by a community of speakers in a given period.”¹²³

Another guiding linguistic principle for Joosten is that the different elements of language interact not only in pragmatic relationships, such as opposing verbal forms, but also in syntagmatic relations among elements within a spoken or written chain of signs. Joosten clarifies, “For the verb this means that the combination of verbal forms with other verbal forms, with other parts of speech, or in a specific word order, may lead to a

¹²¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 9.

¹²² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 9.

¹²³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 9. Joosten argues that a comparative-historical analysis of any given language informs scholars of certain phenomena of a language, but it does not determine the way a speaker actually used the language. Joosten does not remove comparative-historical data from the presentation of his theory. He does not emphasize its importance when presenting the TAM of the language. He uses the data for the sole purpose of presenting the evolution of a verbal form (i.e., WAYYIQTOL : YIQTOL or WeQATAL : QATAL).

change in the basic meaning.”¹²⁴ The linguistic sign emphasized by Joosten is “the phonic form of a word evokes its meaning and vice versa.”¹²⁵

The final guiding linguistic principle for Joosten is that “meaning is effected through layering, from the lowest phonetic, through the intermediary morphological and sentential, to the highest textual level.”¹²⁶ Individual words as a level exist in union with lexical items. He explains, “The lexical meaning of the verb may exert a certain influence on the verbal function.”¹²⁷ Pragmatic constraints, like the speech-situation, exist on the final textual level. In some cases, contradiction can be created between what is “expressed on the morphological and sentential levels and what is meant in reference to the real world (e.g., when a future event is represented as belonging to the past).”¹²⁸

2.3.1. The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in Outline

Following some preliminary arguments that structure his monograph, Joosten enters into his analysis of the BHVS, which is broken into five main categories: (1) *WAYYIQTOL*, (2) *QATAL*, (3) the predicative participle, (4) *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL*, and (5) the volitives. While these five main categories can be separated or grouped differently, Joosten distinguishes two sub-systems: (1) indicative and (2) modal. First, the indicative sub-system includes *WAYYIQTOL*, *QATAL*, and the predicative participle. Second, the modal sub-system includes *YIQTOL-WeQATAL* and the volitives.¹²⁹

Biblical Hebrew is a language built on oppositions, an aspect of language studies that the Sassurian-structuralist model observes, and there are two successive oppositions

¹²⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 10.

¹²⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 10.

¹²⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 10.

¹²⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 10.

¹²⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 10.

¹²⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 39.

in the indicative sub-system. Joosten states, “First, *WAYYIQTOL* is opposed as a positively characterized past tense form to *QATAL* and the predicative participle which are indifferent to tense.”¹³⁰ Second, *QATAL* and the predicative participle express opposition along the lines of time reference as *QATAL* denotes anteriority and the predicative participle “contemporaneousness with regard to the reference of time.”¹³¹ The modal sub-system contains a single opposition where *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* are opposed to the cohortative-imperative-jussive group. *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* are parallel and express mere modality, which in Joosten’s opinion is irrealis modality. *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* are “opposed to the cohortative-imperative-jussive group which adds a volitive nuance.”¹³² The following table illustrates Joosten’s division of the BHVS:

Table 2.3.1.1. The BHVS in Outline ¹³³				
Indicative			Modal	
Past-tense	Non-tensed		Non-volitive	Volitive
	Anterior	Contemp.	<i>YIQTOL</i> - <i>WeQATAL</i>	Cohortative, Imperative, Jussive
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	<i>QATAL</i>	Participle		

The five categories of Joosten’s theory can be defined in the following way. First, *WAYYIQTOL* expresses the indicative past and can also be label as a “preterite.” Joosten explains, “*WAYYIQTOL* situates the process expressed by the verb in a time frame belonging to the past.”¹³⁴ Second, *QATAL* expresses the indicative non-tensed anterior, or also known as the perfect, and “depicts the process as being anterior to the

¹³⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 39.
¹³¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 39.
¹³² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 40.
¹³³ Table adapted from Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 40.
¹³⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 40. E.g., Ruth 1:1.

reference time (usually, but not necessarily, the time of speaking).”¹³⁵ The predicative participle expresses the indicative non-tensed contemporaneous, which “depicts the process as being contemporaneous with the reference time (usually, but not necessarily, the time of speaking).”¹³⁶ *YIQTOL-WeQATAL* express the modal non-volitive, or irrealis modality. Joosten explains, “*YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* present the process as not (yet) real at the reference time.”¹³⁷ The cohortative-imperative-jussive group expresses the modal volitive. Joosten summarizes his argument and states, “The volitives, like *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL*, present the process as not real, adding a volitive nuance; the speaker wants the process to take place.”¹³⁸

2.3.2. *WAYYIQTOL*

*WAYYIQTOL*¹³⁹ is the most frequent verbal form in classical BH prose.¹⁴⁰ A majority of *WAYYIQTOL* instances occur in narrative prose, while discursive and poetic texts show a lower frequency of the form. For this reason, Joosten divides the use of *WAYYIQTOL* into two categories: (1) narrative and (2) discourse. In his discussion, he identifies *WAYYIQTOL* as the indicative preterite. He states, “[T]he preterite definition

¹³⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 40. E.g., Gen 3:11.

¹³⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 40. E.g., Num 11:27.

¹³⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 41. E.g., Gen 24:40.

¹³⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 41. E.g., 1 Sam 28:22.

¹³⁹ Historically, scholars thought that there was a relationship between *YIQTOL* and *WAYYIQTOL*. Joosten rejects this argument on the basis of comparative-historical data gathered from Akkadian and Arabic. He states, “Comparative Semitic evidence shows that the use of the short form in *WAYYIQTOL* is not a Hebrew anomaly.” Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 14. *WAYYIQTOL* is primarily found in narrative texts as it accounts for main events of a story. *WAYYIQTOL* function is exactly the same as the Akkadian preterite *iprus*, which is a matching Hebrew preterite use of the short form. Arabic mimics this information with its known use of the preterite use of the short form *lam YAQTULU*. Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 14. Furthermore, *YIQTOL* can be traced back to the WS present-future *YAQTULU*, while *WAYYIQTOL* is related to the WS preterite *YAQTUL*. Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 162.

¹⁴⁰ Classical BH is classified as including Genesis through Second Kings. This statement made by Joosten acknowledges a clear linguistic difference between the separate eras of Ancient Hebrew. This point is particularly emphasized by Cook through his emphasis on comparative-historical data. Joosten also makes this distinction.

avoids attributing to *WAYYIQTOL* functional traits that are not necessarily present (such as punctuality, sequentaility, foregrounding, or narrativity).¹⁴¹ *WAYYIQTOL* “expresses narrative continuity, with each successive even linking up with the preceding one.”¹⁴² Joosten explains, while *WAYYIQTOL* implies continuation, it does not necessarily suggest logical sequence or temporal succession. He states, “In a fair number of passages, *WAYYIQTOL* does not link up with earlier events, or, although linking up, does not imply temporal or logical sequence.”¹⁴³ With this in mind, what then is the relationship between the form and function of this verbal form? First, the verbal form is past tense and creates its own reference time. Second, as a past tense form with its own reference time, it has a deictic element, “adding to the notion of process [as] a ‘temporal location’ at some point in the past.”¹⁴⁴ He explains that two adjacent *WAYYIQTOL* forms can have two different reference times. Joosten concludes, “Although the notion of sequentiality very often applies to actions expressed by *WAYYIQTOL*, it does not flow from the verbal form, but from the literary genre of the narrative discourse.”¹⁴⁵

2.3.2.1. *WAYYIQTOL* in Narrative

About 90 percent of *WAYYIQTOL* instances take place in narrative prose, yet this verbal form does not exhibit any particular unity in meaning or function. This section will discuss the function of *WAYYIQTOL* at (1) the beginning of a narrative, (2) the body of a narrative, and (3) *WAYYIQTOL* in excursive material.

¹⁴¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 161.

¹⁴² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 163.

¹⁴³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 163.

¹⁴⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 163.

¹⁴⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 164.

2.3.2.1.1. *WAYYIQTOL* at the Beginning of a Narrative

WAYYIQTOL commonly occurs at the beginning of a narrative in BH prose.

Joosten states, “The corpus of classical Hebrew prose presents itself as one long story stretching from the creation of the world to the exile of Judah.”¹⁴⁶ This makes it difficult to determine the exact beginning of a new narrative. Yet, the beginning of a new narrative is marked by *WAYYIQTOL* no matter how difficult it is to decide which *WAYYIQTOL* is the exact marker. A common narrative marker is the use of וַיְהִי, “and it happened.”¹⁴⁷

2.3.2.1.2. *WAYYIQTOL* in the Body of the Narrative

Biblical narratives are typically constructed of *WAYYIQTOL* chains that formulate the backbone of a story. Chains can be interrupted or divided by other verbal forms presenting “off-line” comments.¹⁴⁸ There are two categories within the sub-system of *WAYYIQTOL*: (1) sequential *WAYYIQTOL* and (2) non-sequential *WAYYIQTOL*.¹⁴⁹ First, *WAYYIQTOL* in the body of a narrative can imply temporal succession. This can be expressed through either an uninterrupted chain of *WAYYIQTOL* clauses, or by *WAYYIQTOL* fronted by another verbal form.¹⁵⁰ *WAYYIQTOL* fronted by another verbal form can also express temporal succession, but not between *WAYYIQTOL* instances.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 164.

¹⁴⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 164. E.g., Judg 1:1.

¹⁴⁸ For example, this includes, “*QATAL* forms in negative or contrastive clauses; *QATAL* or participle in circumstantial clauses; *QATAL* or participle in subordinate clauses introduced by a participle such as וְ or אֲשֶׁר; *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* in clauses expressing habitual action.” Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 166.

¹⁴⁹ Considering this is the primary function of *WAYYIQTOL* in classical BH, examples are provided in text. For the subsidiary expressions of *WAYYIQTOL* I provide reference to the examples in footnote form. This method of citing examples is consistent throughout the rest of my presentation of Joosten’s theory.

¹⁵⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 167. E.g., 2 Sam 12:20.

¹⁵¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 167. E.g., Judg 1:30.

Second, there are instances where *WAYYIQTOL* does not represent a sequence of events and is known as a non-sequential *WAYYIQTOL*. Joosten emphasizes six exceptions that comprise the existence of the non-sequential *WAYYIQTOL*: (1) successive *WAYYIQTOL* forms expressing one action, (2) contemporaneous events, (3) overlapping time frames, (4) backtracking, (5) anticipatory, and (6) iterative process.

First, successive *WAYYIQTOL* verbal forms can express a single action that is comprised of two *WAYYIQTOL*s which represent differing aspects of one event.¹⁵² Second, contemporaneous events are expressed when the event times of different actions coincide.¹⁵³ Joosten states, “The context makes it clear that the actions indicated by successive *WAYYIQTOL* forms are roughly contemporaneous.”¹⁵⁴ However, in such instances there are no indications of temporal relationship between clauses, as explained in the previous sub-section.¹⁵⁵ This function of *WAYYIQTOL* serves to express two contemporaneous events in one syntactical unit. Third, *WAYYIQTOL* can exhibit overlapping time frames that take place “when the event time of one action includes that of another, the two processes relate to one another as figure and ground.”¹⁵⁶ Joosten explains that the first situation establishes the scene, “while the second occupies the foreground.”¹⁵⁷ Fourth, *WAYYIQTOL* denotes backtracking when retrospective material is introduced into a narrative in a circumstantial clause with a *QATAL*. In these instances, “*WAYYIQTOL* refers to an act that occurred prior to the events recounted

¹⁵² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 167. E.g., Gen 7:23; 25:1; 34:13–14; 1 Sam 28:20; 1 Kgs 18:24; 19:6.

¹⁵³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 168. E.g., Gen 6:11; 45:15; 25:34; 1 Sam 18:11.

¹⁵⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 169.

¹⁵⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 169. E.g., Gen 18:10; Num 12:2.

¹⁵⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 170. Citing, Washburn, “Chomsky’s Separation of Syntax and Semantics.”

¹⁵⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 170. Citing, Collins, “The *WAYYIQTOL* as ‘Pluperfect.’” E.g., 2 Sam 11:2; 2 Kgs 6:4–5.

earlier.”¹⁵⁸ This is commonly known as a “pluperfect” *WAYYIQTOL*. Fifth, an anticipatory *WAYYIQTOL* occurs with the insertion of prospective material. In BH, this is typically done through the use of the infinitive construct or *YIQTOL* verbal forms in subordinate clauses. However, there are instances where “anticipatory matter is introduced in an unmarked way with *WAYYIQTOL*.”¹⁵⁹ Sixth, typically in BH, the marked expression of repeated actions is expressed in biblical narrative with the use of *YIQTOL* or *WeQATAL*. However, *WAYYIQTOL* can express the same, except it “implies [a] single event in the vast majority of cases.”¹⁶⁰ In these instances, *WAYYIQTOL* does not suggest a succession of events but more a way of life or habitual action.¹⁶¹

2.3.2.1.3. *WAYYIQTOL* in Excursive Material

WAYYIQTOL, in narrative, can also function in the following ways. First, *WAYYIQTOL* can occur in “off-line” material. Joosten explains, “It regularly follows verbal forms that signal an interruption of the narrative continuity: *QATAL*, *YIQTOL*, and *WeQATAL*, and others.”¹⁶² Second, *WAYYIQTOL* can function as a background *WAYYIQTOL* in a backgrounded clause. In order to categorize these two additional functions of *WAYYIQTOL*, Joosten establishes the following sub-system: (1) *WAYYIQTOL* continuing circumstantial clauses, (2) *WAYYIQTOL* continuing relative

¹⁵⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 171. E.g., Gen 29:24; Deut 31:9; Josh 2:3–4, 16; 18:8; Judg 3:16; 20:36–47; 1 Sam 26:4; 2 Sam 11:15, 18–19; 1 Kgs 13:12; 21:9; 2 Kgs 20:8; Isa 39:1; Jonah 4:5.

¹⁵⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 173. Citing, Isaksson, “‘Aberrant’ Usages of Introductory *WeHAYA* in the Light of Text Linguistics,” 17. E.g., Gen 18:1–2; 42:20; 45:21; Deut 5:22; 31:22; Judg 1:7; 1 Sam 10:9–11; 25:20.

¹⁶⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 174. Citing, Fokkelman, “Iterative Forms of the Classical Hebrew Verb,” 45.

¹⁶¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 174. E.g., Gen 30:39; 37:2; Judg 4:5; 9:25; 1 Sam 7:15; 13:20; 18:13; 2 Sam 8:6; 1 Kgs 12:30; 2 Kgs 16:4; 17:17.

¹⁶² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 175.

clauses, (3) *WAYYIQTOL* in iterative passages, and (4) other varieties of backgrounded *WAYYIQTOL*.¹⁶³

First, there are instances when *WAYYIQTOL* provides a continuation between circumstantial clauses that express anteriority. Typically, the referenced circumstantial clauses that express anteriority have a *We* + subject + *QATAL* structure.¹⁶⁴ Second, similar to circumstantial clauses, *WAYYIQTOL* can continue relative clauses.¹⁶⁵ Typically, the first *WAYYIQTOL* continues the relative clause discourse while the second *WAYYIQTOL* returns the narrative to the mainline discourse. Third, in narrative, *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* generally express repeated or habitual actions. An inserted *WAYYIQTOL* usually indicates a return to the mainline narrative. However, Joosten emphasizes that there are few instances where an inserted *WAYYIQTOL* “continues the marked forms, assimilating their iterative meaning.”¹⁶⁶ Fourth, *WAYYIQTOL* can also function to continue different types of expository material. In such instances, *WAYYIQTOL* can or cannot provide temporal succession.¹⁶⁷

2.3.2.2. *WAYYIQTOL* in Discourse

While a majority of *WAYYIQTOL* instances occur in narrative, its existence is not limited to such material. *WAYYIQTOL* is also prominent in discourse. It can function to

¹⁶³ Joosten cites Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, 177–80 as the origin of this section.

¹⁶⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 175–77. E.g., Gen 39:1; Josh 2:6; Judg 1:16; 6:33; 1 Sam 5:1; 17:2; 30:1–3; 2 Sam 5:17–19; 18:18; 1 Kgs 9:16; 2 Kgs 2:7; 4:31; 5:2; Jonah 1:5.

¹⁶⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 177. E.g., Josh 12:1; 1 Sam 30:21; 2 Sam 2:23; 8:10.

¹⁶⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 177. Citing, Fokkelman, “Iterative Forms of the Classical Hebrew Verb,” 45. E.g., Judg 6:3–5; 12:5; 1 Sam 1:7; 2:15–16; 14:52; 27:9–10; 2 Sam 15:2; 2 Kgs 3:25(?); 12:12; Jer 18:4; Job 1:5.

¹⁶⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 278. Joosten does not explain how one might determine if *WAYYIQTOL* denotes temporal succession. He only provides Gen 27:1 as an example. E.g., Gen 37:2; 1 Sam 1:2; 1 Kgs 8:7.

provide temporal sequence. Joosten notes that a discursive, non-narrative, *WAYYIQTOL* is rare in classic BH as it represents less than one percent of occurrences.¹⁶⁸

2.3.2.2.1. Preterite *WAYYIQTOL* in Discourse

WAYYIQTOL in discourse typically follows another verbal form. *WAYYIQTOL* can either reference the past if it follows a past verbal form. The same is true if *WAYYIQTOL* follows a present or future verbal form. However, Joosten explains, “[T]he cases where *WAYYIQTOL* implies a transition to a past time frame [...] show[s] the form has a preterite function.”¹⁶⁹ Joosten provides six categories to explain the latter of the occurrences: (1) following *QATAL*, (2) following a non-verbal clause, (3) following a predicative participle, (4) following *YIQTOL*, (5) following non-clausal elements, and (6) following a “relative” participle.

First, *WAYYIQTOL* that follows *QATAL* maintains the same temporal perspective.¹⁷⁰ Second, in discourse, if a non-verbal clause which describes situations occurring at the time of the speech is followed by *WAYYIQTOL*, the subsequent *WAYYIQTOL* implies a shift to the past time frame.¹⁷¹ Third, a similar shift from present to past occurs when *WAYYIQTOL* follows a predicative participle.¹⁷² Fourth, *WAYYIQTOL* that follows *YIQTOL* functions in accordance with the preterite function of *WAYYIQTOL*.¹⁷³ Fifth, in direct discourse, *WAYYIQTOL* does not occur at the beginning

¹⁶⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 180–81.

¹⁶⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 181.

¹⁷⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182. E.g., Gen 12:19; 24:35; 26:27; 31:26, 40; Exod 1:18; Judg 9:16; 10:13; 11:7; 16:10; 1 Sam 15:19, 24, 26; 2 Sam 11:21; 12:7–8, 10, 21–22; 14:15; 16:8; 19:28; 1 Kgs 2:5; 8:24; 10:9; 18:13; 2 Chr 2:2.

¹⁷¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182. E.g., Exod 6:2–3; Deut 26:5; Josh 14:7; Judg 19:18; 1 Sam 1:15; 15:17; 2 Sam 14:6; 2 Kgs 10:13; Job 14:17.

¹⁷² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182–83. E.g., 1 Kgs 3:17.

¹⁷³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183. E.g., 1 Sam 2:29; 2 Sam 7:28; Ps 42:6; Job 6:21; 11:3.

of a clause. What precedes the verbal form might not comprise a complete clause, but rather an “adverbial phrase or a nominal phrase representing the object or subject.”¹⁷⁴ In such instances, *WAYYIQTOL* expresses a past temporal perspective.¹⁷⁵ Sixth, a nominal phrase that incorporates a participle may precede *WAYYIQTOL*. In such instances, *WAYYIQTOL* continues the verbal element of the participle just as it would in a relative *QATAL* clause.¹⁷⁶

2.3.2.2.2. Present Tense *WAYYIQTOL*?

WAYYIQTOL functions to primarily reference an event or direct discourse in the past temporal perspective. It is possible for *WAYYIQTOL* to denote a present-perfect function. *WAYYIQTOL* can present a past action from the present point of view. Joosten explains, “The temporal implication is often that of a situation initiated in the past but continuing until the present.”¹⁷⁷

There are instances where scholars argue that *WAYYIQTOL* functions to denote a present temporal perspective. Joosten refutes these possibilities.

2.3.2.2.3. *WAYYIQTOL* Expressing the Future?

There are a few instances where it would appear that *WAYYIQTOL* references events that are yet to happen. Jeremiah 38:9 illustrates that the speaker uses *WAYYIQTOL* to represent a future action as already accomplished. Numbers 35:16

¹⁷⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183.

¹⁷⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183. E.g., Num 12:12; 14:16; 1 Sam 15:23; 2 Sam 4:10; Jer 33:24; 44:25.

¹⁷⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183–84. E.g., Gen 27:33; 35:3; Num 14:22–23; 22:11; Jer 13:10; 23:31–32; Pss 18:48; 136:17–18; Dan 8:22.

¹⁷⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 185. E.g., Gen 32:5; Exod 4:23; Num 22:11; 1 Kgs 19:10. Joosten also discusses other possible functions of *WAYYIQTOL* where this verbal form expresses the present. However, he discredits a majority of these theories and reinterprets the debated examples. For further reading on the possible present functions of *WAYYIQTOL*, see Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 185–88.

shows *WAYYIQTOL* in a conditional clause referring to an action still lying in the future.¹⁷⁸

2.3.3. *QATAL*

The natural environment of *QATAL*, in Joosten's opinion, is direct discourse.

Direct discourse properly defined

implies a speech attitude different from narration. First and second person pronouns are frequent. The discourse is anchored in the here and now of the speakers. There is usually a clear conception of what has already happened as opposed to what is still happening and what is yet to come.¹⁷⁹

Within this framework, *QATAL* has two primary functions or meanings. First, *QATAL* may express anteriority in respect to the reference time. Joosten explains, "Anteriority implies temporal distance."¹⁸⁰ If this is true, then the second possible function of *QATAL* is to reference the past. Joosten explains, "The underlining of this quality leads to *QATAL* expressing a state relevant to the moment of speaking."¹⁸¹ Joosten's understanding of *QATAL* ranges between these two poles.

2.3.3.1. *QATAL* in Discourse

In direct discourse, *QATAL* primarily represents "actions as having occurred before the moment of speaking."¹⁸² The anteriority implication of *QATAL* influences the here-and-now of the discourse. Some state that this understanding of anteriority leads to the conclusion that *QATAL* influences a state relative to the moment of speaker.

¹⁷⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 188–89. Following the discussion of *WAYYIQTOL* expressing the future, Joosten discusses *WAYYIQTOL* expressing modality. However, he completely discredits this theory. For this reason, I have not incorporated this section. For reference to his position on *WAYYIQTOL* and modality, see Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 189–91.

¹⁷⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 194.

¹⁸⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 193.

¹⁸¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 193.

¹⁸² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 194.

However, in this section, Joosten observes the different types of verbs and environments that can influence the import of action *QATAL* expresses.

2.3.3.1.1. *QATAL* Expressing Anterior Actions

The most frequent use of *QATAL* represents an event as having come before the moment of speaking. Joosten divides this primary function of *QATAL* into a four-fold sub-system: (1) immediate versus distant past, (2) types of actions, (3) anteriority and completion, and (4) the epistolary perfect.

First, *QATAL* in direct discourse references an action situated in the proximate past which effects are relevant to the present. Participles, such as עתה and הנה, can underline this present perfect function.¹⁸³ *QATAL* can also be “used for actions that belong to a more distant past not directly connected to the time of speaking.”¹⁸⁴ Second, *QATAL* can represent anterior actions and is compatible with the following verb types: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements.¹⁸⁵ Third, the anteriority expressed by *QATAL* can also imply completion. In these instances, *QATAL* references actions that began and ended prior to the speech time.¹⁸⁶ Fourth, Joosten explains, “In classical Hebrew, *QATAL* may be used in letters to present actions as anterior from the point of view of the reader.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 194. E.g., Gen 26:32.

¹⁸⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 194–95 E.g., Gen 32:11(10); Deut 10:22; 2 Sam 19:10(9).

¹⁸⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 195. For further reading on how *QATAL* is compatible with these types of verbs, reference the Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, Chapter 3. E.g., Gen 29:25; 30:29; 31:30; repeated actions: Gen 22:20; Judg 16:15; durative actions: Gen 30:8; habitual actions: Gen 48:15.

¹⁸⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 196. E.g., Josh 17:14.

¹⁸⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 197. E.g., 1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 5:6; 2 Chr 2:12.

2.3.3.1.2. Present of Stative Verbs¹⁸⁸

Joosten's analysis of *QATAL* and stative verbs primarily focuses on present tense usages. *QATAL* may be used to reference a process that is set in or that has reached a state of completion. Joosten divides this function of *QATAL* into a three-fold sub-system: (1) *QATAL* expressing the passing of a phase, and (2) anteriority of a subjective phase.

First, there are many instances where *QATAL* is translated into the English present tense but references a prior event.¹⁸⁹ Second, *QATAL* can reference an "initial phase represented as anterior [...] to the moment the state was perceived."¹⁹⁰

2.3.3.1.3. Performative *QATAL*¹⁹¹

QATAL is considered the normal verbal form for performative expressions in BH. Joosten explains, "In these expressions, the speech situation lends *QATAL* to a specific nuance: the process expressed by the verb comes about by pronouncing the statement."¹⁹² A performative *QATAL* can function in several ways. First, *QATAL* can appear in legal, ritual, or divine act speeches.¹⁹³ Second, *QATAL* itself can be the verb of

¹⁸⁸ Joosten generally references, Rundgren, *Dan Althebräische Verbum*, 62–66; Dobbs-Allsopp, "Biblical Hebrew Statives and Situation Aspect." For a definition and explanation of stative verbs, see Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, Chapter 3.

¹⁸⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 199–200. E.g., Gen 18:20; 38:26; 1 Sam 14:29; 1 Kgs 22:8; in reference to specific stative verbs: Gen 29:21 (מלא); Num 17:2 (קדש); 22:13 (מאן); Deut 15:9 (קרב); Josh 13:1 (שאר niphal); 23:2 (זפן); Judg 4:19 (צמא); 15:3 (נקה); 1 Sam 2:1 (רום); 5:7 (קשה); 25:10 (רוב); 30:13 (הלה); 2 Sam 6:20 (כבר); in poetry: Isa 33:14; Jer 4:31; 23:11; 44:18; Ezek 35:12; Hos 12:9; Joel 2:10; Pss 34:11; 38:7; Lam 4:8.

¹⁹⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 200. E.g., 1 Sam 26:21, 24; Judg 14:3; Jer 6:20; Mal 3:13.

¹⁹¹ Joosten generally references, Hillers, "Some Performative Utterances in the Bible"; Wagner, *Sprechakte und Sprechaktanalyse im Alten Testament*, 98–121; Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of Qatal in Classical Hebrew*, 115–26.

¹⁹² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 202–3.

¹⁹³ Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of Qatal in Classical Hebrew*, 203. E.g.: Gen 1:29 (נתן); 17:20 (ברך piel); Num 14:20 (סלח); Deut 26:10 (בוא hiphil); Judg 17:3 (קדש hiphil); 2 Kgs 2:21 (רפא piel); 9:3 (משח); Jer 40:10 (פתח piel).

speech.¹⁹⁴ Third, it can be a combination of both—a “verb designating a legal or ritual gesture accompanying a speech.”¹⁹⁵

2.3.3.1.4. Gnostic *QATAL*

A gnostic *QATAL* “represents a derivative function of *QATAL* in which the notion of anteriority is obscured.”¹⁹⁶ In proverbial expressions, *QATAL* references general truth and typically functions in parallelism with other verbal forms or nominal clauses.¹⁹⁷

2.3.3.1.5. *QATAL* Expressing Anteriority in the Future

QATAL can be used to represent an action anterior to the reference time. This particularly takes place in a future tense context in a subordinate clause environment. There are three distinctions to be made: (1) relative clauses, (2) temporal clauses, and (3) casual clauses.

First, *QATAL* expressing anteriority in the future in relative clauses is marked by **אשר**.¹⁹⁸ Second, *QATAL* expressing anteriority in the future in temporal clauses is

¹⁹⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 203. E.g., Deut 8:19 (**עוד** *hiphil*); 1 Sam 17:10 (**חרף** *piel*); 2 Sam 17:11 (**יעץ**); 19:30 and 2 Kgs 9:3 (**אמר**); Pss 27:4 (**שאל**); 75:2 (**ידה** *hiphil*); 118:26 (**ברך** *piel*); Jer 22:5 and Song 2:7 (**שבע** *niphal*); Isa 48:6 (**שמע** *hiphil*).

¹⁹⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 203. E.g., 1 Sam 16:4 (**השתחוה**); Ps 143:4 (**פרש** *piel*).

¹⁹⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205.

¹⁹⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 204–5. E.g., Prov 14:6, 18; 19:7, 11; Isa 1:3; Jer 8:7; Amos 5:8.

¹⁹⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205. E.g., Gen 48:6; Exod 10:2; Lev 25:45; Num 5:7; 14:15; Deut 6:11; 8:10, 18; 1 Kgs 8:47, 48, 50; 13:9, 17; Jer 8:3.

marked by עַד or כִּי.¹⁹⁹ Third, *QATAL* can represent a similar expression in casual clauses.²⁰⁰

2.3.3.1.6. Stylistic Usages in Reference to Future Actions

Joosten explains the stylistic usages of *QATAL* in reference to future actions in the following way:

Grammatical temporality does not always conform to actual time. Notably, actions that still belong to the future may be presented by a speaker as having taken place already. In order to make sense of this type of discourse, the hearer needs to invoke knowledge of the real world. In other words, pragmatic factors determine the temporal interpretation of the verbal forms.²⁰¹

Joosten divides these stylistic usages of *QATAL* into a four-fold sub-system: (1) emotional use, (2) promises, (3) perfect of confidence, and (4) prophetic perfect.

First, in situations of despair, *QATAL* may express anguish or other emotions when the outcome seems inevitable.²⁰² Second, *QATAL*, if used by an authoritative figure, can “represent the speaker’s absolute commitment.”²⁰³ Third, *QATAL* can represent the announcement of an expected event with assurance and primarily occurs in

¹⁹⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205. E.g. עַד: Gen 24:19, Isa 30:17, and Ruth 2:21 (אִם עַד); 2 Kgs 7:3 and Mic 5:2 (עַד); Ezek 34:21 (אֲשֶׁר עַד); Gen 28:15, Num 32:17, and Isa 6:11 (אֲשֶׁר אִם עַד). E.g. כִּי: 1 Chr 17:11.

²⁰⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205. E.g., 1 Sam 14:10; 20:22; 2 Sam 5:24; Isa 11:9 (the stative מִלְאָה refers to a future state [Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205 ft. 19]); 35:6; 1 Chr 14:15.

²⁰¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206. For additional reference to the pragmatic factors that determine the temporal interpretation of a verbal form. See, Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 119.

²⁰² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206. E.g., Num 17:27; 1 Sam 26:19b; Isa 6:5; Jer 4:13; Ezek 37:11; Ps 31:23.

²⁰³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206–7. E.g., Gen 17:16; Lev 26:44; 1 Sam 15:2; 1 Kgs 3:13; Isa 42:16; Jer 31:33; 2 Chr 12:5; possibly Deut 15:6.

BH poetry.²⁰⁴ Fourth, *QATAL* can announcement a future event in prophetic discourse. In such instances, *QATAL* stresses “the certainty of the occurrence decided by God.”²⁰⁵

2.3.3.1.7. Modal *QATAL*

There are few instances where *QATAL* can express irrealis modality. Joosten explains, “These instances reflect a process of “neutralization:” the impact of contextual or pragmatic factors suppresses *QATAL*’s indicative meaning and leads to a modal function.”²⁰⁶ This occurs in the following two-fold sub-system: (1) questions, and (2) assertion after **אִם כִּי**.

First, in questions, *QATAL* is found in some instances to reference the irrealis.²⁰⁷ Second, with the compound participle **אִם כִּי** which employs the assertive, *QATAL* refers to a future temporal perspective.²⁰⁸

2.3.3.2. *QATAL* in Narrative

QATAL is also very common in BH narrative. However, *QATAL* expresses a simpler range of meaning in narrative than in discourse. There are three distinct usages of *QATAL* in this context: (1) *QATAL* functions as a preterite, similar to *WAYYIQTOL*, (2) *QATAL* is used in subordinate clauses for anterior actions to the mainline narrative,

²⁰⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 207. E.g., Gen 21:7; 30:13; Pss 6:9; 20:7; 36:13; 37:38.

²⁰⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 207. Citing, Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of Qatal in Classical Hebrew*, 53–114; Klein, “The Prophetic Perfect,” 45–60. E.g., Isa 8:8; 11:8; 13:10; 19:6, 7, 8; 24:14; 25:8; 30:19, 32; 32:10; 35:2; 43:17; 51:11; Jer 13:26; Hos 5:5; Amos 8:3; Zech 9:15.

²⁰⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 208.

²⁰⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 209. E.g., Gen 18:12; 21:7; Judg 9:11. *QATAL* can imply other forms of modality. E.g., Judg 9:9, 13; Num 23:19; 1 Kgs 21:19; 2 Kgs 20:9; Jer 30:21; Hab 2:18; Zech 4:10; Pss 11:3; 24:28; 60:11; 108:11; Job 22:13.

²⁰⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 210. E.g., Judg 15:7; 2 Kgs 5:20; Jer 51:14; with a second person verbal form, the assertive is interpreted as a pressing request: Gen 40:13–14. Joosten also discusses the precative sub-system. However, this section is simply an evaluation of other scholar’s opinions on certain examples. See, Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 211–12. Citing, Lambert, “Du Passe Optatif en Hebreu,” 218–19; Provan, “Past, Present, and Future in Lamentations III,” 164–75.

and (3) *QATAL* can indicate a shift of the narrative's temporal perspective from past to present—this is known as “comment.”²⁰⁹

2.3.3.2.1. Preterite *QATAL*

The preterite function in BH is primarily expressed by *WAYYIQTOL*. However, there are few instances where *QATAL* assumes this meaning. Joosten explains, “The basic reason for the non-use of *WAYYIQTOL* is when any element, other than the conjunction *We-*, precedes the verbal form in a clause.”²¹⁰ Joosten divides this function of *QATAL* into a four-fold sub-system: (1) negated clauses, (2) *QATAL* following temporal phrases, (3) *QATAL* following an element contrastively topicalized, and (4) non-contrastive topicalization.²¹¹

First, *WAYYIQTOL* is replaced by *QATAL* when the clause is negated by **לֹא**.

The only way to negate *WAYYIQTOL* is by using a *We + lo' + QATAL* construction. The negative preterite *QATAL* has the same temporal value as a positive *WAYYIQTOL*.²¹²

Second, in some adverbial phrases of time that are compatible with *WAYYIQTOL*, we find a preterite *QATAL* instead that maintains the same or nearly the same temporal perspective.²¹³ Third, Joosten explains,

Where two entities in successive narrative clauses are opposed, this may lead to a change in word order in the second clause: the contrasted element takes the first position, and the verb is pushed into second position. In such construction, *WAYYIQTOL* cannot normally be used and *QATAL* is found instead.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 212.

²¹⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 215.

²¹¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 215–18. Joosten discusses a few other uncategorized functions of the preterite *QATAL*. See, Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 218.

²¹² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 215–16. E.g., Gen 40:23; 2 Sam 2:21–23.

²¹³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 216–17, ft. 35. E.g., Exod 34:32; Josh 10:26; in some instances, the temporal phrase precedes *WAYYIQTOL*: Gen 27:34; 1 Sam 4:20; 2 Kgs 25:3; Isa 6:1; Jer 7:25; 52:6; Ps 138:3; Dan 1:18; 10:4–5; 2 Chr 13:1; 25:27; 28:22. Citing, Gross, *Die Pendelkonstruktion Im Biblischen Hebraisch*, 49–50.

²¹⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 217.

Fourth, in non-contrastive topicalization clauses, “the inversion pushes the verbal form into second position, thus rendering the use of *WAYYIQTOL* impossible.”²¹⁵ In such instances, *QATAL* expresses the same temporal perspective as a preterite.

2.3.3.2.2. *QATAL* Expressing Anteriority

QATAL has a retrospective function that is connected to its reference to anteriority. Simply, *QATAL* can be used to retrieve background information that pertains to the time preceding the reconstructed narrative.²¹⁶ This occurs in subordinate clauses. Joosten discusses the following two-fold sub-system: (1) explicit subordination,²¹⁷ and (2) circumstantial clauses.

First, in an explicit subordinate clause, a retrospective *QATAL* is frequent with relative clauses introduced by **אֲשֶׁר**.²¹⁸ A retrospective *QATAL* with a stative verb, the temporal implication is contemporaneous.²¹⁹ This *QATAL* form is also frequent with casual clauses introduced by **וְ**.²²⁰ Second, a retrospective *QATAL* can occur in circumstantial clauses with the form *We* + subject + verbal form.²²¹

2.3.3.2.3. *QATAL* in Authorial Comments

When *QATAL* is used with authorial comments, there is a shift in temporal perspective as the text transitions from narration to comment. In such circumstances, the

²¹⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 218. E.g., Gen 18:7; 19:3, 6, 10; 20:16; 27:16; 34:26, 29; 39:4; 43:15; 47:2, 21; Exod 12:37–28; 13:18; 14:6; Num 11:32; Judg 6:35; 1 Sam 4:11; 6:12, 14; 7:1.

²¹⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219.

²¹⁷ Joosten citing, Gross, “Das Nicht Substantivierte Partizip als Prädikat im Relativsatz Hebraischer Prosa,” 28, 31.

²¹⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219. E.g., Gen 26:18.

²¹⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219. E.g., 2 Sam 11:16.

²²⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219. E.g., Gen 38:15.

²²¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219–20. E.g., 2 Kgs 10:24; with stative verbs: 1 Kgs 1:50.

story teller shifts from the use of a narrative *WAYYIQTOL* to a retrospective *QATAL*.²²²

Joosten describes this function of *QATAL* in the following two-fold sub-system: (1) subordinate clauses, and (2) main clauses.

First, an authorial *QATAL* in relative or casual clauses does not express anteriority.²²³ Second, a clause-initial authorial *QATAL* can occur in a main clause.²²⁴ It is possible for an authorial *QATAL* to exist in a clause-non-initial position.²²⁵

2.3.4. The Predicative Participle

Morphologically, an active participle is an adjective. It is only when an explicit subject exists in combination with a participle, then this form functions as a verb.

Joosten explains,

[O]ther verbal forms incorporate the subject and predicate into one form, the participle provides only the predicate: חָלַכְתִּי ‘I-went’ אֵלַי ‘I-will-go’ הֵלַךְ אֲנִי ‘I (am) going;’ *QATAL* and *YIQTOL* are synthetic, but the predicative participle is analytic.²²⁶

Because of the obscurity of this verbal form, Joosten notes that many BH linguistic scholars neglect the participle verbal form. This is cannot be justified in his opinion.

Therefore, he discusses the function of the predicative participle by way of a two-fold sub-system that categorizes two sequences of participle and subject: (1) subject-participle (Su-Ptcp), and (2) participle-subject (Ptcp-Su).

²²² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 221.

²²³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 221–22. E.g., Gen 21:49; Exod 2:22; 38:8; Josh 5:4; 10:11; 2 Sam 16:23; 1 Kgs 9:15; 11:27; 14:19; 2 Kgs 23:25; other cases where כִּי אָמַר is used: Gen 16:13; 21:16; 29:32; 32:20; 38:11; Exod 12:33; Num 16:34; Judg 9:3; 20:39; 1 Sam 4:7; 2 Sam 18:18; 2 Kgs 11:15; in some instances כִּי אָמַר is anterior: Num 26:65; 1 Sam 1:22.

²²⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 222–23. E.g., Gen 18:11; 48:14; Judg 2:17; 1 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 21:6.

²²⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 223. E.g., Gen 16:14; Josh 14:14; 1 Sam 10:2; 27:6; 2 Sam 2:10; 3:5; 1 Kgs 10:12.

²²⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 229, ft. 2. Some scholars use the term “periphrastic participle.”

2.3.4.1. Subject-Participle

Participle-subject clauses have around 140 occurrences in the HB, while Su-Ptcp clauses are nearly eight times more frequent.²²⁷ A Su-Ptcp sequence basically functions in discourse to represent an action as ongoing at the reference time. Furthermore, “[T]he sequence is frequent in the expression of the more or less immediate future.”²²⁸ In narrative, a Su-Ptcp sequence, typically introduced by הנה, references the real present. In relative or circumstantial clauses that are in a narrative context, this sequence “expresses situations forming the background to the main events of the story.”²²⁹ Joosten divides his understanding of the Su-Ptcp verbal form into the following five-fold subsystem: (1) the real present, (2) reference to the future, (3) the extended present, (4) the historic present, and (5) attendant circumstance in narrative.

First, the Su-Ptcp sequence often represents a present actual that is actually going on at the moment of speech—commonly known as “real present” or “actual present.” The real present function of this sequence is only found in discourse texts and expresses an imperfective aspect.²³⁰ Second, in discourse texts, a Su-Ptcp can refer to an action that has not begun.²³¹ Third, a Su-Ptcp sequence can reference a situation that is “contemporaneous with speech time, but not actually happening.”²³² Fourth, in narrative texts, a Su-Ptcp sequence that is fronted by הנה can be used “to present actions as they

²²⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 230–31. Joosten states, “These statistics are extrapolated from the figures for Genesis, where there are [thirteen] cases of Ptcp-Su and 100 cases of Su-Ptcp.” Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 231 ft. 8.

²²⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 239.

²²⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 239.

²³⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 239–40. E.g., 2 Sam 18:27; הנה clause initial: 1 Sam 14:33; interrogatives: Deut 10:12.

²³¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 241–42. Examples for the “*futurum instans*” function include, but are not limited to: Deut 2:4; 2 Kgs 20:5; future reference time: 1 Sam 10:8.

²³² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 242. E.g., Judg 18:3, 18.

are perceived by the characters of [a] story.”²³³ In such instances, the “then” and “now” temporal horizons for story telling are fused.²³⁴ Fifth, a Su-Ptcp sequence used in relative and circumstantial clauses functions to fill in background information for the mainline of the narrative or discourse.²³⁵

A Ptcp-Su sequence which typically occurs in discourse texts represents “situations as a fact contemporaneous to reference time.”²³⁶ This sequence is relatively rare, as previously stated, yet Joosten divides its function into the following two-fold sub-system: (1) non-dynamic verbs, and (2) the use of the sequence Ptcp-Su with particles.

First, *niphil* participles typical occur in the Ptcp-Su sequence and express non-dynamic situations.²³⁷ This sequence may also be used in conjunction with other situations that lack dynamicity.²³⁸ Second, the Ptcp-Su sequence commonly occurs in clauses where this verbal form is fronted by a conditional ׀, interrogative ׀, or a causal ׀. In conditional clauses fronted by an ׀ particle, “the participles stresses the here-and-now quality of the process.”²³⁹ A Ptcp-Su sequence with an interrogative ׀

²³³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 243.

²³⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 243–44. E.g., Gen 26:8; 37:15; Exod 3:2; 14:10; Judg 9:43.

²³⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 245–46. E.g. for relative clauses, Gen 39:6, 22; Exod 18:5, 14; 36:4; 1 Kgs 17:19; 2 Kgs 17:29; circumstantial clauses: Gen 32:32; 1 Sam 17:15; causal-circumstantial clauses: Josh 10:14; 1 Sam 18:16; 1 Kgs 5:4; 8:7; Jonah 1:11, 13; Ezra 3:13; Neh 6:9.

²³⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 247.

²³⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 248–49. E.g., Judg 20:32.

²³⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 249. E.g., Gen 3:5 (יָדַע); 1 Sam 19:14; 1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Kgs 8:29; 2 Chr 22:6 (הָלַל); 2 Sam 15:19 (גָּלַל); Jer 48:11 (שָׁקַט); Pss 34:8 (הִנֵּה); 87:2 (אֶהֱבֶה); 119:162 (שִׁיר); 147:11 (רָצָה); Song 2:9 (רָמָה).

²³⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 250. E.g., Gen 27:46; Exod 7:27; 9:2; 10:4; Deut 5:25; Josh 22:19; Judg 7:10; 1 Kgs 21:6; Jer 26:15; 38:21; 42:13; Joel 4:4.

functions to “establish whether or not a given statement is true.”²⁴⁰ A clause with a ׀ + participle + subject references a contemporaneous action or an imminent event.²⁴¹

2.3.5. *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL*

2.3.5.1. *YIQTOL*

In classical BH, *YIQTOL* as a long form of the prefix conjugation primarily occurs in a non-initial position in a clause with minor exceptions.²⁴² Joosten divides the function of *YIQTOL* into a three-fold sub-system: (1) *YIQTOL* in reference to future situations, (2) *YIQTOL* in reference to present situations, and (3) *YIQTOL* in past-tense contexts.

2.3.5.1.1. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Future Situation

The future-modal function of *YIQTOL* comprises over 80 percent of all *YIQTOL* occurrences in classical BH. There are different kinds of modality conveyed in accordance with the context of a *YIQTOL* occurrence. These can include “futurity, necessity, potentiality, likelihood, desirability, and others.”²⁴³ Joosten divides this function of *YIQTOL* into a three-fold sub-system: (1) prediction, (2) Obligation, and (3) other modal usages of *YIQTOL*.

A predictive modal usage of *YIQTOL* functions to announce future occurrences. It can function to predict events by temporal reference, or the phrase might provide an

²⁴⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 251–52. E.g., Num 11:29; Judg 2:22.

²⁴¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 252–53. E.g., Gen 19:13; 25:30; 32:12; 41:31, 32; Exod 5:8; Lev 13:11; Num 22:22; Deut 13:4; Judg 8:5; 15:3; 1 Sam 3:9, 10; 2 Sam 17:10; 1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Kgs 8:29; 18:26; 20:1; Isa 36:11; Jer 1:12; Jonah 1:12; Pss 1:6; 149:4; Job 32:4; Ruth 3:11; Eccl 8:12; 12:5; Neh 8:9; 2 Chr 13:11; 22:6.

²⁴² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 265. E.g., Gen 41:15; 1 Kgs 22:22.

²⁴³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 266.

implicit temporal reference.²⁴⁴ Joosten explains, “[P]redictive modality almost always implies a measure of commitment”²⁴⁵ that may involve negative or positive overtones.²⁴⁶

YIQTOL can denote obligation or can provide a prescriptive function in direct discourse. Joosten states, “This usage brings *YIQTOL* close to the volitive forms.”²⁴⁷ There are three types of usage: (1) *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form, (2) obligation presented as necessity, and (3) *YIQTOL* expressing wishes.

Joosten considers *YIQTOL* and *WeQATAL* to be made of unmarked members in opposition between volitive and non-volitive forms, this leads to a two-fold usage of the form when *YIQTOL* continues a volitive. First, “[I]t may follow a volitive form without signaling a semantic change.”²⁴⁸ Second, obligation that presents necessity takes place when “a command is formulated with [an] independent *YIQTOL*, the implication is usually that of a general prescription not arising out of the speech situation.”²⁴⁹ The prescription denoted is usually of a more general necessity and is thus found in legal and quasi-legal discourses.²⁵⁰ When *YIQTOL* expresses a wish, this is the domain of the volitive forms and would not typically be associated with *YIQTOL*.²⁵¹ Syntactically, these occurrences exhibit a SV word order.

Other modal usages of *YIQTOL* that reference future situations include (1) permission, (2) potentiality, and (3) eventuality. When *YIQTOL* signals that a process is

²⁴⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 267. E.g. for temporal reference: Exod 8:19 (23); implicit temporal reference: Exod 7:3.

²⁴⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

²⁴⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 267. E.g., Gen 3:14; 29:32.

²⁴⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

²⁴⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268. E.g., Gen 32:17.

²⁴⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269. E.g., Exod 22:30; 1 Kgs 2:37.

²⁵⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269. E.g., Exod 23:4b, 5b, 7a, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 24b; Lev 19:2, 3, 5b, 10, 15b, 17, 19, 30, 32; Deut 15:1, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 22.

²⁵¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 270–71. E.g., Gen 28:3; 43:14, 29; Exod 15:18; Josh 1:17; 1 Sam 24:20; 2 Sam 24:23.

allowed, “[t]he permissive nuance may be used even where the realization of the process is in doubt.”²⁵² *YIQTOL* may denote the ability of possibility or potential.²⁵³ *YIQTOL* may also express eventuality. Joosten explains, “The non-volitive modality of *YIQTOL* makes it eminently qualified for use in conditional sentences. In conditional clauses introduced by **אם**, *YIQTOL* is the default form.”²⁵⁴ *YIQTOL* in some cases expresses volition of the subject, “the realization of the projected process depends on the will of the subject.”²⁵⁵

2.3.5.1.2. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Present Situation

As Joosten readily points out, *YIQTOL* denotes mood rather than tense, he explains that the reference time of an utterance can be past, present, or future. There are four categories to the sub-system of *YIQTOL* in reference to present situations: (1) repetition in the present, (2) proverbial expressions, (3) present with modal verbs, and (4) real present in questions.²⁵⁶

First, *YIQTOL* can express present process through repetition, which may come about repeatedly or habitually.²⁵⁷ This expression of *YIQTOL* presents an action that is likely to occur. It is not clear if the action is merely a described custom or denotes a nuance of obligation.²⁵⁸ Second, “*YIQTOL* presents processes that are not merely

²⁵² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 272. E.g., Gen 2:16; 3:2; 30:15; Lev 2:12; 7:24; 11:21; 19:25; 21:22; 22:23; 25:3, 44–45, 48; Deut 12:15, 20; 14:6, 9, 11, 20; 15:3; 22:7.

²⁵³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 273–74. E.g., Gen 13:16; Isa 10:19. Both of these examples have a reference time in the future. This usage of *YIQTOL* can also take place in the present: consider Deut 1:12.

²⁵⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274–75. E.g., Gen 28:15; 31:32; Exod 33:5.

²⁵⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275. E.g., Exod 2:7; Judg 11:23.

²⁵⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 276.

²⁵⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 276. E.g., 2 Kgs 6:12.

²⁵⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277. E.g., Gen 10:9; 22:14; 44:5, 15; 50:3; Exod 13:15; 18:15; Num 12:8; 17:19; 21:27; Deut 12:31; Judg 14:10; 1 Sam 5:5; 9:6; 2 Sam 5:8; Hos 1:2.

customary in a certain time and place but that recur universally.”²⁵⁹ Joosten titles such occurrences as proverbial expressions and states that “this usage is very frequent in proverbs, proverbial similes and other expressions of the same type.”²⁶⁰ Third, certain modal verbs, such as יכל and ידע, allow *YIQTOL* to refer to present time.²⁶¹ Fourth, *YIQTOL* may reference an ongoing action that takes place at the moment of speech, namely questions. This is known as the real present expression of *YIQTOL* in questions. It can be used in “wh- type” questions.²⁶² *YIQTOL* can also be used in a consecutive function introduced by כי.²⁶³

2.3.5.1.3. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Past Situation

Here, it is seen that *YIQTOL* can function within any time frame: future, present, and now, past. This leads Joosten to conclude that *YIQTOL* is indifferent to a temporal reference point.²⁶⁴ Joosten argues for five categories of *YIQTOL* in the past-tense context sub-system: (1) prospective, (2) *YIQTOL* in object clauses, (3) past modal, (4) Iterative and durative, and (5) preterite *YIQTOL*.

First, *YIQTOL* express the prospective, “presenting a process as future from the point of view of the past time frame defined or implied in the context” and is most

²⁵⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277. E.g., 1 Sam 16:17.

²⁶⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277. E.g., Gen 49:27; Exod 23:8; 33:11; Num 11:12; Deut 1:31, 44; 8:5; 1 Sam 24:13; Prov 10:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8.

²⁶¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277. E.g. for יכל: Gen 19:19, 22; 24:50; 29:8; 31:35; 34:14; 44:1, 26; ידע: Exod 10:7, 26.

²⁶² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 278. E.g., Gen 16:8; 24:31; 32:18, 30; 37:15; 42:1; 44:7; Exod 2:13; 5:15; 14:15; 17:2; Num 16:3; 32:7; Deut 12:30; Josh 9:8; Judg 16:15; 17:9; 18:24; 19:17; 1 Sam 1:8; 2:23; 6:6; 21:15; 24:10; 28:16; 2 Sam 1:3; 2 Kgs 20:14; (indirect questions) Exod 3:3; 1 Sam 6:3.

²⁶³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 278. E.g., Num 11:12; 16:11; 1 Sam 11:5.

²⁶⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 280.

clearly depicted in relative clauses.²⁶⁵ The prospective can also take place in other types of clauses, primarily those that are classified as subordinate.²⁶⁶ Second, specific to object clauses, when *YIQTOL* is embedded in a past-tense context, it usually expresses the prospective.²⁶⁷ Third, *YIQTOL* can express another aspect of the prospective, but this time there is an added modal nuance. Joosten states, “Most cases occur with the negative particle **לֹא**.”²⁶⁸ In other instances, the volition of the subject is implied.²⁶⁹ This modal use is also expressed in subordinate clauses introduced by a particle.²⁷⁰ Fourth, the iterative function of *YIQTOL* is its most frequent modal expression in a past-tense context. This expression implies repetition and its “usage often serves to describe habitual actions or [...] natural processes.”²⁷¹ When *YIQTOL* is used as a stative, the function is then durative and is common in narrative and direct speech.²⁷² Fifth, Joosten observes that “[i]n a small number of cases, *YIQTOL* appears to be used to express non-

²⁶⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 281–82. E.g., Gen 30:38; Exod 37:16; Deut 1:18; 4:42; Josh 9:27; Judg 17:8; 1 Kgs 7:7, 8; 2 Kgs 3:27; 13:14; Jer 51:60; Ps 78:6; Eccl 4:15; Ezra 10:8; 2 Chr 2:11.

²⁶⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 282. E.g., 2 Sam 17:17; Jer 52:7; Esth 9:1; Dan 1:5; Ezra 10:8 (x2).

²⁶⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 283. Consider Gen 43:25. Joosten makes the following statement when he explains this function of *YIQTOL* in main clauses:

Similar examples occur in the main clause with the verbs **אָמַר**, **בָּקַשׁ** *piel*, **יָדַע**, **יָרָה** *hiphil*, **פָּרַשׁ**, **רָאָה** *piel*, **שָׁבַע** *hiphil* and the expression **לֹא יָשִׁים עָלָיו**, while the particles introducing the object clause are **אֵיךְ**, **אֲשֶׁר**, **כִּי**, **וְ** and **מֵאָה**. See Gen 2:19; 38:9; 43:7; 48:17; [Exod] 2:4; Num 15:34; 1 Sam 22:22; 2 Sam 1:10; 11:20; 1 [Kgs] 18:10; 2 [Kgs] 17:28; Jona 4:5; Esth 2:11; 3:4; Dan 1:8 (x2); Neh 7:65; 8:14; 13:19, 22; 1 Chr 21:18. Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 283.

²⁶⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284. E.g., 1 Kgs 1:1; instances where this modal use takes place in positive clauses: Gen 34:31; 43:7; Lev 10:8; 1 Sam 23:13; 2 Sam 3:33; Ezek 15:5.

²⁶⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284. E.g., Judg 12:6; 1 Sam 1:13; 2:25; 13:19; 25:28; 1 Kgs 8:5, 8; Jer 5:22 (x2); 13:7; 24:2; Esth 9:27; Dan 8:4; 12:8; 2 Chr 5:9.

²⁷⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 285. E.g., Ps 78:5–6; Ezek 20:26; Eccl 3:14.

²⁷¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 285. E.g., Gen 2:6; Exod 17:11; Jer 36:23; Judg 12:5. Joosten provides an extensive list of instances where iterative *YIQTOL* is used in a past tense context. See, Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 286–87.

²⁷² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 286. E.g., Exod 13:22; 33:11; 36:29; Deut 2:20; Josh 13:3; 2 Sam 4:2; Isa 7:23; the stative-durative can also describe borders and artefacts: Josh 16:8; 17:10; 18:20; 1 Kgs 6:8; 7:15, 23, 26, 38.

interactive events in a past time frame, without any modal overtones.”²⁷³ This function of *YIQTOL* in a past-tense context appears to be indicative and one would normally expect *QATAL* in its place, “expressing anteriority with regard to the main line of events.”²⁷⁴

2.3.5.2. *WeQATAL*

WeQATAL differs from *QATAL* morphologically, syntactically, and semantically. Joosten considers *WeQATAL* to function as a modal form and is largely synonymous with *YIQTOL*.²⁷⁵ However, in Joosten’s opinion, for reasons to be discussed, it is better to consider *WeQATAL* as an individual and independent verbal form.²⁷⁶ Furthermore, Joosten considers the *WAW* prefix to be a diagnostic rather than a conversive. Yet, *WeQATAL* does suggest some form of sequence within a narrative or discourse.²⁷⁷ Joosten discusses the function of *WeQATAL* in the following three-fold sub-system: (1) *WeQATAL* in reference to future situations, (2) *WeQATAL* in reference to present situations, and (3) *WeQATAL* in past-tense contexts.

2.3.5.2.1. *WeQATAL* in Reference to a Future Situation

A majority of *WeQATAL* instances reference events that have not begun at the moment of speech and, therefore, primarily function in the future-modal domain. When used in a narrative or discourse environment, *WeQATAL* typically does not take on the temporal perspective or value of the preceding verbal form. Instead, it functions entirely as an independent verbal form.²⁷⁸ Joosten divides the *QATAL*’s future-modal function into a two-fold sub-system: (1) *WeQATAL* expressing prediction, and (2) obligation.

²⁷³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 287. E.g., 2 Kgs 8:29 = 9:15.

²⁷⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 287. E.g., Gen 37:7; Deut 2:12; Judg 2:1; 1 Kgs 7:8; 20:33; 21:6.

²⁷⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 288–90.

²⁷⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 294.

²⁷⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 290.

²⁷⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 294.

First, *WeQATAL* signal a shift to the future temporal perspective following a past-tense or present-tense statement.²⁷⁹ Second, *WeQATAL* expresses a difference nuance of obligation in prescriptive discourse. Following a volitive form, *WeQATAL* assimilates and continues the designated modal nuance of the preceding verbal form.²⁸⁰ *WeQATAL* can also function to express commands independent of a volitive.²⁸¹ *WeQATAL* can also be used as a precative or mild imperative to express a wish.²⁸²

2.3.5.2.2. *WeQATAL* in Reference to a Present Situation

There are a few instances where *WeQATAL* refers to a present temporal perspective. Joosten clarifies, “[T]he reference is practically never to processes that are really going on at speech time, but to more general facts or circumstances.”²⁸³ Joosten explains this function of *WeQATAL* by means of the following two-fold sub-system: (1) repetition in the present, and (2) proverbial expressions.

First, *WeQATAL* can be used to reference habitual or recurring processes in a present temporal perspective.²⁸⁴ Second, *WeQATAL* can reference proverbial expressions or statements of eternal truth that exist within a present temporal perspective.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 294–95. E.g., Gen 32:13; Exod 4:12; 7:3; 8:23; Lev 26:34; 1 Sam 19:3; Isa 19:12.

²⁸⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 295. E.g., Gen 45:9; Exod 3:16; Josh 7:13; 1 Sam 6:7–8; 1 Kgs 1:13; 14:2; 2 Kgs 9:1–3; Ezek 12:3.

²⁸¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 297. E.g., Gen 45:13; Exod 3:22; 17:6; 33:21; Deut 2:4; 10:16, 19; 11:1; 30:19; Josh 6:3; 2 Sam 15:36; Ruth 3:3.

²⁸² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 298. E.g., Gen 24:14; 40:14; 1 Sam 20:5; 25:27, 29, 31; 1 Kgs 3:9 8:28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39; Ps 25:11; Ruth 3:9; 2 Chr 6:19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30, 33, 35, 39.

²⁸³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 301.

²⁸⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 301–2. E.g., Gen 2:24; Jer 12:3.

²⁸⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 302. E.g., Prov 18:17 Q; 22:3; 26:19; 27:25; 29:9; 30:20.

2.3.5.2.3. *WeQATAL* in Reference to a Past Situation

In a past temporal perspective, *WeQATAL* typically occurs in iterative clauses. This is common in both narrative and discourse texts. Joosten discusses this function of *WeQATAL* in the following two-fold sub-system: (1) prospective, and (2) iterative and durative.

First, *WeQATAL* can signal an event or process that is expected to take place. In such instances, “the reference time is situated before the moment of speech, but the event time is subsequent to reference time.”²⁸⁶ Second, in a narrative context, *WeQATAL* occurs with an iterative-habitual function. Joosten states, “[The] iterative *WeQATAL* expresses processes that might be expected to come about because they had repeatedly done so before.”²⁸⁷ With stative verbs, *WeQATAL* may imply the durative.²⁸⁸ Typically, an iterative *WeQATAL* occurs in clusters, or in sequence.²⁸⁹

2.3.6. The Volitives

Semantically, the volitive verbal forms express modality, like *YIQTOL* and *QATAL*. However, there is an added volitive nuance which expresses the will of the speaker.²⁹⁰ The BH volitive verbal forms are comprised of (1) the first person cohortative, (2) second person imperative, and (3) third person jussive. Each of these volitive verbal forms also have a negative counterpart that is composed of לֹא +

²⁸⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 303. E.g., 2 Sam 17:17.

²⁸⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 305. E.g., 1 Sam 16:14.

²⁸⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 305. E.g., 1 Sam 13:21.

²⁸⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 306–7. E.g., Gen 2:6, 10; 6:4; 29:2–3; 30:41–42; 38:9; Exod 16:21; 17:11; 18:26; 33:7–11; 34:34–35; 40:31; Num 9:19, 21; 10:17–18, 22, 25; 11:8; 21:9; Josh 6:8, 13; 15:3–11; 16:2–3, 6–8; 17:7–9; 18:12–21; 19:11–14, 22, 26–29, 34; Judg 2:18–19; 6:3, 5 Q; 12:5; 19:30; 1 Sam 1:3, 6; 2:13–16, 19, 20, 22; 7:16; 13:19–21; 16:23; 27:9; 2 Sam 12:31; 14:26; 15:2, 5; 1 Kgs 4:7; 5:7; 14:28; 2 Kgs 3:25; 6:10; 12:10, 12, 15; 18:7; Isa 6:2–3; Jer 18:4; Ps 78:38; Job 1:4–5; in discourse: Gen 31:8; Deut 11:10; 1 Sam 17:34–35; 1 Kgs 18:10; Jer 20:8–9.

²⁹⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 313.

volitive. The volitive verbal forms are not to be considered morphologically or semantically synonymous to *YIQTOL*. These forms typically assume a clause initial position which can serve as a diagnostic feature.²⁹¹

2.3.6.1. Cohortative

In BH, un-expectantly the cohortative is typically replaced by a first person *YIQTOL* or *We* + first person *YIQTOL* conjugation which expresses irrealis modality. The same is true of the negated counterpart. As a result, this limits the number of observable instances. Yet, Joosten divides the cohortative into the following three-fold sub-system: (1) first person singular, (2) first person plural, and (3) the cohortative expressing subordination.

First, the volitives fundamentally function to express the will of the speaker. As such, the cohortative “indicates in principle that the speaker wants to engage in the process expressed by the verb.”²⁹² A first person singular cohortative can function to designate the will of the speaker in a clause where the verb indicates a process controlled by the subject.²⁹³ In discourse, a first person singular cohortative can function to allow the speaker to seek support from the addressee.²⁹⁴ Second, the first person plural form of the cohortative is more complex than the singular. Joosten explains, “‘We’ can imply a plurality of speakers, or a single speaker associating others with him- or herself.”²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 313.

²⁹² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 321.

²⁹³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 321–22. E.g., Gen 18:21; 46:30; Exod 14:25; Ps 69:15(14).

²⁹⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 322–23. E.g., Gen 33:15; 45:28; 2 Sam 6:22; 18:19.

²⁹⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 324. Joosten continues, “[...] in the latter case, ‘we’ can be inclusive, ‘I and you (singular or plural), but not you (singular or plural).’ The speaker is included in the subject, but the two do not necessarily coincide.” Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 324. Examples that designate the plurality of speakers include, but are not limited to: Num 21:21–22; Judg 11:19; Ps 21:14; that designate a single speaker: Num 14:4; Deut 13:3(2); 1 Sam 14:36.

Third, when a cohortative follows a volitive or another kind of syntactic constellation, “the cohortative may be used as a ‘light subordinate’ expressing purpose or result.”²⁹⁶

2.3.6.2. Imperative

The imperative functions to express “that the speaker wants the addressee(s) to enter into the process designated by the verbal form.”²⁹⁷ Joosten explains that the imperative is a prototypical volitive and is not homonymous with *YIQTOL* in any way.²⁹⁸ As a result, it is a simpler task to identify an imperative when compared to the other two volitive forms. In order to explain this volitive verbal form, Joosten divides the imperative into a four-fold sub-system: (1) direct speech acts, (2) non-direct speech acts, (3) the imperative used as an interjection, and (4) the imperative expressing subordination.

First, the imperative is most commonly used in discourse where the speaker seeks to influence the will of the addressee. There is a syntactical distinction to be made depending upon the authorial standing of the speaker to the addressee. If the speaker is superior to the addressee, the imperative expresses an order or a command.²⁹⁹ If the speaker is equal to the addressee, the imperative expresses a command or request.³⁰⁰ If the speaker is inferior, the imperative expresses a request or an entreaty.³⁰¹ Second, an imperative can also be used in a manner where the speaker does not intend to influence

²⁹⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 326. E.g., Gen 23:4.

²⁹⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 326.

²⁹⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 327.

²⁹⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 327–28. E.g., Gen 26:16; 38:11; 43:31; 49:29; Exod 3:5; 4:3, 27; 5:1, 31; 16:16; Num 12:4; 16:20; 22:35; 24:10; 31:3; Josh 2:3; 3:10; 5:15; 6:18; Judg 3:19; 1 Sam 1:14; 13:9; 14:42; 15:32; 18:22; 19:15; 20:31; 25:19; 2 Sam 11:6; 13:9; 15:9, 25; 1 Kgs 2:30; 13:13; 2 Kgs 2:17; 4:12; 20:7, 18.

³⁰⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 328–29. E.g., Gen 19:9; 20:13; 32:27; Judg 14:15; 15:12; 19:22; 20:3; 1 Sam 15:1; 19:17; 1 Kgs 2:22; 5:20.

³⁰¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 329. E.g., Num 11:28; Josh 9:25; Judg 11:36; 1 Sam 3:10; 14:36, 40; 24:12; 28:22; 2 Sam 19:28; 20:6.

the addressee. This function can take place in instances where the addressee is not the agent of the action commanded or the discourse communicates a blessing or well-wishes.³⁰² Third, the imperative can be used as an interjection. This commonly occurs with verbs of movement: הֵלֵךְ “to go,” בּוֹא “to come,” קוּם “to stand up,” and רֵאֵה “to see.”³⁰³ Fourth, the imperative may be used as a “‘light subordinate’ expressing purpose or result when it follows another volitive form, a question or a modal statement.”³⁰⁴

2.3.6.3. Jussive

As a result of the historical development of BH, the jussive form has almost entirely been assimilated into *YIQTOL*. As a result, the jussive and *YIQTOL* coincide morphologically. However, it is still possible to distinguish the forms through an observation of syntax. Joosten explains, “A prefixed form in non-initial position is to be identified as *YIQTOL*.”³⁰⁵ In contrast, a prefixed form in an initial clause position is identified as a jussive.³⁰⁶ Joosten divides his discussion of the jussive into the following two-fold sub-system: (1) commands and requests, and (2) wishes, blessings, and curses.

First, the jussive volitive verbal form typically occurs in discourse considering it belongs to the realm of the third person subject. The jussive can function to reference utterances acting immediately upon the third person subject.³⁰⁷ It can also reference

³⁰² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 330–31. E.g., Gen 1:28; 9:1, 7; 35:11; 42:14–16; Exod 8:1(5); 1 Sam 1:17; 20:42; 25:35; 2 Kgs 19:29; Ps 128:6; Isa 37:30.

³⁰³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 332–33. E.g., Gen 19:32; 27:19, 27; 31:50; Deut 1:8; Isa 45:22.

³⁰⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 333. E.g., Isa 45:22.

³⁰⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 334. E.g., Lev 26:4.

³⁰⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 334. E.g., Num 5:21.

³⁰⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 336. E.g., Gen 1:3; 30:34; Judg 5:24; 2 Kgs 1:12.

utterances acting upon the addressee.³⁰⁸ Second, the jussive is frequently used in utterances that express “the mere desire that some process should happen without implying an attempt to act on the will of the subject or addressee.”³⁰⁹

2.3.7. Summary

Joosten approaches the BHVS with the understanding that the language primarily expresses tense and modality, rather than aspect. His model is labeled relevant tense theory because of the dominating expression of tense in BH and his reliance on R-point theory. In summary of his position and verbal theory, the following table outlines the fundamentals of his argument for the function of the BHVS

Table 2.3.7.1. An Overview of Joosten’s Argument for the Function of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System			
Verbal Conjugation	Category of Function	Related Categories	Explanation
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> (in Narrative)	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> at the Beginning of a Narrative	—	A <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> verbal conjugation can mark the beginning of a new BH narrative. ³¹⁰
	Sequential <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in the Body of a Narrative	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> most frequently implies temporal succession (but, not always). A chain of multiple <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> s can express a succession of events. ³¹¹
	Non- Sequential <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in the Body of a Narrative	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> can function as a non-sequential verbal form in the following situations: (1) <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> expressing one action, ³¹² (2) contemporaneous events, ³¹³ (3) overlapping time

³⁰⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 337. E.g., Gen 33:9; Deut 15:3; Judg 15:2; 1 Sam 26:19a; 2 Sam 14:17; 24:22; 1 Kgs 22:13; Mic 5:8; Pss 22:27b; 33:22; 80:18; 119:173.

³⁰⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 337–40. E.g. for wishes, Gen 31:49; Exod 5:21; 1 Sam 1:23; 24:16; 26:19b; 2 Sam 2:6; 24:3; 1 Kgs 8:57; Jer 28:6; 42:5; blessings and curses: Gen 9:26, 27; 48:20; Exod 10:10; Num 6:24, 26; Deut 1:11; 28:7–9; 33:6, 24; 1 Sam 2:20; 20:13; 1 Kgs 1:37, 47; 10:9; Ps 113:2; Prov 5:18; Job 1:21; Ruth 2:19; 2 Chr 9:8.

³¹⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 164–65. E.g., Judg 1:1; 9:1, 8; 2 Sam 12:1.

³¹¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 166. E.g., Judg 1:30; 2 Sam 12:20.

³¹² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 167. E.g., Gen 34:13–14; 1 Kgs 18:24.

³¹³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 168–69. E.g., Gen 6:11; 25:34; 45:15; 1 Sam 18:11.

			frames, ³¹⁴ (4) backtracking, ³¹⁵ (5) anticipatory, ³¹⁶ and (6) iterative processes. ³¹⁷
	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> Continuing a Circumstantial Clause	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in Excursive Material	When a circumstance is expressed in more than one clause, <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> is commonly used as the connecting verbal form. ³¹⁸
	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> Continuing a Relative Clause	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in Excursive Material	A relative clause can be continued by <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> . This is typically a non-sequential <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> . ³¹⁹
	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in Iterative Passages	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> in Excursive Material	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> can follow either <i>YIQTOL</i> or <i>WeQATAL</i> when they express repeated or habitual action. <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> continues their marked forms and assimilates their iterative meaning. ³²⁰
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i> (in Discourse)	Following <i>QATAL</i>	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	A subsequent <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> to a <i>QATAL</i> verbal conjugation maintains the same temporal prospective. ³²¹
	Following a Non-Verbal Clause	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	A subsequent <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> to a non-verbal clauses will normally imply a shift from the time of speech to a past time frame. The time shift is attributed to <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> . ³²²
	Following a Predictive Participle	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	A subsequent <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> to a predicative participle will normally imply a shift from a present to a past time frame. ³²³
	Following <i>YIQTOL</i>	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	A subsequent <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> to a <i>YIQTOL</i> verbal conjugation will

³¹⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 170–71. E.g., 2 Sam 11:2; 2 Kgs 6:4–5.

³¹⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 171–73. E.g., 2 Sam 11:18–19.

³¹⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 173–74. E.g., Gen 37:5–6; Deut 5:22.

³¹⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 174–75. E.g., Exod 8:3; 1 Sam 16:21; 2 Sam 8:6; 1 Kgs 12:30; 2 Kgs 16:4.

³¹⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 175–77. E.g., 1 Sam 30:1–3; 2 Sam 5:17–19.

³¹⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 177. E.g., Josh 12:1; 1 Sam 30:21; 2 Sam 8:10.

³²⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 177–78. E.g. Judg 6:3–4; 12:5; 1 Sam 7; 14:52; 2 Sam 15:2; Jer 18:4; Job 1:5.

³²¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182. E.g., Gen 12:19; 24:35; 26:27; 31:26; 31:26, 40; Exod 1:18; Judg 9:16.

³²² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182. E.g., Exod 6:2–3; Deut 26:5; Josh 14:7; Judg 19:18; 1 Sam 1:15; 15:17; 2 Sam 14:6; 2 Kgs 10:13; Job 14:17.

³²³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 182–83. E.g., 1 Kgs 3:17.

			normally imply a shift from x time frame to a past temporal prospective. ³²⁴
	Following a Non-Clausal element	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	Preceding non-clause initial elements which represent the object or subject of the discourse do not impact the temporal function of a preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> . In these instances, <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> will imply a past time frame. ³²⁵
	Following a “Relative” Participle	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	In instances where <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> follows a relative participle, <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> will imply a past time frame. ³²⁶
<i>QATAL</i> (in Discourse)	Immediate Versus Distant Past	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anterior Actions	<i>QATAL</i> can refer to an action that is situated in a more or less proximate past, whose effects are relevant to the present. ³²⁷
	Types of Actions	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anterior Actions	<i>QATAL</i> is compatible with multiple types of verbs: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. With such verbs, <i>QATAL</i> can reference an anterior action. ³²⁸
	Anteriority and Completion	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anterior Actions	When referring to an anterior action, <i>QATAL</i> can also imply an action as completed. In such a situation, <i>QATAL</i> references an action that began and ended prior to the speech time. ³²⁹
	The Epistolary Perfect	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anterior Actions	<i>QATAL</i> can be used in letters to present actions as anterior from the reader’s point of view. ³³⁰

³²⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183. 2 Sam 7:28; Ps 42:6; Job 6:21; 11:3.

³²⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 183–84. E.g., Num 14:16; 1 Sam 15:23; 2 Sam 4:10; Jer 33:24; Jer 44:25.

³²⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 184–85. E.g., Num 14:22–23; 22:11; Jer 13:10; 23:31–32; Pss 18:48; 136:17–18; Dan 8:22.

³²⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 194. E.g., Gen 26:32; 32:11(10); Deut 10:22; 2 Sam 19:10 (9).

³²⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 195–96. E.g., Gen 29:25; 30:29; Judg 16:16.

³²⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 196–97. E.g., Josh 17:14.

³³⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 197. E.g., 1 Kgs 15:19; 2 Kgs 5:6; 2 Chr 2:12.

	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing the Passing of a Phase	Present of Stative Verbs	<i>QATAL</i> can reference a past event in the present tense. ³³¹
	Anteriority of a Subjective Phase	Present of Stative Verbs	<i>QATAL</i> can reference an initial phase represented as anterior to the moment a state is perceived by the reader. ³³²
	Performative <i>QATAL</i>	—	<i>QATAL</i> functions as a performative when the verb comes about by pronouncing a statement. ³³³
	Gnomic <i>QATAL</i>	—	A derivative function where anteriority is obscured. Typically used in instances of proverbial expressions. ³³⁴
	Relative Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anteriority in the Future	<i>QATAL</i> expressing anteriority a future relative clause is marked by אשר. ³³⁵
	Temporal Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anteriority in the Future	<i>QATAL</i> expressing anteriority in future temporal clause is marked by ער or כי. ³³⁶
	Casual Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anteriority in the Future	<i>QATAL</i> express anteriority in the future in casual clauses. ³³⁷
	Emotional	Stylistic Usages in Reference to a Future Situation	<i>QATAL</i> may be used to express anguish in inevitable or despairing situations. ³³⁸

³³¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 199–200. E.g., Gen 18:20; 38:26; 1 Sam 14:29; 1 Kgs 22:8.

³³² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 200–201. E.g., Num 24:5; 1 Sam 26:21; Ps 92:6(5).

³³³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 202–204. E.g., Gen 14:22; Deut 26:3; 1 Sam 1:28; 2 Sam 24:22–23.

³³⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 204–205. E.g., Prov 14:6, 18; 19:11.

³³⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205. E.g., Gen 48:6; Exod 10:2; Lev 25:45; Num 5:7; 14:15; Deut 6:11; 8:10, 18; 1 Kgs 8:47, 48, 50; 13:9, 17; Jer 8:3.

³³⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 205–206. Joosten lists multiple examples that include other marking particles.

³³⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206. E.g., 1 Sam 14:10; 20:22; 2 Sam 5:24; Isa 11:9; 35:6; 1 Chr 14:15. Joosten does not discuss any possible syntactic markers of casual clauses.

³³⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206. E.g., Num 17:27; 1 Sam 26:19b; Isa 6:5; Jer 4:13; Ezek 37:11; Ps 31:23.

	Promises	Stylistic Usages in Reference to a Future Situation	<i>QATAL</i> may be used to express the speaker's absolute commitment when addressing an authoritative figure. ³³⁹
	Perfect of Confidence	Stylistic Usages in Reference to a Future Situation	<i>QATAL</i> may announce expected or future events with confidence. ³⁴⁰
	Prophetic Perfect	Stylistic Usages in Reference to a Future Situation	<i>QATAL</i> may announce expected for future events in prophetic discourse. ³⁴¹
	Questions	Modal <i>QATAL</i>	<i>QATAL</i> can function in interrogative discourse whether or not it is introduced by an interrogative pronoun or particle. ³⁴²
	Asseveration after כִּי אֵין	Modal <i>QATAL</i>	When <i>QATAL</i> functions with אֵין, it typically will reference a future situation. ³⁴³
	Precative	Modal <i>QATAL</i>	<i>QATAL</i> can function as a precative or optative. ³⁴⁴
<i>QATAL</i> (in Narrative)	<i>QATAL</i> Following a Temporal Phrase	Preterite <i>QATAL</i>	<i>QATAL</i> can follow adverbial phrases of time similarly to <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> and will express the same temporal-aspectual value. ³⁴⁵
	<i>QATAL</i> Following an Element Contrastively Topicalized	Preterite <i>QATAL</i>	Where two entities are successive in a narrative and the clauses are opposed, the word order shifts. As a result, <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> cannot be used and we find <i>QATAL</i> . ³⁴⁶

³³⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 206–207. E.g., Gen 17:16; Lev 26:44; 1 Sam 15:2; 1 Kgs 3:13; Isa 42:16; Jer 31:33; 2 Chr 12:5.

³⁴⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 207. E.g., Gen 21:7; 30:13.

³⁴¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 207–208. E.g., Num 24:17; Isa 25:8; 30:19; 32:10; Jer 13:26; Jer 28:2; Ezek 3:25; Hos 10:15

³⁴² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 209. E.g., Judg 9:9, 13; Num 23:19; 1 Kgs 21:19; 2 Kgs 20:9; Jer 30:21; Hab 2:18; Zech 4:10; Pss 60:11; 73:11; 108:11; Job 22:13.

³⁴³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 210. E.g., 2 Kgs 5:20; Jer 51:14.

³⁴⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 211–12. E.g., Job 23:3.

³⁴⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 216–17. E.g., Exod 10:26; Josh 10:26.

³⁴⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 217. E.g., Gen 1:5; 40:21–22; 1 Sam 14:41.

	Non-Contrastive Topicalization	Preterite <i>QATAL</i>	There are other grammatical phenomenon's that may trigger a word order inversion. As a result, the verb is pushed into second position leaving it impossible for <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> to exist. Thus, we see <i>QATAL</i> . ³⁴⁷
	Explicit Subordination	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anteriority	<i>QATAL</i> may express explicit subordination in relative clauses introduced with <i>אשר</i> . ³⁴⁸
	Circumstantial Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> Expressing Anteriority	<i>QATAL</i> in circumstantial clauses with the construction <i>We</i> + subject + verbal form, no contrast or stress is implied. ³⁴⁹
	Subordinate Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> in Authorial Comments	<i>QATAL</i> in authorial comments in subordinate clauses does not express anteriority to the time implied in the story line. ³⁵⁰
	Main Clauses	<i>QATAL</i> in Authorial Comments	In some instances, a clause initial <i>QATAL</i> may express a main line comment. ³⁵¹
The Predicative Participle (Subject-Participle)	The Real Present	—	The Su-Ptcp sequence often represents a present action that is actually going on at the moment of speech. ³⁵²
	Reference to the Future	—	The Su-Ptcp sequence can reference an action that has not yet taken place. ³⁵³
	The Extended Present	—	The Su-Ptcp sequence can reference a situation that is contemporaneous with the speech time, but is not actually occurring. ³⁵⁴
	The Historic Present	—	A Su-Ptcp sequence that is fronted by <i>הנה</i> can reference a present

³⁴⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 217–18. E.g., Gen 18:7; 19:3, 6, 10; 20:16; 34:26, 29; 39:4; 43:15; 47:2, 21; Exod 12:37–38; 13:18; 14:6; Num 11:32; Judg 6:35; 1 Sam 4:11; 6:12, 14; 7:1.

³⁴⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 219–20. E.g., Gen 26:18.

³⁴⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 220–21. E.g., 2 Kgs 10:24.

³⁵⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 221–22. E.g., 2 Sam 16:23.

³⁵¹ Gen 18:11; 48:14; Judg 2:17; 1 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 21:6.

³⁵² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 239–40. E.g., Deut 10:12; 1 Sam 14:33; 2 Sam 18:27.

³⁵³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 241–42. E.g., Deut 2:4; 1 Sam 10:8; 2 Kgs 20:5.

³⁵⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 243. E.g., Judg 18:3, 18.

			action that is perceived by a character of the story. ³⁵⁵
	Attendant Circumstance in Narrative	—	In relative and circumstantial clauses, the Su-Ptcp sequence functions to fill in background information for the mainline of the narrative or discourse. ³⁵⁶
The Predicative Participle (Participle-Subject)	Non-Dynamic Verbs	—	The Ptcp-Su sequence with <i>niphil</i> participles may express non-dynamic situations. ³⁵⁷
	Use of the Sequence Ptcp-Su with Participles	—	The Ptcp-Su sequence typically occurs in clauses where the verbal form is fronted by a conditional אם , interrogative הא , or a casual כי . ³⁵⁸
<i>YIQTOL</i> (in Reference to a Future Situation)	Prediction	—	An announcement of a future occurrence, event, or situation.
	<i>YIQTOL</i> Continuing a Volitive Form	Obligation	<i>YIQTOL</i> may follow a volitive form with or without signaling a semantic change from the directive-volitive system to another.
	Obligation Presented as Necessity	Obligation	A command that is formulated with an independent <i>YIQTOL</i> . <i>YIQTOL</i> will usually imply a general prescription not arising out of a speech situation.
	<i>YIQTOL</i> Expressing Wishes	Obligation	<i>YIQTOL</i> can express wishes in reverential speech, especially involving or addressing a divine figure. This function usually exhibits a SV word order.
	Permission	Other Modal Usages	The permissive nuance is used when there is a realization that a process is in doubt.
	Potentiality	Other Modal Usages	<i>YIQTOL</i> may denote ability, possibility, or potentiality.
	Eventuality	Other Modal Usages	In conditional clauses fronted by אם , <i>YIQTOL</i> can express the

³⁵⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 243–44. E.g., Gen 26:8; 37:15; Exod 14:10; Judg 9:43.

³⁵⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 245–46. Gen 39:6, 22; Exod 18:5, 14; 36:4; 1 Kgs 17:19; 2 Kgs 17:29.

³⁵⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 248–49. Judg 20:32.

³⁵⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 250. E.g., Gen 27:46; Exod 7:27; 9:2; 10:4.

			conditional modal nuance of eventuality.
	Volition	Other Modal Usages	<i>YIQTOL</i> can imply the volition of a person that is not the subject.
<i>YIQTOL</i> (in Reference to a Present Situation)	Repetition in the Present	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used in repetition to express a repeated or habitual action.
	Proverbial Expression	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may present a process that is not merely customary in a certain time and place, but rather reoccurs universally.
	Present with Modal Verbs	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> can reference a present situation when it is used with a modal verb.
	Real Present in Questions	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used to reference a process that is ongoing at the moment of speech within an interrogative statement.
<i>YIQTOL</i> (in Reference to a Past Situation)	Prospective	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used to present a process as future from the past point of view time frame which is implied by the text.
	<i>YIQTOL</i> in Object Clauses	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> that is embedded in an objective clause that references a past situation may function in the prospective.
	Past Modal	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may express the prospective with an added modal nuance.
	Iterative and Durative	—	The iterative describes habitual actions. The durative is used to describe artifacts and other objects.
	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> can express a non-iterative event in a past time frame without a modal overtone.
<i>WeQATAL</i> (in Reference to a Future Situation)	<i>WeQATAL</i> Expressing Prediction	—	When <i>WeQATAL</i> follows a past- or present-tense verbal form, it signals a switch to a future reference time. ³⁵⁹

³⁵⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 294–95. E.g., Gen 17:4, 20; 20:11; 26:22, 24; 28:15; Exod 6:6; Num 14:24; 1 Sam 12:23; 17:36; 1 Kgs 17:12; Isa 9:7; 31:2.

	<i>WeQATAL</i> Continuing a Volitive Form	Obligation	<i>WeQATAL</i> often assimilates to the semantic value of the preceding volitive verbal form. ³⁶⁰
	Obligation Presented as Necessity	Obligation	<i>WeQATAL</i> may independently express a command. ³⁶¹
	<i>WeQATAL</i> Expressing Wishes	Obligation	<i>WeQATAL</i> may function as a precative or mild imperative. ³⁶²
	Permission	Other Modal Usages	<i>WeQATAL</i> may present a process as permitted. ³⁶³
	Eventuality	Other Modal Usages	<i>WeQATAL</i> may present a process as mere possibility. ³⁶⁴
	Volition of the Subject	Other Modal Usages	<i>WeQATAL</i> may express a process that is dependent on the will or volition of the subject. ³⁶⁵
	<i>WeQATAL</i> with Final Particles	Other Modal Usages	<i>WeQATAL</i> can be linked to <i>YIQTOL</i> which is governed by a telic particle. ³⁶⁶
<i>WeQATAL</i> (in Reference to a Present Situation)	Repetition in the Present	—	<i>WeQATAL</i> may be used in statements that refer to habitual or recurring processes in a present time-frame. ³⁶⁷
	Proverbial Expressions	—	<i>WeQATAL</i> may function in proverbs or statements of eternal truth. ³⁶⁸
<i>WeQATAL</i> (in Reference to a	Prospective	—	<i>WeQATAL</i> may reference a situation that is expected to take place in a past-tense context. ³⁶⁹

³⁶⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 295–97. E.g., Gen 45:9; Josh 9:11; 1 Sam 6:7–8; 1 Kgs 1:13; 2 Kgs 9:1–3; Ezek 12:3.

³⁶¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 297–98. E.g., Gen 45:13; Exod 3:22; 17:6; 33:21; Deut 2:4; 10:16, 19; 11:1; 30:19; Josh 6:3; 2 Sam 15:36; Ruth 3:3.

³⁶² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 298–99. E.g., Gen 24:14; 40:14; 1 Sam 20:5; 25:27, 29, 31; 1 Kgs 3:9; 8:28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 39; Ps 25:11.

³⁶³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 299. E.g., Gen 47:23; 2 Sam 14:32; 18:20.

³⁶⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 299–300. E.g., Gen 20:11; 44:22

³⁶⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 300. E.g., Exod 5:5; 12:48; 2 Kgs 14:10.

³⁶⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 300–301. E.g., Gen 19:19; 32:12; Exod 19:21; 23:29; Deut 4:16; 8:12; 2 Sam 12:28; 20:6.

³⁶⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 301–302. E.g., Exod 1:19; 18:16.

³⁶⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 302. E.g., Prov 18:17; 22:3; 26:19; 27:25; 29:9; 30:20.

³⁶⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 303. E.g., 2 Sam 17:17; Amos 7:4; Esth 2:14.

Present Situation)	Past Modal	—	<i>WeQATAL</i> may express multiple types of modality in a past-tense context. ³⁷⁰
	Iterative and Durative	—	<i>WeQATAL</i> may express an iterative-habitual function. In such instances, <i>WeQATAL</i> expresses a process that might be expected to happen because of it has repeatedly occurred. ³⁷¹
Volitives (Cohortative)	First Person Singular	—	The cohortative may indicate the wants of the speaker to engage in the process expressed by the verb. ³⁷²
	First Person Plural	—	The cohortative may indicate the wants of the speaker on the account of an represented group. ³⁷³
	The Cohortative Expressing Subordination	—	If a cohortative follows another volitive verbal form, it may be used as a light subordinate to express purpose or result. ³⁷⁴
Volitives (Imperative)	Direct Speech Acts	—	An imperative may be used to express a command or request depending on the authoritative standing of the addressee. ³⁷⁵
	Non-Direct Speech Acts	—	An imperative may be used in a way where the speaker does not intent to influence the addressee. ³⁷⁶
	The Imperative Used as an Interjection	—	An imperative may function as an interjection with verbs of motion. ³⁷⁷
	The Imperative Expressing Subordination	—	An imperative may express purpose or result when it follows another

³⁷⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 303–305. See the cited pages for examples and an extensive discussion on these types of modalities.

³⁷¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 305–307. E.g., 1 Sam 1:3; 13:21.

³⁷² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 321. E.g., Gen 18:21; 46:30; Ps 69:15(14).

³⁷³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 324. E.g., Num 21:21–22; Judg 11:19; Ps 21:14.

³⁷⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 326. E.g., Gen 23:4.

³⁷⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 327–28. E.g., Gen 26:16; 38:11; 43:31; 49:29.

³⁷⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 330–31. E.g., Gen 1:28; 9:1, 7; 35:11; 42:14–16; Exod 8:1(5); 1 Sam 1:17; 20:42; 25:35; 2 Kgs 19:29; Ps 128:6.

³⁷⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 332–33. E.g., Gen 19:32; 27:19, 27; 31:50; Deut 1:8; Isa 45:22.

			volitive form, a question, or a modal statement. ³⁷⁸
Volitives (Jussive)	Commands and Requests	—	A jussive may reference an utterance action upon the addressee. ³⁷⁹
	Wishes, Blessings, and Curses	—	A jussive may reference the mere desire that a process should happen without expressing the will of the subject or addressee. ³⁸⁰

2.4. A Brief Comparison of Positions: *YIQTOL*

Following an extensive overview of the verbal system theories of Cook and Joosten, it is clear that each scholar treats the BHVS differently. Cook and Joosten observe the same texts and information, yet each arrive at completely different conclusions of verbal function in BH. For example, in respect to the language universal TAM categories, on the one hand, Cook considers BH to primarily express aspect and tense. Joosten, on the other, understands BH to express tense and modality, and not aspect. This contrast of categories is clearly seen in their understanding of *YIQTOL* function, the verbal form this thesis questions.

For *YIQTOL*, each scholar considers the possibility that *YIQTOL* can reference any of the three temporal spheres: past, present, or future. They both agree that many of the categorical functions of *YIQTOL* are modal. Each scholar considers some of the categories of *YIQTOL* function to have some relation to the directive-volitive system. Furthermore, in many cases, *YIQTOL* does not function independently, but adopts its semantic value from other verbal forms within a single discourse constellation.

³⁷⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 333. E.g., Isa 45:22.

³⁷⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 336. E.g., Gen 1:3; 30:34; Judg 5:24; 2 Kgs 1:12.

³⁸⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 337–40. E.g., Gen 31:49; 1 Sam 1:23; 24:16; 26:19b; 2 Sam 2:6; 24:3; 1 Kgs 8:57; Jer 28:6; 42:5.

However, each scholar's conclusive thoughts having to do with this verbal form's semantic behavior are very different.

The simplest way to emphasize a distinction between each system is to observe their treatment of *YIQTOL* referencing an event or process that has not yet occurred..

Consider the following examples:

Gen 4:14	וְהָיָה כָּל־מֹצְאִי יִהְיֶהנִי:
And whoever finds me will kill me. [NASB]	
Exod 7:3	וְאֲנִי אֶקְשֶׁה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶת־אֹתֹתַי וּמוֹפְתֵי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:
But I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and I will multiply My signs and My wonders in the land of Egypt. [NASB]	

In each of these instances taken from BH prose, the primary corpus each scholar observed when establishing their individual theories, *YIQTOL* is seen to reference a coming event by way of announcement. In each of these examples, Cook considers *YIQTOL* to function in direct opposition to the perfective *QATAL*. *YIQTOL* is functioning aspectually to reference the general future. Furthermore, Cook argues that this function of *YIQTOL* has absolutely no modal overtone. Joosten, in contrast, arrives at a much different conclusion for the function of *YIQTOL* in Gen 4:14 and Exod 7:3. Joosten considers *YIQTOL* in Exod 7:3 to reference a future situation in a temporal phrase where the reference point is implicit within the discourse. Furthermore, Joosten considers the predictive *YIQTOL*, the category of function appropriate for Gen 4:14 and Exod 7:3, to function modally rather than aspectually or temporally. Simply, his conclusion that the predictive *YIQTOL*, the closest comparative category of *YIQTOL* function for announcing coming events to Cook's imperfective *YIQTOL*, expresses modality is evidence enough that these two theories are in opposition.

In BH poetry, the same contrast is apparent between these two theories for

YIQTOL referencing a future situation by way of announcement:

Ps 2:5	אֲזַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵימּוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ וּבְחֵרוֹנוֹ יִבְהַלְמוּ:
Then he will speak to them in His anger, and terrify them in His fury, saying. [NASB]	

Ps 32:8	אֲשַׁקְלֶלְךָ וְאוֹרֶךְ בְּדַרְדָּרֶיךָ תִּלְמַד אֵינְעָה עָלֶיךָ עֵינַי:
I will instruct you and teach you in the way which you should go ; I will counsel you with My eye upon you. [NASB]	

In each example, we see the same patterns of understanding according to each scholar's theory. Cook considers *YIQTOL* in Ps 2:5 and Ps 32:8 to function aspectually with no modal overtone as it references the general future. Joosten sees *YIQTOL* in each example to reference a future situation where the temporal reference point is implicit within the discourse. Cook would disagree that the temporal reference point is at all implicit within the discourse. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

2.5. Conclusion

As Chapter 1 observed a history of linguistic scholarship of the BH language, Chapter 2 brought a great amount of emphasis to the recent verbal system theories of Cook and Joosten. In this chapter, I presented an exhaustive overview of each scholar's position on verbal function in BH. It was clear that each scholar approaches BH differently as a result of their specified methodologies. Cook places a great deal of emphasis on verbal grams and the development of the distinct verbal conjugations. Joosten, in opposition, observes evidence taken from BH with a lesser amount of attention given to the historical development of the language. Joosten primarily observes what he classifies as classical BH—the Hebrew used in the books of Genesis to Second Kings. At the end of Chapter 2 I raised several other points of comparison. My attention

was primarily given to the fundamental function of *YIQTOL*, the announcement of coming events. I concluded that there was sufficient evidence, based alone on an observation of this function of *YIQTOL*, that the verbal system theories of these scholars are in clear contrast to the other. The next chapter will bring more emphasis to the distinctions between an understanding of *YIQTOL* function according to Joosten and Cook. This chapter served the purpose of establishing a foundation so that my observation can be further directed to a single verbal conjugation, *YIQTOL*.

Chapter 3: *YIQTOL* in Aspect Prominent Theory and Relative Tense Theory

3.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2, I presented the overall framework of Cook's aspect prominent theory and Joosten's relative tense theory. In this chapter, I will focus on all possible functions of *YIQTOL* according to each verbal system theory. I will articulate a definition for each category of *YIQTOL* function in each scholar's system. The definition will be accompanied by a list of criteria that will be used in my analysis of *YIQTOL* in Pss 1–41. After the criteria is presented, I will provide a single or multiple examples of the specified *YIQTOL* function from Pss 1–41. This application of the criteria will be used in Chapters 3 and 4 to illustrate my critical engagement with the methodologies of Cook and Joosten. Following this discussion of *YIQTOL* function, I will briefly present a summary of the results from my analysis of Pss 1–41 as seen in Appendix 1.

3.2. *YIQTOL* in Aspect Prominent Theory (Cook)

Cook divides the function of *YIQTOL* into four primary categories: imperfective *YIQTOL*, the habitual contingent, the directive-volitive system, and the progressive general present/past. These functions of *YIQTOL* can express aspect or mood. The following section will discuss these four categories of *YIQTOL* function.

3.2.1. Imperfective *YIQTOL*

The imperfective *YIQTOL* functions in direct opposition to the perfective aspectual gram—the perfective *QATAL*. This is the most common function of *YIQTOL*. As an aspectual gram, the imperfect *YIQTOL* references the general future or future in the past or present. First Samuel 13:17–18 illustrates the function of the past imperfective *YIQTOL*:

1 Sam 13:17–18	<p>וַיֵּצֵא הַמַּשְׁחִית מִמַּחֲנֶה פְּלִשְׁתִּים שְׁלֹשָׁה רִאשִׁים הָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד יִפְנֶה אֶל־דֶּרֶךְ עֶפְרָה אֶל־אֶרֶץ שׁוּעַל: וְהָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד יִפְנֶה דֶּרֶךְ בֵּית חֶרֶן וְהָרֹאשׁ אֶחָד יִפְנֶה דֶּרֶךְ הַגְּבוּל הַנֹּשֶׁקֶף עַל־גֵּי הַצְּבָעִים הַמַּדְבָּרָה:</p>
<p>The raiding party departed from the camp of the Philistines in three companies: one company was turning the way of Oprah towards the land of Shual; another company was turning the way of Beth-horn; and another company was turning the border road that overlooks the valley of Zeboim in the direction of the wilderness.¹</p>	

First Samuel 22:23 illustrates the function of the present imperfective *YIQTOL*:

1 Sam 22:23	<p>שָׁבָה אִתִּי אֶל־תִּירָא כִּי אֲשֶׁר־יִבְקֹשׁ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי יִבְקֹשׁ אֶת־ נַפְשֶׁךָ</p>
<p>Stay with me; do not be afraid, for whoever is seeking my life is seeking your life.²</p>	

Genesis 4 illustrates the common function of the general future:

Gen 4:14	וְהָיָה כָּל־מֹצְאִי יִהְרָגִי:
<p>And whoever finds me will kill me. [NASB]</p>	

The imperfective *YIQTOL* category can function in direct discourse or narrative backbone materials. It is identified in texts that denote imperfective aspect and do not have modal overtones for the imperfective *YIQTOL* does not have a volitive modal identification.³

In BH poetry, Cook's imperfective *YIQTOL* category is prominent. The following are a few examples of the imperfective *YIQTOL* in Pss 1–41 according to the criteria presented:

¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218. Examples of the past imperfective *YIQTOL* include, but are not limited to: Gen 6:4; Exod 8:20; 19:19; Judg 9:38; 1 Sam 1:10; 2 Sam 15:37; 23:10; 1 Kgs 6:8; 20:33; Isa 1:21; Hos 2:1.

² Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218.

³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 218–19.

Ps 2:5	אֵז דִּבֶּר אֱלִימוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ וּבְחִירוֹנוֹ יִבְהַלְמוּ:
Then he will speak to them in His anger, and terrify them in His fury, saying. [NASB]	

Ps 5:8	וְאֲנִי בְּרַב חֶסֶדְךָ אָבוֹא בֵּיתְךָ אֲשֶׁתְּחַנֶּה אֶל־הֵיכַל־קֹדֶשְׁךָ בִּירְאָתְךָ:
But as for me, by Your abundant lovingkindness I will enter Your house, At Your holy temple I will bow in reverence for you. [NASB]	

In both examples, the imperfective *YIQTOL* is functioning to reference the general future. As Cook explains, there are no modal overtones in either of these examples and no other immediate syntactic elements that would influence *YIQTOL* to function differently. *YIQTOL* is simply functioning to reference or announce a future event or action.

3.2.2. The Habitual Contingent

An irrealis *YIQTOL* can function to express dynamic or habitual modality. This function is associated with epistemic modality.⁴ The habitual contingent primarily functions to describe the regularity of situations rather than “actual” situations.⁵ Habituality can be expressed by a number of BH verbal forms, such as *QATAL* and *WAYYIQTOL*. *YIQTOL* as a habitual contingent can reference a situation in any of the three temporal spheres. Deuteronomy 1:12 and Gen 29:2 are examples of *YIQTOL* functioning as a habitual contingent:

Deut 1:12	אֵיכָה אֶשָּׂא לְבַדִּי טְרַחְכֶּם וּמַשְׁאַכֶּם וְרִיבֵכֶם:
How can I bear alone your trouble and your burden and your bickering? ⁶	

⁴ Consider Gen 24:39 as an example of epistemic modality. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 247.

⁵ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

Gen 29:2	וַיֵּרָא וְהִנֵּה בְאֵר בַּשָּׂדֶה וְהִנֵּה-שָׁם שְׁלֹשָׁה עֲדָרֵי-צֹאן רֹבְצִים עָלֶיהָ בִּי מִן-הַבְּאֵר הַהוּא יִשְׁקוּ הָעֲדָרִים
He looked and, behold, there was a well in a field and, behold, three flocks of sheep were lying beside it, because from that well they would water the flocks. ⁷	

Habitual modality can function in direct discourse and narrative backbone. Cook continues and explains that an irrealis *YIQTOL* functioning to denote habitual modality can be used in subordinate expressions (conditional and final [purpose/result]) and is marked by subordinating words such as **אם, פן, למען**, etc.⁸ Judges 13:16 and Exod 20:12 illustrate the function of the habitual contingent and the irrealis *YIQTOL* in subordinate constructions:

Judg 13:16	וַיֹּאמֶר מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֶל-מָנוּחַ אִם-תִּתְּעָצְרֵנִי לֹא-אֲכַל בְּלַחֲמֶךָ וְאִם-תַּעֲשֶׂה עָלַי לַיהוָה תַּעֲלֶנָּה
And the angel of Yhwh said to Manoah, “If you detain me, I will not eat of your food, and if you make a burnt offering, to Yhwh you should offer it up.” ⁹	

Exod 20:12	כְּבֹד אֶת-אָבִיךָ וְאֶת-אִמְּךָ לְמַעַן יָאָרְכוּךָ יְמֶיךָ עַל הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ:
Honor your father and your mother in order that your days might prolong on the land that Yhwh your God is giving to you. ¹⁰	

When an irrealis *YIQTOL* expresses the habitual contingent in subordinate clauses, it triggers a word order inversion to VS. Therefore, the word order in such instances is X-VS, “X” being the subordinating word.¹¹ Furthermore, the habitual contingent can be marked by the repetition of verbal forms.¹²

⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.

⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249.

¹⁰ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249

¹¹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 249

¹² Cook does not provide any examples of the habitual contingent or the repetition of verbs.

Cook's habitual contingent category includes actions that are habitual or repeated, some elements of interrogative discourse, and general contingency. The following are examples taken from Pss 1–41:

Ps 1:3	וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שָׁתוּל עַל-פְּלִי מַיִם אֲשֶׁר פִּרְיוֹ יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ וְעָלְהוּ לֹא-יִבּוֹל וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ:
He will be like a tree <i>firmly</i> planted by streams of water, Which yields its fruit in its season And its leaf does not wither ; And in whatever he does , he prosper s. [NASB]	

Ps 7:3	פֶּן-יִסְרֹף בְּאַרְיֵה נַפְשִׁי פֶּרֶק וְאֵין מַצִּיל:
Or he will tear my soul like a lion, Dragging me away, while there is none to deliver. [NASB]	

Ps 13:3	עַד-אָנָּה אֲשִׁית עֲצוֹת בְּנַפְשִׁי יִגֹּן בְּלִבִּי יוֹמָם עַד-אָנָּה יָרוֹם אִיבִי עָלַי:
How long shall I take counsel in my soul, Having sorrow in my heart all the day? How long will my enemy be exalted over me? (NASB)	

The habitual contingent, according to Cook's model, primarily functions to describe the regularity of events rather than "actual" situations. Generally, a habitual contingent *YIQTOL* functions as an irrealis. Psalm 1:3 shows the regularity of events that can take place, all of which stem from the tree in season being placed by the river. In this example, the habitual contingent *YIQTOL* is functioning in a subordinate clause that does not contain a subordinate marker. This phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter 4. Similarly, Ps 7:3 also shows an event that is not actual. Finally, Ps 13:3 contains two instances, clauses 3a and 3c, which are interrogative and are similar to Deut 1:12.

3.2.3. The Directive-Volitive System

The directive-volitive system contains two categories, the directive and the volitive. This system is closely related to the BH imperative, jussive, and cohortative verbal conjugations. While directive and volitive modality are primarily expressed by

the imperative, jussive, and cohortative verbal conjugations, *YIQTOL* can also exhibit such a function.¹³ The BH directive-volitive mood system exhibits partial harmony with the jussive verbal conjugation, and in some cases, the imperative.¹⁴ The following table illustrates this partial harmony:

Table 3.2.3.1. The BH Directive-Volitive Irrealis Mood Sub-system¹⁵			
<i>Prefix Pattern</i>			
	<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>	
First Person	Jussive	(rare)	Mostly volitive
Second Person	Imperative	אֵל + Jussive	Mostly directive
Third Person	Jussive	אֵל + Jussive	Directive and volitive

As this table illustrates, directive irrealis modality is primarily limited to the second person singular or plural verbal conjugations. In some instances, directive irrealis modality can exhibit a third person singular or plural verbal conjugation. Volitive irrealis modality is used to denote the volition or the will of the discourse's subject. This implies, as shown in the above table, that volitive irrealis modality is primarily expressed in a first person singular or plural verbal conjugation. Volitive irrealis modality is commonly used by a subject when referring to a divine entity or authoritative figure. The following are examples of directive and volitive irrealis modality:

Lev 19:2	דִּבֶּר אֶל-כָּל-עֵדֻת בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם קְדוֹשִׁים תִּהְיוּ כִּי קָדוֹשׁ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:
Speak to the entire congregation of the children of Israel, and you shall say to them, "You shall/must be holy, for I, Yhwh God, am holy." ¹⁶	

¹³ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 234.

¹⁴ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 245.

¹⁵ Adapted from Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 245.

¹⁶ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 246.

Gen 3:3	וּמִפְרֵי הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ-הַגָּן אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלֻ מִמֶּנּוּ וְלֹא תִגְעֻנּוּ בּוֹ פֶּן-תָּמּוּתוּן:
But of the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of the garden God said, “You must not eat from it and you must not touch it lest you die.” ¹⁷	

Directive and volitive irrealis modality can express either positive or negative commands. Genesis 3:3 exemplifies this function when the negative particle **לֹא** is present. Genesis 24:39 shows that **אֵל** can also indicate negative directive irrealis modality:

Gen 24:39	וְאָמַר אֶל-אֲדֹנָי אֵלַי לֹא-תִלְךְ הָאִשָּׁה אַחֲרָי:
And I said to my master, “ Perhaps the woman will not follow after me.” ¹⁸	

Directive and volitive irrealis modality can also express subjective or objective deontic modality. This primarily occurs with a jussive *YIQTOL* as Gen 42:37 illustrates:

Gen 42:37	וַיֹּאמֶר רְאוּבֵן אֶל-אָבִיו לֵאמֹר אֶת-שְׁנֵי בְנֵי תַמִּית אִם- לֹא אָבִיאֲנֹו אֵלֶיךָ
Reuben said to his father, “My two sons you may kill if I do not bring him to you.” ¹⁹	

This system of irrealis modality can function within all three temporal spheres. For the purpose of my analysis of Pss 1–41, I make the distinction between the directive and volitive functions of *YIQTOL*.

The directive-volitive system is present, if not dominant, in BH poetry. The following examples are taken from Pss 1–41:

Ps 22:9	גָּל אֶל-יְהוָה יִפְלֹטֵהוּ יַעֲלֵהוּ כִּי חָפֵץ בּוֹ:
“Commit <i>yourself</i> to the LORD; let Him deliver him; let Him rescue him, because He delights in him.” [NASB]	

¹⁷ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 246.

¹⁸ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 247.

¹⁹ Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 238.

Ps 25:2	אֱלֹהֵי בִּנְךָ בִּטְחֹתִי אֶל-אֲבוֹשָׁה אֶל-יַעֲלֹצוּ אֹיְבֵי לִי:
O my God, in You I trust, Do not let me be ashamed ; do not let my enemies exult over me . [NASB]	

Psalm 22:9 is a clear example of *YIQTOL* existing in the same discourse environment as an imperative. In this instance, *YIQTOL* adopts the imperative semantic function of the preceding verbal form and then functions as a directive. According to Cook's model, a directive is primarily categorized as a third masculine or feminine singular or plural *YIQTOL* verbal form. This *YIQTOL* then shares closely in its function to an imperative verbal form. However, this does not mean that a directive *YIQTOL* has to function in the same discourse environment as a true imperative verbal form. Instead, *YIQTOL* can function as a directive independently. Yet, this is not the case in Ps 22:9. The second example, Ps 25:2 portrays an instance where *YIQTOL* functions as a volitive. In this instance, *YIQTOL* does not share a discourse environment with an imperative verbal form. Furthermore, this instance is classified as a volitive rather than a directive due to the present criteria. According to Cook's model, a first or second person masculine or feminine, singular or plural *YIQTOL* may function to express the will or volition of a character in a narrative—subject or otherwise. In such an instance, *YIQTOL* shares closely in a semantic relationship the jussive, although a jussive verbal form might not be present in the immediate discourse environment, as is the case in Ps 25:2. As shown in Chapter 2, Cook explains through the application of comparative-historical studies that there was a blurring of lines between *YIQTOL* and the jussive, cohortative, and imperative. This allows *YIQTOL* to function in the directive-volitive system.

3.2.4. The Progressive General Present/Past

The progressive general present/past is the final category of Cook's theory for the function of *YIQTOL*. This is one of the simpler categories to understand. *YIQTOL* can function to suggest the progression of an event or action in the present or past temporal spheres. When *YIQTOL* expresses the progressive general present/past, *YIQTOL* exists in a discourse constellation with other perfective verbal forms like *QATAL* or *WAYYIQTOL*. The following are examples of the progressive general present and are taken from Pss 1–41.²⁰

Ps 1:2	כִּי אִם בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה חֲפָצוֹ וּבְתוֹרַתוֹ יִהְיֶה יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה:
But his delight is in the law of the LORD, and in His law he mediates day and night. [NASB]	

Ps 18:36	וַתִּתֵּן-לִי מִגֵּן יְשׁוּעָה וַיְמַיֵּן תַּסְעָדֵנִי וַעֲנוּתֶךָ תִּרְבֵּנִי:
You have also given me the shield of Your salvation, and Your right hand upholds me; and Your gentleness makes me great. [NASB]	

Examples of the progressive general past are as follows and are taken from Pss 1–41:

Ps 18:23	כִּי כָל-מִשְׁפָּטָיו לִנְגִדִי וְחֻקֹּתָיו לֹא-אָסִיר מִנִּי:
For all His ordinances were before me, and I did not put away His statutes from me. [NASB]	

Ps 18:17	יִשְׁלַח מִמָּרוֹם יִקְחֵנִי יָמְשִׁי מִמַּיִם רַבִּים:
He reach down from on high, He took me , He drew me out of many waters. [NASB]	

The progressive general past is one of the more rare functions of *YIQTOL*. In some of these examples, *YIQTOL* adopts the semantic value of another perfective verbal form it shares a discourse environment with. When observing real instances in real texts, it is simple enough to distinguish *YIQTOL* referencing a present or past action or event. However, to determine its function as a progressive is seemingly more challenging.

²⁰ Cook does not supply any examples for this function of *YIQTOL* in BH.

Psalm 18 contains several instances where *YIQTOL* functions as a true progressive form. Yet, in BH poetry, the progressive function is less common than *YIQTOL* function to just reference the general present or past.

3.2.5. Summary

Following an extensive overview of Cook's understanding and argument for the function of *YIQTOL* in BH, the reader may be overwhelmed. In the face of such circumstances, the following table presents, according to Cook's model, all possible functions of *YIQTOL*, all related verbal grams, brief explanations, and his understanding for the TAM expressions of any of the given categories:

Table 3.2.5.1. An Overview of Cook's Argument for the Function of <i>YIQTOL</i>			
Function	Related Verbal Grams	Explanation	(T)ense, (A)spect, and (M)odality
Imperfective <i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	<i>YIQTOL</i> can function to denote the general future or future-in-the-past.	A
Habitual Contingent	Imperfective / Perfective	The habitual contingent functions in either the past or present temporal spheres. Typically, it is marked by the repeated use of <i>YIQTOL</i> that expresses a common action on the part of the subject. This can include rituals and similar activities.	A
Directive	Imperfective / Perfective / Modal	The directive function of <i>YIQTOL</i> spans between all three spheres: the imperfective, perfective, and deontic modality. It can be used in the past, present, or future temporal spheres. It closely related to the imperative and cohortative verbal conjugations.	M
Volitive	Imperfective / Modal	The volitive functions in close relation to the jussive verbal conjugation. It is used to denote the volition or will of the subject. It is commonly used by a subject when referring to a divine figure.	M
Progressive / Imperfective (Past & Present) General Present	Imperfective / Participle	The progressive/imperfective general present functions to express progressive aspect in the past or present temporal spheres.	M

3.3. *YIQTOL* in Relative Tense Theory (Joosten)

Joosten's relative tense theory shows that *YIQTOL* primary expresses modality in all categories of function but one, the preterite *YIQTOL*, which he argues to be temporal. In order to explain the interact functions of *YIQTOL*, as shown in Chapter 2, Joosten divides its function into three primary categories: (1) *YIQTOL* in reference to a future situation, (2) *YIQTOL* in reference to a present situation, and (3) *YIQTOL* in reference to

a past situation. The following section will discuss the sub-categories associated with these three primary functions.

3.3.1. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Future Situation

Most frequently, *YIQTOL* functions to reference a future situation. In these situations, *YIQTOL* expresses the following types of modality: futurity, necessity, potentiality, likelihood, desirability, and others.²¹ The following will discuss the sub-categories and sub-systems of *YIQTOL* in reference to a future situation.

3.3.1.1. Predictive

YIQTOL is frequently used to announce future occurrences. The future temporal reference can be expressed by a temporal phrase, Exod 8:19, or the reference point can be implicit, Exod 7:3:

Exod 8:19	לְמָחָר יִהְיֶה הָאֵת הַזֶּה:
This sign shall appear tomorrow . ²²	

Exod 7:3	וְאֲנִי אֶקְשֶׁה אֶת־לֵב פַּרְעֹה וְהִרְבֵּיתִי אֶת־אֹתֹתַי
But I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and I will multiply my signs. ²³	

Instances that express predictive modality can have negative or positive overtones:²⁴

Gen 3:14	אָרוּר אַתָּה מִכָּל־הַבְּהֵמָה וּמִכָּל־חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה עַל־גִּחְוֹנֶךָ תֵּלֵךְ
Cursed are you among all animals and among all wild creatures; upon your belly you shall go . ²⁵	

When predictive modality is implied with a first person *YIQTOL* conjugation, a measure of commitment is expressed:²⁶

²¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 266.

²² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 267.

²³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 267.

²⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 267.

²⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

²⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

Gen 46:4	אָנְכִי אֶרְדָּ עִמָּךְ מִצְרַיִם וְאָנְכִי אֶעֱלֶךָ גַּם-עִלָּה
I myself will go down with you to Egypt, and I will also bring you up again. ²⁷	

Also, when the speaker of a predictive discourse addresses a divine being, divinely inspired individual, or an authoritative individual, a greater level of certainty is implied:²⁸

Gen 29:32	כִּי עַתָּה יֵאָהֱבָנִי אִישִׁי:
Surely now my husband will love me. ²⁹	

This function of *YIQTOL* can exist in instances of direct discourse and narrative backbone. However, a majority of instances are located in the context of direct discourse.

The predictive *YIQTOL* is found to function similarly in BH poetry as in BH prose or narrative. The following is an example of the predictive *YIQTOL* taken from Pss 1–41:

Pss 32:8	אֲשַׁבֵּילְךָ וְאוֹרֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ-זֶן תִּלְךָ אִיעֲצָה עָלֶיךָ עֵינַי:
I will instruct you and teach you in the way which you should go ; I will counsel you with My eye upon you. [NASB]	

In Ps 32:8, each *YIQTOL* is functioning to announce a coming event or action. In this verse, the temporal indicators that reference a future situation are self-contained within the verbal forms. Considering the provided example, Ps 32:8 actually falls into one of two levels of predictive certainty. Joosten explains that the level of certainty expressed by *YIQTOL* when referencing a coming event or action differs depending on the speaker. In this instance, the speaker is a divine entity, which suggests a greater level of certainty

²⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

²⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

²⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.

that the stated action or event will come to pass. However, I do not make the claim in this thesis that these levels of certainty are consistent in prophetic material where the addresser is a divinely inspired human. It is possible that the greater level of certainty can also be expressed when the addresser is also an authoritative figure or divinely inspired human.

3.3.1.2. Obligation Sub-System

YIQTOL in reference to a future situation contains two sub-systems. The first sub-system is obligation, which contains three categories: (1) *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form, (2) obligation presented as necessity, and (3) *YIQTOL* expressing wishes. This sub-system is closely related to the directive-volitive system of the BHVS.

The sub-category *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form is an “unmarked member in the opposition of volitive and non-volitive forms.”³⁰ As an unmarked member, this modal function of *YIQTOL* has a two-fold usage. Firstly, *YIQTOL* may follow another volitive form without signaling a semantic change:

Gen 32:17	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-עֲבָדָיו עֲבְרוּ לִפְנֵי יְרוּחַ תְּשִׁימוּ בֵּין עֶדֶר וּבֵין עֶדֶר:
And he said to his servants, “Pass on ahead of me, and put a space between drove and drove.” ³¹	

Secondly, *YIQTOL* may follow another volitive form and signal a change from volition to non-volition:

³⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268.
³¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 268–69.

Gen 18:4–5	<p>יִקַּח־נָא מֵעֵט־מַיִם וְרַחֲצוּ רַגְלֵיכֶם וְהִשְׁעֲנוּ תַּחַת הָעֵץ:</p> <p>וְאַקְחָה פַת־לֶחֶם וְסַעַדְו לְבַבְכֶם אַחֵר תַּעֲבְרוּ</p>
<p>Let a little water be brought, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves under the tree. Let me bring a little bread, that you may refresh yourselves, and after that you may pass on.³²</p>	

In such instances, *YIQTOL* does not continue the volitive modal value of the previous verbal forms, but rather signals a change to a new form of modality.³³ In BH poetry, Ps 2:8 is an example of *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form without signaling a semantic change:

Ps 2:8	<p>שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶתְּנָה גּוֹיִם נַחֲלָתָךְ וְאַחֲזָתָךְ אֶפְסֵי־אָרֶץ:</p>
<p>“Ask of Me, and I will surely give the nations as Your inheritance, And the <i>very</i> ends of the earth as Your possession.” [NASB]</p>	

In this instance, the waw-copulative prefixed *YIQTOL* verbal form וְאֶתְּנָה follows the imperative verbal form שְׁאַל. *YIQTOL* adopts its semantic value and indicates volition.

In example Ps 2:8, *YIQTOL* following a volitive form does not signal a semantic change, but continues it.

YIQTOL can function as an independent verbal form to express a command. This is known as obligation presented as necessity. Joosten explains, “[T]he implication is usually that of a general prescription not arising out of the speech situation.”³⁴

Exod 22:30	וְאֲנֹשֵׁי־קֹדֶשׁ תִּהְיוּ לִי
<p>You shall be people consecrated to me.³⁵</p>	

³² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

³³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

³⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

³⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

1 Kgs 2:37	וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם צֵאתְךָ וְעָבַרְתָּ אֶת־נַחַל קִדְרֹן יָדַעַתְּ כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת
For on the day you go out and cross the Wadi Kidron, know for certain that you shall die. ³⁶	

Joosten also states, “In [a] grammatical perspective, the prescriptions are not presented as proceeding from the will of the speaker, but from a more general necessity.”³⁷ This function of *YIQTOL* is primarily found in legal texts. It can also function with the negative particle **לֹא**:

Gen 28:1	וַיִּקְרָא יִצְחָק אֶל־יַעֲקֹב וַיְבָרֶךְ אֹתוֹ וַיְצַוְהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ לֹא־תִתְּחַן אִשָּׁה מִבְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן:
Then Isaac called Jacob, and blessed him, and charged him, “ You shall not marry one of the Canaanite women.” ³⁸	

In BH poetry, Ps 22:12 is an example of *YIQTOL* expressing obligation:

Ps 22:12	אֶל־תִּתְּחַק מִמֶּנִּי כִּי־צָרָה קְרוּבָה כִּי־אֵין עֹזֶר:
Be not far from me, for trouble is near; For there is none to help. [NASB]	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* functions with the prefixed negative particle **לֹא** to express a request on the part of the subject to an authoritative figure. Psalm 22:12 contains an instance where *YIQTOL* functions as a volitive to express the request of the addresser to a divine figure. In this instance, the obligation should not be considered a command, but rather a request due the hierarchical difference between the addresser and the addressee. While it might appear at first glance that this instance should be classified as *YIQTOL* expressing a wish, it should not be thought of as such due the lack of a SV word order.

³⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

³⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 269.

³⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 270.

YIQTOL can function to express wishes. This function typically occurs in instances where the speech involves or addresses a divine entity or authoritative individual. This function is distinct from volitive modality even though volition is the expected form:³⁹

Jud 11:10	וַיֹּאמְרוּ זִקְנֵי-גִלְעָד אֶל-יִפְתָּח יְהוָה יְהִי שְׁמִעַ בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ אִם- לֹא כַדְבָּרְךָ בֵּן נַעֲשֶׂה:
And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, “The LORD be witness between us, if we do not so according to thy words.” ⁴⁰	

Joosten qualifies, “The context indicates that these clauses express a wish. The SV word order and the morphology occur to show that the verbal form is *YIQTOL*.”⁴¹ Other examples exhibit indifferent morphology and can only be identified by the word order:⁴²

Gen 43:29	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְחֻנֵּךְ בְּנִי:
He said, “God be gracious to you, my son!” ⁴³	

The expression of wishes in BH is typically done through the use of volitive forms. The SV word order that is used in contexts containing *YIQTOL* is due to the trend of divine names preceding the verbal form. In such instances, the subject goes before the verb.⁴⁴ There are a few instances where *YIQTOL* can function to express a wish without the reference or the presence of a divine name in the immediate context:

³⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 270–71.
⁴⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 270 citing the KJV. Joosten explains, “The NRSV has adhered more rigidly to the grammar: “The LORD **will be** witness...” Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 270 ft. 28.
⁴¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 271.
⁴² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 271.
⁴³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 271.
⁴⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 271.

1 Kgs 8:41–43	<p>וְגַם אֶל־הַנִּכְרִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־מֵעַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא וּבָא מֵאַרְץ רְחוֹקָה לְמַעַן שְׁמָךְ:</p> <p>כִּי יִשְׁמְעוּן אֶת־שְׁמֶךָ הַגָּדוֹל וְאֶת־יָדְךָ הַחֲזָקָה וְזִרְעֶךָ הַנְּטוּיָה וּבָא וְהִתְפַּלֵּל אֶל־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה:</p> <p>אָתָּה תִשְׁמַע הַשָּׁמַיִם מִכּוֹן שְׁבִתְךָ וַעֲשֵׂיתָ כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־ יִקְרָא אֵלֶיךָ</p>
Likewise when a foreigner, who is not of your people Israel (...) comes and prayers toward this house, then hear in heaven your dwelling place, and do according to all he calls you. ⁴⁵	

Joosten concludes,

[In such instances,] *YIQTOL* does not continue volitive forms, and it does not express general obligation. Perhaps the choice of a non-volitive form may be explained as a mark of politeness: although the prayer or the request does proceed from the will of the speaker, it is not presented as such.⁴⁶

According to the criteria Joosten presents, in BH poetry, there are no instances where *YIQTOL* functions to express a wish. However, there are several questionable instance, all of which will be addressed in Chapter 4. In BH poetry, *YIQTOL* functioning to express wishes was not overly common as we will see in the summarizing statistics in the following section. Consider the example taken from Ps 12:4:

Ps 12:4	<p>יִכַּרֵּת יְהוָה כָּל־שִׁפְתֵי חֶלְקוֹת לְשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדִלוֹת:</p>
<p>May the LORD cut off all flattering lips, The tongue that speaks great things[.] [NASB]</p>	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* functions to express the wishes of the addresser, or subject, which are made to a divide entity. This is an instance of reverential speech, also known as a prayer.

⁴⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 271–72.

⁴⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 272.

3.3.1.3. Other Modal Usages Sub-System

The second sub-system of *YIQTOL* in reference to a future situation is a collaboration of other possible modal expressions. *YIQTOL* can function to signal that a process is allowed. This is known as permission. Joosten explains, “The permissive nuance may be used even where the realization of the process is in doubt.”⁴⁷

Lev 25:48	אַחֲרֵי נִמְכַּר גְּאֻלָּה תְּהִיָּה־לּוֹ אֶחָד מֵאֲחָיו יִגְאֻלֶּנּוּ:
After they have sold themselves they shall have the right of redemption; one of their brothers may redeem them. ⁴⁸	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* expresses a theoretical possibility.⁴⁹ *YIQTOL* can also indicate the probability of realization, but fundamentally implies that a process is allowed:

Lev 21:22	לֶחֶם אֱלֹהֵיוּ מִקֹּדְשֵׁי הַקֹּדְשִׁים וּמִן־הַקֹּדְשִׁים יֹאכַל:
He [the priest who has a blemish] may eat the food of his God, of the most holy as well as of the holy. ⁵⁰	

There are instances where it is not entirely clear if *YIQTOL* is indicating permission or obligation.⁵¹ In BH poetry, Ps 9:15 is an example of two *YIQTOL* verbal forms express a permissive nuance:

Ps 9:15	לִמְעַן אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל־תְּהִלָּתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעְרֵי בֵּת־צִיּוֹן אֲזַיְלָה בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ:
That I may tell of all Your praises, That in the gates of the daughter of Zion I may rejoice in Your salvation. [NASB]	

In this instance, the preceding verse contains two imperative verbal forms. While it is possible that these instances can be classified as *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form, the permissive nuance expressed is too great to overlook. Furthermore, according to

⁴⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 272.

⁴⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 272.

⁴⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 272.

⁵⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 273.

⁵¹ Examples of ambiguous classification include, but are not limited to: Lev 21:3; Num 12:14; 30:14; Deut 25:3.

Joosten's criteria, he does not state that in order for the permissive nuance to be expressed, there must be separation or independence from another volitive form.

YIQTOL can also indicate ability or possibility. This is distinct from *YIQTOL*'s predictive modality and is known as potentiality. This function can occur in the future, Isa 10:19, and present, Deut 1:12, temporal spheres:

Isa 10:19	וְשָׂרָר עֵץ יַעֲרֹ מִסֵּפֶר יִהְיוּ וְנֹעַר יִכְתְּבֵם:
The remnant of the trees of his forest will be so few that a child can write them down. ⁵²	

Deut 1:12	אֵיכָה אֶשָּׂא לְבַדִּי טֶרַחְכֶּם וּמִשְׁאָכֶם וְרִיבֵכֶם:
But how can I bear the heavy burden of your disputes all by myself? ⁵³	

YIQTOL can also exhibit potentiality in relative clauses, Num 35:17, and with the negative particle **לֹא**, 1 Kgs 8:27:

Num 35:17	וְאִם בְּאֶבֶן יָד אֲשֶׁר-יָמוּת בָּהּ הַכָּהוּ וַיָּמָת רֹצֵחַ הוּא
[...] or anyone who strikes another with a stone in hand that could cause death [literally: by which one may die], and death ensues, is a murderer. ⁵⁴	

1 Kgs 8:27	הֲיֵנָה הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַי הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יִכְלְלוּךָ אֲף־בֵּית־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי:
Even heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain you, much less this house that I have built! ⁵⁵	

YIQTOL can function to indicate eventuality. Joosten explains, "The non-volitive modality of *YIQTOL* makes it eminently qualified for use in conditional sentences. In

⁵² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274.

⁵³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274.

⁵⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274.

⁵⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274.

conditional clauses introduced by **אם**, *YIQTOL* is the default form.”⁵⁶ This can also

occur with the negative particle **אל**:

Ps 7:13	אם-לא ישוב חרבו ילטוש
If a man does not repent , He will sharpen His sword. [NASB]	

However, there are instances where *YIQTOL* can be implied when a conditional particle is not present:

Exod 33:5	אתם עם-קשה-עֶרֶף רָגַע אֶחָד אֶעֱלֶה בְּקִרְבְּךָ וְכִלְיִתִּיךָ
You are a stiff-necked people; if for a single moment I should go up among you, I would consume you. ⁵⁷	

YIQTOL in relative clauses introduced by **אשר** or **כל אשר** can also express

eventuality:

Gen 28:15	וְהָיָה אֲנֹכִי עִמָּךְ וְשָׁמַרְתִּיךָ בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר-תֵּלֶךְ
Know that I am with you and will keep you wherever you go . ⁵⁸	

There are a few cases where *YIQTOL* can express the volition of the subject. This implies that there is a realization of the projected process which depends on the will of the subject.⁵⁹

Judg 11:23	וַעֲתָה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹרִישׁ אֶת-הָאֲמֹרִי מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאַתָּה תִּירָשֵׁנוּ:
So now the LORD, the God of Israel, has conquered the Amorites for the benefit of his people Israel. Do you intend to take their place? ⁶⁰	

Similarly, *YIQTOL* can also function to express the volition of a person who is not the subject:

⁵⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274.

⁵⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 274–75.

⁵⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275.

⁵⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275.

⁶⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275.

Exod 2:7	וַתֹּאמֶר אֶחָתוֹ אֶל-בֶּת-פַּרְעֹה הַאֵלֶּךְ וְקִרְאתִי לָךְ אִשָּׁה מִיְּנֻקֹּת מִן הָעִבְרִיִּית
His sister said to Pharaoh's daughter, "Shall I go and get you a nurse from the Hebrew women?" ⁶¹	

למען *YIQTOL* can be used in purpose clauses introduced by particles such as

לבלתי, פן, and בעבור.⁶² This is the only finite verbal form to exhibit this function:

Deut 16:20	צֶדֶק צֶדֶק תִּרְדּוּף לְמַעַן תִּחְיֶה וְיִרְשָׁתָּ אֶת-הָאָרֶץ
Justice and only justice you shall pursue, so that you may live and occupy the land. ⁶³	

In BH poetry, there are multiple instances where these subordinate particles are used to introduce purpose clauses:

Ps 9:15	לְמַעַן אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל-תִּהְלֹתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעְרֵי בֵּת-צִיּוֹן אֲגִילָה בִּישׁוּעֶתְךָ:
That I may tell of all Your praises, That in the gates of the daughter of Zion I may rejoice in Your salvation. [NASB]	

This example taken from Ps 9:15 shows the subordinate particle למען to be function to introduce a purpose clause. While Joosten lists all of these other subordinate particles that can mark purpose clauses, in BH poetry, I discovered that they can also mark result or conditional clauses. Consider Ps 7:3 as an example:

Ps 7:3	פֶּן-יִטְרֹף כְּאַרְיֵה נַפְשִׁי פֶּרֶק וְאֵין מַצִּיל:
Or he will tear my soul like a lion, Dragging me away, while there is none to deliver. [NASB]	

In this instance, פן is not functioning to mark a purpose clause, but rather introduces a result or causal clause.

⁶¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275.

⁶² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 275.

⁶³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 276.

3.3.2. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Present Situation

Joosten explains that a majority of *YIQTOL*'s categorical functions exist within the realm of modality expressed in the future temporal sphere. Yet, he acknowledges that there are a few uses which have a strong connection to the present, or moment of speaking.⁶⁴ The following section will discuss his understanding of *YIQTOL* in reference to a present situation.

3.3.2.1. Repetition in the Present

It is common for *YIQTOL* to be used to present a process that is repeated or habitual. This is known as repetition in the present:

2 Kgs 6:12	לֹא אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּי־אֵלִישָׁע הַנָּבִיא אֲשֶׁר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל יֹאמַר לְמֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר תִּדְבֹּר בַּחֲדָר מְשַׁכְּבְּךָ:
No one, my LORD king. It is Elisha, the prophet in Israel, who tells the king of Israel the words that you speak in your bedchamber. ⁶⁵	

This function of *YIQTOL* presents a process as likely to occur rather than ongoing. It is therefore not progressive in nature. Other are instances where *YIQTOL* in repetition can express a sense of obligation:

Gen 2:24	עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזֹב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ
Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife. ⁶⁶	

Joosten makes additional comments on the expression *לֹא־יַעֲשֶׂה*, “it is not done,” for this category of *YIQTOL* function.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 276.

⁶⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 276–77.

⁶⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.

⁶⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277. E.g., Gen 20:9; 29:26; 34:7; 2 Sam 13:12.

In BH poetry, the category of repetition in the present occurs a few times. It is in no way a dominant form. Yet, Ps 1:3 is a good example of its function in this genre of literature:

Ps 1:3	וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שָׁתוּל עַל-פְּלִי מַיִם אֲשֶׁר פִּרְיוֹ יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ וְעָלְהוּ לֹא-יָבוֹל וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ:
He will be like a tree <i>firmly</i> planted by streams of water, Which yields its fruit in its season And its leaf does not wither ; And in whatever he does , he prosper s. [NASB]	

In Ps 1:3, *YIQTOL* is used four times to express multiple processes that is habitual, all which are the result of the tree being planted by streams of water. The temporal reference point is the present.

3.3.2.2. Proverbial Expression

YIQTOL may reference a process that is not merely customary during a certain time or the moment of speaking, but rather reoccurs universally. This is known as proverbial expression:

1 Sam 16:7	כִּי הָאָדָם יִרְאֶה לְעֵינָיִם וַיהוָה יִרְאֶה לְלֵבָב:
Mortals look on the outward appearance, but the LORD looks on the heart. ⁶⁸	

This function is most common in proverbs, proverbial similes, and other such expressions of a similar nature.⁶⁹ In BH poetry, Ps 34:9 is an example of the proverbial expression function of *YIQTOL*:

Ps 34:9	טַעֲמוּ וּרְאוּ כִּי-טוֹב יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־יִחְסֶה-בּוֹ:
O taste and see that the LORD is good; How blessed is the man who takes refuge in Him! [NASB]	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* in clause 9c follows two imperative verbal forms in clauses 9a and 9b. However, the modal overtone of *YIQTOL* in 9c is distinct from the expressed

⁶⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.
⁶⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.

volition of 9a and 9b. In English, the interjection particle in 9c confuses the semantic meaning of the clause as “how blessed” is typically translated closer to an imperative. For example, consider the original translation of the KJV or NIV, “blessed is the man [...]”. In truth, אֲשֶׁרִי is literally translated “is not blessedness to” or “of.” The interjection particle is a compound noun, not a verb. It does not influence the semantic value of the following *YIQTOL* verbal form. As a result, *YIQTOL* functions to express a proverbial truth, one the Psalmist is trying to communicate—security is in the Lord.

3.3.2.3. Present with Modal Verbs

YIQTOL can reference the present temporal sphere if it is used with the verbs יכל, “to be able,” and ידע, “to know.”⁷⁰ Consider the following examples:

Gen 44:1	מִלֵּא אֶת־אֲמָתְתָחַת הָאֲנָשִׁים אֹכֶל בְּאֶשֶׁר יוּכְלָן שָׂאת
Fill the men’s sacks with food, as much as they can carry. ⁷¹	
Gen 19:19	הִנֵּה־נָא מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתַּגִּדְלִי חַסְדְּךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי לְהַחְיֹת אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא אוּכַל לְהַמְלִיט הָהָרָה פֶּן־ תִּדְבַקְנִי הָרָעָה וּמָתִי:
Now behold, your servant has found favor in your sign, and you have magnified your lovingkindness, which you have shown me by saving my life; but I cannot escape to the mountains, for the disaster will overtake me and I will die.[NASB]	

These two verbs account for a majority of usages of *YIQTOL*. In BH poetry, there was one instance where *YIQTOL* references a present situation with modal verbs. However, the verb the psalmist uses is not one of the two Joosten specifies. Instead, Ps 30:6 contains the verb ילין:

⁷⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.
⁷¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.

Ps 30:6	כִּי רָגַע בְּאַפּוֹ חַיִּים בְּרִצּוֹנָו בְּעֶרְבַּי לַיִן פָּכִי וְלִפְקָר רָגָה:
For His anger is but for a moment, His favor is for a lifetime; Weeping may last for the night, But a shout of joy <i>comes</i> in the morning. [NASB]	

This is the closest example of *YIQTOL* functioning to reference a present situation with modal verbs in Pss 1–41.

3.3.2.4. Real Present in Questions

YIQTOL is used to reference to a present situation in interrogative discourse.

This function accounts for a majority of *YIQTOL* function in the present temporal sphere. This can take place in wh- type questions:

1 Sam 1:8	וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ אֶלְקָנָה אִשָּׁה חֲנָה לָמָּה תִּבְכִּי וְלָמָּה לֹא תֹאכְלִי וְלָמָּה יָרַע לִבְבְּךָ
Her husband Elkanah said to her, Hannah, why do you weep ? Why do you not eat ? Why is your heart sad ? ⁷²	

It is seen in this example that an interrogative *YIQTOL* in the real present can function with or without a negative particle. There are also a few instances where *YIQTOL* is consecutively introduced by כִּי:

1 Sam 11:5	מַה־לָּעָם כִּי יִבְכּוּ
What is the matter with the people that they are weeping ? ⁷³	

Joosten explains, “Although questions always have a modal tinge, there is no reason to think that *YIQTOL* presents the process as unreal in the examples enumerated above.”⁷⁴ He continues, “Thus, the usage described in the present section does not entirely tally

⁷² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 278.

⁷³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 278.

⁷⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 279.

with the basic *irrealis* function of *YIQTOL*.⁷⁵ Psalm 2:1 contains an instance where *YIQTOL* functions to express the real present in interrogative discourse:

Ps 2:1	לָמָּה רָגְשׁוּ גּוֹיִם וְלֹא־אִמִּים יִהְיוּ־רִיק:
Why are the nations in an uproar And the people devising a vain thing? [NASB]	

The interrogative particle in Ps 2:1 actual exists in clause 1a and is governed by a *QATAL* verbal form. Yet, *YIQTOL* functions to carry on the semantic value of the *QATAL* verbal form and continues the interrogative overtone. The temporal reference point is the present, or real present.

3.3.3. *YIQTOL* in Reference to a Past Situation

YIQTOL can also reference a past situation. Typically, the reference time of a discourse is established by the context.⁷⁶

Judg 17:8	וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ מִהֶעִיר מְבֵית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה לָגוֹר בְּאֶשֶׁר יִמְצָא
And the man departed from the town of Bethlehem in Judah, to live where he could find a place. ⁷⁷	

The reference time can also be determined through pragmatic factors:⁷⁸

Jer 36:18	וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהֶם בְּרוּךְ מִפְּנֵי יְקֻרָּא אֵלֵינוּ כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְאֲנִי כָתַב עַל־הַסֵּפֶר בְּדִין:
Baruch answer them: “ He used to dictate all these words to me while I wrote them with ink on the scroll.” ⁷⁹	

YIQTOL can reference the past temporal sphere in direct discourse and narrative backbone. The following section will discuss the categorical functions of *YIQTOL* referencing a past situation.

⁷⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 279.

⁷⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 280.

⁷⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 280.

⁷⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 280–81.

⁷⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 281

3.3.3.1. Prospective

YIQTOL can function to present a process as future from the point of view of a past time frame. The temporal value of the discourse is typically indicated within the context of the text. Typically, this function occurs in relative clauses:⁸⁰

2 Kgs 13:14	וְאֵלִישָׁעַ חָלָה אֶת־חֲלָיו אֲשֶׁר יָמֹות בּוֹ
And Elisha fell sick with the illness of which he was to die . ⁸¹	

YIQTOL can also prospectively present a process that does not occur:

2 Kgs 3:27	וַיִּקַּח אֶת־בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר אֲשֶׁר־יִמְלֹךְ תַּחְתָּיו וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ עָלָהּ עַל־הַחֹמָה
Then he took his eldest son who was to reign in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering on the wall. ⁸²	

YIQTOL can also function to express the prospective in subordinate clauses:

Num 7:9	וְלִבְנֵי קֹהַת לֹא נָתַן כִּי־עֲבֹדַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ עֲלֵהֶם בְּכַתֵּף יִשָּׂאוּ:
But to the sons of Kohath he gave none, for they were charged with the care of the holy things and would carry them on their shoulders. ⁸³	

Biblical Hebrew words like **טָרַם** and **בָּטָרַם** can indicate a past-tense discourse if one is embedded in the text.

3.3.3.2. *YIQTOL* in Object Clauses

If *YIQTOL* is embedded in an object clause, it typically functions in the prospective:

⁸⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 281.

⁸¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 281.

⁸² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 281.

⁸³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 282.

Gen 43:25	וַיַּכְינוּ אֶת־הַמִּנְחָה עַד־בּוֹא יוֹסֵף בְּצֹהֲרַיִם כִּי שָׁמְעוּ בִּי־שָׁם יֹאכְלוּ לֶחֶם:
They made the present ready for Joseph's coming at noon, for they had heard that they would dine there. ⁸⁴	

This can also occur in main clauses with the following verbs: “*פרש, ירה, ידע*” *piel*, *צוה*

hiphil, *ראה*, *שבע*, *hiphil* and the expression *על לב שים*, while the particles

introducing the object clause are *מה*,⁸⁵ *כי*, *ה*, *אשר*, *איך*

unfortunately there were no occurrences of this category of *YIQTOL* function.

3.3.3.3. Past Modal

YIQTOL can also express the prospective in the past temporal sphere, but with an added modal nuance. Joosten states, “most cases occur with the negative particle *לא*”:⁸⁶

1 Kgs 1:1	וְהַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד זָקֵן בָּא בַיָּמִים וַיִּכְסֹּהוּ בַּבְּגָדִים וְלֹא יָחַם לוֹ:
Now King David was old and advanced in years and although they covered him with clothes, he could not get warm. ⁸⁷	

YIQTOL can also express obligation as its modal nuance:

2 Kgs 23:9	אֲדָּ לֹא יָעֲלוּ כֹהֲנֵי הַבָּמֹת אֶל־מִזְבֵּחַ יְהוָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם
But the priests of the high places were not allowed to come up to the altar of the LORD in Jerusalem. ⁸⁸	

The subject's volition can also be implied:

1 Sam 2:25	וְלֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ לְקוֹל אֲבֵיהֶם כִּי־חָפֵץ יְהוָה לְהַמִּיתָם:
But they would not listen to the voice of their father; for it was the will of the LORD to kill them. ⁸⁹	

⁸⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 283.

⁸⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 283.

⁸⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284.

⁸⁷ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284.

⁸⁸ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284.

⁸⁹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284.

It is also possible for this modal function of *YIQTOL* in the past temporal sphere to function in positive clauses. However, such occurrences are less common.⁹⁰ In BH poetry, there were no occurrences of the past modal category. As a result, I will not present as examples.

3.3.3.4. Iterative and Durative Sub-System

The iterative and durative sub-system is divided into two sub-categories: the iterative and durative. According to Joosten, in the past temporal sphere, the iterative function of *YIQTOL* is the most common.⁹¹

Gen 2:6	וַיֵּאָד יֵעָלָה מִן־הָאָרֶץ וַהֲשִׁקָּה אֶת־כָּל־פְּנֵי־הָאָדָמָה:
But a mist went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground. ⁹²	

Joosten explains this function of *YIQTOL*, “The implication of the *YIQTOL* form is that the process was repeated again and again during the period to which the narrative pertains. The usage often serves to describe habitual actions or, as in the example, natural processes.”⁹³ *YIQTOL* can also function as a durative. This function is common in both direct discourse, Num 11:5, and narrative backbone, 2 Sam 4:2:

Num 11:5	זָכַרְנוּ אֶת־הַדָּגָה אֲשֶׁר־נֹאכַל בְּמִצְרַיִם חֲנָם
We remember the fish we used to eat in Egypt for nothing. ⁹⁴	

2 Sam 4:2	כִּי גַם־בְּאֵרוֹת תַּחֲשָׁב עַל־בְּנֵימִן:
For Beeroth was considered to belong to Benjamin. ⁹⁵	

⁹⁰ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 284. E.g.,: Gen 34:41; Lev 10:18; 1 Sam 23:13; 2 Sam 3:33; Ezek 15:5.

⁹¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 285.

⁹² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 285. Citing the RSV.

⁹³ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 285.

⁹⁴ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 286.

⁹⁵ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 286.

In BH poetry, there were no occurrences of the iterative and durative sub-system. As a result, there are no examples from Pss 1–41 I can provide.

3.3.3.5. Preterite *YIQTOL*

There are a few occurrences where *YIQTOL* expresses no modal overtone in the past temporal sphere. Joosten explains this function to be as a preterite:

2 Kgs 8:29 = 9:15	וַיָּשָׁב יוֹרָם הַמֶּלֶךְ לְהִתְרַפֵּא בִּיזְרְעֵאל מִן־הַמַּכִּים אֲשֶׁר יָבְהוּ אֲרָמִים בְּרָמָה
And the king Joram returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrian had given him at Ramah. ⁹⁶	

In such instances, one would typically expect a *QATAL* verbal conjugation. However, the preterite function of *YIQTOL* is distinct and is commonly found within discourse constellations with *QATAL* and *WAYYIQTOL* or other past temporal markers. There are multiple instances of the preterite *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. Most often, a preterite *YIQTOL* follows a preterite *WAYYIQTOL*:

Ps 18:8	וַתִּגַּעַשׁ וַתִּרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ וּמוֹסְדֵי הָרִים יִרְגָּזוּ וַיִּתְגַּעְשׁוּ כִּי־ חָרָה לוֹ:
Then the earth shook and quaked; And the foundations of the mountains were trembling and were shaken , because He was angry. [NASB]	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* in clause 8c follows two *WAYYIQTOL* verbal forms in clauses 8a and 8b. *YIQTOL* continues its semantic value, but expresses an inverted word order when compared to the *WAYYIQTOL* clauses. *YIQTOL* is placed in second position with the noun, or subject, הָרִים in the clause initial position. While it is in second position, the temporal reference point of *YIQTOL* is the same as each *WAYYIQTOL* verbal form, past-tense.

⁹⁶ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 287.

3.3.4. Summary

Following an extensive overview of Joosten's understanding for *YIQTOL* function in BH, the following table outlines his theory by category of temporal reference:

Table 3.3.4.1. An Overview of Joosten's Argument for the Function of <i>YIQTOL</i>			
Function	Related Categories	Explanation	(T)ense, (A)spect, and (M)odality
(1) <i>YIQTOL</i> in Reference to a Future Situation			
Prediction	—	An announcement of a future occurrence, event, or situation.	M
<i>YIQTOL</i> Continuing a Volitive Form	Obligation	<i>YIQTOL</i> may follow a volitive form with or without signaling a semantic change from the directive-volitive system to another.	M
Obligation Presented as Necessity	Obligation	A command that is formulated with an independent <i>YIQTOL</i> . <i>YIQTOL</i> will usually imply a general prescription not arising out of a speech situation.	M
<i>YIQTOL</i> Expressing Wishes	Obligation	<i>YIQTOL</i> can express wishes in reverential speech, especially involving or addressing a divine figure. This function usually exhibits a SV word order.	M
Permission	Other Modal Usages	The permissive nuance is used when there is a realization that a process is in doubt.	M
Potentiality	Other Modal Usages	<i>YIQTOL</i> may denote ability, possibility, or potentiality.	M
Eventuality	Other Modal Usages	In conditional clauses fronted by 𐤏𐤍 , <i>YIQTOL</i> can express the conditional modal nuance of eventuality.	M
Volition	Other Modal Usages	<i>YIQTOL</i> can imply the volition of a person that is not the subject.	M
(2) <i>YIQTOL</i> in Reference to a Present Situation			
Repetition in the Present	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used in repetition to express a repeated or habitual action.	M

Proverbial Expression	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may present a process that is not merely customary in a certain time and place, but rather reoccurs universally.	M
Present with Modal Verbs	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> can reference a present situation when it is used with a modal verb.	M
Real Present in Questions	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used to reference a process that is ongoing at the moment of speech within an interrogative statement.	M
(3) <i>YIQTOL</i> in Reference to a Past Situation			
Prospective	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may be used to present a process as future from the past point of view time frame which is implied by the text.	M
<i>YIQTOL</i> in Object Clauses	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> that is embedded in an objective clause that references a past situation may function in the prospective.	M
Past Modal	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> may express the prospective with an added modal nuance.	M
Iterative and Durative	—	The iterative describes habitual actions. The durative is used to describe artifacts and other objects.	M
Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>	—	<i>YIQTOL</i> can express a non-iterative event in a past time frame without a modal overtone.	T

3.4. Statistics of *YIQTOL* Function in Biblical Hebrew Poetry

The first part of Chapter 3 served to provide an exhaustive review of all *YIQTOL* functions according to the two distinct theories. This review included the presentation of examples from BH prose and narrative, and also criteria that could be used to determine *YIQTOL* function in real instances in real texts. As stated in Chapter 1, an exhaustive review of each method is only one phrase of this thesis. The second phrase is an application of aspect prominent theory and relative tense theory to Pss 1–41. In order to complete the necessary requirements of the second phase, I used the criteria taken from

each scholar's research and categorized all 598 *YIQTOL* instances in Pss 1–41 according to the categories of Cook and Joosten. Some of these instances were presented alongside Cook's and Joosten's examples in the first section of Chapter 3. Now, the second section of Chapter 3 will present the statistics that are the result of my analysis of Pss 1–41. I will present the occurrence rates of each BH verbal form in Pss 1–41 in order to emphasize the significance of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. I will also present the occurrence rates of each category of *YIQTOL* function according to each verbal system theory. The second section of Chapter 3 will serve as an elaborate and informative introduction to Chapter 4, the analysis of the unclassified instances in Pss 1–41. This section will highlight the fact that it is possible to apply both verbal system theories to an analysis of BH poetry even though they are designed for the study of BH prose and narrative. Furthermore, this section will emphasize the fact that there are some instances where either verbal system theory cannot explain *YIQTOL* functions.

3.4.1. *YIQTOL* in Psalms 1–41

Psalms 1–41 is composed of 637 verses. These verses are further broken down into 1707 independent clauses.⁹⁷ This clause break down was used in my analysis of Pss 1–41 to determine the distinct functions of *YIQTOL*. Yet, before we discuss *YIQTOL* function, this clause break down also informs us of the number of times the different BH verbal conjugations are used. Understanding the number of times the different verbal forms are used will emphasize the importance of this thesis. In the following table, the reader will notice the dominant presence of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. Note, the number

⁹⁷ Independent clauses can be governed by a single verbal form, or lack thereof: *YIQTOL*, *QATAL*, *WAYYIQTOL*, Imperative, Jussive, Cohortative, Participle, Infinitive Construct, Infinitive Absolute, or is an independent verbless clause.

associated with the Participle, Infinitive Construct, and Infinitive Absolute only designates instances where each of these verbal forms are functioning verbally:

Table 3.4.1.1. Overall Occurrences and Legend of the Statistics of Verbal Occurrences in Psalms 1–41		
Verbal Form	Legend Symbol	Overall Occurrences
<i>YIQTOL</i>	<i>YQT</i>	598
<i>QATAL</i>	<i>QTL</i>	386
<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>	<i>WYQ</i>	46
Imperative/Jussive/Cohortative	Impv	202
Participle	Part	276
Infinitive Construct/Absolute	Inf	85
Verbless	<i>(excluded)</i>	115

YIQTOL occurs 598 times at a rate of 34.76 percent. The second most frequent verbal form is *QATAL* with 386 occurrences and at the rate of 22.61 percent. The verbal Participle the third most frequent conjugation with 276 occurrences at the rate of 16.16 percent. Fourth is the imperative, jussive, and cohortative verbal conjugations with 202 occurrences at the rate of 11.83 percent. The verbless clause is fifth and occurs 115 times at the rate of 6.73 percent. Sixth are the BH infinitive verbs which occurs 85 times at the rate of 4.97 percent. Lastly is *WAYYIQTOL* which occurs 46 times at the rate of 2.69 percent.⁹⁸ Following an observation of these statistics, it is clear that *YIQTOL* is the dominant verbal form in BH poetry. It occurs 12.15 percent more frequently than the second most common verbal form and 18.6 percent more frequently than the third. The following tables presents these occurrence rates chapter-by-chapter. Note, all verbless clauses are excluded from the table:

⁹⁸ These occurrence rates and number of instances is based on an analysis of the MT. It does not take into consideration BHS, BHL, or BHQ text critical notes or any other ancient witnesses.

Table 3.4.1.2. Statistics of Verbal Occurrences in Psalms 1–17																	
Ps	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>YQT</i>	7	15	3	8	18	10	18	5	20	24	8	11	10	4	5	9	13
<i>QTL</i>	3	5	6	4	2	7	8	3	18	16	5	3	3	10	6	9	12
<i>WYQ</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Impv	0	6	2	10	8	6	7	1	6	3	2	1	3	0	0	1	11
Part	2	5	4	2	7	4	12	6	12	3	2	3	3	7	6	1	5
Inf	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	5	1	1	0	2	1	1	4

Table 3.4.1.3. Statistics of Verbal Occurrences in Psalms 18–34																	
Ps	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
<i>YQT</i>	58	7	14	19	30	10	6	16	8	22	8	5	10	14	14	7	14
<i>QTL</i>	18	3	4	6	27	1	3	7	7	8	3	2	11	29	6	13	14
<i>WYQ</i>	15	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	0	0	1	2
Impv	0	2	1	1	7	0	4	15	7	9	8	4	5	10	3	5	11
Part	25	16	1	4	14	2	4	5	3	4	3	3	4	16	1	9	9
Inf	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	6	2	0	2	5	5	4	4

Table 3.4.1.4. Statistics of Verbal Occurrences in Psalms 35–41							
Ps	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
<i>YQT</i>	37	10	38	13	12	19	17
<i>QTL</i>	17	5	17	21	12	22	10
<i>WYQ</i>	1	0	2	3	1	3	1
Impv	11	1	18	1	6	2	4
Part	12	3	26	10	3	8	7
Inf	3	5	7	4	1	7	2

3.4.2. Statistics of *YIQTOL* Function in Aspect Prominent Theory (Cook)

An analysis of Pss 1–41 according to Cook’s model proved resourceful in its ability to analyze *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. The following table summarizes the results of my analysis of Pss 1–41 according to his criteria previously presented in Chapter 3:

Table 3.4.2.1. Overall Occurrences and Legend of an Analysis According to Cook's Model

<i>YIQTOL</i> Category	Legend Symbol	Overall Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrence
Imperfective <i>YIQTOL</i>	Impf	141	23.57%
Habitual Contingent	Hab	54	9.03%
Directive	Dir	149	24.91%
Volitive	Vol	49	7.69%
Progressive General Present	Pres	135	22.57%
Progressive General Past	Pst	56	9.38%
Unclassified	Unc	14	2.34%

In my analysis, the application of Cook's model incorporated seven categories including the unclassified. The most common function of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry is the directive. It occurs 149 times at the rate of 24.91 percent. Second is the imperfective *YIQTOL* as it occurs 141 times at the rate of 23.57 percent. Third is the progressive general present, which occurs 135 times at the rate of 22.57 percent. Fourth is progressive general past, which occurs 56 times at the rate of 9.38 percent. Fifth is the habitual contingent, which occurs 54 times at the rate of 9.03 percent. Sixth is the volitive, which occurs 49 times at the rate of 7.69 percent. According to Cook's model, there are fourteen instances that are unclassified. The unclassified category occurs at the rate of 2.34 percent. The following tables summarize the occurrences of the categorical functions chapter-by-chapter:

Table 3.4.2.2. An Analysis According to Cook's Model: Psalms 1–17

Ps	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>YQT</i>	7	15	3	8	18	10	18	5	20	24	8	11	10	4	5	9	13
Impf	2	3	1	4	2	0	4	0	12	0	2	3	2	2	1	9	5
Hab	4	3	0	3	0	3	3	1	2	1	4	0	8	1	2	0	0
Dir	0	2	0	1	11	6	8	0	3	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Vol	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	2
Pres	1	3	0	0	2	1	2	0	3	13	1	4	0	1	2	0	5
Pst	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 3.4.2.3. An Analysis According to Cook's Model: Psalms 18–34																	
Ps	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
<i>YQT</i>	58	7	14	19	30	10	6	16	8	22	8	5	10	14	14	7	14
Impf	1	0	0	3	12	1	1	4	1	5	3	2	1	2	5	0	6
Hab	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	3	0	2
Dir	0	1	10	9	4	5	2	4	1	6	3	0	2	7	2	3	2
Vol	2	2	4	2	3	1	0	3	6	6	0	0	2	2	0	0	1
Pres	18	3	0	0	6	3	0	4	0	0	2	3	0	3	2	4	3
Pst	37	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Unc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Table 3.4.2.4. An Analysis According to Cook's Model: Psalms 35–41							
Ps	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
<i>YQT</i>	37	10	38	14	13	19	17
Impf	6	0	24	1	1	4	7
Hab	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dir	22	2	4	5	3	11	1
Vol	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Pres	8	8	8	8	2	4	8
Pst	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Unc	0	0	0	0	3	0	1

3.4.3. Statistics of *YIQTOL* Function in Relative Tense Theory (Joosten)

An analysis of Pss 1–41 according to Joosten's model proved difficult at times, but was in the end successful. The following statistics will show that Joosten's model was able to distinguish 77.1 percent of all *YIQTOL* function in the designated corpus:

Table 3.4.3.1. Overall Occurrences and Legend of an Analysis According to Joosten's Model				
<i>YIQTOL</i> Category		Legend Symbol	Overall Occurrences	Percentage of Occurrence
Future	Predictive	Pred	162	27.09%
	<i>YIQTOL</i> Continuing a Volitive Form	CVF	62	10.36%
	Obligation Presented as Necessity	OPN	119	19.89%
	<i>YIQTOL</i> Expressing Wishes	EW	4	0.66%
	Permission	Perm	2	0.33%
	Potentiality	Potent	12	2.01%
	Eventuality	Even	2	0.33%
	Volition	Volit	1	0.16%
Present	Repetition in the Present	RP	19	3.17%
	Proverbial Expression	PE	1	0.16%
	Present with Modal Verbs	PMV	1	0.16%
	Real Present in Questions	RPQ	19	3.17%
Past	Prospective	Pros	1	0.16%
	<i>YIQTOL</i> in Object Clauses	OC	0	0%
	Past Modal	PM	0	0%
	Iterative and Durative	I/D	0	0%
	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>	Pret	56	9.36%
Unclassified		Unc	137	22.9%

As presented in Chapters 2 and 3, Joosten divides *YIQTOL*'s function into three primary categories: (1) *YIQTOL* in reference to a future situation, (2) a present situation, and (3) a past situation. *YIQTOL* in reference to a future situation accounts for 60.83 percent of occurrences. The predictive *YIQTOL* is the most common function with 162 occurrences. It accounts for 27.09 percent of all *YIQTOL* function and 44.75 percent of *YIQTOL* function in reference to a future situation. Obligation presented as necessity is second with 119 occurrences. It accounts for 19.89 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. Third is *YIQTOL* continuing a volitive form with 62 occurrences. It accounts for 10.36 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. Fourth is Joosten's category potentiality with twelve occurrences. It accounts for 2.01 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The following categories of *YIQTOL* function in reference to a future situation exhibit an occurrence

rate before one percent: *YIQTOL* expressing wishes, permission, eventuality, and volition. Joosten's second primary category, *YIQTOL* in reference to a present situation, accounts for 6.68 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The categories repetition in the present and the real present in questions each occur 19 times. Individually, they account for 3.17 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The categories proverbial expression and present with modal verbs each occur one time. Individually, they account for 0.16 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The third primary category, *YIQTOL* in reference to a past situation, accounts for 9.53 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. *YIQTOL* functioning as a preterite occurs 56 times. It accounts for 9.36 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The prospective category occurs once and accounts for 0.16 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The following verbal function categories were not found in Pss 1–41 and, therefore, have an occurrence rate of zero percent: *YIQTOL* in object clauses, past modal, and iterative and durative. The added unclassified category contains 137 instances that could not be distinguished according to Joosten's model. This category accounts for 22.9 percent of all *YIQTOL* function. The following tables present a chapter-by-chapter breakdown of verbal category function:

Table 3.4.3.2. An Analysis According to Joosten's Model: Psalms 1–17																	
Ps	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<i>YQT</i>	7	15	3	8	18	10	18	5	20	24	8	11	10	4	5	9	13
Pred	2	3	1	4	3	0	4	0	12	5	2	6	2	2	1	9	5
CVF	0	3	0	1	13	0	4	0	3	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	3
OPN	0	2	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EW	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Perm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Potent	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Even	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Volit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
RP	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
PE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PMV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RPQ	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	5	0	0	1	4	0	0
Pros	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I/D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pret	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unc	1	3	0	3	1	2	1	1	3	12	1	4	0	0	0	0	3

Table 3.4.3.3. An Analysis According to Joosten's Model: Psalms 18–34																	
Ps	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
<i>YQT</i>	58	7	14	19	30	10	6	16	8	22	8	5	10	14	14	7	14
Pred	3	0	0	3	12	1	1	4	1	6	3	2	1	2	7	0	8
CVF	0	2	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
OPN	0	1	13	11	5	6	0	6	7	9	3	0	4	7	2	3	1
EW	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Potent	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Even	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Volit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RP	0	2	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
PMV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
RPQ	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Pros	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I/D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pret	37	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Unc	18	1	0	0	4	3	0	4	0	3	2	3	2	3	2	4	3

Table 3.4.3.4. An Analysis According to Joosten's Model: Psalms 35–41

Ps	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
<i>YQT</i>	37	10	38	14	13	19	17
Pred	6	0	24	1	3	6	7
CVF	0	0	2	0	3	9	1
OPN	22	2	2	4	0	0	0
EW	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Perm	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Potent	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Even	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Volit	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PMV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RPQ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pros	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
I/D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pret	0	0	2	0	2	0	0
Unc	8	8	8	8	5	4	9

3.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, Chapter 3 was divided into two sections. The first section provided an exhaustive review on the brief discussion of *YIQTOL* function presented in Chapter 2. This discussion of *YIQTOL* function was concerning the verbal system theories of Cook and Joosten. I provided examples taken from BH prose and narrative that illustrate each category of *YIQTOL* function. From these examples and the arguments each scholar gave in their published research, I listed possible criteria that could be used to distinguish the distinct functions of *YIQTOL* in BH. These criteria were taken and applied to an analysis of Pss 1–41. Following the application of these criteria to the designated corpus, I presented examples of *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry after those taken from BH prose and narrative. The second section of Chapter 3 presented

statistics that summarize the occurrence rates of each category of *YIQTOL* function according to the two different verbal system theories in question. I stated that each system was successful in its ability to understand *YIQTOL* function in BH prose despite the fact each model was designed to observe prose and narrative, and not poetry.

Chapter Four: The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System Theories of John Cook and Jan Joosten Applied to Biblical Hebrew Poetry

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 3 concluded with the presentation of statistical rates of occurrences for *YIQTOL* function in Pss 1–41. At the bottom of each table that displayed the number of occurrences per Psalm, one category was titled “unclassified.” In Chapter 4 I will discuss these unclassified instances. I will focus on examples where *YIQTOL* displayed similar behavior instances. I will also discuss grammatical phenomena that are more native to BH poetry than BH prose or narrative. This will be done for the purpose of emphasizing the difficulty poetic grammar can cause when classifying verbal function. In this chapter, Cook and Joosten will be discussed individually. At the end of the chapter, a brief comparison will take place. This comparison will draw out the strengths and weaknesses of both systems.

4.2. Instances of Abnormality in Aspect Prominent Theory (Cook)

Cook’s model worked well in my analysis of Pss 1–41. The statistics presented at the end of Chapter 3 emphasized that there were a minimal number of unclassified instances. To be precise, there were only fourteen unclassified *YIQTOL* occurrences in Pss 1–41. However, there were instances where Cook’s theory did not account for certain grammatical phenomena that are more native to BH poetry than BH prose or narrative. These unique occurrences made it difficult to discern *YIQTOL* function considering there were moments where the presented criteria in Chapter 3 required amendment. These instances will be discussed in the following sections along with several patterns that appeared between some of the unclassified *YIQTOL*s.

4.2.1. The Habitual Contingent

The habitual contingent is a prominent category of *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry with a total of 54 instances in Pss 1–41. This category of *YIQTOL* function contains many variables and its semantic range is rather vast. Cook’s criteria for determining this function was effective. Yet, there were still several instances that raised points of difficulty during the analysis of Pss 1–41. Note, in this section, none of the examples provided are unclassified. Instead, I determined that each are functioning as habitual contingents. Yet, further exploration was needed on my part. Furthermore, I was required to make some amendments to Cook’s criteria for determining the habitual contingent category.

The primary issue that I discovered in my analysis of Pss 1–41 regarding the habitual contingent had to do with the defining markers of a subordinate clause. The habitual contingent is prominent in subordinate clauses. In BH prose, subordinate clauses are typically marked by subordinate particles like *אשר*, *כי*, *אם*, *פן*, *למען*, for example. There are instances in BH prose where clauses can be defined as subordinate without these markers. Yet, the rate at which these instances occur greatly differs in BH prose when compared to BH poetry. There are occurrences where *YIQTOL* functions as a subordinate clause with some of these subordinate particles:

Ps 9:15	לְמַעַן אֲסַפֶּרָּה כָּל־תְּהִלָּתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעְרֵי בִתְצִיּוֹן אֲגִלָּה בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ:
That I may tell of all Your praises, That in the gates of the daughter of Zion I may rejoice in Your salvation. [NASB]	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* functions in a subordinate clause. A subordinate particle marks instances of the habitual contingent. Cook explains that subordinate expressions often

denote the conditional for final purpose or result of an action.¹ This thought goes back to the fundamental idea behind the habitual contingent—to describe the regularity of situations rather than “actual” situations.² When a subordinate habitual contingent *YIQTOL* functions within an irrealis discourse, it often follows another distinct verbal form, like *QATAL*. In such an instance, a subordinate habitual contingent *YIQTOL* emphasizes the regularity of a situation or its contingency. In BH poetry, consider Ps 1:3 as an example of a subordinate *YIQTOL* functioning this way:

Ps 1:3	וְהָיָה כְעֵץ שָׁתוּל עַל-פְּלִי מִיָּם אֲשֶׁר פָּרִיו יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ וְעָלְהוּ לֹא-יָבוֹל וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ:
He will be like a tree <i>firmly</i> planted by steams of water, Which yields its fruit in its seasons And its leaf does not wither; And in whatever he does, he prospers. [NASB]	

In this discourse, there are four *YIQTOL* verbal forms functioning within a subordinate discourse constellation. This subordinate discourse constellation is marked by the subordinate particle אֲשֶׁר. These instances, for the most part, exhibit the necessary criteria in order to be classified as habitual contingents—a present subordinate particle, and an inverted VS word order.³

While these instances were not difficult to classify, there were others that presented challenges. Psalm 6:7 appears to function as a habitual contingent considering the discourse structure and context. The structure of the discourse seems similar to other instances of the habitual contingent in BH poetry. However, there are some elements of difficulty that led to an inconclusive resolution of verbal function:

¹ Cook. *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.
² Cook. *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248.
³ Cook. *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248–49.

Ps 6:7	<p>יָגַעְתִּי בְּאַנְחֹתַי אֲשַׁחָה בְּכָל־לַיְלָה מִטָּתִי בְּדַמְעֹתַי עָרְשִׁי אֲמָסָה:</p>
<p>I am weary with my sighing; Every night I make my bed swim, I dissolve my couch with my tears. [NASB]</p>	

In this instance, the two *YIQTOL* verbal forms follow a *QATAL* in clause 7a. It appears that the two *YIQTOL* clauses are functioning as subordinates to the mainline *QATAL* clause. In this instance, the subordinate *YIQTOL* clause is not marked by an appropriate particle. This grammatical behavior is rather common in BH poetry—the lack or disappearance of subordinate particles. If this instance is classified as subordinate, it would imply that Ps 6:7b forward is functioning as a resultative, purpose, or conditional clause as these are the possible subordinate functions of the habitual contingent. I conclude that *YIQTOL* in clause 7b is functioning as a resultative subordinate. The subject in the verse is stating that he or she is weary and as a result is so overcome with emotion that each night he or she can do nothing but weep. As a resultative subordinate, I suggest that the clause is missing either a *למען* or *כי* particle. This would imply that the translation would be “I am weary with signing; *for/because/in order that* every night I make my bed swim, I dissolve my couch with my tears.”

4.2.2. Negative Particles

As I have argued, especially through the observation of the habitual contingent and subordinate clauses, there are instances in BH poetry where grammatical constructions are unique to this literary genre when compared to BH prose or narrative. Cook’s verbal system theory was primarily developed through the observation of BH prose and narrative rather than prophetic or poetic texts. As a result, there are certain types of grammatical phenomena that are not accounted for in Cook’s theory.

Considering my analysis only observes BH poetry, there is one more grammatical element I will discuss, the negative particle בל.

Cook acknowledges the important role negative particles play in the semantic value of BH discourse. Negative particles are seen to have influence in each category of *YIQTOL* function according to his model. Nevertheless, his attention is primarily given to the role of the negative particle אל on the directive-volitive system:

Ps 4:5	רָגְזוּ וְאַל־תִּחַטְּאוּ אָמְרוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם עַל־מִשְׁפַּבְּכֶם וְדַמּוּ סֵלָה:
Tremble, and do not sin ; Meditate in your heart upon your bed, and be still. <i>Selah</i> . [NASB]	

In this example, taken from BH poetry, the negative particle creates a negative command statement. *YIQTOL* continues the semantic value of the preceding imperative verbal form, but is reshaped by the negative particle. The question is, do we see the same semantic influence created by the negative particle בל?

The negative particle בל occurs sixteen times in Pss 1–41. In classical BH, Genesis to Second Kings, it does not occur. In proverbial texts, בל occurs six times, and in prophetic material, it occurs twenty-five times. Of the sixteen instances in Pss 1–41, בל functions with the imperfective *YIQTOL* and directive-volitive system. Psalm 21:8b is an example of בל negating an imperfective *YIQTOL*:

Ps 21:8	כִּי־הֶמְלֵךְ בַּטָּח בִּיהוָה וּבְחֶסֶד עָלִיז בַּל־יִמוּט:
For the king trusts in the LORD, And through the lovingkindness of the Most High he will not be shaken . [NASB]	

This is also seen in Ps 17:3:

Ps 17:3	בַּחֲנֹת לַבַּיַּל פִּקְדָּתָ לַיְלָה צִרְפָּתָנִי בַל־תִּמְצָא זִמְתִּי בַל־ יַעֲבֹר־פִּי:
You have tried my heart; You have visited me by night; You have tested me and You will find nothing ; I have purposed that my mouth will not transgress .	

In the examples presented, Ps 21:8 and Ps 17:3, the negative particle בל does not function differently than אל or לא. בל is also seen to function with the directive-volitive system in BH poetry:

Ps 16:8	שִׁוִּיתִי יְהוָה לִנְגִדִּי תָמִיד כִּי מִיְמִינִי בַל־אֶמוּט:
I have set the LORD continually before me; Because He is at my right hand, I will not be shaken .	

Here, בל expresses the same value and influence as other negative particles. None of the above presented instances are unclassified in my analysis. A discussion of the negative particle בל is raised because Cook does not acknowledge it.

4.2.3. Summary

In summary, this section reviewed examples taken from the fourteen unclassified *YIQTOL* instances in Pss 1–41 and a few grammatical phenomena in BH poetry which were taken from instances that were classified. The unclassified instances that I discussed were related to the habitual contingent category. The classified instances that I discussed were related to the negative particle בל. I discussed several unclassified instances because they exhibited functions or behaviors that Cook did not consider.

4.3. Instances of Abnormality in Relative Tense Theory (Joosten)

Joosten's model dealt well with the versatile functions of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. However, there were multiple instances where his model was faced with difficulty. The statistics found at the end of Chapter 3 presented a total of 137 unclassified instances.

This number implies that Joosten's theory was unable to categorize 22.9 percent of the 598 *YIQTOL* occurrences. Compared to Cook's fourteen uncategorized instances, there was a 20.56 percent increase in the unclassified for Joosten. At first glance this number is significantly higher. However, it is primarily the result of a single uncategorized function of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry—*YIQTOL* referencing a present situation as a present or progressive present. The following section will discuss the trending categories of unclassified instances I discovered in my application of Joosten's model to Pss 1–41.

4.3.1. Interrogative Discourse

In his relative tense theory, Joosten had an interesting and effective method of categorizing and understanding instances where *YIQTOL* functioned in interrogative discourse. Joosten especially articulated *YIQTOL*'s function to reference present and future situations in interrogative discourse. In review, *YIQTOL* can reference a future situation when it expresses potentiality, permission, or eventuality. Each of these categories of function are considered "other modal usages of *YIQTOL*." *YIQTOL* can also reference a future situation when the verbal form functions to express a wish. This category of *YIQTOL* function is related to the directive-volitive system. *YIQTOL* can reference a present situation when a process is ongoing at the moment of speech within an interrogative statement. This is known as the "real present in questions." While Joosten has all of these categories for understanding *YIQTOL* in interrogative discourse, eleven unclassified instances remain.

Other than all being instances of interrogative discourse, these instances share in common their reference point to a future situation. Consider Ps 4:3 as the first unclassified example:

Ps 4:3	בְּנֵי אִישׁ עַד־מָה כְּבוֹדִי לְכַלְמָה תִּאָּהֲבוּן רִיק תִּבְקֶשׁוּ כִּזְבִּ סֵלָה:
O sons of men, how long will my honor become a reproach? <i>How long</i> will you love what is worthless and aim at deception? <i>Selah</i> . [NASB]	

Similar to Ps 4:3, consider Ps 13:2–3 where *YIQTOL* is used in a similar fashion:

Ps 13:2–3	עַד־אָנָה יְהוָה תִּשְׁכַּחֲנִי נָצַח עַד־אָנָה תִּסְתִּיר אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי: עַד־אָנָה אֲשִׁית עֵצוֹת בְּנַפְשִׁי יִגֹּן בְּלִבִּי יוֹמָם עַד־אָנָה יָרוּם אֹיְבֵי עָלִי:
How long, O LORD? Will You forget me forever? How long will You hide Your face from me? How long shall I take counsel in my soul, <i>Having</i> sorrow in my heart all the day? How long will my enemy be exalted over me? [NASB]	

In each of these examples, *YIQTOL* functions with two similar compound interrogatives:

עַד־מָה (Ps 4:3) and עַד־אָנָה (Ps 13:2–3). In both examples, *YIQTOL* functions as an

irrealis verbal form, which is questioning a habitual or repeated process. There seems to

be an expressed contingency in both examples. According to Joosten's model, these

instances should be considered to function under the primary category *YIQTOL* in

reference to a future situation. However, according to the presented definition of

YIQTOL referencing the real present in questions, it may seem that in Ps 4:3 and Ps

13:2–3, *YIQTOL* is actually referencing a present situation. Consider the following

example taken from Ps 2:1 which is classified as a real present in questions:

Ps 2:1	לָמָּה רָגִשׁוּ גּוֹיִם וְלֹא־מִים יִהְיוּ־רִיק:
Why are the nations in an uproar And the peoples devising a vain thing? [NASB]	

In Ps 2:1, *YIQTOL* is not functioning as an irrealis verbal form. Rather, the process that

YIQTOL is describing is ongoing and real at the moment of speech. If Ps 4:3 and Ps

14:2–3 were to be considered to be real present in questions, *YIQTOL* would lose its

irrealis value. While this is a plausible solution, in the end, the classification between realis or irrealis is an interpretive decision based on context.

Psalm 6:6b is another example of *YIQTOL* in reference to a present situation in an instance of interrogative discourse:

Ps 6:6	כִּי אֵין בַּמָּוֶת זְכָרְךָ בְּשֵׂאוֹל מִי יוֹדֶה-לָּךְ:
For there is no mention of You in death; In Sheol who will give You thanks? [NASB]	

Consider Ps 27:1, a similar example to Ps 6:6:

Ps 27:1	אֹרִי וְיִשְׁעִי מִמֶּי אִירָא יְהוָה מַעֲזֹחַי מִמֶּי אֶפְחָד:
The LORD is my light and my salvation; Whom shall I fear? The LORD is the defense of my life; Whom shall I dread?	

In Ps 6:6, there is a shift between reference points in the discourse structure of the verses. The first clause begins by referencing a present situation, and then the following interrogative statement references a future situation. In Ps 27:1, there is also a temporal shift between the present and future. However, it does not appear to be entirely similar to the temporal shift expressed in Ps 6:6. Although the temporal shift might differ on a certain level of semantics, *YIQTOL* in both Ps 6:6 and Ps 27:1 functions as an irrealis, This is similar to Ps 4:3 and Ps 13:2–3, examples previously provided. Furthermore, *YIQTOL* is expressing a sense of contingency. However, Ps 6:6 and Ps 27:1 is distinct in that, these instances are not expressing a repeated or habitual action. I was unable to find an appropriate category for either of these instances.

4.3.2. *YIQTOL* Referencing a Present Situation as a Present or Present Progressive

Following the application of Cook’s model to Pss 1–41, this trend of *YIQTOL* referencing a present situation as a present or present progressive accounts for nearly 80 percent of all unclassified instances. In review, *YIQTOL* can reference a present situation

in the four following ways. First, *YIQTOL* can function in such a way when it expresses repetition in the present:

Ps 1:3	וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שֶׁתּוֹלַעַל-פִּלְגֵי מַיִם אֲשֶׁר פָּרִיו יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ וְעָלְהוּ לֹא-יָבוֹל וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ:
He will be like a tree <i>firmly</i> planted by streams of water, Which yields its fruit in its season And its leaf does not wither; And in whatever he does, he prospers. [NASB]	

Second, *YIQTOL* can function as a proverbial expression:

Ps 34:9	טַעֲמוּ וּרְאוּ כִי-טוֹב יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־יִחְסֶה-בּוֹ:
O taste and see that the LORD is good; How blessed is the man who takes refuge in Him! [NASB]	

Third, *YIQTOL* can reference a present situation with modal verbs:

Ps 30:6	כִּי רָגַע בְּאַפּוֹ חַיִּים בְּרָצוֹנוֹ בְּעֶרֶב יִלֵּן בְּכִי וּלְפָקֵר רָנָה:
For His anger is but for a moment, His favor is for a lifetime; Weeping may last for the night, But a shout of joy <i>comes</i> in the morning. [NASB]	

Fourth, *YIQTOL* may reference the real present in questions—consider the examples in Section 4.3.1. I present each of these four functions with examples in order to support the argument that Joosten does not have an appropriate category for *YIQTOL* expressing the present or present progressive.

As a present *YIQTOL*, there are many instances that remained unclassified in Pss 1–41. Consider some of the following examples:

Ps 2:1–2	לָמָּה רָגָשׁוּ גּוֹיִם וְלֵאמֹים יִהְיוּ-רִיק: יִתְנַצְּבוּ מְלָכֵי-אֶרֶץ וְרוֹזְנִים נוֹסְדוּ-יַחַד עַל-יְהוָה וְעַל-מְשִׁיחוֹ:
Why are the nations in an uproar And the peoples devising a vain thing? The kings of the earth take their stand And the rulers take counsel together Against the LORD and against His Anointed, saying, [NASB]	

In this example, *YIQTOL* in Ps 2:2a remains unclassified as it references a present situation. It follows a *QATAL* verb in clause 1:1a and another interrogative *YIQTOL* referencing a present situation in clause 1:1b. It is possible that *YIQTOL* in clause 2:2a

has adopted the temporal reference point value of the preceding discourse. Yet, if this is the case, Joosten’s model remains without a classifying category. Psalm 10:8 is another example:

Ps 10:8	יֹשֵׁב בְּמִאֲרָב חַצְרִים בְּמִסְתָּרִים יְהַרְגֵׁנִי עֵינָיו לְחַלְכֵּה יִצְפְּנוּ:
He sits in the lurking places of the villages; In the hiding places he kills the innocent; His eyes stealthily watch for the unfortunate. [NASB]	

In this instance, *YIQTOL* exists within a discourse constellation with the preceding *QATAL* verbal form in Ps 10:7a. Again, *YIQTOL* appears to adopt *QATAL*’s temporal reference point value. It seems that none of Joosten’s categories explain this phenomena.

4.3.3. Summary

In summary, this section reviewed trending patterns of abnormality and instances that were difficult to classify according to Joosten’s relative tense theory. This section gave particular attention to instances of interrogative discourse and *YIQTOL* referencing a present situation as a present or present progressive. It was found that some of the difficult instances that involved interrogative discourse could be solved through a deeper level of engagement. Yet, there were a few other that remained unclassified despite the greater level of engagement given to the examples. The second area of difficulty, *YIQTOL* referencing a present situation as a present or present progressive, was the greatest area of weakness found through an application of relative tense theory to BH poetry. This trending pattern of abnormality accounted for a majority of the unclassified instance in Pss 1–41 presented in Chapter 3.

4.4. A Comparison of the Instances of Abnormality between Aspect Prominent Theory (Cook) and Relative Tense Theory (Joosten)

The previous section in Chapter 4 served to explore difficult instances and patterns of abnormality each theory exhibited when I applied them to an analysis of Pss 1–41. This section will serve to bring together the two methods in an observation of a few of the emphasized difficult instances. My purpose is to highlight the distinct thought patterns of each scholar's method. By bringing these scholars together in an observation of a few examples taken from Pss 1–41, I do not suggest that it is an appropriate practice to abandon one model and adopt another for the purpose of explaining an abnormal instance of verbal function. I believe that such a practice is an inappropriate application of any model. If a model is unable to explain any instance of verbal function, the method should be amended within itself. To mix methods would cause serious issue with the foundational ideas and concepts that formulate its base. For example, to merge Cook and Joosten would create tension between the understanding that *YIQTOL* is primarily aspectual (Cook) or modal (Joosten). Simply, they cannot be merged. However, while they cannot be merged, it is interesting to place their analysis of any given instance side-by-side to see the difference of understanding. This is the goal of the following section, to consider their difference of opinions. The abnormal instances I want to explore are the unclassified occurrences of *YIQTOL* where it is referencing a present situation as a present or present progressive. These instances emphasized the greatest area of weakness for Joosten's model, yet for Cook, they highlighted an area of strength.

Cook and Joosten each acknowledge *YIQTOL*'s ability to reference the temporal spheres other than the future. Cook's theory demonstrated an impressive level of ability to distinguish between the different temporal spheres. Joosten's model was also able to

distinguish between temporal reference points. However, his relative tense methodology did not demonstrate effectiveness when it came to instances where *YIQTOL* references a present situation as a present or present progressive. Consider the following two examples where *YIQTOL* is functioning in such a way:

Ps 10:8	יֹשֵׁב בְּמִאָּרֶב חֲצֵרִים בְּמִסְתָּרִים יִהְיֶה נֶקֶד עֵינָיו לְחַלְכֵּה יִצְפֹּנוּ:
He sits in the lurking places of the villages; In the hiding places he kills the innocent; His eyes stealthily watch for the unfortunate. [NASB]	
Ps 2:1–2	לָמָּה רָגִשׁוּ גוֹיִם וְלֵאמֹר יִהְיֶה־רֵיֶךְ: יִתְּצֻבּוּ מְלִכֵי־אֶרֶץ וְרוֹזְנִים נֹסְדוּ־יַחַד עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ:
Why are the nations in an uproar And the peoples devising a vain thing? The kings of the earth take their stand And the rulers take counsel together Against the LORD and against His Anointed, saying, [NASB]	

In both examples, they were categorized as unclassified according to Joosten’s model. In comparison, Ps 2:1–2 and Ps 10:8 were classified as progressive general present occurrences according to Cook’s model. For Ps 2:12, the specific *YIQTOL* instance in question is in clause 2a:

Table 4.4.1. An Analysis of Psalm 2:1–2					
MT	C	V	Verbal Form	Cook	Joosten
לָמָּה רָגִשׁוּ גוֹיִם	2	1a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֵאמֹר יִהְיֶה־רֵיֶךְ:	2	1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
יִתְּצֻבּוּ * מְלִכֵי־אֶרֶץ	2	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְרוֹזְנִים נֹסְדוּ־יַחַד עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ:	2	2b	<i>QATAL</i>		

Psalm 10:8 is classified in the following way:

Table 4.4.2. An Analysis of Psalm 10:8					
MT	C	V	Verbal Form	Cook	Joosten
יֵשֵׁב בְּמִאֲרָב חֲצִירִים	10	8a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
בְּמִסְתָּרִים יִהְיֶה נֶקִי	10	8b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
עֵינָיו לֹחֲלָכָה יִצְפֹּנוּ:	10	8c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

In these examples, Cook considers this function of *YIQTOL* to have some form of relationship with the BH participle verbal grams. This was illustrated in his table “Semantic Mapping of the BHVS” on page 60. In Cook’s opinion, *YIQTOL* is able to function as a progressive because of the relationship *YIQTOL* shares with the temporally timeless participle. *YIQTOL* is able to function as a progressive verbal form independently. This is seen in each of the above examples. Joosten does not consider this a possible function of *YIQTOL* when referencing a present situation. However, he does have an entire category of *YIQTOL* functioning as a preterite, a verbal function that is primarily found in texts of BH poetry. While Cook argues that *YIQTOL* is primarily an aspectual verbal form, he considers the progressive general present category to express modality. This is interesting to consider in comparison to Joosten’s model. Joosten as the one who argues that *YIQTOL* is almost exclusively modal overlooks this semantic function.

4.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, this section reviewed difficult instances and trending patterns of abnormality that I discovered through my analysis of Pss 1–41. Each verbal system theory exhibited its own set of difficulties. Many of the problems I discovered were solved by the opposing method. As a result, this section also investigated through a

comparison these instances of abnormality. While I cannot conclude that anyone can take another model to solve the problems of an opposing method because the fundamentals of each theory are distinct, I emphasized that there were possible solutions.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

Following the presentation of all critical components of this thesis, it is time to conclude the argument. This section will provide some final remarks and general critiques of Cook's aspect prominent theory and Joosten's relative tense theory. I will generally critique each theory's ability to analyze BH poetry. My remarks are not to promote or reject either of the given verbal system models. Instead, my purpose is to open the way for further discussion and research into the BHVS. Following my critiques, I will present several avenues the research presented in this thesis can be furthered. I began this thesis acknowledging that my research was in no way exhaustive of the entire BHVS. Instead, my research served the purpose of establishing a foundation that could be built upon. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with a chapter-by-chapter overview of the argument presented in this thesis.

5.2. Final Remarks

This thesis served to provide an exhaustive review of Cook's aspect prominent theory and Joosten's relative tense theory. Specific attention was given to the *YIQTOL* verbal form and each scholar's argument for its form and function. In Chapter 3, I emphasized each scholar's position and presented possible criteria that could be used to determine *YIQTOL*'s function in real instances in real texts. Then, I took these criteria and applied them to an extensive analysis of all 598 *YIQTOL* instances in Pss 1–41. In Chapters 3 and 4 I presented instances where their systems worked and where they did not. This section will serve to reflect on some final remarks and critiques I have regarding each method's ability to analyze BH poetry in light of the fact that Cook and Joosten developed their models through the observation of BH prose and narrative.

5.2.1. Aspect Prominent Theory and Biblical Hebrew Poetry (Cook)

Cook's aspect prominent theory dealt well with the versatile functions of *YIQTOL* in BH poetry. Cook's method was easily transferable between literary genres. Chapter 4 of the present thesis highlighted two areas that caused confusion: (1) archaic poetic grammar in the habitual contingent and (2) the negative particle **לֹא**. These two emphasized issues were discussed. However, both of them were not the cause of the fourteen unclassified instances. Only a few examples of the uncategorized were presented. The other examples presented had to do with grammatical phenomena that Cook did not consider in his research. In most cases, these instances of archaic grammar were the result of poetic construction, a genre of literature he did not extensively observe. In the end, Cook's model demonstrated proficiency in its application to BH poetry as less than three percent of the 598 instances of *YIQTOL* were left unclassified.

5.2.2. Relative Tense Theory and Biblical Hebrew Poetry (Joosten)

Joosten's relative tense theory also demonstrated a high level of proficiency when determining *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. However, in comparison to the three percent of unclassified instances Cook's model generated, Joosten's theory left nearly 22 percent of the 598 *YIQTOL* instances uncategorized. This was a drastic 19 percent increase by comparison. In Chapter 4, I investigated the reason for this increase in the unclassified category and was able to determine the primary issue. Joosten's theory did not account for a single possible function of *YIQTOL*—*YIQTOL* referencing present situation as a present or present progressive. This oversight allowed a majority of the unclassified instances to exist. In order to discover the reason for this oversight, I entered into a brief exploration as to why Cook considers it a possible category of

function and Joosten does not. No conclusive evidence was presented. However, it was found that Cook's argument for the progressive function of *YIQTOL* was related to the historical development of *YIQTOL* and its relationship with the participle verbal grams.

5.2.3. Summary

In summary, each verbal system model was applied to Pss 1–41. This application allowed me the opportunity to briefly reflect on each theory's ability to observe BH poetry. I found that in its original form, Cook's model was more easily transferable between literary genres than Joosten's relative tense theory. This conclusion is based on the lesser amount of unclassified instances generated by Cook's model. With this in mind, I do not dismiss the appropriateness of Joosten's model for determining *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. However, before Joosten's relative tense theory can increase its effectiveness, there are certain areas of the model that need to be revisited. Each of these areas of weakness were addressed in Chapter 4.

5.3. Moving Forward

There are many ways in which this research can be taken to the next level. In this section, I will present two ideas: (1) the evaluation of the independent value of verbs, and (2) criteria for determining verbal function in BH. Each idea will be accompanied by a few examples to reinforce the importance of the subject's further study.

5.3.1. The Evaluation of the Independent Value of Verbs

In my analysis of Pss 1–41, I discovered several instances where it was difficult to determine if the aspectual, temporal, or modal value was the result of a verbal conjugation, discourse context, or the verb itself. Each of these instances were emphasized and briefly discussed in Chapter 4. Yet, my purpose in Chapter 4 was to highlight instances of abnormality, not solve the problem. As a result, some of these

instances need solving. This idea for further study has to do with the independent value of verbs.

Joosten argues that there are two verbs which, if they exist as *YIQTOL* conjugations, can reference a present situation. These two verbs are יכל, “to be able,” and ידע, “to know.”¹ This category of *YIQTOL* function is known as “present with modal verbs.” Joosten provides the following examples:

Gen 44:1	מִלֵּא אֶת־אֲמָתָתְךָ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶכֶל כַּאֲשֶׁר יוּכְלֹן שְׂאֵת
Fill the men’s sacks with food, as much as they can carry. ²	

Gen 19:19	הִנֵּה־נָא מָצָא עַבְדְּךָ חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וַתַּגְדֵּל חַסְדְּךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי לְהַחְיֹת אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא אוּכַל לְהַמְלִיט הָהָרָה פֶּן־תִּדְבְּקֵנִי הָרָעָה וּמָתִי:
Now behold, your servant has found favor in your sign, and you have magnified your loving kindness, which you have shown me by saving my life; but I cannot escape to the mountains, lest the disaster overtake me and I die. [NASB]	

In my work on Pss 1–41, I discovered in Ps 30:6 a verb that implicitly expresses a sense of progressive temporality—לִין or לִין, meaning “to remain through the night” or “spend the night:”

Ps 30:6	כִּי רָגַע בְּאַפּוֹ חַיִּים בְּרָצוֹנוֹ בָּעָרַב יִלֵּן בְּכִי וּלְבָקָר רָנָה:
For His anger is but for a moment, His favor for a lifetime; Weeping may last for the night , But a shout of job comes in the morning. (NASB)	

This is the only instance of לִין or לִין in the designated corpus for this thesis. However, in Chapter 4, I brought into the discussion Ps 49:13 and Song 1:13. Yet, if this verb independently or implicitly expresses its own temporality, aspect, or modality, than there

¹ Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.

² Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*, 277.

must be other verbs. This idea can lead to an evaluation of verbs expressing TAM independent of verbal conjugation.

5.3.2. Criteria for Determining Verbal Function in Biblical Hebrew

Chapter 3 of this thesis presented criteria for determining verbal function in BH. This criteria was taken from the cited works of Cook and Joosten. In reflection, neither of these scholars had the goal in mind of presenting criteria for distinguishing between different functions of any given form. In fact, there are multiple instances in language scholarship where it is stated that syntactic function is determined by context. While this is not necessarily a misleading statement, it is definitely cumbersome. The term “context” can mean a number of different things. Many times, the term is used but never defined. As a result, I believe the research presented in this thesis can be taken to another level. It is possible to move away from the statement “context indicates” and instead establish criteria that can indicate syntactic function.

Consider Joosten’s category the preterite *YIQTOL*. This is one of several possible functions of *YIQTOL* in reference to past situation. Joosten, in his recent monograph, does not present an extensive list of criteria. In fact, his presentation of determining syntactic factors is almost non-existent. However, through an observation of Ps 18 as a test case, I believe that there are elements within a discourse context that can determine a preterite function.

YIQTOL can function as a preterite when it exists in a discourse constellation with a perfective or preterite *QATAL*:

Table 5.3.2.1. A Preceding <i>QATAL</i> Marking a Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>				
Ex	Clause Number		MT	Semantic Function
	Ch	V		
A	18	5a	אֶפְפוּנִי חֶבְלֵי־מָוֶת	Perfective <i>QATAL</i>
		5b	וַנִּחְלִי בְלִיעַל יִבְעֲתוּנִי:	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
		6a	חֶבְלִי שְׂאוֹל סִבְבוּנִי	Perfective <i>QATAL</i>
		6b	קִדְמוּנִי מוֹקְשֵׁי מָוֶת:	Perfective <i>QATAL</i>
B	18	9a	עָלָה עֲשֹׁן בְּאֶפֶס	Perfective <i>QATAL</i>
		9b	וְאֶשׁ־מִפִּי תֹאכַל	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
		9c	נִחְלִים בָּעֵרֹו מִמֶּנּוּ:	Perfective <i>QATAL</i>

A preterite *YIQTOL* can also be marked by a preterite *WAYYIQTOL*. This is the most effective criteria:

Table 5.3.2.2. A Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i> Marking a Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>				
Ex	Clause Number		MT	Semantic Function
	Ch	V		
A	18	8a	וַתִּגְעַשׂ	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>
		8b	וַתִּרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>
		8c	וּמוֹסְדֵי הָרִים יִרְגְּזוּ	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
		8d	וַיִּתְגַּעְשׂוּ	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>
B	18	14a	וַיִּרְעַם בְּשָׁמַיִם יְהוָה	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>
		14b	וַעֲלִיזוּ יַתֵּן קִלּוֹ	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
C	18	40a	וַתִּאֲזַרְנִי חֵיל לַמִּלְחָמָה	Preterite <i>WAYYIQTOL</i>
		40b	תִּכְרִיעַ קָמִי תִחַתִּי:	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>

Through the creation of criteria for determining or distinguishing verbal function in BH, I believe that this derivative of language studies is of greater value to the public, especially to the field of biblical translation. If a list were to be created that clearly illustrates and presents criteria for determining or distinguishing verbal function

according to whichever linguistic model, biblical translators could apply current language research to the translation of ancient texts without having to independently determine instances of syntactic function.

5.4. Conclusion

This thesis conducted a comparative analysis of Cook's aspect prominent theory and Joosten's relative tense theory. Each verbal system theory was reviewed and attention was given to the *YIQTOL* verbal form. Following my review of *YIQTOL*'s form and function in BH according to each theory, I applied each model to Pss 1–41. In my application of each model, I evaluated every *YIQTOL* instance in Pss 1–41. My thoughts, evaluations, and conclusions were then presented in the proceeding chapters. The following is a conclusive chapter-by-chapter overview of this thesis.

Chapter 1 explored the history of research conducted on the BHVS over the last 150 years. This overview of historic research included a review of the following methodologies and schools of thought: (1) a grammarian approach (pre-Ewald-Driver), (2) standard theory (Ewald-Driver), (3) comparative-historical studies and neo-comparative historic studies, (4) discourse linguistic theory, (5) tense theory (post Ewald-Driver), (6) aspect theory, (7) and an introduction to the recent verbal system theories of Cook and Joosten. A review of the influential R-point theory was placed in Appendix 2 for further reference. At the end of the overview of research literature, emphasis was given to Cook and Joosten in order to transition into a presentation of the scope of this thesis. It was here that I presented my purpose of applying the verbal theories of Cook and Joosten to every *YIQTOL* instance in Pss 1–41. At the end of Chapter 1, I presented a brief chapter-by-chapter overview of this thesis and its structure.

Chapter 2 built off the introduction to the verbal theories of Cook and Joosten presented at the end of Chapter 1. In this chapter, I provided an exhaustive review of both scholar's verbal system theories. At the end of each scholar's section, I presented a chart that simply laid out the entirety of the verbal system for ease of reference and understanding. At the end of the chapter, I presented a transition discussion on the function of *YIQTOL* according to each model. This discussion stemmed from the statement that both approaches to the verbal system are entirely distinct from the other. I argued through the observation of a few passages that each scholar understands *YIQTOL* to function differently. Cook considers *YIQTOL* to primarily express aspect, while Joosten argues that it is a modal verbal form.

Chapter 3 continued to build from Chapter 2, *YIQTOL* function according to these distinct verbal system theories. In this chapter, I dove deeper into a review of *YIQTOL* function. As I presented a review of each scholar's position, I provided examples from Pss 1–41 to aid the reader in his or her understanding of these system's function in BH poetry. Examples were only provided for key functions of *YIQTOL*. The examples taken from Pss 1–41 were determined according to the criteria presented in Chapter 3. The presented criteria were applied to an extensive evaluation of *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. Accompanying the review of each verbal system theory, I provided a chart that outlined all possible functions of *YIQTOL* according to the individual model. At the end of the chapter, I presented statistics that illustrated the rate of occurrence for the individual functions of *YIQTOL* in Pss 1–41.

At the beginning of this thesis, I acknowledged that there would be instances where either verbal system theory would not be able to comprehend *YIQTOL* function. In Appendix 1 these instances are labeled “C.Unclassified” or “J.Unclassified.” Chapter

4 explored these instances in order to determine the cause of these abnormalities. The goal of this chapter was not to provide solutions to the problems, but rather to create space for discussion. All abnormal instances emphasized were discussed and evaluated.

Chapter 5 presented the conclusive thoughts of this thesis. In this chapter, I provided some final thoughts and critiques regarding each verbal theories ability to comprehend *YIQTOL* function in BH poetry. Following my final thoughts, I presented several avenues for this research to be taken further. Finally, I reviewed the content presented in this present thesis chapter-by-chapter.

Appendix 1. Tense, Aspect, and Modality Analysis Table: Psalms 1–41

Tense, Aspect, and Modality Analysis Table: Psalms 1–41						
MT	C	V	Form	Cook	Joosten	
אֲשֶׁר־יֵהְיֶה אִישׁ	1	1a	Verbless			
אֲשֶׁר לֹא הֵלֵךְ בִּעֲצָת רָשָׁעִים	1	1b	<i>QATAL</i>			
וּבִדְרֹךְ חֲטָאִים לֹא עָמַד	1	1c	<i>QATAL</i>			
וּבְמוֹשָׁב לְצִים לֹא יָשָׁב:	1	1d	<i>QATAL</i>			
כִּי אִם בְּתוֹרַת יְהוָה חָפְצוֹ	1	2a	Verbless			
וּבְתוֹרָתוֹ יִהְיֶה יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה:	1	2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified	
וְהָיָה כְּעֵץ שָׁתוּל עַל־פְּלָגֵי מַיִם	1	3a	<i>WeQATAL</i>			
אֲשֶׁר פָּרְיוֹ יִתֵּן בְּעֵתוֹ	1	3b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present	
וְעָלְהוּ לֹא־יָבוּל	1	3c	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present	
וְכָל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ:	1	3d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present	
לֹא־כֵן הָרָשָׁעִים	1	4a	Verbless			
כִּי אִם־כַּמֶּץ	1	4b	Verbless			
אֲשֶׁר־תִּדְפְּנוּ רוּחַ:	1	4c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present	
עַל־כֵּן לֹא־יִקְמוּ רָשָׁעִים בְּמִשְׁפָּט	1	5a	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive	
וְחֲטָאִים בְּעֵדַת צְדִיקִים:	1	5b	Verbless			
כִּי־יִוָּדַע יְהוָה דֶּרֶךְ צְדִיקִים	1	6a	Participle			
וְדֶרֶךְ רָשָׁעִים תֵּאבֹד:	1	6b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive	
לְמָה רָגִשׁוּ גוֹיִם	2	1a	<i>QATAL</i>			
וְלֹא־אִמִּים יִהְיוּ־רִיק:	2	1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions	
יִתְּצֻבוּ * מַלְכֵי־אֶרֶץ	2	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified	
וְרוֹזְנִים נִוְסְדוּ־יַחַד עַל־יְהוָה וְעַל־מְשִׁיחוֹ:	2	2b	<i>QATAL</i>			
נִגְתָּקָה אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ	2	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity	

וְנִשְׁלִיכָהּ מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבִיתִימוּ:	2	3b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יֹשֵׁב בַּשָּׁמַיִם יִשְׁחַק	2	4a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֲדֹנָי יִלְעַגְלָמוּ:	2	4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אִזּוּ יִדְבֹּר אֲלֵימוּ בְּאָפוֹ	2	5a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וּבַחֲרוֹנוֹ יִבְהַלְמוּ:	2	5b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאֲנִי נִסְכָּתִי מִלְכִּי עַל-צִיּוֹן הֶרֶקְדָּשִׁי:	2	6a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אִסְפָּרָה אֶל *חֵק יְהוָה	2	7a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲמַר אֵלַי	2	7b	<i>QATAL</i>		
בְּנֵי אֶתָּה	2	7c	Verbless		
אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדָּתִיךָ:	2	7d	<i>QATAL</i>		
שְׂאֵל מִמֶּנִּי	2	8a	Imperative		
וְאַתָּנָה גִּוִּים נַחֲלָתְךָ	2	8b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וְאַחֲזִיתְךָ אֶפְסִי-אַרְץ:	2	8c	Verbless		
תִּרְעַם בְּשֵׁבֶט בְּרָזֶל	2	9a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כִּכְלִי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפָּצָם:	2	9b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וְעָתָה מְלָכִים הַשְׁכִּילוּ	2	10a	Imperative		
הוֹסִרוּ שְׁפָטֵי אֶרֶץ:	2	10b	Imperative		
עֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בִּירְאָה	2	11a	Imperative		
וְגִילוּ בִּרְעָדָה:	2	11b	Imperative		
נִשְׁקוּ-בָר	2	12a	Imperative		
פְּנִי-אַנְרָא	2	12b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
וְתֹאבְדוּ דָּרְךְ	2	12c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
כִּי־יִבְעַר כְּמַעֲט אָפוֹ	2	12d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
אֲשֶׁר־יִכְלֹסִי בּוֹ:	2	12e	Participle		
מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד	3	1a	Verbless		

בְּבִרְחוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֲבִשְׁלוֹם בְּנוֹ:	3	1b	Infinitive construct		
יְהוֹה מִה־רְבוּ צְרִי	3	2a	<i>QATAL</i>		
רְבִים קָמִים עָלַי:	3	2b	Participle		
רְבִים אֹמְרִים לְנַפְשִׁי	3	3a	Participle		
אֵין יִשׁוּעָתָה לֹא בֵּאלֹהִים סֵלָה:	3	3b	Verbless		
וְאַתָּה יְהוֹה מִגֵּן בַּעֲדִי כְּבוֹדִי וּמְרִים רֹאשִׁי:	3	4a	Verbless		
קוֹלִי אֶל־יְהוֹה אֶקְרָא	3	5a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Prospective
וַיַּעֲנֵנִי מִהֵרָ קִדְשׁוֹ סֵלָה:	3	5b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
אֲנִי שֹׁכֵבְתִּי	3	6a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְאִישָׁנָה	3	6b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
הַקִּיצוֹתִי	3	6c	<i>QATAL</i>		
כִּי יְהוֹה יִסְמְכֵנִי:	3	6d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
לֹא־אִירָא מִרְבָּבוֹת עִם	3	7a	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשֶׁר סָבִיב שְׁתוֹ עָלַי:	3	7b	<i>QATAL</i>		
קוֹמָה יְהוֹה	3	8a	Imperative		
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי	3	8b	Imperative		
כִּי־הֵבִית אֶת־כָּל־אֵיבֵי לְחִי	3	8c	<i>QATAL</i>		
שְׁנֵי רְשָׁעִים שִׁבְרָתָ:	3	8d	<i>QATAL</i>		
לִיהוֹה הִישׁוּעָה	3	9a	Verbless		
עַל־עַמֶּךָ בְּרִכְתְּךָ סֵלָה:	3	9b	Verbless		
לְמַנְצָח בְּגִינוֹת מְזֻמּוֹר לְדוֹד:	4	1a	Participle		
בִּקְרָאִי עֲנֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי צִדְקִי	4	2a	Imperative		
בְּצֹר הִרְחַבְתָּ לִּי	4	2b	<i>QATAL</i>		
חֲנִנִי	4	2c	Imperative		
וּשְׁמֵעַ תִּפְלְתִּי:	4	2d	Imperative		
בְּנִי אִישׁ עַד־מָה כְּבוֹדִי לְכֻלָּמָה	4	3a	Verbless		
תִּאְהַבּוּן רִיק	4	3b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified

תִּבְקֶשׁוּ כִּזְבִּי סֵלָה:	4	3c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
וְדַעוּ	4	4a	Imperative		
כִּי־הִפְלָה יְהוָה חֲסִיד לֹ	4	4b	QATAL		
יְהוָה יִשְׁמַע בְּקֶרְאִי אֱלֹו:	4	4c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
רָגְזוּ	4	5a	Imperative		
וְאֶל־תִּחַטָּאוּ	4	5b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
אָמְרוּ בְּלִבְבְּכֶם עַל־ מִשְׁכַּבְּכֶם	4	5c	Imperative		
וְדַמּוּ סֵלָה:	4	5d	Imperative		
זָבְחוּ זִבְח־יִצְדָק	4	6a	Imperative		
וּבִטְחוּ אֶל־יְהוָה:	4	6b	Imperative		
רַבִּים אָמְרִים	4	7a	Participle		
מִי־יִרְאֶנּוּ טוֹב	4	7b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
נִסְה־עֲלִינוּ אוֹר פִּנְיָה יְהוָה:	4	7c	Imperative		
נָתַתָּה שְׂמִיחָה בְּלִבִּי	4	8a	QATAL		
מֵעַתָּה דָגַגְם וְתִירוּשֶׁם רַבּוּ:	4	8b	QATAL		
בְּשָׁלוֹם יַחַדּוּ אֲשַׁכְּבָה	4	9a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאִישׁוֹן	4	9b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי־אַתָּה יְהוָה לִבְדָּד לִבְטָח תּוֹשִׁיבִנִי:	4	9c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לִמְנַצֵּחַ אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	5	1a	Participle		
אָמְרֵי הָאֲזִינָה יְהוָה	5	2a	Imperative		
בִּינָה הִגִּיגִי:	5	2b	Imperative		
הַקְשִׁיבָה לְקוֹל שׁוֹנֵעִי	5	3a	Imperative		
מִלְכִּי וְאַלֶּהִי	5	3b	Verbless		
כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ אֶתְפַּלֵּל:	5	3c	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
יְהוָה בְּקֶרַע תִּשְׁמַע קוֹלִי	5	4a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בְּקֶרַע אֶעֱרֹךְ־לָךְ	5	4b	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form

וְאַצְפָּה:	5	4c	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
כִּי לֹא אֶל־חֶפֶץ רָשָׁע אתָּה	5	5a	Verbless		
לֹא יִגְדֹךָ רַע:	5	5b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
לֹא־יִתְּצֻבוּ הַוּלָלִים לְנֶגֶד עֵינֶיךָ	5	6a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
שָׁנֵאתָ כָּל־פְּעָלֵי אוֹן:	5	6b	QATAL		
תֵּאבֹד דְּבָרִי כֶּזֶב	5	7a	YIQTOL	Directive	Predictive
נִסָּה־עָלֵינוּ אוֹר פְּנִיךָ יְהוָה:	5	7b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
וְאֲנִי בְּרַב חֲסָדֶךָ	5	8a	Verbless		
אָבוֹא בֵּיתְךָ	5	8b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשַׁתְּחוּה אֶל־הֵיכַל־קֹדֶשְׁךָ בִּירְאָתְךָ:	5	8c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה נִחַנִּי בְּצִדְקָתְךָ	5	9a	Imperative		
לְמַעַן שׁוּרְרִי	5	9b	Imperative		
הוֹשֵׁר לִפְנֵי דְרָכְךָ:	5	9c	Imperative		
כִּי אֵין בְּפִיהוּ נְכוֹנָה	5	10a	Participle		
קִרְבָּם הָיוֹת	5	10b	Verbless		
קִבְּר־פְּתוּחַ גְּרוֹנָם	5	10c	Participle		
לְשׁוֹנָם יַחֲלִיקוּן:	5	10d	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
הַאֲשִׁימָם אֱלֹהִים	5	11a	Imperative		
יִפְלוּ מִמַּעְצוֹתֵיהֶם	5	11b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בְּרַב פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם הִדִּיתָמוּ	5	11c	Imperative		
כִּי־מָרוּ בָךְ:	5	11d	QATAL		
וַיִּשְׁמְחוּ כָּל־חֹסֵי בָךְ	5	12a	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
לְעוֹלָם יִרְנְנוּ	5	12b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form

וְתִסְדֹּךְ עָלֶימוֹ	5	12c	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
וַיַּעֲלֶצּוּ בְךָ אֲהָבֵי שְׁמֶךָ:	5	12d	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
כִּי־אַתָּה תִּבְרָךְ צַדִּיק יְהוָה	5	13a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
כַּעֲנָה רָצוֹן תַּעֲטֶרְנוּ:	5	13b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
לִמְנַצֵּחַ בְּגִינֹת עַל־ הַשְּׁמִינִית מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד:	6	1a	Participle		
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי־בְּאֶפְדָּךְ תֹּכִיחֵנִי	6	2a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL expressing a wish
וְאַל־בַּחֲמַתְךָ תִּסְרְנֵנִי:	6	2b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL expressing a wish
חַנּוּנִי יְהוָה כִּי אֲמַלֵּל אֲנִי	6	3a	Imperative		
רַפְּאֵנִי יְהוָה	6	3b	Imperative		
כִּי נִבְהִלּוּ עַצְמִי:	6	3c	QATAL		
וְנִפְשִׁי נִבְהִלָה מְאֹד	6	4a	QATAL		
וְאַתָּה יְהוָה עַד־מָתִי:	6	4b	Verbless		
שׁוּבָה יְהוָה	6	5a	Imperative		
חֲלֹצָה נַפְשִׁי	6	5b	Imperative		
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי לְמַעַן חֲסֶדְךָ:	6	5c	Imperative		
כִּי אֵין בַּמּוֹת זִכְרְךָ	6	6a	Verbless		
בְּשֹׁאֹל מִי יוֹדֶה־לָּךְ:	6	6b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
יִגְעָתִי בְּאַנְחָתִי	6	7a	QATAL		
אֲשַׁחָה בְּכָל־לַיְלָה מִטָּתִי	6	7b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
בְּדַמְעָתִי עֲרֹשִׁי אִמָּסָה:	6	7c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
עֲשֵׂשָׁה מִכֶּעַס עֵינֵי	6	8a	QATAL		
עֲתָקָה בְּכָל־צוּרֵרִי:	6	8b	QATAL		
סוּרוּ מִמֶּנִּי כָל־פְּעִלֵי אֹן	6	9a	Imperative		
כִּי־שָׁמַע יְהוָה קוֹל בְּכִיִּי:	6	9b	QATAL		
שָׁמַע יְהוָה תַּחֲנָתִי	6	10a	QATAL		

יְהוֹה תַּפְלִי יִקַּח:	6	10b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִבְשׁוּן	6	11a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וַיִּבְהֲלוּ מְאֹד כָּל-אִיבֵי	6	11b	WeYIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִשְׁבּוּ	6	11c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִבְשׁוּ רָגַע:	6	11d	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
שָׁגִיוֹן לְדָוִד אֲשֶׁר-שָׁר עַל- דְּבַר-כּוֹשׁ בֶּן-יְמִינִי לַיהוֹה:	7	1a	QATAL		
יְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵי בְּךָ חֲסִיתִי	7	2a	QATAL		
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִכָּל-דָּדָי	7	2b	Imperative		
וְהַצִּילֵנִי:	7	2c	Imperative		
פְּנִיטָרָךְ כְּאֶרֶיָּה נִפְשִׁי	7	3a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
פָּרַק וְאֵין מַצִּיל:	7	3b	Participle		
יְהוֹה אֱלֹהֵי אִם-עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת	7	4a	QATAL		
אִם-יִשְׁ-עוֹל בְּכַפִּי:	7	4b	Verbless		
אִם-גָּמַלְתִּי שׁוֹלְמִי רַע	7	5a	QATAL		
וְאֶחֱלָצָה צוּרֵי רִיקָם:	7	5b	WAYYIQTOL		
יִרְדֹּף אוֹיֵב נִפְשִׁי	7	6a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וַיִּשָּׁג	7	6b	WeYIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וַיִּרְמָס לְאֶרֶץ חַיִּי	7	6c	WeYIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּכְבוֹדִי לְעַפְרָיִם יִשְׁכֵּן סֵלָה:	7	6d	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
קוֹמָה יְהוֹה בְּאַפָּךְ	7	7a	Imperative		
הַנָּשָׂא בְּעִבְרוֹת צוּרֵי	7	7b	Imperative		
וְעוֹרָה אֵלַי	7	7c	Imperative		
מִשְׁפָּט צוֹיֵת:	7	7d	QATAL		

וְעַד־תִּסְבְּבֶךָ	7	8a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
וְעָלֶיָּהּ לַמָּרוֹם שׁוּבָה:	7	8b	Imperative		
יְהוָה יִדִּין עַמִּים	7	9a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
שִׁפְטֵנִי יְהוָה	7	9b	Imperative		
בְּצִדְקִי	7	9c	Verbless		
וּכְתַמִּי עָלַי:	7	9d	Verbless		
יִגְמַר־נָא רַע רְשָׁעִים	7	10a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
וּתְכַוְּנֵנִי צְדִיק	7	10b	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
וּבְחֵן לְבוֹת וּכְלִיֹּת אֱלֹהִים צְדִיק:	7	10c	Participle		
מִגִּנִּי עַל־אֱלֹהִים	7	11a	Verbless		
מוֹשִׁיעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל:	7	11b	Participle		
אֱלֹהִים שׁוֹפֵט צְדִיק וְאֵל זֶעֶם בְּכָל־יוֹם:	7	12a	Participle		
אִם־לֹא יִשׁוּב	7	13a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
חֲרָבָו יִלְטֹשׁ	7	13b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
קִשְׁתּוֹ דָּרָךְ	7	13c	QATAL		
וּיְכַוְּנֵנִי:	7	13d	WAYYIQTOL		
וְלֹא הֵכִין כְּלֵי־מוֹת	7	14a	QATAL		
חָצְאוּ לְדֹלְקִים יַפְעַל:	7	14b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Preterite YIQTOL
הִנֵּה יַחְבֵּל־אֶזְרָא	7	15a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְהָרָה עֲמָל	7	15b	WeQATAL		
וְיִלְדֵּשׁ שָׁקֶר:	7	15c	WeQATAL		
בֹּרַךְ	7	16a	QATAL		
וַיַּחְפְּרֵהוּ	7	16b	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיַּפֵּל בְּשַׁחַת	7	16c	WAYYIQTOL		
יַפְעַל:	7	16d	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL

יָשׁוּב עֲמָלוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ	7	17a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְעַל קִדְקִדּוֹ חֲמָסוֹ יֵרֵד:	7	17b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אוֹדָה יִהְיֶה בְּצִדְקוֹ	7	18a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאִזְמְרָה שֵׁם־יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ:	7	18b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לְמַנְצָח עַל־הַגִּתִּית מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד:	8	1a	Participle		
יְהוָה אֲדַנִּינוּ מִה־אֲדִיר שִׁמְךָ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ	8	2a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר תִּנֶּה הוֹדְךָ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם:	8	2b	Imperative		
מִפִּי עוֹלָלִים וַיִּנְקִים יִסְדֹּתַי עֹז	8	3a	Participle		
לְמַעַן צוֹרְרֶיךָ	8	3b	QATAL		
לְהַשְׁבִּית אוֹיֵב וּמִתְנַקֵּם:	8	3c	Participle		
בִּי־אַרְאֶה שְׁמִיךָ	8	3d	Participle		
מַעֲשֵׂי אֶצְבְּעֹתֶיךָ	8	4a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
יֵרַח וְכֹכָבִים	8	4b	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר כּוֹנֵנָתָה:	8	4c	Verbless		
מִה־אֲנוֹשׁ	8	4d	QATAL		
בִּי־תִזְכְּרֵנוּ	8	5a	Verbless		
וּבֶן־אָדָם	8	5b	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
כִּי תִפְקְדֵנוּ:	8	5c	Verbless		
וּתְחַסְּרֵהוּ מֵעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים	8	5d	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
וְכָבוֹד וְהָדָר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ:	8	6a	WAYYIQTOL		
תִּמְשִׁילֵהוּ בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ	8	6b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כָּל שְׁתָּה תַּחֲת־רַגְלָיו:	8	7a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
צָנָה וְאַלְפִים כָּלֵם	8	7b	QATAL		
וְגַם בְּהִמּוֹת שָׂדֵי:	8	8a	Verbless		
צִפּוֹר שָׁמַיִם וְדֹגֵי הָאָרֶץ	8	8b	Verbless		
עֵבֶר אֲרָחוֹת יָמִים:	8	9a	Verbless		
	8	9b	Participle		

יְהוָה אֲדִינֶנּוּ מִה־אֲדִיר שְׁמֶךָ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:	8	10a	Verbless		
לִמְנַצַּח עַל־מֹות לִפְנֵי מִזְמֹר לְדֹד:	9	1a	Participle		
אֹדָה יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבִּי	9	2a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲסַפְּרָה כָל־גִּפְּלֹאתֶיךָ:	9	2b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשַׁמְחָה	9	3a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאֶעֱלֶצָה בְּךָ	9	3b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲזַמְרָה שְׁמֶךָ עֲלִיּוֹן:	9	3c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
בְּשׁוּב־אֹיְבֵי אַחֲזֹר	9	4a	Infinitive Construct		
יִכְשְׁלוּ	9	4b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְיֹאבְדּוּ מִפְּנֶיךָ:	9	4c	WeYIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־עֲשִׂיתָ מִשְׁפָּטִי וְדִינִי	9	5a	QATAL		
יִשְׁבֹּת לְכֹסֵּא שׁוֹפֵט צֶדֶק:	9	5b	QATAL		
גַּעֲרַת גּוֹיִם	9	6a	QATAL		
אֲבִדְתָּ רָשָׁע	9	6b	QATAL		
שָׁמַם מַחִית לְעוֹלָם וְעַד:	9	6c	QATAL		
הָאֹיֵב תָּמוּ חַרְבּוֹת לִנְצַח	9	7a	QATAL		
וְעָרִים נִתְּשָׁה	9	7b	QATAL		
אֲבָד זְכָרָם הַמָּה:	9	7c	QATAL		
וַיְהִי לְעוֹלָם יֹשֵׁב	9	8a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כּוֹנֵן לַמִּשְׁפָּט כְּסָאוֹ:	9	8b	QATAL		
וְהוּא יִשְׁפֹּט־תֵּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק	9	9a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יִדִּין לְאַמִּים בְּמִישְׁרִים:	9	9b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיְהִי יְהוָה מְשֻׁבָּ לְדָד	9	10a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מְשֻׁבָּ לְעֵתוֹת בְּצָרָה:	9	10b	Verbless		
וַיִּבְטְחוּ בְּךָ יוֹדְעֵי שְׁמֶךָ	9	11a	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי לֹא־עֲזַבְתָּ דְרָשֶׁיךָ יְהוָה:	9	11b	QATAL		
זָמְרוּ לַיהוָה	9	12a	Imperative		
יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן	9	12b	Participle		

הִגִּידוּ בַעֲמִים עֲלֵי־לִוְתֵי:	9	12c	Imperative		
כִּי־דֹרֵשׁ דָּמִים אוֹתָם זָכָר	9	13a	QATAL		
לֹא־שָׁכַח צַעֲקַת עֲנִיִּים:	9	13b	QATAL		
חֲנֻנִי יְהוָה	9	14a	Imperative		
רְאֵה עֲנִי	9	14b	Imperative		
מִשְׁנָאִי	9	14c	Participle		
מְרוֹמְמֵי מִשְׁעָרֵי מוֹת:	9	14d	Participle		
לְמַעַן אֲסַפְּרָה	9	15a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Permission
כָּל־תְּהִלָּתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעְרֵי בֵּית צִיּוֹן	9	15b	Verbless		
אֲגִלָּה בִּישׁוּעָתְךָ:	9	15c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Permission
טִבְעוּ גוֹיִם בְּשַׁחַת	9	16a	QATAL		
עֲשׂוּ	9	16b	QATAL		
בְּרִשְׁתְּזוֹן טָמְנוּ	9	16c	QATAL		
נִלְכְּדָה רַגְלָם:	9	16d	QATAL		
נֹדַעַ יְהוָה	9	17a	QATAL		
מִשְׁפָּט עֲשֵׂה	9	17b	QATAL		
בְּפַעַל כְּפִיו נֹקֵשׁ רָשָׁע	9	17c	Participle		
הַגִּיזוֹן סָלָה:	9	17d	Verbless		
יָשׁוּבוּ רָשָׁעִים לְשִׂאוֹלָה	9	18a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כָּל־גּוֹיִם שְׂכָחִי אֱלֹהִים:	9	18b	Verbless		
כִּי לֹא לִנְצַח יִשְׁכַּח אֲבִיוֹן	9	19a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תִּקְנוֹת עֲנִיִּים תֹּאבֵד לָעַד:	9	19b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
קוֹמָה יְהוָה	9	20a	Imperative		
אֶל־יַעֲזֹ אֲנוֹשׁ	9	20b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
יִשְׁפְּטוּ גּוֹיִם עַל־פָּנֶיךָ:	9	20c	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
שִׁיתָה יְהוָה	9	21a	Imperative		
מוֹרָה לָהֶם יִדְעוּ גּוֹיִם	9	21b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
אֲנוֹשׁ הֵמָּה סָלָה:	9	21c	Verbless		

לָמָּה יִהְיֶה תַעֲמֹד בְּרָחוֹק	10	1a	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
תַּעֲלִים לַעֲתוֹת בַּצָּרָה:	10	1b	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
בְּגָאוֹת רָשָׁע יִדְלַק עָנִי	10	2a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִתְפָּשׂוּ בְּמִזְמוֹת	10	2b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
זוֹ חֲשָׁבוּ:	10	2c	QATAL		
כִּי־הִלֵּל רָשָׁע עַל־תַּאֲוַת נַפְשׁוֹ	10	3a	Participle		
וּבִצֵּעַ בִּרְדָּ	10	3b	QATAL		
נֶאֱמַן יְהוָה:	10	3c	QATAL		
רָשָׁע כְּגִבָּה אָפוּ בַל־יִדְרֹשׁ	10	4a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Predictive
אֵין אֱלֹהִים כָּל־מִזְמוֹתָיו:	10	4b	Verbless		
יַחֲלוּ דְרָכּוֹ בְּכָל־עֵת	10	5a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִרוֹם מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ מִגִּדּוֹ	10	5b	Verbless		
כָּל־צוֹרָרָיו יִפִּיחַ בָּהֶם:	10	5c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אָמַר בָּלְבוּ	10	6a	QATAL		
בַּל־אָמוּט	10	6b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
לְדָר וְדָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־בָרַע:	10	6c	Verbless		
אֱלֹה פִּיהוּ מָלֵא וּמִרְמוֹת וְתֵד	10	7a	QATAL		
תַּחַת לְשׁוֹנוֹ עֵמֶל וְאוֹן:	10	7b	Verbless		
יֵשֵׁב בְּמֵאֲרֵב חֲצִרִים	10	8a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
בְּמִסְתָּרִים יִהְיֶה נֶקִי	10	8b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
עֵינָיו לַחֲלֻכָּה יִצְפָּנוּ:	10	8c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יֵאָרֵב בְּמִסְתָּר כְּאֲרִיָּה בְּסֻכָּה	10	9a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

יִאָרֵב לַחֲטוֹף עָנִי	10	9b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִחַטֵּף עָנִי בְּמִשְׁכּוֹ בְּרִשְׁתּוֹ:	10	9c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְדָבָה	10	10a	WeQATAL		
יִשָּׁח	10	10b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְנִפְל בְּעִצּוֹמָיו חֲלָכָאִים:	10	10c	WeQATAL		
אָמַר בְּלָבוֹ	10	11a	QATAL		
שָׁכַח * אֵל	10	11b	QATAL		
הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו	10	11c	QATAL		
בִּלְרְאָה לִנְצַח:	10	11d	QATAL		
קוֹמָה יְהוָה	10	12a	Imperative		
אֵל נִשָּׂא יָדָי	10	12b	Imperative		
אֶל־תִּשְׁכַּח עֲנִיִּים:	10	12c	(Lo) YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
עַל־מָה נֶאֱמַר רָשָׁע אֱלֹהִים	10	13a	QATAL		
אָמַר בְּלָבוֹ	10	13b	QATAL		
לֹא תִדְרֹשׁ:	10	13c	(Lo) YIQTOL	Directive	Predictive
רֵאתָה	10	14a	QATAL		
כִּי־אַתָּה עָמַל וְכַעַס תִּבְטֵן לַתֵּת בְּיָדְךָ עָלָיָהּ	10	14b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יַעֲזֹב חֲלָכָהּ	10	14c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יָתוֹם אַתָּה הִיֵּית עוֹזָר:	10	14d	QATAL		
שֹׁבֵר זְרוֹעַ רָשָׁע	10	15a	Imperative		
זָרַע תִּדְרֹשׁ־* רָשָׁעוֹ	10	15b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בִּלְתִּמְצָא:	10	15c	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
יְהוָה מִלֶּךְ עוֹלָם וְעַד	10	16a	Verbless		
אֲבָדוּ גוֹיִם מֵאֶרֶצוֹ:	10	16b	QATAL		
תִּאֲזָת עֲנִיִּים שְׁמַעַת יְהוָה	10	17a	QATAL		
תִּכְיֶן לָבִים	10	17b	YIQTOL	Directive	Predictive

תִּקְשִׁיב אֲזַנְךָ:	10	17c	YIQTOL	Directive	Predictive
לִשְׁפֹּט יְתוֹם וְדָד	10	18a	Infinitive Construct		
בְּלִי־וֹסִיף עוֹד	10	18b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
לַעֲרֹךְ אֲנוֹשׁ מִן־הָאָרֶץ:	10	18c	Infinitive Construct		
לִמְנַצֵּחַ לְדוֹד	11	1a			
בִּיהוּהָ חֲסִיתִי		1b	QATAL		
אֵיךְ תֵּאמְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי		1c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
נִדְדוּ הָרֶכֶם צִפּוֹר:		1d	Imperative		
כִּי הִנֵּה הָרָשָׁעִים יִדְרֹכּוּ קִשָּׁת	11	2a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כּוֹנְנֵי חֶצֶם עַל־יָתֵר		2b	QATAL		
לִירוֹת בְּמוֹ־אֶפֶל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:		2c	Infinitive Construct		
כִּי הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ יֵהֱרִסוּן	11	3a	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
צִדִּיק מִה־פֶּעַל:		3b	QATAL		
יְהוּהָ בְּהִיבֵל קִדְשׁוֹ	11	4a	Verbless		
יְהוּהָ בְּשָׁמַיִם כָּסֹא עֵינָיו יִחְזוּ		4b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
עֹפֵפִיו יִבְחֲנוּ בְּנֵי אָדָם:		4c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
יְהוּהָ צִדִּיק יִבְחֵן וְרָשָׁע	11	5a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
וְאֵהָב חֲמֵס		5b	Participle		
שֹׁנְאָה נִפְשׁוֹ:		5c	QATAL		
יִמְטֵר עַל־רָשָׁעִים פָּחִים אִשׁ וּגְפָרִית וְרוּחַ	11	6a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
זֹלַעְפוֹת מִנֵּת כּוֹסִם:		6b	Verbless		
כִּי־צִדִּיק יְהוּהָ צִדְקוֹת אֵהָב	11	7a	QATAL		
יֵשֶׁר יִחְזוּ פְּנִימוֹ:		7b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לִמְנַצֵּחַ עַל־הַשְּׂמִינִית מִזְמוֹר לְדוֹד:	12	1a			
הוֹשִׁיעָה יְהוּהָ	12	2a	Imperative		
כִּי־גִמַּר חֲסִיד		2b	QATAL		
כִּי־פָסוּ אֲמוֹנִים מִבְּנֵי אָדָם:		2c	QATAL		

שׁוֹאֵל יִדְבְּרוּ אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ שֶׁפֶת חִלְקוֹת	12	3a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
בָּלֵב וְלֵב יִדְבְּרוּ:		3b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִכְרֹת יִהְיֶה כָּל־שִׁפְתֵי חִלְקוֹת	12	4a	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL expressing a wish
לְשׁוֹן מְדַבֶּרֶת גְּדֻלוֹת:		4b	Participle		
אֲשֶׁר אָמְרוּ	12	5a	QATAL		
לְלִשְׁנֵנוּ נִגְבִּיר שִׁפְתֵינוּ אֲתָנוּ		5b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִי אֲדוֹן לָנוּ:		5c	Verbless		
מִשְׁדַּע עֲנִיִּים מֵאֲנֶקֶת אֲבִיוֹנִים עֲתָה אָקוּם	12	6a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
יֹאמֶר יְהוָה		6b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֲשִׁית בְּיִשָּׁע		6c	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
יִפְיֵחַ לוֹ:		6d	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
אֲמָרוֹת יְהוָה אֲמָרוֹת טְהָרוֹת בְּסֶף צָרוֹף בְּעֵלִיל לְאָרֶץ	12	7a	Participle		
מִזְקֶק שְׁבַעֲתִים:		7b	Participle		
אֲתָה־יְהוָה תִּשְׁמֶרֶם	12	8a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תִּצְרְנוּ מִן־הַדּוֹר זֶה לְעוֹלָם:		8b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
סָבִיב רְשָׁעִים יִתְהַלְכוּ	12	9a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כָּרָם זֵלוֹת לְבָנֵי אָדָם:		9b	QATAL		
לְמַנְצָח מְזֻמּוֹר לְדוֹד:	13	1a			
עַד־אָנָּה יִהְיֶה תִּשְׁכַּחֲנִי נֶצַח	13	2a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	YIQTOL expressing a wish
עַד־אָנָּה תִּסְתִּיר אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי:		2b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	YIQTOL expressing a wish
עַד־אָנָּה אֲשִׁית עֲצוֹת בְּנִפְשִׁי יִגּוֹן בְּלִבִּי יוֹמָם	13	3a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	YIQTOL expressing a wish

עַד-אַנָּה יְרוֹם אִיבִי עָלַי:		3b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	YIQTOL expressing a wish
הַבִּיטָה	13	4a	Imperative		
עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי		4b	Imperative		
הָאִירָה עֵינַי		4c	Imperative		
פֶּן-אִישָׁן הַמּוֹת:		4d	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
פֶּן-יֹאמַר אִיבִי	13	5a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
יִכְלְתִּיו		5b	QATAL		
צָרִי יִגְּלֹוּ		5c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
כִּי אָמוּט:		5d	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Potentiality
וְאַנִּי בְּחִסְדְּךָ בְּטַחֲתִי	13	6a	QATAL		
יִגַּל לִפִּי בִישׁוּעָתְךָ		6b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשִׁירָה לַיהוָה		6c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי גָמַל עָלַי:		6d	QATAL		
לְמַנְצָח לְדָוִד	14	1a	Participle		
אָמַר נָבַל בָּלְבוּ אֵין אֱלֹהִים		1b	QATAL		
הַשְׁחִיתוּ		1c	QATAL		
הַתְּעִיבוּ עָלֶיךָ		1d	QATAL		
אֵין עֲשֵׂה-טוֹב:		1e	Participle		
הִזֵּה מִשְׁמִים	14	2a	QATAL		
הַשְׁקִיף עַל-בְּנֵי-אָדָם		2b	Participle		
לִרְאוֹת הֵיטֵשׁ מִשְׁכֵּיל		2c	Participle		
דִּרְשׁ אֶת-אֱלֹהִים:		2d	Participle		
הַכֵּל סֵר	14	3a	QATAL		
יַחֲדוּ נִאֲלַחוּ		3b	QATAL		
אֵין עֲשֵׂה-טוֹב		3c	Participle		
אֵין גַּם-אַחַד:		3d	Verbless		
הֲלֹא יָדְעוּ כָּל-פְּעֻלֵי אֹן	14	4a	QATAL		
אֲכָלִי		4b	QATAL		
עָמִי אֲכָלוּ לֶחֶם		4c	QATAL		
יְהוָה לֹא קָרָאוּ:		4d	QATAL		
שֵׁם פָּחַדוּ פָּחַד	14	5a	QATAL		

כִּי־אֱלֹהִים בְּדֹר צַדִּיק:		5b	Verbless		
עֲצֹת־עֲנִי תִבְיֹשׁ	14	6a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Volition
כִּי יִהְיֶה מַחֲסֵהוּ:		6b	Verbless		
מִי יִתֵּן מַצִּיּוֹן יְשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשׁוּב יִהְיֶה שְׁבוּת עָמוֹ	14	7a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
בְּשׁוּב יִהְיֶה שְׁבוּת עָמוֹ		7b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יִשְׁמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל:		7c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד	15	1a	Participle		
יִהְיֶה מִי־יִגּוֹר בְּאֵהֶלְךָ		1b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
מִי־יִשְׁכֹּן בְּהַר קֹדֶשְׁךָ:		1c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
הוֹלֵךְ תָּמִים	15	2a	Participle		
וּפֹעֵל צֶדֶק		2b	Participle		
וְדַבֵּר אֱמֶת בְּלִבּוֹ:		2c	WeQATAL		
לֹא־רָגַל עַל־לִשְׁנוֹ	15	3a	QATAL		
לֹא־עָשָׂה לְרַעְהוּ רָעָה		3b	QATAL		
וְחָרְפָּה לֹא־נִשְׂא עַל־קִרְבּוֹ:		3c	QATAL		
נִבְזָה בְּעֵינָיו	15	4a	Participle		
נִמְאָס וְאֶת־יְרֵאִי יִהְיֶה יִכְבֵּד		4b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
נִשְׁבַּע לַהֲרַע		4c	QATAL		
וְלֹא יִמַּר:		4d	(We-lo) YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
בְּסִפּוֹ לֹא־נָתַן בְּנִשְׁךָ	15	5a	QATAL		
וְשָׁחַד עַל־נִקְי לֹא לִקַּח		5b	QATAL		
עָשָׂה־אֱלֹהָ		5c	Participle		
לֹא יִמּוֹט לְעוֹלָם:		5d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִכְתָּם לְדָוִד	16	1a	Verbless		
שְׁמִרְנִי אֵל		1b	Imperative		
כִּי־חֲסִיתִי בְּךָ:		1c	Participle		
אִמְרַת לִי־יִהְיֶה	16	2a	QATAL		
אֲדַנִּי אֶתָּה		2b	Verbless		

טוֹבְתִי בַל־עֲלִידָה:		2c	Verbless		
לְקַדּוּשִׁים	16	3a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֶרֶץ הַמָּה		3b	Verbless		
וְאֲדִירִי כָל־חֲפְצֵי־בָם:		3c	Verbless		
יִרְבּוּ עֲצוֹתֶם	16	4a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אַחֲרֵי מֵהָרָו		4b	QATAL		
בַּל־אֲסִידָה נִסְבִּיהֶם מָדָם		4c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וּבַל־אֲשָׂא אֶת־שְׁמוֹתֶם עַל־שִׁפְתֵי:		4d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יִהְיֶה מִנְתַּחֲלָקִי וְכוֹסִי	16	5a	Verbless		
אַתָּה תֹּמִיד גּוֹרְלִי:		5b	Participle		
חֲבָלִים נִפְלוּ־לִי בִנְעָמִים	16	6a	QATAL		
אֶף־נִחַלְתָּ שְׁפָרָה עָלַי:		6b	QATAL		
אֲבָרֶךְ אֶת־יְהוָה	16	7a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצֹנִי		7b	QATAL		
אֶף־לִילּוֹת יִסְרוּנִי כְלִיּוֹתַי:		7c	QATAL		
שְׁוִיתִי יְהוָה לְנִגְדֵי תָמִיד	16	8a	QATAL		
כִּי מִימִינִי בַל־אֲמוּט:		8b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
לִבִּי שָׁמַח לְבִי	16	9a	QATAL		
וַיִּגַּל כְּבוֹדִי		9b	WAYYIQTOL		
אֶף־בְּשָׂרִי יִשְׁכֹּן לִבְטָח:		9c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי לֹא־תַעֲזֹב נַפְשִׁי לְשָׂאוֹל	16	10a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לֹא־תִתֵּן חֲסִידֶיךָ לְרָאוֹת שְׁחָת:		10b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תּוֹדִיעֵנִי אֶרֶח חַיִּים שְׂבַע שְׁמָחוֹת אֶת־פְּנִיךָ	16	11a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
נִעְמּוֹת בִּימִינְךָ נֶצַח:		11b	Verbless		
תִּפְלֶה לְדָוִד	17	1a	Verbless		
שְׁמָעָה יְהוָה צֶדֶק		1b	QATAL		
הַקְשִׁיבָה רִנָּתִי		1c	Imperative		
הַאֲזִינָה תִּפְלֶתִי		1d	Imperative		
בְּלֹא שִׁפְתֵי מִרְמָה:		1e	Verbless		

מִלְפָּנֶיךָ מִשְׁפָּטִי יֵצֵא	17	2a	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
עֵינֶיךָ תַּחֲזִינָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל:		2b	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בְּחִנְתָּ לְבִי	17	3a	QATAL		
פָּקַדְתָּ לִּילָה		3b	QATAL		
צִרְפָּתָנִי		3c	QATAL		
בַּל־תִּמָּצֵא		3d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
זִמְתִּי		3e	QATAL		
בַּל־יַעֲבֹר־פִּי:		3f	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לַפְעֻלֹת אָדָם בְּדָבָר שְׁפָתֶיךָ	17	4a	Verbless		
אֲנִי שְׁמַרְתִּי אֲרָחוֹת פְּרִיץ:		4b	QATAL		
תִּמְדֹּךָ אֲשֶׁר־י בְּמַעֲלֹתֶיךָ	17	5a	Infinitive		
בַּל־נִמְוָטוּ פְּעָמָי:		5b	QATAL		
אֲנִי־קִרְאתֶיךָ	17	6a	QATAL		
כִּי־תַעֲנֵנִי אֵל		6b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
הִט־אֲזָנְךָ לִי		6c	Imperative		
שָׁמַע אִמְרָתִי:		6d	Imperative		
הַפְּלֵה חֲסִדֶיךָ	17	7a	Imperative		
מוֹשִׁיעַ חֹסִים		7b	Participle		
מִמֶּתְקוֹמָמִים בְּיָמֶיךָ:		7c	Participle		
שְׁמַרְנִי כְּאִשּׁוֹן בַּת־עֵין	17	8a	Imperative		
בְּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ תִּסְתִּירֵנִי:		8b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
מִפְּנֵי רָשָׁעִים זֶו שְׁדוֹנִי	17	9a	QATAL		
אִבִּי בְּנִפְשׁ יִקִּיפוּ עָלַי:		9b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
חֲלַבְמוֹ סָגְרוּ	17	10a	QATAL		
פִּימוֹ דָּבְרוּ בְּגִאוֹת:		10b	QATAL		
אֲשֶׁר־יָנוּ עֵתָה סָבְבוּנִי	17	11a	QATAL		
עֵינֵיהֶם יִשִּׁיתוּ לַנְּטוֹת בְּאַרְצִי:		11b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

דְּמִינוּ בְּאַרְיָה יִכְסֹף לְטָרוֹף	17	12a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְכִכְפִּיר יֵשֵׁב בְּמִסְתָּרִים:		12b	Participle		
קוֹמָה יְהוֹה	17	13a	Imperative		
קִדְמָה פָּנָיו		13b	Imperative		
הִכְרִיעָהוּ		13c	Imperative		
פִּלְטָה נִפְשֵׁי מְרָשָׁע חֲרָבָהּ:		13d	Imperative		
מִמֹּתֵי יָדָהּ יְהוֹה מִמֹּתֵי מִחֶלֶד חֶלֶקֶם בְּחַיִּים	17	14a	Verbsless		
וְצִפְיָנָה		14b	Participle		
תִּמְלֹא בִטְנִים		14c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
יִשְׁבְּעוּ בָנִים		14d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
וְהִנִּיחוּ יָתָרִם לְעוֹלָלֵיהֶם:		14e	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
אֲנִי בַצֵּדֶק אֶחְזָה פָּנָיִךְ	17	15a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשַׁבְּעָה בְּהִקְיִן תְּמוֹנָתְךָ:		15b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
לְמִנְצַח לְעַבְדֵּי יְהוֹה לְדוֹד	18	1a	Paritciple		
אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר לִיהוֹה אֶת־ דְּבָרֵי הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת		1b	<i>QATAL</i>		
בְּיוֹם הַצִּיל־יְהוֹה אוֹתוֹן מִכָּף כָּל־אֵיבָיו וּמִיַּד שָׂאוֹל:		1c	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַיֹּאמֶר	18	2a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
אֶרְחֲמֶךָ יְהוֹה חֲזָקִי:		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוֹה סִלְעִי וּמִצוֹדָתִי וּמִפְּלִטִי אֵלַי צוּרִי	18	3a	Verbless [Participle]		
אֶחְסֶה־בּוֹ		3b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִגִּנִּי וּקְרוֹן־יִשְׁעֵי מִשְׁגָּבִי:		3c	Verbless		
מֵהֶלֶל אֶקְרָא יְהוֹה	18	4a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וּמִן־אֵיבֵי אֲנִשְׁעֶ:		4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֶפְפוּנִי חֲבַל־מוֹת	18	5a	<i>QATAL</i>		

וְנִחַלִּי בְלִיעַל יִבְעֶתוֹנִי:		5b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
חֲבִלִּי שְׂאוֹל סִבְבוֹנִי	18	6a	QATAL		
קִדְמוֹנִי מוֹקְשֵׁי מוֹת:		6b	QATAL		
בְּצֶרֶלְיָן אֶקְרָא יְהוָה	18	7a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאֶל־אֱלֹהֵי אֲשׁוּנַע		7b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִשְׁמַע מֵהִיכָלוֹ קוֹלִי		7c	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְשׁוּעַתִּי לִפְנֵיָו תָּבוֹא בְּאֲזִנוֹ:		7d	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְתִגַּעַשׁ	18	8a	WAYYIQTOL		
וְתִרְעַשׁ הָאָרֶץ		8b	WAYYIQTOL		
וּמוֹסְדֵי הָרִים יִרְגְּזוּ		8c	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְיִתְגַּעֲשׂוּ		8d	WAYYIQTOL		
כִּי־תִרְחַה לוֹ:		8e	QATAL		
עֲלֶה עֲשֹׁן בָּאֶפֹּ	18	9a	QATAL		
וְאֶש־מִפִּי תֹאכַל		9b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
גְּחָלִים בְּעֶרְוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ:		9c	QATAL		
וַיֵּט שָׁמַיִם	18	10a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיִּרֶד		10b	WAYYIQTOL		
וְעֶרְפֹּל תַּחַת רַגְלָיו:		10c	Verbless		
וַיִּרְכַּב עַל־כְּרוֹב	18	11a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיַּעֲף		11b	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיֵּדָא עַל־כַּנְפֵי־רוּחַ:		11c	WAYYIQTOL		
יֵשֶׁת חֶשֶׁד סֶתְרוֹ סִבִּיבוֹתָיו סִכְתּוֹ	18	12a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
חֲשַׁכְת־מַיִם עָבִי שְׁחָקִים:		12b	Verbless		
מִנְגָּה נִגְדּוּ עָבִיו עָבְרוּ	18	13a	QATAL		
בָּרָד וְגִחְלִי־אֵשׁ:		13b	Verbless		
וַיִּרְעַם בְּשָׁמַיִם יְהוָה	18	14a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַעֲלִיזוּ יִתְּנוּ קוֹלָם		14b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
בָּרָד וְגִחְלִי־אֵשׁ:		14c	Verbless		

וַיִּשְׁלַח חֲצִיו	18	15a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיִּפְּצֵם		15b	WAYYIQTOL		
וּבִרְקִים רָב		15c	QATAL		
וַיִּהְיוּ:		15d	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיֵּרְאוּ אֲפִיקֵי מַיִם	18	16a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיִּגְלוּ מוֹסְדוֹת תִּבְלָה		16b	WAYYIQTOL		
מִגִּיעַרְתָּךְ יְהוָה					
מִנְשַׁמַּת רוּחַ אֲפָדָה:		16c	Verbless		
וַיִּשְׁלַח מִמָּרוֹם	18	17a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִקְחֵנִי		17b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִמְשְׁנִי מִמַּיִם רַבִּים:		17c	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִצְלֵנִי מֵאִיבֵי עֹז	18	18a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וּמִשְׁנָאִי		18b	Participle		
כִּי־אֲמַצּוּ מִמֶּנִּי:		18c	QATAL		
יִקְדְּמוּנִי בְיוֹם־אִידִי	18	19a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וַיְהִי־יְהוָה לְמַשְׁעַן לִי:		19b	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיּוֹצִיאֵנִי לְמָרְחָב	18	20a	WAYYIQTOL		
יַחֲלִצֵנִי		20b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כִּי חָפֵץ בִּי:		20c	QATAL		
יִגְמְלֵנִי יְהוָה בְּצִדְקָי	18	21a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כָּבֹד יָדַי יָשִׁיב לִי:		21b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כִּי־שִׁמְרָתִי דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה	18	22a	QATAL		
וְלֹא־רָשַׁעְתִּי מֵאֲלֹהֵי:		22b	QATAL		
כִּי כָל־מִשְׁפָּטָיו לִנְגֹדִי	18	23a	Verbless		
וַחֲקֹתָיו לֹא־אָסִיר מִנִּי:		23b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאֵהִי תָמִים עִמּוֹ	18	24a	WAYYIQTOL		
וְאֶשְׁתַּמֵּר מֵעוֹנֵי:		24b	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיֵּשֶׁב־יְהוָה לִי בְצִדְקָי	18	25a	WAYYIQTOL		
כָּבֹד יָדַי לִנְגֹד עֵינָיו:		25b	Verbless		
עַם־חֲסִיד תִּתְחַסֵּד	18	26a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

עִם־גִּבֹּר תָּמִים תִּתָּמָם:		26b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
עִם־נֹבֵר תִּתְּבָרֵר	18	27a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְעִם־עֵקֶשׁ תִּתְּפֹתֵל:		27b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־אַתָּה עִם־עֲנִי תוֹשִׁיעַ	18	28a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְעֵינַיִם רָמוֹת תִּשְׁפִּיל:		28b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־אַתָּה תִּאִיר נְרִי	18	29a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִגְיָה חֲשָׁפִי:		29b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־בֶדֶךְ אֶרֶץ גְּדוּד	18	30a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וּבְאֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹלֶג־שׁוּר:		30b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
הָאֵל־תָּמִים דָּרְכוּ אִמְרַת־ יְהוָה צְרוּפָה	18	31a	Participle		
מִגֵּן הוּא לְכָל־הַחַסִּים בּוֹ:		31b	Participle		
כִּי מִי אֱלֹהִים מִבְּלַעֲדֵי יְהוָה	18	32a	Verbless		
וּמִי צוּר זולָתִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ:		32b	Verbless		
הָאֵל הַמְּאַזְרֵנִי חֵיל	18	33a	Participle		
וַיִּתֵּן תָּמִים דֶּרֶכִּי:		33b	WAYYIQTOL		
מִשׁוּהָ רַגְלִי כְּאֵילוֹת	18	34a	Participle		
וְעַל בְּמַתִּי יַעֲמִידֵנִי:		34b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִלֶּמֶד יָדִי לְמִלְחָמָה	18	35a	Participle		
וַנַּחֲתָה קֶשֶׁת־נַחוּשָׁה זְרוּעֹתִי:		35b	WeQATAL		
וַתִּתֶּן־לִי מִגֵּן יִשְׁעֶךָ	18	36a	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיִּמְיֶנֶךָ תִּסְעִידֵנִי		36b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

וְעֹנֹתָךְ תִּרְבֶּנִי:		36c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
תִּרְחִיב צַעְדֵי תַחְתִּי	18	37a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְלֹא מַעֲדוֹ קִרְסָלִי:		37b	QATAL		
אֶרְדֹּף אוֹיְבִי	18	38a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאֲשִׁיגֶם		38b	WeYIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְלֹא-אָשׁוּב עַד-כָּלוֹתָם:		38c	(We-lo) YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
אֶמְחָצֵם	18	39a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְלֹא-יִכְלוּ קוֹם		39b	(We-lo) YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִפְּלוּ תַּחַת רַגְלִי:		39c	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְתֹאזְרֵנִי חֵיל לַמִּלְחָמָה	18	40a	WAYYIQTOL		
תִּכְרִיעַ קַמִּי תַחְתִּי:		40b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאֵיבִי נִתְּתָה לִי עֶרֶף	18	41a	QATAL		
וּמִשְׁנָאִי אֶצְמִיתָם:		41b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
יִשְׁוּעוּ וְאִין-מוֹשִׁיעַ	18	42a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
עַל-יְהוָה וְלֹא עֲנָם:		42b	QATAL		
וְאֲשַׁחֲקֶם בְּעַפָּר עַל- פְּנֵי-רוּחַ	18	43a	WeYIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
בְּטִיט חוּצוֹת אֲרִיקָם:		43b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
תִּפְּלֹטֵנִי מֵרִיבֵי עָם	18	44a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
תִּשְׁימֵנִי לְרֹאשׁ גּוֹיִם		44b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
עִם לֹא-יִדְעָתִי		44c	QATAL		
יַעֲבֹדוּנִי:		44d	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
לְשִׁמְעַ אֲזֹן יִשְׁמְעוּ לִי	18	45a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
בְּנִי-נִכְרַ יִכְחֹשׁוּ-לִי:		45b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
בְּנִי-נִכְרַ יִבְּלוּ	18	46a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וַיַּחֲרֹגוּ מִמִּסְגְּרוֹתֵיהֶם:		46b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
חֵי-יְהוָה וּבְרוּךְ צוּרִי	18	47a	Participle		
וַיְרוֹם אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:		47b	YIQTOL		

הָאֵל הַנוֹתֵן נֶקְמֹת לִי	18	48a	Participle		
וַיְדַבֵּר עִמִּים תַּחֲתִי:		48b	WAYYIQTOL		
מִפְּלִטִי מֵאִיבִי	18	49a	Participle		
אֲףִי מִזְקָמִי תְרוֹמָמִנִי		49b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
מֵאִישׁ חָמֵס תַּצִּילֵנִי:		49c	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
עַל־כֵּן אוֹדֶךָ בְּגוֹיִם יְהוָה	18	50a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
וּלְשִׁמְךָ אֲזַמְּרָה:		50b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Predictive
מִגְדֹּל יְשׁוּעוֹת מֶלֶכְךָ	18	51a	Participle		
וַעֲשֵׂה חֶסֶד לְמַשִּׁיחוֹ לְדָוִד וּלְזֶרְעוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם:		51b	Participle		
לְמַנְצִיחַ מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	19	1a	Participle		
הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל	19	2a	Participle		
וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מַגִּיד הַרְקִיעַ:		2b	Participle		
יוֹם לַיּוֹם יִבֶּיעַ אָמַר	19	3a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
וּלְיָלָה לְלַיְלָה יַחְוֶה־דַּעַת:		3b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
אִין־אָמַר וְאִין דְּבָרִים	19	4a	Verbless		
בְּלִי נִשְׁמַע קוֹלָם:		4b	Participle		
בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יֵצֵא קוֹם וּבְקֶצֶה תִּבֵּל מְלִיָּהֶם	19	5a	QATAL		
לְשִׁמְשׁ שָׁם־אֵהָל בָּהֶם:		5b	QATAL		
וְהוּא בָּחַתָּן יֵצֵא מִחֻפָּתוֹ	19	6a	Participle		
יֵשִׁישׁ כְּגִבּוֹר לְרוּץ אֶרֶח:		6b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצְאוֹ וּתְקוּפָתוֹ עַל־קִצּוֹתָם	19	7a	Verbless		
וְאִין נִסְתָּר מִחֻמָּתוֹ:		7b	Participle		
תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה מְשִׁיבַת נֶפֶשׁ	19	8a	Participle		
עֲדוֹת יְהוָה נֶאֱמָנָה		8b	Participle		

מִחְכֵּמֶת פָּתִי:		8c	Participle		
פִּקְוֵי יְהוָה יִשְׁרִים מִשְׁמַחֲלֵל	19	9a	Participle		
מִצּוֹת יְהוָה בָּרָה מְאִירַת עֵינַיִם:		9b	Participle		
יֵרָאֶת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה עוֹמֶדֶת לְעַד מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת	19	10a	Participle		
צִדְקוֹ יַחֲדוּ:		10b	<i>QATAL</i>		
הִנְחֲמִדִים מִזֶּהָב וּמִפָּז רַב	19	11a	Participle		
וּמִתּוֹקִים מִדְּבַשׁ וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים:		11b	Verbless		
גַּם־עֲבָדָךְ נִזְהָר בָּהֶם	19	12a	Participle		
בְּשִׁמְרָם יַעֲקֹב רַב:		12b	Infinitive Construct		
שְׂגִיאוֹת מִי־יָבִין	19	13a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
מִנְסַתְרוֹת נִקְנִי:		13b	Imperative		
גַּם מִזִּדִּים חֲשֹׁךְ עֲבָדָךְ	19	14a	Imperative		
אֶל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי		14b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
אִזְ אֵיתָם		14c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וְנִקִּיתִי מִפֶּשַׁע רַב:		14d	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
יְהִי לְרִצּוֹן אֲמַר־ פִּי וְהִגִּינוּ לִבִּי לִפְגִּיף	19	15a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי:		15b	Verbless (participle)		
לְמַנְצַח מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	20	1a	Participle		
יַעֲנֶךָ יְהוָה בַּיּוֹם צָרָה	20	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִשְׁגָּבֶךָ שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב:		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִשְׁלַח־עֲזָרָךְ מִקֹּדֶשׁ	20	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity

וּמְצִיּוֹן יִסְעֶדֶךָ:		3b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִזְכֹּר כָּל־מִנְחָתְךָ	20	4a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְעוֹלָתְךָ יִדְשָׁנָה סֵלָה:		4b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִתֶּן־לְךָ כָּל־בָּבֶדְךָ	20	5a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְכָל־עֲצָתְךָ יִמְלֵא:		5b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
נִרְנָנָה בִּישׁוּעָתְךָ	20	6a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּבָשִׂם־אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִדְגָל		6b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִמְלֵא יְהוָה כָּל־מִשְׁאָלוֹתֶיךָ:		6c	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
עֲתָה יִדְעָתִי	20	7a	QATAL		
כִּי הוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה מְשִׁיחוֹ		7b	QATAL		
יַעֲנֶהוּ מְשִׁמִּי קִדְשׁוֹ		7c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּגִבּוֹרֹת יֵשַׁע יִמִּינוּ:		7d	Verbless		
אֱלֹהֵי בָרֶכֶב וְאֱלֹהֵי בַסּוּסִים	20	8a	Verbless		
וְאִנְחֲנוּ בָּשִׂם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִזְכִּיר:		8b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
הֵמָּה כָּרְעוּ	20	9a	QATAL		
וְנִפְּלוּ		9b	WeQATAL		
וְאִנְחֲנוּ קִמְנוּ		9c	QATAL		
וְנִתְעוֹדֵד:		9d	WAYYIQTOL		
יְהוָה הוֹשִׁיעָה	20	10a	Imperative		
הַמֶּלֶךְ יַעֲנֵנוּ		10b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בְּיוֹם־קָרְאָנוּ:		10c	QATAL		
לִמְנַצֵּחַ מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	21	1a	Participle		
יְהוָה בְּעֶזְךָ יִשְׂמַח־מֶלֶךְ	21	2a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive

וְבִישׁוּעַתְךָ מֵה־יִגְלֵל מְאֹד:		2b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תֵּאֲזוּת לָבוֹ נִתְּתָה לוֹ	21	3a	QATAL		
וְאַרְשֶׁת שְׁפָתָיו בִּלְמִנְעָתָה סָלָה:		3b	QATAL		
כִּי־תִקְדְּמֵנוּ בְּרָכוֹת טוֹב	21	4a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
תִּשִׁית לְרֹאשׁוֹ עֲטֹרֶת פָּז:		4b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
חַיִּים שְׁאֵל	21	5a	QATAL		
מִמֶּד נִתְּתָה לוֹ		5b	QATAL		
אַרְךָ יָמִים עוֹלָם וְעַד:		5c	Verbless		
גָּדוֹל כְּבוֹדוֹ בִּישׁוּעַתְךָ	21	6a	Verbless		
הוֹד וְהֹדָר תִּשְׁוֶה עָלָיו:		6b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כִּי־תִשְׁיִתְהוּ בְּרָכוֹת לְעַד	21	7a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
תַּחֲדֶהוּ בְשִׁמְחָה אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ:		7b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
כִּי־הִמְלִיךְ בִּטְחָ בִּיהוָה	21	8a	Participle		
וּבְחֶסֶד עָלִיוֹן בִּלְיָמוּט:		8b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תִּמְצָא יָדְךָ לְכָל־אֲבִיךָ	21	9a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִמְנֶךָ תִּמְצָא שְׁנֵאִיךָ:		9b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
תִּשְׁיִתְמוּ כְּתִנּוֹר אֵשׁ לְעֵת פָּנֶיךָ יְהוָה	21	10a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּאִפּוֹ יִבְלַעַם		10b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְתֹאכְלֵם אֵשׁ:		10c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
פָּרִימוֹ מֵאֶרֶץ תֵּאֲבֹד	21	11a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְזִרְעָם מִבְּנֵי אָדָם:		11b	Verbless		
כִּי־נָטוּ עָלֶיךָ רָעָה	21	12a	QATAL		
חֲשָׁבוּ מְזֻמָּה		12b	QATAL		
בְּלִי־יֻכְלוֹ:		12c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity

כִּי תִשְׁתַּמּוּ שָׁכֶם	21	13a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּמִיתָרִיד תִּכּוֹנֵן עַל־פְּנֵיהֶם:		13b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
רוֹמָה יְהוֹה בְּעֹד	21	14a	Imperative		
נְשִׁירָה		14b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְנִזְמְרָה גְּבוּרָתָךְ:		14c	WeYIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
לְמַנְצָה עַל־אֵילַת הַשֶּׁחַר מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד:	22	1a	Participle		
אֵלֵי אֵלֵי לָמָּה עֲזַבְתָּנִי	22	2a	QATAL		
רְחוֹק מִיִּשְׁוּעָתִי דְּבָרִי שֶׁאֲגִתִּי:		2b	Verbless		
אֱלֹהֵי אֶקְרָא יוֹמָם	22	3a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה		3b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	Repetition in the Present
וְלִילָה וְלֹא־דוֹמִיָּה לִי:		3c	Verbless		
וְאַתָּה קָדוֹשׁ	22	4a	Verbless		
יֹשֵׁב תְּהִלּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל:		4b	Participle		
בְּדָ בְּטַחֹו אֲבִתִּינוּ	22	5a	QATAL		
בְּטַחֹו		5b	QATAL		
וְתִפְלְטָמוּ:		5c	WAYYIQTOL		
אֵלֶיךָ זָעֲקוּ	22	6a	QATAL		
וְנִמְלָטוּ		6b	WeQATAL		
בְּטַחֹו		6c	QATAL		
וְלֹא־בֹשׁוּ:		6d	(WeLo) QATAL		
וְאַנְכִי תוֹלַעַת וְלֹא־ אִישׁ	22	7a	Verbless		
חֲרַפַּת אָדָם וּבְזוּי עָם:		7b	Participle		
כָּל־רָאִי	22	8a	Participle		
יִלְעָגוּ לִי		8b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

יִפְטִירוּ בְּשֹׁפָה		8c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִנְעוּ רֹאשׁ:		8d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
גַּל אֶל-יְהוָה	22	9a	Imperative		
יִפְלְטֶהוּ		9b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
יִצִּילֶהוּ		9c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כִּי חִפֵּץ בּוֹ:		9d	<i>QATAL</i>		
כִּי-אֵתָהּ גָּחִי מִבֶּטֶן	22	10a	Participle		
מִבְּטִיחִי עַל-שְׂדֵי אָמִי:		10b	Participle		
עַלִיד הַשְּׁלֹכְתִי מֵרַחֵם	22	11a	<i>QATAL</i>		
מִבֶּטֶן אָמִי אֵלַי אֵתָהּ:		11b	Verbless		
אֶל-תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי כִי-צָרָה קְרוּבָה	22	12a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי-אֵין עֹזָר:		12b	Participle		
סִבְבוּנֵי פְרִים רִבִּים	22	13a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲבִירִי בָשָׁן כְּתֹרֹנִי:		13b	<i>QATAL</i>		
פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם	22	14a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲרִיָּה טָרֵף וְשֹׂאֵג:		14b	Verbless (participle)		
כַּמִּים נִשְׁפָּכְתִּי	22	15a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְהִתְפָּרְדּוּ כָל-עֲצָמוֹתַי		15b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
הִיָּה לִבִּי כְדוֹנָג		15c	<i>QATAL</i>		
נָמַס בְּתוֹךְ מַעִי:		15d	<i>QATAL</i>		
יָבֵשׁ כְּחָרֵשׁ כְּחִי	22	16a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלִשְׁוֹנִי מִדְּבַק מִלְּקוֹחִי		16b	Participle		
וְלַעֲפֹר-מוֹת תִּשְׁפָּתֵנִי:		16c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי סִבְבוּנֵי כָלָבִים	22	17a	<i>QATAL</i>		
עֲדַת מִרְעִים הַקִּיפוּנִי		17b	<i>QATAL</i>		
כְּאֲרִי יָדַי וְרַגְלִי:		17c	Verbless		
אֲסַפֵּר כָּל-עֲצָמוֹתַי	22	18a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Potentiality

הִמָּה יִבִּיטוּ		18b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
יִרְאוּ-בִּי:		18c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
יִחַלְקוּ בְּגִדֵי לֶהֱם	22	19a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
וְעַל-לְבוּשֵׁי יִפִּילוּ גֹזְרִל:		19b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Repetition in the Present
וְאַתָּה יְהוָה אֵל-תִּרְחֹק	22	20a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֵילֹתַי לְעִזְרָתִי חֹשֶׁה:		20b	Imperative		
הַצִּילָה מִחֶרֶב נַפְשִׁי	22	21a	Imperative		
מִיַּד-כָּלֵב יַחֲדִתִּי:		21b	Verbless		
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אֲרִיה	22	22a	Imperative		
וּמִקֶּרְנֵי רַמִּים עֲנִיתֵנִי:		22b	QATAL		
אֲסַפְרָה שְׁמִי לְאַחִי	22	23a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָ:		23b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִרְאֵי יְהוָה הִלְלוּהוּ	22	24a	Imperative		
כָּל-זֶרַע יַעֲקֹב כִּבְדוּהוּ		24b	Imperative		
וְגִוְרוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ כָל-זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל:		24c	Imperative		
כִּי לֹא-בָזָה	22	25a	(Lo) QATAL		
וְלֹא שִׁקַּץ עֲנֹת עֲנִי		25b	QATAL		
וְלֹא-הִסְתִּיר פָּנָיו מִמֶּנּוּ		25c	(WeLo) QATAL		
וּבִשְׁוֹעוֹ		25d	Infinitive Construct		
אֵלָיו שִׁמְעֶ:		25e	QATAL		
מֵאַתָּךְ תִּהְלֹתִי בְּקָהָל רַב	22	26a	Verbless		
נְדָרֵי אֲשֶׁלֶם נִגַּד יִרְאוּ:		26b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יֹאכְלוּ עֲנָוִים	22	27a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ		27b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יִהְיוּ		27c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה דִּרְשׁוּ		27d	Participle		

יְחִי לְבַבְכֶּם לְעַד:		27e	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִזְכְּרוּ	22	28a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיֵּשְׁבוּ אֶל־יְהוָה כָּל־אֲפִסֵּי־ אֶרֶץ		28b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לִפְנֵיךָ כָּל־ מִשְׁפָּחוֹת גּוֹיִם:		28c	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי לִיהוָה הַמְּלוּכָה	22	29a	Verbless		
וּמִשָּׁל בַּגּוֹיִם:		29b	Verbless (Participle)		
אָכְלוּ	22	30a	QATAL		
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ		30b	WAYYIQTOL		
כָּל־דְּשֵׁי־אֶרֶץ לִפְנֵי יִכְרְעוּ כָּל־יֹרְדֵי עֵפֶר		30c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְנִפְשׁוּ לֹא חַיָּה:		30d	QATAL		
זֶרַע יַעֲבֹדוּ	22	31a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יִסְפָּר לֹאֲדֹנָי לְדֹר:		31b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יָבֹאוּ	22	32a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּגִּדּוּ צִדְקָתוֹ		32b	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לְעַם נֹלָד		32c	Participle		
כִּי עֲשֶׂה:		32d	QATAL		
מִזְמֹר לְדָוִד	23	1a	Verbless		
יְהוָה רָעִי לֹא אֶחָסֵר:		1b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּנֵאוֹת דָּשָׁא יִרְבִּיצָנִי	23	2a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
עַל־מִי מִנְחֹת יִנְהַלְנִי:		2b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
נִפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבָב	23	3a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִנְחֵנִי בְּמַעְגְּלֵי־צֶדֶק לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ:		3b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
גַּם כִּי־אֵלֶךְ בְּגִיא צִלְמוֹת	23	4a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

לֹא־אֵרָא רָע	4b	(Lo) YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי־אָתָּה עֹמְדִי	4c	Verbless		
שִׁבְטְךָ וּמִשְׁעֲנֶנְךָ הֵמָּה יִנְחֲמֵנִי:	4d	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
תַּעֲרֹךְ לִפְנֵי שְׁלֹחַן גִּגְד צִרְרִי	23 5a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
דִּשְׁנֶנָּה בְּשֶׁמֶן רֹאשִׁי כּוֹסֵי רוּיָה:	5b	QATAL		
אֶךְ טוֹב וַחֲסֵד יִרְדְּפוּנִי כָּל־יְמֵי חַיִּי	23 6a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְשִׁבְתִּי בְּבֵית־יְהוָה לְאַרְךָ יָמִים:	6b	WeQATAL		
לְדוֹד מְזֻמֹּר לִיהוָה הָאָרֶץ וּמְלוֹאָהּ	24 1a	Verbless		
תִּבְלֹ וְיִשְׁבִּי בָּהּ:	1b	Verbless (participle)		
כִּי־הוּא עַל־יָמִים יִסְדֶּה	24 2a	QATAL		
וְעַל־נְהָרוֹת יִכּוֹנְנֶה:	2b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
מִי־יַעֲלֶה בְּהַר־יְהוָה	24 3a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
וּמִי־יָקוּם בְּמָקוֹם קִדְשׁוֹ:	3b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present is questions
נָקִי כַפִּים וּבֶרֶךְ־לֵבָב	24 4a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נִשְׂא לְשׂוֹא נַפְשִׁי	4b	(Lo) QATAL		
וְלֹא נִשְׁבַּע לְמַרְמָה:	4c	QATAL		
יֵשָׂא בִּרְכָּה מֵאֵת יְהוָה	24 5a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְצִדְקָה מֵאֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעוֹ:	5b	Verbless		
זֶה דְּוֹר דְּרִשׁוֹ	24 6a	Participle		
מִבְּקָשֵׁי פִנִּיךָ יַעֲקֹב סֵלָה:	6b	Participle		
שָׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים רֹאשֵׁיכֶם	24 7a	Imperative		
וְהַנִּשְׂאוּ פֶתְחֵי עוֹלָם	7b	Imperative		
וַיָּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:	7c	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form

מִי זֶה מִלֶּךְ הַכְּבוֹד יְהוָה עֲזֹז וְגִבּוֹר	24	8a	Verbless		
יְהוָה גִּבּוֹר מִלְחָמָה:		8b	Verbless		
שָׂאוּ שְׁעָרִים רֹאשֵׁיכֶם	24	9a	Imperative		
וּשְׂאוּ פֶתְחֵי עוֹלָם		9b	Imperative		
וַיֵּבֹא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד:		9c	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
מִי הוּא זֶה מִלֶּךְ הַכְּבוֹד יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	24	10a	Verbless		
הוּא מֶלֶךְ הַכְּבוֹד סֵלָה:		10b	Verbless		
לְדָוִד	25	1a	Verbless		
אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה נִפְשִׁי אֶשָּׂא:		1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֱלֹהֵי בֶן בְּטַחְתִּי	25	2a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֶל־אֲבוֹשָׁה		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־יַעֲלֹצוּ אֵיבֵי לִי:		2c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
גַּם כָּל־קוֹיֵךְ	25	3a	Participle		
לֹא יִבְשׁוּ		3b	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִבְשׁוּ		3c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
הַבּוֹגְדִים רִיקָם:		3d	Participle		
דִּרְכֵיךָ יְהוָה הוֹדִיעֵנִי	25	4a	Imperative		
אַרְחוֹתֶיךָ לְמַדֵּנִי:		4b	Imperative		
הַדְרִיכֵנִי בְּאַמְתֶּךָ	25	5a	Imperative		
וּלְמַדֵּנִי כִּי־אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל		5b	Imperative		
אוֹתְךָ קוֹיְתִי כָּל־הַיּוֹם:		5c	<i>QATAL</i>		
זְכַר־רַחֲמֶיךָ יְהוָה וְחַסְדֶּיךָ	25	6a	Imperative		
כִּי מַעֲוֹלָם הֵמָּה:		6b	Verbless		
חַטָּאוֹת נַעֲוִרְיָן וּפְשָׁעֵי אֶל־ תִּזְכֹּר	25	7a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity

בְּחִסְדְּךָ זָכַרְתָּ לִּי אֶתָּה		7b	Imperative		
לְמַעַן טוֹבֶכָּה יְהוָה:		7c	Verbless		
טוֹב וַיִּשָּׂר יְהוָה	25	8a	Verbless		
עַל־כֵּן יוֹרָה חֲטָאִים בְּדַרְךָ:		8b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִדְרֹךְ עֲנוּיִם בַּמִּשְׁפָּט	25	9a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וַיִּלְמַד עֲנוּיִם דְּרָכּוֹ:		9b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כָּל־אַרְחֻת יְהוָה	25	10a	Verbless		
חֶסֶד וָאֱמֶת		10b	Participle		
לְנֹצֵרִי בְרִיתוֹ וְעֵדֻתּוֹ:		10b	Participle		
לְמַעַן־שִׂמְךָ יְהוָה	25	11a	Verbless		
וּסְלַחַת לְעוֹנֵי כִי רַב־הוּא:		11b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
מִי־זֶה הָאִישׁ יֵרָא	25	12a	Verbless		
יְהוָה					
יִזְכְּנוּ בְּדַרְךָ		12b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	Real present in questions
יִבְחָר:		12c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
נִפְשׁוּ בְּטוֹב תִּלִּין	25	13a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְזָרְעוּ יִירֶשׁ אֶרֶץ:		13b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
סוֹד יְהוָה לִירְאָיו	25	14a	Verbless		
וּבְרִיתוֹ לְהוֹדִיעַם:		14b	Infinitive Construct		
עֵינֵי תַמִּיד אֶל־יְהוָה	25	15a	Verbless		
כִּי הוּא־יוֹצִיא מִרְשֶׁת רְגָלִי:		15b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
פָּנָה־אֵלַי	25	16a	Imperative		
וְחִנֵּנִי		16b	Imperative		
כִּי־יַחֲדִיד וְעֵנִי אָנִי:		16c	Verbless		
צָרוֹת לִבִּי הִרְחִיבוּ	25	17a	<i>QATAL</i>		
מִמְצוּקוֹתַי הוֹצִיאָנִי:		17b	Imperative		
רְאֵה עֲנִי וְעֲמָלִי	25	18a	Imperative		
וְשֵׂא לְכָל־חַטָּאוֹתַי:		18b	Imperative		
רְאֵה־אוֹיְבִי	25	19a	Imperative		

כִּירְבוּ	19b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּשְׁנֵאת חֲמֵס שְׁנֵאוֹנִי:	19c	<i>QATAL</i>		
שְׁמֶרָה נִפְשִׁי	25 20a	Imperative		
וְהִצִּילֵנִי	20b	Imperative		
אֶל-אֲבוֹשׁ	20c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כִּי-חֲסִיתִי בָּךְ:	20d	<i>QATAL</i>		
תִּם-וְיִשָּׁר יִצְרוֹנִי	25 21a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי קוֹיִתִּיד:	21b	<i>QATAL</i>		
פָּדָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל	25 22a	Imperative		
מִכָּל צָרוֹתָיו:	22b	Verbless		
לְדֹד	26 1a	Verbless		
שִׁפְטֵנִי יְהוָה	1b	Imperative		
כִּי-אֲנִי בְּתִמִּי הִלַּכְתִּי	1c	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּבִיהוָה בָּטַחְתִּי	1d	<i>QATAL</i>		
לֹא אֶמָּעַד:	1e	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
בַּחֲנִי יְהוָה	26 2a	Imperative		
וְנִסֵּנִי	2b	Imperative		
צָרֹפָה כְּלִיּוֹתִי וְלִבִּי:	2c	Imperative		
כִּי-חֲסַדְךָ לִנְגִיד עֵינִי	26 3a	Verbless		
וְהִתְהַלַּכְתִּי בְּאַמְתְּךָ:	3b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
לֹא-יִשְׁבְּתִי עִם-מִתֵּי-שׁוֹא	26 4a	<i>(Lo) QATAL</i>		
וְעַם נְעֻלָּמִים לֹא אֲבֹא:	4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
שְׁנֵאתִי קָהֵל מִרְעִים	26 5a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְעַם-רִשְׁעִים לֹא אֲשַׁב:	5b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶרְחֵץ בְּנִקְיוֹן כִּפִּי	26 6a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְאֶסְבֶּבָה אֶת-מִזְבִּיחְךָ יְהוָה:	6b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
לְשִׁמְעַ בְּקוֹל תוֹדָה	26 7a	Participle		

וְלִסְפֹּר כָּל־נִפְלְאוֹתָיִךְ:		7b	Participle		
יִהְיֶה אֲהַבְתִּי מְעֹן בֵּיתְךָ	26	8a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּמְקוֹם מִשְׁכַּן כְּבוֹדְךָ:		8b	Verbless		
אֶל־תֹּאסֹף עִם־חַטָּאִים נַפְשִׁי	26	9a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְעַם־אֲנָשֵׁי דָמִים חַיִּי:		9b	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר־בִּידֵיהֶם זִמָּה	26	10a	Verbless		
וַיִּמְנָם מֵלֶאָה שָׁחַד:		10b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְאֲנִי בְּתַמִּי אֵלֶךְ	26	11a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
פָּדֵנִי		11b	Imperative		
וְחַנְּנִי:		11c	Imperative		
רַגְלִי עֲמִדָה בְּמִישׁוֹר	26	12a	<i>QATAL</i>		
בְּמִקְהָלִים אֲבָרְךָ יְהוָה:		12b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
לְדוֹד	27	1a	Verbless		
יְהוָה אוֹרִי וַיִּשְׁעֵי מַמִּי אִירָא		1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
יְהוָה מַעֲזוֹ־חַיִּי מִמִּי אֶפְחָד:		1c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
בְּקָרֵב עָלִי מְרַעִים לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־בָּשָׂרִי צָרִי וְאִיבִי לִי	27	2a	Participle		
הִמָּה כְּשָׁלוֹ וְנִפְלוֹ:		2b	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֶם־תִּחַנֶּה עָלִי מִחַנָּה	27	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Eventuality
לֹא־יִירָא לְבִי		3b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Predictive
אֶם־תִּקּוֹם עָלִי מִלְחָמָה		3c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Eventuality
בְּזֹאת אֲנִי בּוֹטָח:		3d	Participle		
אֲחַת שְׁאַלְתִּי מֵאֵת־יְהוָה אוֹתָהּ	27	4a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲבַקֵּשׁ		4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity

שְׁבִיטִי בְּבֵית־יְהוָה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיִּי	4c	Infinitive Construct		
לַחְזוֹת בְּנַעַם־יְהוָה	4d	Infinitive Construct		
וּלְבַקֵּר בְּהִיכָלוֹ:	4e	Infinitive Construct		
כִּי יִצְפְּנִי בְּסֶכֶה בְּיוֹם	27 5a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
רָעָה יִסְתַּרְנִי בְּסֶתֶר אֹהֶלוֹ	5b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
בְּצוּר יְרוּמָמְנִי:	5c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְעַתָּה יָרוֹם רֹאשִׁי עַל אֵיבֵי סְבִיבוֹתַי	27 6a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְאֶזְבַּחַהּ בְּאֹהֶלוֹ זִבְחִי תְרוּעָה	6b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֲשִׁירָה	6c	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְאֶזְמָרָה לִיהוָה:	6d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
נִשְׁמַע־יְהוָה קוֹלִי	27 7a	Imperative		
אֶקְרָא	7b	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	J.Unclassified
וְחִנְנִי	7c	Imperative		
וְעֲנֵנִי:	7d	Imperative		
לֵךְ אֶמַר לְבִי	27 8a	QATAL		
בִּקְשׁוּ פָנַי	8b	Imperative		
אֶת־פָּנֶיךָ יְהוָה אֲבַקֵּשׁ:	8c	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־תִּסְתַּר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי	27 9a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־תִּטְּבֵאָה עֲבָדֶיךָ	9b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
עֲזַרְתִּי הִי־תֵּ	9c	QATAL		
אֶל־תִּטְשֵׁנִי	9d	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְאֶל־תִּעְזָבֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי:	9e	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי־אֲבִי וְאִמִּי עֲזָבוּנִי	27 10a	QATAL		

וַיְהִי וַיֹּאסֶפְנִי:		10b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
הִזְרֵנִי יְהוָה דְּרַכְךָ	27	11a	Imperative		
וַנַּחֲנִי בְּאֶרֶחַ מִישׁוֹר		11b	Imperative		
לְמַעַן שׁוּרְרִי:		11c	Verbless		
אַל־תִּתְּנִי בְּנַפְשׁ צָרִי	27	12a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כִּי קָמוּ־בִי עַד־שָׁקֶר וַיִּפַּח חֲמָס:		12b	Participle		
לֹא־הָאִמְנָתִי	27	13a	<i>QATAL</i>		
לְרָאוֹת בְּטוֹב־יְהוָה בְּאֶרֶץ חַיִּים:		13b	Infinitive Construct		
קוֹה אֶל־יְהוָה	27	14a	Imperative		
חֲזֹק		14b	Imperative		
וַיֹּאמֶן לִבִּי		14c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וְקוֹה אֶל־יְהוָה:		14d	Imperative		
לְדוֹד	28	1a	Verbless		
אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֶקְרָא צוּרִי		1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אַל־תִּחְרַשׁ		1c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
מִמֶּנִּי פֶן־תִּחְשֶׁה מִמֶּנִּי		1d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי		1e	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
עַם־יִזְרֵדִי בֹר:		1f	Participle		
שָׁמַע קוֹל תַּחֲנוּנִי	28	2a	<i>QATAL</i>		
בְּשׁוּעֵי אֵלֶיךָ		2b	Infinitive Construct		
בְּנִשְׁאֵי יָדַי אֶל־דְּבִיר קִדְשֶׁךָ:		2c	Infinitive Construct		
אַל־תִּמְשַׁכְנִי עִם־דָּשָׁעִים	28	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְעַם־פְּעָלִי אֲזֶן דְּבָרֵי שְׁלוֹם עַם־רֵעֵיהֶם		3b	Participle		

וְרָעָה בְּלִבָּבָם:		3c	Verbless		
תֵּן־לָהֶם כִּפְעֻלָּם	28	4a	Imperative		
וּכְרַע מַעֲלִי־יָהּ כַּמַּעֲשֵׂה יָדֵיהֶם תֵּן לָהֶם		4b	Imperative		
הֲשִׁב גְּמוּלָם לָהֶם:		4c	Imperative		
כִּי לֹא יִבְיִנוּ אֶל־פְּעֻלַּת יְהוָה וְאֶל־מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו	28	5a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יַהֲרֹסֻם		5b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְלֹא יִבְנֻם:		5c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
בִּרְוֹךְ יְהוָה	28	6a	Participle		
כִּי־שָׁמַע קוֹל תַּחֲנוּנָי:		6b	QATAL		
יְהוָה עָזַי וּמִגְּנִי בֹן בִּטָּח לִבִּי	28	7a	QATAL		
וְנַעֲזְרָתִי		7b	WeQATAL		
וַיַּעֲלֵז לִבִּי		7c	WAYYIQTOL		
וּמִשִּׁירֵי אֶהוּדָנֹו:		7d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה עֲזֹר־לִמּוֹ	28	8a	Verbless		
וּמַעֲזוֹ יִשׁוּעוֹת מְשִׁיחוֹ הוּא:		8b	Verbless		
הוֹשִׁיעָה אֶת־עַמֶּךָ	28	9a	Imperative		
וּבִרְךְ אֶת־נַחֲלֶתְךָ		9b	Imperative		
וְרַעַם		9c	Imperative		
וְנִשְׂאֵם עַד־הָעוֹלָם:		9d	Imperative		
מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד	29	1a	Verbless		
הָבֹו לַיהוָה בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים		1b	Imperative		
הָבֹו לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד וְעֹז:		1c	Imperative		
הָבֹו לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ	29	2a	Imperative		
הִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה בְּהִדְרַת־ קֹדֶשׁ:		2b	Imperative		
קוֹל יְהוָה עַל־הַמָּיִם אֶל־ הַכְּבוֹד הַרְעִים	29	3a	Imperative		
יְהוָה עַל־מַיִם רַבִּים:		3b	Verbless		

קול־יְהוָה בִּפְנֵי	29	4a	Verbless		
קול יְהוָה בְּהִדָּר:		4b	Verbless		
קול יְהוָה שִׁבַּר אֲרָזִים	29	5a	Participle		
וַיִּשְׁבַּר יְהוָה אֶת־אֲרָזֵי הַלְבָּנוֹן:		5b	WAYYIQTOL		
וַיִּרְקִידֵם כְּמו־עֵגֶל	29	6a	WAYYIQTOL		
לְבָנוֹן וְשָׂרְיוֹ כְּמוֹ בֶן־ רֵאמִים:		6b	Verbless		
קול־יְהוָה חָצֵב לְהַבֹּת אֵשׁ:	29	7a	Participle		
קול יְהוָה יִחִיל מְדַבֵּר	29	8a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִחִיל יְהוָה מְדַבֵּר קֹדֶשׁ:		8b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
קול יְהוָה יַחֲלֹל אֵילֹת	29	9a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וַיַּחֲשֹׁף יַעֲרֹת וּבְהִיכְלוֹ		9b	WAYYIQTOL		
כֵּלָו אָמַר כָּבוֹד:		9c	Participle		
יְהוָה לַמַּבּוּל יֹשֵׁב	29	10a	QATAL		
וַיֵּשֶׁב יְהוָה מַלְאָךְ לְעוֹלָם:		10b	WAYYIQTOL		
יְהוָה עָז לְעַמּוֹ יִתֵּן	29	11a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה יִבְרָךְ אֶת־עַמּוֹ בְּשָׁלוֹם:		11b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִזְמוֹר שִׁיר־חֲנֻכַּת הַבַּיִת לְדָוִד:	30	1a	Verbless		
אַרְוַמֶּמֶךָ יְהוָה	30	2a	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי דְלִיתָנִי		2b	QATAL		
וְלֹא־שִׁמַּחַת אִבִּי לִי:		2c	QATAL		
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי	30	3a	Verbless		
שׁוֹנְעֵתִי אֱלֹיִךְ		3b	QATAL		
וּתְרַפְּאֵנִי:		3c	WAYYIQTOL		

יְהוָה הָעֲלִיתָ מֶן־ שָׂאוֹל נַפְשִׁי	30	4a	QATAL		
חַיִּיתִנִּי		4b	QATAL		
מִיּוֹרְדֵי בּוֹר:		4c	Participle		
זָמְרוּ לַיהוָה חֲסִידָיו	30	5a	Imperative		
וְהוֹדוּ לַזֵּכֶר קִדְשׁוֹ:		5b	Imperative		
כִּי רָגַע בְּאֶפֶס חַיִּים בְּרָצוֹנִי בַּעֲרֵב יֵלִין כִּכִּי וּלְפָקֵר רָנָה:	30	6a	YIQTOL	C.Unclassified	Present with modal verbs
וְאֲנִי אִמְרָתִי בְשָׁלוֹי	30	7a	QATAL		
בַּל־אֶמּוֹט לְעוֹלָם:		7b	YIQTOL	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
יְהוָה בְּרָצוֹנָךְ הָעֲמַדְתָּהּ לְהַרְרֵי עֹז	30	8a	QATAL		
הַסִּתְרַת פְּנֶיךָ		8b	QATAL		
הַיִּיתִי נִבְהָל:		8c	QATAL		
אֵלֶיךָ יְהוָה אֶקְרָא	30	9a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאֶל־אֲדֹנִי אֶתְחַנֵּן:		9b	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
מִה־בָּצַע בְּדָמַי בְּרִדְתִּי אֶל־ שַׁחַת	30	10a	Infinitive Construct		
הַיּוֹדֵךְ עָפָר		10b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
הַיִּגִּיד אֶמְתֶּךָ:		10c	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	J.Unclassified
שְׁמַע־יְהוָה	30	11a	Imperative		
וְחַנְּנִי		11b	Imperative		
יְהוָה הִיָּה־עֹזֵר לִי:		11c	Imperative		
הַפְּכַת מִסְפְּדִי לְמַחֹל לִי	30	12a	QATAL		
פִּתְחַת שִׁקִּי		12b	QATAL		
וְתֹאזְרֵנִי שְׂמִיחָה:		12c	WAYYIQTOL		
לְמַעַן יִזְמְרֶךָ כְּבוֹד	30	13a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְלֹא יָדָם		13b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי לְעוֹלָם אֲוִדְךָ:		13c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive

לְמַנְצַח מְזִמּוֹר לְדוֹד:	31	1a	Participle		
בֶּךָ יְהוֹה חֲסִיתִי	31	2a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֶל־אֲבוֹשָׁה לְעוֹלָם		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּצִדְקָתְךָ פִּלְטָנִי:		2c	Imperative		
הִטָּה אֵלַי אֲזִנְךָ	31	3a	Imperative		
מִהֲרָה הַצִּילֵנִי		3b	Imperative		
יְהִי לִי לְצוֹר־מְעוֹז		3c	Imperative		
לְבֵית מְצוּדוֹת לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי:		3d	Infinitive Construct		
כִּי־סִלְעִי וּמְצוּדָתִי אָתָּה	31	4a	Verbless		
וּלְמַעַן שִׁמְךָ תִּנְחֵנִי		4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּתְנֶה־לִּנִּי:		4c	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
תּוֹצִיאֵנִי מִרְשָׁת	31	5a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
זוֹ טַמְנוּ לִי		5b	<i>QATAL</i>		
כִּי־אָתָּה מְעוֹזִי:		5c	Verbless		
בְּיָדְךָ אֶפְקִיד רוּחִי	31	6a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
פְּדִיתָה אוֹתִי יְהוֹה אֵל אֱמֶת:		6b	<i>QATAL</i>		
שִׁנְאַתִּי הַשְׁמָרִים הַבְּלִי־ שׁוֹא	31	7a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְאֲנִי אֶל־יְהוֹה בִּטְחֹתִי:		7b	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲגִילָּה	31	8a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאֶשְׁמָחָה בְּחֶסֶדְךָ		8b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי אֶת־עֵינָי		8c	<i>QATAL</i>		
יָדַעַת בְּצָרוֹת נַפְשִׁי:		8d	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֹא הִסְגַּרְתָּנִי בְּיַד־אֹיֵב	31	9a	<i>QATAL</i>		
הָעֹמֶדֶת בַּמֶּרְחָב רַגְלִי:		9b	<i>QATAL</i>		
חַנְּנִי יְהוֹה	31	10a	Imperative		

כִּי עָרָלִי	10b	QATAL		
עָשָׂה בְכֶעס עֵינִי נִפְשִׁי וּבִטְנִי:	10c	QATAL		
כִּי כָלוּ בִיגֹן חַיִּי	31 11a	QATAL		
וּשְׁנוֹתַי בְּאַנְחָה כָּשָׁל בַּעֲוֹנִי כָּחִי	11b	QATAL		
וְעַצְמִי עָשָׂשׁוּ:	11c	QATAL		
מִכָּל-עֲרָרִי הָיִיתִי חֶרֶף	31 12a	QATAL		
וְלִשְׁכֹּנִי מֵאֵד וּפָחַד לַמִּידָעִי רָאִי בַחוּץ	12b	Participle		
נִדְדוּ מִמֶּנִּי:	12c	QATAL		
נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי כִּמְת מֶלֶב	31 13a	QATAL		
הָיִיתִי כְּכֹלִי אֶבֶד:	13b	QATAL		
כִּי שָׁמַעְתִּי דְּבַת רַבִּים מִגֹּר מִסָּבִיב	31 14a	QATAL		
בְּהוֹסֵדִם יַחַד עָלַי	14b	Infinitive Construct		
לִקְחַת נִפְשִׁי	14c	Infinitive Construct		
זָמְמוּ:	14d	QATAL		
וְאֲנִי עָלִיד בְּטַחְתִּי יְהוָה	31 15a	QATAL		
אֲמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהֵי אֲתָה:	15b	QATAL		
בִּידֶךָ עָתִידִי	31 16a	Verbless		
וּמִרְדָּפִי: הַעֲלֵנִי מִיד-אוֹיְבִי	16b	Imperative		
הָאִירָה פָנֶיךָ עָלַי עֲבֹדֶךָ	31 17a	Imperative		
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי בַחֲסֶדְךָ:	17b	Imperative		
יְהוָה אֵל-אֲבוֹשָׁה	31 18a	YIQTOL	Volitive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
כִּי קָרָאתִיךָ	18b	QATAL		
יִבְשׁוּ רַשָּׁעִים	18c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity

יִדְמוּ לְשֹׂאֵל:		18d	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
תִּאלְמָנָה שְׁפָתַי שֶׁקָּר	31	19a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
הַדְּבָרוֹת עַל־צִדִּיק עֲתָק בְּגִאוֹה וּבּוֹז:		19b	Participle		
מָה רַב־טוֹבָךְ	31	20a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר־צִפְנָתָ לִירְאִיךָ		20b	QATAL		
פָּעִלְתָּ לַחֲסִים בְּךָ		20c	QATAL		
נֶגַד בְּנֵי אָדָם:		20d	Verbless		
תִּסְתִּירֶם בִּסְתֵּר פָּנֶיךָ מִרְכְּסֵי אִישׁ	31	21a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
תִּצְפְּנֶם בִּסְפָּה מְרִיב לְשׁוֹנוֹת:		21b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה	31	22a	Participle		
כִּי הִפְלִיא חֶסְדּוֹ לִי בְּעִיר מִצּוֹר:		22b	QATAL		
וְאָנִי אֲמַרְתִּי	31	23a	QATAL		
בַּחֲפֹזִי		23b	Infinitive Construct		
נִגְרַזְתִּי מִנֶּגֶד עֵינֶיךָ		23c	QATAL		
אֲכֹן שִׁמְעַתָּ קוֹל תַּחֲנוּנֵי בְּשׁוּעֵי אֵלֶיךָ:		23d	QATAL		
		23e	Infinitive Construct		
אֶהְיוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כָּל־חֲסִידָיו אֲמוּנִים נֹצֵר יְהוָה	31	24a	Imperative		
וּמִשְׁלֵם עַל־יָתֵר עֲשֵׂה גִּבּוֹה:		24b	Participle		
חֲזִקוּ	31	25a	Imperative		
וַיֹּאמֶן לְבַבְכֶּם		25b	YIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
כָּל־הַמִּיחָלִים לַיהוָה:		25c	Participle		
לְדוֹד מִשְׁכִּיל	32	1a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר־יִנְשׂוּ־פֶשַׁע		1b	Participle		

בְּסוּי חֲטָאָה:		1c	Participle		
אֲשֶׁרִי אָדָם לֹא יַחֲשֹׁב יְהוֹנָה לֹא עוֹן	32	2a	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Real present in questions
וְאִין בְּרוּחוֹ רְמִיָּה:		2b	Verbless		
כִּי־הֶחְרַשְׁתִּי	32	3a	QATAL		
בְּלוֹ עֲצָמַי		3b	QATAL		
בְּשֹׁאֲגָתִי כָּל־הַיּוֹם:		3c	Verbless		
כִּי יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה תִּכְבֵּד עָלַי יָדְךָ	32	4a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
נִהְפַךְ לְשָׂדֵי		4b	QATAL		
בְּחֶרְבִּי קִיץ סָלָה:		4c	Verbless		
חֲטָאתִי אוֹדִיעֶךָ	32	5a	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְעוֹנִי לֹא־כִסִּיתִי		5b	QATAL		
אִמְרָתִי		5c	QATAL		
אוֹדָה עָלַי פִּשְׁעֵי לִיהוָה		5d	YIQTOL	Progressive general past	Preterite YIQTOL
וְאַתָּה נִשְׂאָתָ עוֹן חֲטָאתִי סָלָה:		5e	QATAL		
עַל־זֹאת יִתְפַּלֵּל כָּל־חֹסִיד אֵלֶיךָ לְעֵת	32	6a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
מִצָּא רַק לְשֹׁטֵף מִיָּם רַבִּים		6b	Infinitive Construct		
אֵלָיו לֹא יִגִּיעוּ:		6c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אַתָּה סִתַּר לִי מִצָּר	32	7a	Verbless		
תִּצְרֵנִי		7b	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Predictive
תִּצְרֵנִי רָנִי פִּלֵּט		7c	Infinitive Construct		
תִּסּוֹבְבֵנִי סָלָה:		7d	YIQTOL	Habitual contingent	Predictive
אֲשָׁכִילְךָ	32	8a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאוֹרְךָ בְּדֶרֶךְ־זוֹ		8b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תִּלְךָ		8c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אֵינְעָה עָלֶיךָ עֵינַי:		8d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
אַל־תִּהְיוּ בְּסוּס בְּפָרֶדֶד	32	9a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity

אֵין הָבִין		9b	Infinitive Construct		
בְּמַתְגֻּרְסָן עֵדִיו לְבָלוֹם		9c	Infinitive Construct		
כָּל קָרֵב אֵלָיָהּ:		9d	Infinitive Construct		
רַבִּים מְכַאֲוִים לְרָשָׁע	32	10a	Verbless		
וְהַבּוֹטָח בִּיהוָה		10b	Participle		
חֶסֶד יְסֻבְּבֵנוּ:		10c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
שִׁמְחוּ בִיהוָה	32	11a	Imperative		
וְגִילוּ צַדִּיקִים		11b	Imperative		
וְהִרְנִינוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:		11c	Imperative		
רַנְּנוּ צַדִּיקִים בִּיהוָה	33	1a	Imperative		
לְיִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם תְּהִלָּה:		1b	Verbless		
הוֹדוּ לַיהוָה בְּכָנּוֹר	33	2a	Imperative		
בְּנֶגֶל עֲשׂוֹר זְמַרְלוֹ:		2b	Imperative		
שִׁירוּלוֹ שִׁיר חֹדֶשׁ	33	3a	Imperative		
הִטִּיבוּ נֶגֶן בְּתִרְעָה:		3b	Imperative		
כִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל דִּבֶּר־יְהוָה	33	4a	Verbless		
וְכָל־מַעֲשָׂהוּ בְּאִמּוֹנָה:		4b	Verbless		
אֱהָב צִדְקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט	33	5a	Participle		
חֶסֶד יְהוָה מִלֵּאָה הָאָרֶץ:		5b	QATAL		
בְּדִבְרֵי יְהוָה שָׁמַיִם נִעֲשׂוּ	33	6a	QATAL		
וּבְרִיחַ פָּיו כָּל־צַבָּאִים:		6b	Verbless		
כִּי־נִסַּח בְּיַד מִי הֵימָּן	33	7a	Participle		
נִתֵּן בְּאֲצִרּוֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת:		7b	Participle		
יִירָאוּ מִיְהוָה כָּל־ הָאָרֶץ	33	8a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
מִמֶּנּוּ יִגְדּוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל תִּבְלִ:		8b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי הוּא אֱמַר	33	9a	QATAL		
וַיְהִי		9b	WAYYIQTOL		
הוּא־צִוָּה		9c	QATAL		

וַיַּעֲמֵד:		9d	WAYYIQTOL		
יְהוָה הִפִּיר עֲצַת־גּוֹיִם	33	10a	QATAL		
הֲנִיא מַחֲשָׁבוֹת עַמִּים:		10b	QATAL		
עֲצַת יְהוָה לַעֲוֹלָם תַּעֲמֵד	33	11a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מַחֲשָׁבוֹת לְבֹ לְדָר וְדָר:		11b	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁרִי הִגִּי אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיוּ	33	12a	Verbless		
הָעָם בָּחַר לְנַחֲלָה לֹו:		12b	QATAL		
מַשְׁמִים הִבִּיט יְהוָה	33	13a	QATAL		
רָאָה אֶת־כָּל־בְּנֵי הָאָדָם:		13b	QATAL		
מִמְּכוּךְ־שִׁבְתּוֹ	33	14a	Infinitive Construct		
הַשְׁגִּיחַ		14b	QATAL		
אֶל כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ:		14c	Verbless (Participle)		
הַיָּצֵר יַחַד לָבֶם	33	15a	Participle		
הַמִּבִּין אֶל־כָּל־מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם:		15b	Participle		
אֵין־הַמֶּלֶךְ נוֹשֵׁעַ בְּרַב־חַיִּל	33	16a	Participle		
גָּבֹר לֹא־יִנָּצֵל בְּרַב־כֹּחַ:		16b	(Lo) YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
שֶׁקֶר הַסּוֹס לְתִשׁוּעָה	33	17a	Verbless		
וּבְרַב חֵילוֹ לֹא יִמָּלֵט:		17b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
הִנֵּה עֵין יְהוָה אֶל־ יִרְאִיו	33	18a	Verbless		
לְמַיְחִלִים לְחִסְדּוֹ:		18b	Participle		
לְהַצִּיל מִמּוֹת נַפְשָׁם	33	19a	Infinitive Construct		
וּלְחִיּוֹתָם בְּרָעַב:		19b	Infinitive Construct		
נַפְשֵׁנוּ חִכְתָּה לִיְהוָה	33	20a	QATAL		
עֲזָרְנוּ וּמִגִּנָּנוּ הוּא:		20b	Verbless		
כִּי־בֹ יִשְׁמַח לְבָנוּ	33	21a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

כִּי בִשְׁם קִדְשׁוֹ בְּטַחָנוּ:		21b	<i>QATAL</i>		
יְהִי־חֲסִדְךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ	33	22a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כְּאֲשֶׁר יַחְלֹנוּ לָךְ:		22b	<i>QATAL</i>		
לְדוֹד בְּשָׁנוֹתָו אֶת־טַעְמוֹ לִפְנֵי אַבִּימֶלֶךְ	34	1a	Infinitive Construct		
וַיִּגְרֶשֶׁהוּ		1b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וַיִּלָּךְ:		1c	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
אֲבָרְכָה אֶת־יְהוָה בְּכָל־עַתָּה	34	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
תָּמִיד תִּהְלֶתָו בְּפִי:		2b	Verbless		
בִּיהוָה תִּתְהַלֵּל נַפְשִׁי	34	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יִשְׁמְעוּ עֲנָנִים		3b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Predictive
וַיִּשְׁמָחוּ:		3c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Predictive
גִּדְּלוּ לַיהוָה אֹתִי	34	4a	Imperative		
וְנִרְוַמָּמָה שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו:		4b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Volitive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
דִּרְשָׁתִי אֶת־יְהוָה	34	5a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְעַנֵּנִי		5b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וּמִכָּל־מְגֻרֹתַי הֲצִילֵנִי:		5c	<i>QATAL</i>		
הַבִּיטוּ אֵלָיו	34	6a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְנַהֲרוּ		6b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וּפְנִיָהֶם אֶל־יַחֲפָרוּ:		6c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
זֶה עֲנִי קִרְא	34	7a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַיְהוֶה שְׁמַעַ		7b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּמִכָּל־צָרוֹתָיו הוֹשִׁיעֵו:		7c	<i>QATAL</i>		
חָנָה מִלֶּאֲדִי־יְהוָה סָבִיב לִירְאִיו	34	8a	Participle		
וַיַּחֲלָצֵם:		8b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
טַעְמוֹ	34	9a	Imperative		
וְרָאוּ כִי־טוֹב יְהוָה		9b	Imperative		
אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה יַחֲסֶה־בּוֹ:		9c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Proverbial expression

יִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה קְדָשׁוֹ	34	10a	Imperative		
כִּי־אֵין מַחְסֹר לִירְאָיו:		10b	Verbless		
כַּפִּירִים רָשָׁו	34	11a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְרַעְבוּ		11b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וְדַרְשֵׁי יְהוָה		11c	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
לֹא־יַחֲסְרוּ כָל־טוֹב:		11d	<i>(Lo) YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	Obligation presented as necessity
לְכוּ־בָנִים	34	12a	Imperative		
שְׁמַעוּ־לִי		12b	Imperative		
יִרְאֵת יְהוָה אֶלְמֹדֶכֶם:		12c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
מִי־הָאִישׁ הַחֲפֹץ חַיִּים	34	13a	Verbless		
אֶהֱבָ יָמִים		13b	Participle		
לִרְאוֹת טוֹב:		13c	Infinitive Construct		
נִצֵּר לְשׁוֹנֵךְ מָרַע	34	14a	Imperative		
וְשִׁפְתֶיךָ מַדְבֵּר מְרָמָה:		14b	Infinitive Construct		
סֹר מָרַע	34	15a	Imperative		
וַעֲשֵׂה־טוֹב		15b	Imperative		
בִּקֵּשׁ שָׁלוֹם		15c	Imperative		
וְרִדְפָהוּ:		15d	Imperative		
עֵינֵי יְהוָה אֶל־ צַדִּיקִים	34	16a	Verbless		
וְאִזְנוֹ אֶל־שׁוֹעֲתִים:		16b	Verbless		
פָּנֵי יְהוָה בַּעֲשֵׂי רַע	34	17a	Participle		
לְהַכְרִית מֵאֶרֶץ זָכָר:		17b	Infinitive Construct		
צַעֲקוּ	34	18a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַיְהִי שָׁמַע		18b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּמִכָּל־צָרוֹתֶם הֶצִּילָם:		18c	<i>QATAL</i>		
קָרֹב יְהוָה לְגִשְׁבָּרִי־ לֵב	34	19a	Verbless (Participle)		
וְאֶת־דְּכַא־רוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ:		19b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

רְבוֹת רַעוּת צְדִיק	34	20a	Verbless		
וּמִכָּלֶם יִצְלָנוּ יְהוָה:		20b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
שֹׁמֵר כָּל-עֲצֻמוֹתָיו	34	21a	Participle		
אֶחָת מֵהֵנָּה לֹא נִשְׁבְּרָה:		21b	<i>QATAL</i>		
תְּמוֹתֶת רֹשַׁע רָעָה	34	22a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְשֹׁאֵי צְדִיק		22b	Participle		
יֵאָשְׁמוּ:		22c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
פֹּדֶה יְהוָה נֶפֶשׁ עַבְדּוֹ	34	23a	Participle		
וְלֹא יֵאָשְׁמוּ		23b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
כָּל-הַחֲסִים בּוֹ:		23c	Participle		
לְדוֹד	35	1a	Verbless		
רִיבָה יְהוָה אֶת-יְרִיבִי		1b	Imperative		
לֶחֶם		1c	Imperative		
אֶת-לֶחֶמִי:		1d	Participle		
הַחֲזִק מִגֵּן וְצִנָּה	35	2a	Imperative		
וְקוּמָה בְּעִזָּרְתִּי:		2b	Imperative		
וְהִרְק חֲנִית	35	3a	Imperative		
וְסֹגֵר		3b	Imperative		
לְקִרְאָת		3c	Infinitive Construct		
רֹדְפִי		3d	Participle		
אֲמַר לְנַפְשִׁי יִשְׁעֲתֶךָ אֲנִי:		3e	<i>QATAL</i>		
יִבְשׁוּ	35	4a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְיִכָּלְמוּ		4b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
מִבְקָשִׁי נִפְשִׁי		4c	Participle		
יִסְגּוּ אַחֲזֹר		4d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְיִחַפְּרוּ		4e	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
חֲשִׁבִי רַעְתִּי:		4f	Participle		

יְהִי כְּמֶזֶץ לִפְנֵי־רוּחַ	35	5a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּמֵלֶאֱדָה יִהְיֶה דוֹחָה:		5b	Participle		
יְהִי־דֶרֶכָם חֶשֶׁד וַחֲלֻלֵּקוֹת	35	6a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּמֵלֶאֱדָה יִהְיֶה רֹדֶפֶם:		6b	Participle		
כִּי־חָנָם טָמְנוּ־לִי שַׁחַת רִשְׁתָּם	35	7a	QATAL		
חָנָם חָפְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי:		7b	QATAL		
תְּבוֹאֶהוּ שׂוֹאָה	35	8a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
לֹא־יִדַּע וְרִשְׁתָּן		8b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֲשֶׁר־טָמַן		8c	QATAL		
תִּלְכְּדוּ		8d	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
בְּשׂוֹאָה יִפְלֹכָה:		8e	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּנִפְשִׁי תִּגִּיל בִּיהוּה	35	9a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
תָּשִׁישׁ בִּישׁוּעָתָן:		9b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כָּל עֲצָמוֹתַי תֹּאמְרָנָה יְהוָה	35	10a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִי כְמוֹד מַצִּיל עֲנִי מִחֶזֶק מִמֶּנּוּ		10b	Participle		
וְעֲנִי וְאַבְיוֹן מִגִּזְלוֹ:		10c	Participle		
יִקוּמוּן עַדֵי חֲמָס	35	11a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִדְעָתִי		11b	QATAL		
יִשְׁאַלּוּנִי:		11c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִשְׁלַמּוּנִי רַעַה תַּחַת טוֹבָה שְׂכוֹל לְנַפְשִׁי:	35	12a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאַנִּי בַּחֲלוּתָם לְבוּשִׁי שָׁק	35	13a	Infinitive Construct		
עֲנִיתִי בַצֹּם נַפְשִׁי		13b	QATAL		

וְתִפְּלֹתַי עַל־חֵיקֵי תְּשׁוּבָה:		13c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כָּרַע־כָּאֵחַ לִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי	35	14a	<i>QATAL</i>		
כָּאֲבֹל־אִם קָדַר שְׁחוּתִי:		14b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּבְצִלְעִי שָׁמְחוּ	35	15a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּנְאֻסְפוּ		15b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
נְאֻסְפוּ עָלַי גִּבִּים		15c	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֹא יִדְעֹתִי		15d	<i>QATAL</i>		
קָרְעוּ		15e	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֹא־דָמוּ:		15f	<i>QATAL</i>		
בַּחֲנֹפִי לִעְגִי מַעֲוָג	35	16a	Verbless		
חָרַק עָלַי שְׁנִימוֹ:		16b	Infinitive Absolute		
אֲדִנִּי כַּמָּה תִּרְאָה	35	17a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Habitual contingent	<i>YIQTOL</i> expressing a wish
הַשִּׁיבָה נַפְשִׁי מִשְׁאִיָּהֶם		17b	Imperative		
מִכְּפִירִים יַחֲדִיתִי:		17c	Verbless		
אֲוֹדֶה בְּקֶהֱל רַב	35	18a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
בְּעֵם עֲצוּם אֶהֱלֹלָךְ:		18b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֶל־יִשְׁמָחוּ־לִי אֲבִי שֶׁקָּר	35	19a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
שְׁנְאֵי חֲנָם		19b	Participle		
יִקְרְצוּ־עֵינַי:		19c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי לֹא שָׁלוֹם יִדְבְּרוּ וְעַל רִגְעִי־אֶרְץ	35	20a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
דְּבָרֵי מְרֻמוֹת יַחֲשֹׁבוּ:		20b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וַיִּרְחִיבוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם	35	21a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
אָמְרוּ הָאֵחַ הָאֵחַ		21b	<i>QATAL</i>		
רָאִתָּה עֵינֵינוּ:		21c	<i>QATAL</i>		
רָאִיתָה יְהוָה	35	22a	<i>QATAL</i>		

אֶל־תִּחְרַשׁ		22b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֲדֹנִי אֶל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי:		22c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
הַעִירָה	35	23a	Imperative		
וְהַקִּיצָה לְמִשְׁפָּטִי		23b	Imperative		
אֱלֹהֵי וְאֲדֹנִי לְרִיבִי:		23c	Verbless		
שִׁפְטִנִי כַעֲדָקָךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי	35	24a	QATAL		
וְאֶל־יִשְׁמַחוּ־לִי:		24b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־יֹאמְרוּ בְלִבָּם הָאֵח	35	25a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
נִפְשָׁנוּ		25b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־יֹאמְרוּ		25c	QATAL		
בְּלַעְנוּהוּ:		26a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִבְשׁוּ	35	26b	WeYIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וַיִּחְפְּרוּ יַחֲדָו שְׂמִחִי רַעֲתִי		26c	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִלְבְּשׁוּ־בִשֶׁת וּכְלֵמָה		26d	Participle		
הַמְגִדִּילִים עָלַי:		27a	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
יִרְנֻ	35	27b	YIQTOL	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וַיִּשְׁמָחוּ חֲפָצַי צִדְקִי		27c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וַיֹּאמְרוּ תָמִיד		27d	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִגְדֵּל יְהוָה		27e	Verbless		
הַחֲפֹץ שְׁלוֹם עַבְדּוֹ:		28a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְלִשְׁוִנִי תִהְיֶה צִדְקָךְ	35	28b	Verbless		
כָּל־הַיּוֹם תִּהְלָתֶךָ:		1a	Participle		
לְמַנְצָח לְעַבְד־יְהוָה לְדוֹד:	36				

נֶאֱמַר-פָּשַׁע לְרָשָׁע בְּקֶרֶב לִבִּי	36	2a	Verbless		
אִין-פָּחַד אֱלֹהִים לִנְגֹד עֵינָיו:		2b	Verbless		
כִּי-הִחֲלִיק אֱלֹו בְּעֵינָיו	36	3a	<i>QATAL</i>		
לְמַצָּא עֹנֵו		3b	Infinitive Construct		
לְשֹׁנָא:		3c	Infinitive Construct		
דְּבִרֵּי-פִיו אֹון וּמְרָמָה	36	4a	Verbless		
חֲדָל		4b	<i>QATAL</i>		
לְהִשְׁכִּיל		4c	Infinitive Construct		
לְהִיטִיב:		4d	Infinitive Construct		
אֹון יִחְשָׁב עַל- מִשְׁכָּבוֹ	36	5a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִתְיַצֵּב עַל-דֶּרֶךְ לֹא-טוֹב		5b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
רָע לֹא יִמָּאס:		5c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יְהוָה בְּהִשְׁמִים חֲסִדָּךְ	36	6a	Verbless		
אֲמוֹנַתְךָ עַד-שְׁחָקִים:		6b	Verbless		
עֲדָקְתְךָ בְּהִרְרֵי-אֵל מִשְׁפָּטְךָ תְּהוֹם רַבָּה	36	7a	Verbless		
אָדָם-וְיִבְהֶמָה תוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה:		7b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִה־יִּקָּר חֲסִדְךָ אֱלֹהִים וּבְנֵי אָדָם	36	8a	Verbless		
בָּצֵל כְּנָפֶיךָ יַחְסִיוֹן:		8b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יְרוֹז מִדְּשֹׁן בֵּיתְךָ	36	9a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְנָחַל עַדְנִיד תִּשְׁקָם:		9b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

כִּי־עָמַד מְקוֹר חַיִּים	36	10a	Verbless		
בְּאוֹרֶךְ נִרְאָה־אוֹר:		10b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִשָּׁךְ חֲסִדֶּךָ	36	11a	Imperative		
לִידְעִיךָ		11b	Participle		
וְצִדְקָתְךָ לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:		11c	Verbless		
אֶל־תְּבוֹאֵנִי רַגְלִי גָאוּה	36	12a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וְיִדְרְשׁוּ אֶל־תְּנַדְנִי:		12b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
שֵׁם נִפְלֹ	36	13a	<i>QATAL</i>		
פְּעִילִי אֶזְ		13b	Participle		
דָּחוּ		13c	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֹא־יִכְלוּ		13d	<i>QATAL</i>		
קוֹם:		13e	Infinitive Construct		
לְדוֹד	37	1a	Verbless		
אֶל־תִּתְחַר בַּמֶּרְעִים		1b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֶל־תִּקְנֵא בְעֵשִׂי עוֹלָה:		1c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי כַחֲצִיר מְהֵרָה יִמְלֹ	37	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְכִי־רֶק דָּשָׂא יְבוֹלוּ:		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
בְּטַח בִּיהוָה	37	3a	Imperative		
וְעִשֵּׂה־טוֹב		3b	Imperative		
שְׁכֹן־אַרְץ		3c	Imperative		
וְרַעָה אֶמוֹנָה:		3d	Imperative		
וְהִתְעַנֵּג עַל־יְהוָה	37	4a	Imperative		
וַיִּתֵּן־לֶךְ מִשְׁאֶלֶת לְבָבְךָ:		4b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
גּוֹל עַל־יְהוָה דִּרְכְּךָ	37	5a	Imperative		
וּבְטַח עָלָיו		5b	Imperative		
וְהוּא יַעֲשֶׂה:		5c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְהוֹצִיא כְאוֹר צִדְקֶךָ	37	6a	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וּמִשְׁפָּטְךָ בְּצַהֲרִים:		6b	Verbless		

דָּוִם לִיהוֹה	37	7a	Imperative		
וְהִתְחוּלֵל לָן		7b	Imperative		
אֶל־תִּתַּחַר		7c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
בְּמַצְלִיחַ דְּרָכּוֹ		7d	Participle		
בְּאִישׁ עֹשֶׂה מִזְמוֹת:		7e	Participle		
הֲרַף מֵאֶף	37	8a	Imperative		
וְעֹזֵב חֲמָה		8b	Imperative		
אֶל־תִּתַּחַר		8c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
אֲדִי־לִהְרֶע:		8d	Infinitive Construct		
כִּי־מֵרַעִים יִפְרֹתוֹן	37	9a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְקֹנֵי יְהוָה		9b	Participle		
הֵמָּה יִירְשׁוּ־אֶרֶץ:		9c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְעוֹד מַעֲט וְאֵין רָשַׁע	37	10a	Verbless		
וְהִתְבּוֹנְנֶת עַל־מְקוֹמוֹ וְאֵינָנוּ:		10b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וְעֹנִיִּים יִירְשׁוּ־אֶרֶץ	37	11a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְהִתְעַנְּגוּ עַל־רֵב שָׁלוֹם:		11b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
זִמְם רָשַׁע לַעֲדִיק	37	12a	Participle		
וְחָרַק עָלָיו שְׁנוֹי:		12b	Participle		
אֲדַנִּי יִשְׁחַק־לִי	37	13a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־רָאָה		13b	<i>QATAL</i>		
כִּי־יָבֵא יוֹמוֹ:		13c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
חָרַב פָּתְחוּ רְשָׁעִים	37	14a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְדַרְכוֹ קִשְׁתָּם		14b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
לְהַפִּיל עָנִי וְאֲבִיוֹן		14c	Infinitive Construct		
לְטַבֹּחַ יִשְׂרֵי־דָרָד:		14d	Infinitive Construct		
חֲרָבָם תָּבֹא בְלָבָם	37	15a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְקִשְׁתוֹתָם תִּשְׁבְּרָנָה:		15b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive

טוֹב־מַעַט לַעֲדִיק	37	16a	Verbless		
מִהֲמוֹן רָשָׁעִים רָבִים:		16b	Verbless		
כִּי זְרוּעוֹת רָשָׁעִים תִּשְׁבְּרָנָה	37	17a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְסוֹמֵךְ צַדִּיקִים יִהְיֶה:		17b	Participle		
יֹדַעַ יְהוָה יִמִּי תְּמִימִם	37	18a	Participle		
וְנִחַלְתֶּם לְעוֹלָם תְּהִיָּה:		18b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לֹא־יִבְשׁוּ בְּעַת רָעָה	37	19a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וּבִימֵי רַעְבוֹן יִשְׁבְּעוּ:		19b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי רָשָׁעִים יֵאָבְדוּ וְאִבֵּי יְהוָה בִּיקָר כָּרִים	37	20a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כָּלֹ		20b	QATAL		
בַּעֲשׂוֹן כָּלֹ:		20c	QATAL		
לֹוֹה רָשָׁע	37	21a	Participle		
וְלֹא יִשְׁלֹם		21b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְצַדִּיק חוֹנֵן		21c	Participle		
וְנוֹתֵן:		21d	Participle		
כִּי מְבָרְכִיו	37	22a	Participle		
יִירָשׁוּ אֶרֶץ		22b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וּמְקַלְלֵיו		22c	Participle		
יִכָּרְתוּ:		22d	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
מִיְהוָה מַצְעִד־גֶּבֶר כּוֹנֵנוֹ	37	23a	QATAL		
וְדַרְכּוֹ יַחֲפֹץ:		23b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
כִּי־יִפֹּל	37	24a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לֹא־יֹוֹטֵל		24b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי־יִהְיֶה סוֹמֵךְ יָדוֹ:		24c	Participle		
נָעַר הָיִיתִי	37	25a	QATAL		
גַּם־זָקְנָתִי		25b	QATAL		
וְלֹא־רָאִיתִי		25c	QATAL		
צַדִּיק נֶעְזָב		25d	Participle		

וְזָרְעוּ מִבֶּקֶשׁ-לָחֶם:		25e	Participle		
כָּל-הַיּוֹם חוֹנֵן	37	26a	Participle		
וּמְלוֹה		26b	Participle		
וְזָרְעוּ לְבִרְכָּה:		26c	Verbless		
סוּר מֵרַע	37	27a	Imperative		
וַעֲשֵׂה-טוֹב		27b	Imperative		
וְשֹׁכֵן לְעוֹלָם:		27c	Imperative		
כִּי יִהְיֶה אֱהָב מִשְׁפָּט	37	28a	Participle		
וְלֹא-יַעֲזֹב אֶת-חֲסִידָיו		28b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
לְעוֹלָם נִשְׁמְרוּ		28c	QATAL		
וְזָרַע רָשָׁעִים נִכְרַת:		28d	QATAL		
צַדִּיקִים יִירָשׁוּ-אָרֶץ	37	29a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּשְׁכְּנוּ לְעַד עָלֶיהָ:		29b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
פִּי-צַדִּיק יִהְיֶה חֲכָמָה	37	30a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְלִשׁוֹנוֹ תִּדְבָּר מִשְׁפָּט:		30b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהִיו בְּלָבוֹ	37	31a	Verbless		
לֹא תִמְעַד אֲשֶׁרֵיו:		31b	(Lo) YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
צוּפָה רָשָׁע לְצַדִּיק	37	32a	Participle		
וּמִבִּקֵּשׁ		32b	Participle		
לְהַמִּיתוֹ:		32c	Infinitive Construct		
יִהְיֶה לֹא-יַעֲזֹבֵנוּ בִידּוֹ	37	33a	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
וְלֹא יִרְשִׁיעֵנוּ		33b	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
בְּהִשְׁפָּטוֹ:		33c	Infinitive Construct		
קוּה אֶל-יְהוָה	37	34a	Imperative		
וְשֹׁמֵר דְּרָכּוֹ		34b	Imperative		
וִירוֹמָמָד		34c	WeYIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לְרִשֵּׁת אָרֶץ		34d	Infinitive Construct		
בְּהִכָּרַת		34e	Infinitive Construct		

רְשָׁעִים תִּרְאֶה:		34f	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
רְאִיתִי רֶשַׁע עֲרִיץ	37	35a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּמִתְעַרָּה כְּאִזְרוּחַ רַעְיוֹן:		35b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וַיַּעֲבֹר וַהֲנֵה אֵינֶנּוּ	37	36a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וְאִבְקֶשְׁהוּ		36b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וְלֹא נִמְצָא:		36c	<i>QATAL</i>		
שִׁמְרֶתֶם	37	37a	Imperative		
וְרֹאֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל		37b	Imperative		
כִּי־אַחֲרִית לְאִישׁ שָׁלוֹם:		37c	Verbless		
וּפְשָׁעִים נִשְׁמְדוּ יַחְדָּו	37	38a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אַחֲרִית רֶשָׁעִים נִכְרְתָה:		38b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּתְשׁוּעַת צַדִּיקִים	37	39a	Verbless		
מִיָּהוּה					
מַעֲוִזִּים בָּעֵת צָרָה:		39b	Verbless		
וַיַּעֲזְרֵם יְהוָה	37	40a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וַיִּפְלְטֵם		40b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
יִפְלְטֵם מִרְשָׁעִים		40c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
וַיּוֹשִׁיעֵם		40d	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
כִּי־חָסוּ בּוֹ:		40e	<i>QATAL</i>		
מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד	38	1a	Verbless		
לְהַזְכִּיר:		1b	Infinitive Construct		
יְהוָה אֶל־בְּקֶצֶף תּוֹכִיחֵנִי	38	2a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
וּבְחִמְתֶּךָ תִּיַּסְרֵנִי:		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
כִּי־חָצִיד נִחְתּוּ בִּי	38	3a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּתְנַחַת עָלַי יָדְךָ:		3b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
אִין־מָתָם בְּבִשְׂרִי	38	4a	Verbless		
מִפְּנֵי זַעֲמָךְ					
אִין־שָׁלוֹם בְּעַצְמִי מִפְּנֵי		4b	Verbless		
חֲטָאתִי:					
כִּי עֲזַנְתִּי עֲבָרֹו רֹאשִׁי	38	5a	<i>QATAL</i>		

כִּמְשָׂא כָּבֵד יִכְבְּדוּ מִמֶּנִּי:		5b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
הַבְּאִישׁוּ	38	6a	QATAL		
נִמְקוּ חֲבוּרָתִי		6b	QATAL		
מִפְּנֵי אוֹלָתִי:		6c	Verbless		
נַעֲוִיתִי	38	7a	QATAL		
שִׁחֲתִי עַד־מָאֵד		7b	QATAL		
כָּל־הַיּוֹם קָדַר הִלָּכְתִּי:		7c	QATAL		
כִּי־כִסְלִי מָלְאוּ נִקְלָה	38	8a	QATAL		
וְאִין מָתֵם בְּבִשְׂרִי:		8c	Verbless		
נִפְּוִגוּתִי	38	9a	QATAL		
וְנִדְבִיתִי עַד־מָאֵד		9b	WeQATAL		
שָׂאֲגָתִי מִנְּהֵמֶת לִבִּי:		9c	QATAL		
אֲדַנִּי נִגְדָּךְ כָּל־תַּאֲוֹתִי	38	10a	Verbless		
וְאִנְחָתִי מִמֶּךָ לֹא־נִסְתָּרָה:		10b	QATAL		
לִבִּי סִחֲרָחַר	38	11a	QATAL		
עֲזָבֵנִי כְּחִי		11b	QATAL		
וְאוֹר־עֵינַי גָּס־הֵם אֵין אִתִּי:		11c	Verbless		
אֶהְבִּי וְרַעִי מִנִּגְדִּי	38	12a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
נִגְעִי יַעֲמִדוּ					
וְקִרְוֵבִי מִרְחֹק עָמְדוּ:		12b	QATAL		
וַיִּנְקְשׁוּ	38	13a	WAYYIQTOL		
מִבְּקָשֵׁי נַפְשִׁי		13b	Participle		
וְדַרְשֵׁי רַעְתִּי		13c	Participle		
דִּבְּרוּ הַזֹּאת		13d	QATAL		
וּמִרְמוֹת כָּל־הַיּוֹם יִהְיֶה:		13e	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאֲנִי כַחֲרֹשׁ לֹא	38	14a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֶשְׁמַע					
וְכֹאֲלֵם לֹא יִפְתַּח־פִּיו:		14b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאֵלֵּי בָאִישׁ	38	15a	WAYYIQTOL		
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמַע		15b	Participle		

וַאֲזַי בְּפִי תֻכְחֹת:		15c	Verbless		
כִּי־לֵךְ יִהְיֶה הוֹחֲלָתִי	38	16a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֵתָה תַעֲנֶה אֲדֹנִי אֱלֹהִי:		16b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
כִּי־אֲמַרְתִּי	38	17a	<i>QATAL</i>		
פֶּן־יִשְׁמַחוּ־לִי		17b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Potentiality
בְּמוֹט רַגְלִי עָלִי		17c	Infinitive Construct		
הַגְדִּילוּ:		17d	<i>QATAL</i>		
כִּי־אֲנִי לְעֹלֶם נִכּוֹן	38	18a	Participle		
וּמִכְאוּבֵי נִגְדֵי תָמִיד:		18b	Verbless		
כִּי־עֹנֶי אֲגִיד	38	19a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֲדַאֵג מִחֲטָאתִי:		19b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאִיבֵי חַיִּים עֲצָמוּ	38	20a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְרָבוּ		20b	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
שִׁנְאִי שָׁקֵר:		20c	Participle		
וּמִשְׁלָמִי רַעָה תַחַת טוֹבָה	38	21a	Participle		
יִשְׁטַנּוּנִי תַחַת		21b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
רְדוּפֵי טוֹב:		21c	Infinitive Construct		
אֶל־תַּעֲזֹבֵנִי יְהוָה	38	22a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
אֱלֹהֵי אֶל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי:		22b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Obligation presented as necessity
חֹשֶׁה לְעִזְרָתִי	38	23a	Imperative		
אֲדֹנִי תִשׁוּעָתִי:		23b	Verbless		
לְמַנְצָח לִידִיתוֹן מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	39	1a	Participle		
אֲמַרְתִּי	39	2a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲשַׁמְרָה דְרָכִי		2b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Predictive
מִחֲטָא בְלִשׁוֹנִי		2c	Infinitive Construct		
אֲשַׁמְרָה לְפִי מִחֲסוֹם		2d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Volitive	Predictive

בְּעַד רָשַׁע לְנִגְדִּי:		2e	Verbless		
נִאֲלַמְתִּי דוֹמִיָּה	39	3a	<i>QATAL</i>		
הַחֲשִׁיתִי מְטוֹב		3b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּכְאֲבִי נִעְכָּר:		3c	<i>QATAL</i>		
חֶסֶלְבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי בְּהִגִּי	39	4a	<i>QATAL</i>		
תִּבְעַר-אֵשׁ		4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
דִּבַּרְתִּי בְּלִשׁוֹנִי:		4c	<i>QATAL</i>		
הוֹדִיעַנִי יְהוָה קֶצֶי וּמַדָּת יָמֵי מַה־הָיָא	39	5a	Imperative		
אֲדַעָה מַה־חָדָל אָנִי:		5b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	J.Unclassified
הִנֵּה טַפְחוֹת נִתְּתָה יָמִי וְחִלְדִּי כְּאִין נִגְדָּד	39	6a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֶךְ כָּל־הֶבֶל כָּל־אָדָם נֶאֱבָב סֵלָה:		6b	Participle		
אֶךְ־בְּצִלָּם יִתְהַלֵּךְ־אִישׁ אֶךְ־הֶבֶל	39	7a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	J.Unclassified
יְהִמְיוֹן		7b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	J.Unclassified
יִצְבֹּר		7c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְלֹא־יִדַּע		7d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
מִי־אֶסְפָּם:		7e	Participle		
וַעֲתָה מַה־קִּוִּיתִי אֲדָנִי	39	8a	<i>QATAL</i>		
תּוֹחַלְתִּי לָךְ הִיא:		8b	Verbless		
מִכָּל־פִּשְׁעֵי הַצִּילָנִי	39	9a	Imperative		
חֲרַפַּת נֶבֶל אֶל־תְּשִׁימָנִי:		9b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
נִאֲלַמְתִּי	39	10a	<i>QATAL</i>		
לֹא אֶפְתַּח־פִּי		10b	(Lo) <i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general past	Preterite <i>YIQTOL</i>
כִּי אֶתָּה עָשִׂיתָ:		10c	<i>QATAL</i>		
הַסֵּר מֵעָלַי נִגְעָד	39	11a	Imperative		
מִתַּגֵּרַת יָדְךָ אָנִי כְּלִיתִי:		11b	<i>QATAL</i>		

בְּתוֹכָהֶן עַל-עוֹן יִסְרָף אִישׁ	39	12a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַתָּמָס		12b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
כַּעַשׁ חֲמוּדִי		12c	Participle		
אֵךְ הִבֵּל כָּל-אָדָם סֵלָה:		12d	Verbless		
שְׁמַעְהָ תִּפְלְתִּי יְהוָה	39	13a	Imperative		
וְשׁוּעָתִי הָאֲזִינָה אֶל- דְּמַעָתִי		13b	Imperative		
אֶל-תִּתְּחַרֵּשׁ		13c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כִּי גַר אָנֹכִי עַמּוּךְ		13d	Verbless		
תּוֹשֵׁב בְּכָל-אֲבוֹתָי:		13e	Verbless		
הַשֶּׁע מִמֶּנִּי	39	14a	Imperative		
וְאַבְלִיגָה		14b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
בְּטָרִם אֵלֶךְ וְאִינָנִי:		14c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
לִמְנַצֵּחַ לְדוֹד מִזְמוֹר:	40	1a	Participle		
קִוָּה	40	2a	Infinitive Absolute		
קִוִּיתִי יְהוָה		2b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַיֵּט אֵלַי		2c	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וַיִּשְׁמַע שׁוֹעָתִי:		2d	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וַיַּעֲלֵנִי מִבּוֹר שְׁאוֹן מִטֵּיט הַיָּוֶן	40	3a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
וַיָּקָם עַל-סֵלַע רַגְלִי		3b	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
בּוֹגֵן אֲשֶׁרִי:		3c	<i>QATAL</i>		
וַיִּתֵּן בִּפִּי שִׁיר חֲדָשׁ תְּהַלֵּה לְאַלְהֵינוּ	40	4a	<i>WAYYIQTOL</i>		
יִרְאוּ רַבִּים		4b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּירְאוּ		4c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיִּבְטְחוּ בַיהוָה:		4d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
אֲשֶׁרִי הַגָּבֵר אֲשֶׁר-שֵׁם יְהוָה מִבְּטָחוֹ	40	5a	<i>QATAL</i>		

וְלֹא־פָנָה אֶל־רֵהָבִים		5b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְשִׁטִּי כֶזֶב:		5c	Participle		
רַבּוֹת עָשִׂיתָ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ וּמַחֲשַׁבְתֶּיךָ אֵלֵינוּ	40	6a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֵין עָרַךְ אֵלֶיךָ		6b	Infinitive Construct		
אֶגִּידָה		6c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאֶדְבַּרָה		6d	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
עֲצֻמוּ מִסֵּפֶר:		6e	<i>QATAL</i>		
זָבַח וּמִנְחָה לֹא־ חִפְצָתָ	40	7a	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲזִנִּים כָּרִית לִי		7b	<i>QATAL</i>		
עוֹלָה וְחֹטְאָה לֹא שִׁאלָתָ:		7c	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲזִ אֲמַרְתִּי	40	8a	<i>QATAL</i>		
הִנֵּה־בֹאתִי		8b	<i>QATAL</i>		
בְּמַגִּלַּת־סֵפֶר כְּתוּב עָלַי:		8c	Participle		
לַעֲשׂוֹת־רְצוֹנְךָ אֱלֹהֵי	40	9a	Infinitive Construct		
חִפְצָתִי		9b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְתוֹרָתְךָ בְּתוֹךְ מַעֵי:		9c	Verbless		
בְּשִׁרְתִּי צֶדֶק בְּקָהֶל רֹב	40	10a	<i>QATAL</i>		
הִנֵּה שִׁפְתִּי לֹא אֶכְלָא		10b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה אַתָּה יֹדַעְתָּ:		10c	<i>QATAL</i>		
צִדְקָתְךָ לֹא־כִסִּיתִי בְּתוֹךְ לִבִּי אֲמוֹנָתְךָ	40	11a	<i>QATAL</i>		
וּתְשׁוּעָתְךָ אֲמַרְתִּי		11b	<i>QATAL</i>		
לֹא־כִתְּדִתִּי חֶסֶדְךָ וְאֲמַתְךָ לְקָהֶל רֹב:		11c	<i>QATAL</i>		
אַתָּה יְהוָה לֹא־תִכְלָא רַחֲמֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי	40	12a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Predictive

חֲסִדָּךְ וְאַמְתָּךְ תָּמִיד יִצְרוּנִי:		12b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	Predictive
כִּי אֶפְּוֶעַלִי רָעוֹת	40	13a	<i>QATAL</i>		
עַד־אֵין מִסְפָּר הַשִּׁיגוּנִי עוֹנָתִי		13b	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלֹא־יִכְלָתִי		13c	<i>QATAL</i>		
לִרְאוֹת		13d	Infinitive Construct		
עֲצָמוֹ מִשְׁעָרוֹת רֹאשִׁי		13e	<i>QATAL</i>		
וְלִבִּי עֲזָבוּנִי:		13f	<i>QATAL</i>		
רָצָה יְהוָה	40	14a	Imperative		
לְהַצִּילָנִי		14b	Infinitive Construct		
יְהוָה לְעֲזָרְתִּי חוֹשָׁה:		14c	Imperative		
יִבְשׁוּ	40	15a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וַיַּחְפְּרוּ		15b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
יַחַד מִבְּקֵשֵׁי נַפְשִׁי		15c	Participle		
לְסִפּוֹתָהּ		15d	Infinitive Construct		
יִסְגּוּ אַחֲזֹר		15e	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
וַיִּכְלְמוּ		15f	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
חִפְצִי רָעָתִי:		15g	Verbless		
יִשְׁמוּ עַל־עֵקֶב בְּשִׁתָּם	40	16a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
הָאֹמְרִים לִי הָאֵח הָאֵח:		16b	Participle		
יִשְׁיִשׁוּ	40	17a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing volitive a form
וַיִּשְׁמְחוּ בָּךְ		17b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
כָּל־מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ		17c	Participle		
יֹאמְרוּ תָּמִיד		17d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form

יִגְדֹּל יְהוָה		17e	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Directive	<i>YIQTOL</i> continuing a volitive form
אֱהִי תְשׁוּעָתְךָ:		17f	Participle		
וְאַנִּי עֲנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן	40	18a	Verbless		
אֲדַנִּי יַחֲשֹׁב לִי עֲזָרָתִי וּמִפְּלִטִי אֶתָּה		18b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹתָאֲחֵר:		18c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
לִמְנַצֵּחַ מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד:	41	1a	Participle		
אֲשֶׁרִי מִשְׁכִּיל אֶל־דָּל	41	2a	Participle		
בַּיּוֹם רָעָה יִמְלֹטְהוּ יְהוָה:		2b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ	41	3a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וַיַּחֲיֵהוּ		3b	<i>WeYIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יֶאֱשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ		3c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
וְאֶל־תִּתְּנֵהוּ בְּנַפְשׁ אִבּוֹ:		3d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
יְהוָה יִסְעֲדֵנּוּ עַל־ עֶרֶשׁ דָּוִי	41	4a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Imperfective	Predictive
כָּל־מִשְׁכָּבוֹ הִפְכָּת בַּחֲלִיָּו:		4b	<i>QATAL</i>		
אֲנִי־אֶמְרָתִי	41	5a	<i>QATAL</i>		
יְהוָה חֲנֻנִי		5b	Imperative		
רַפָּאָה נִפְשִׁי		5c	Imperative		
כִּי־חֲטָאתִי לָךְ:		5d	<i>QATAL</i>		
אוֹיְבֵי יֶאֱמְרוּ רַע לִי	41	6a	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
מִתֵּי יָמוֹת		6b	<i>YIQTOL</i>	C.Unclassified	J.Unclassified
וְאֶבֶד שְׁמוֹ:		6c	<i>WeQATAL</i>		
וְאֶס־בָּא	41	7a	<i>QATAL</i>		
לִרְאוֹת שׁוּא		7b	Infinitive Construct		
יִדְבָּר לְבֹ		7c	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִקְבֹּץ־אֹן לֹ		7d	<i>YIQTOL</i>	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified

יֵצֵא לַחוּץ		7e	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יִדְבֹּר:		7f	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
יֶחֶד עָלַי יִתְלַחֶשׁוּ כָּל־שָׂנְאֵי	41	8a	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
עָלַי יִחְשְׁבוּ רָעָה לִּי:		8b	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
דְּבַר־בְּלִיעַל יִצּוֹק בֶּן	41	9a	Participle		
וְאֲשֶׁר שָׁכַב		9b	QATAL		
לֹא־יוֹסִיף		9c	YIQTOL	Imperfective	Predictive
לָקוּם:		9d	Infinitive Construct		
גַּם־אִישׁ שְׁלוֹמִי	41	10a	Verbless		
אֲשֶׁר־בִּטַּחְתִּי בּוֹ		10b	QATAL		
אוֹכַל לַחֲמִי		10c	Participle		
הַגִּדִּיל עָלַי עֵקֶב:		10d	QATAL		
וְאַתָּה יְהוָה חֲנֻנִי	41	11a	Imperative		
וְהִקִּימֵנִי		11b	Imperative		
וְאִשְׁלַמָּה לָהֶם:		11c	WeYIQTOL	Directive	YIQTOL continuing a volitive form
בְּזֹאת יִדְעָתִי	41	12a	QATAL		
כִּי־חִפְצָתָ בִּי		12b	QATAL		
כִּי לֹא־יִרְעֶה אֵיבִי עָלַי:		12c	YIQTOL	Progressive general present	J.Unclassified
וְאֲנִי בְּתִמִּי תִמְכַּת בִּי	41	13a	QATAL		
וְתִצְיִבֵנִי לִפְנֵיךָ לְעוֹלָם:		13b	WAYYIQTOL		
בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִהָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם אָמֵן וְאָמֵן:	41	14a	Participle		

Appendix 2. R-Point Theory

Hans Reichenbach's R-point theory has become the foundation for a majority of subsequent tense theories. Compared to all the other TAM theories presented in this chapter, R-point theory has the least to do with TAM of BH. However, it is still important to discuss this theory. First, because R-point theory is a foundational theory for many other BHVS theories, it must be evaluated. Second, not only is R-point theory foundational for other theories, but it directly influenced the development of Joosten's and Cook's verbal system theory. For these reasons, R-point theory is included.

There are three unique terms used in R-point theory: "reference point" (R), which mediates the temporal relationship between "time of speech" (S) and the "time of the event" (E) presented in a text.¹ Cook explains, "Reichenbach conceives of these three entities as *points* whose temporal ordering determines the variety of tense that are possible in any given language."² The following table illustrates Reichenbach's understanding of the temporal relationship between these R, S, and E:

¹ Reichenbach, *Elements of Symbolic Logic*, 287–98; Binnick, *Time and the Verb*, 64; Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 7.

² Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 7.

Table Appendix 2.1. Hans Reichenbach's List of Possible Tenses ³				
Structure		New Name	Traditional Name	Example
E←R←S		Anterior past	Past perfect	"I had done it"
E, R←S		Simple past		"I did it"
R←E←S	=	Posterior past	—	—
R←S, E				
R←S←E				
E←S, R		Anterior present	Present perfect	"I have done it"
S, R, E		Simple present	Present	"I do it"
S, R←E		Posterior present	Simple future	"I will do it"
S←E←R	=	Anterior future	Future perfect	"I will have done it"
S, E←R				
E←S←R				
S←R, E		Simple future	Simple future	"I will do it"
S←R←E		Posterior future	—	—

R-point theory is not entirely original to Reichenbach. Otto Jespersen is considered a forerunner who in turn proposed an alternative method to those of Johan Madvig.⁴ The two theories of Madvig and especially Jespersen were influential in the creation of Reichenbach's R-point theory. Reichenbach kept a majority of the basic principles of these forerunning theories, but notably added, for example, a before-present position for the present perfect. Renaat Declerck and Bernard Comrie argue that Reichenbach is criticized for introducing certain redundancies avoided by Jespersen, thus, leading to a significant weakness in his theory.⁵ However, Binnick notes that Reichenbach's theory improves on Jespersen's in its ability to analyze subordinate clauses.⁶

While the traditional R-Point theory is not without its shortcomings, it is still considered a possible solution for understanding universal language units. Considering Reichenbach's R-

³ Adapted from Reichenbach, *Elements of Symbolic Logic*, 297. For additional reference to this table and its interpretation see Declerck, "From Reichenbach (1947) to Comrie (1985) and Beyond," 307; Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 8. "←" indicates the temporal precedence between the two points and " ," indicates the temporal simultaneity in the same way.

⁴ For specific reference to Johan Madvig's theory of Latin see Madvig, *A Latin Grammar*, 289. For reference to Otto Jespersen's theory of Latin see Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, 289. Cook discusses the debate between the two scholars and the emergence of Jespersen's theory from that of Madvig's. See Cook, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System," 4–7 for more information pertaining to this topic.

⁵ Comrie, *Tense*, 26; Declerck, "From Reichenbach (1947) to Comrie (1985) and Beyond," 307.

⁶ Binnick, *Time and the Verb*, 61–2.

Point Theory has been foundational for many historic and modern tense theories, this review turns its attention to a more recent rendition, that of Norbert Horstein. This is an appropriate scholar to review because with all the revisions of Reichenbach’s theory, Horstein holds truest to the original formation of the R-point theory.

Horstein’s theory is one of the more recent revisions of Reichenbach’s theory. Cook notes, “Hornstein’s main interest is to recast Reichenbach’s theory within a government and binding framework and defend Reichenbach’s principle of the permanence of the reference point.”⁷ Furthermore, Hornstein also “proposed a solution to the overabundance of tenses and S, R, E ordering in Reichenbach’s original formulation.”⁸ The following table illustrates the twenty four possible linear orders of S, R, and E in contrast to Reichenbach’s thirteen:

Table Appendix 2.2. Norbert Hornstein’s List of Linear Orders of E, R, and S in Reichenbach’s Theory⁹	
Tense	Combinations Using Reichenbach’s List
Present	S, R, E S, E, R R, S, E R, E, S E, S, R E, R, S
Past	E, R←S R, E←S
Future	S←R, E S←E, R
Present perfect	E←S, R E←R, S
Past perfect	E←R←S
Future perfect	S←E←R S, E←R E←S←R E, S←R
Distant future	S←R←E
Future in past	R←S, E R←E, S R←S←E R←E←S
Proximate future	S, R←E R, S←E

This list of “Linear Orders of E, R, and S in Reichbach’s Theory” is not the foundation or conclusion of Horstien’s work. Instead, he appeals to two principles or distinctions that allow him to take the list from twenty-four possibilities down to eleven. However, he does allow for alternative extrinsic orders for the three tenses, but he hypothesizes that only one is ever used in a language.¹⁰ The first distinction is between “intrinsic” and “extrinsic” orderings of E, R, and

⁷ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 11.
⁸ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 11.
⁹ Adapted from Hornstein, *As Time Goes By*, 87–88. Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 11.
¹⁰ The alternative extrinsic orderings are marked as “(i)” and “(ii)” in “Norbert Hornstein’s List of Possible Tenses and Linear Orderings.”

S.¹¹ The second principle is titled “compositionality.” This principle states that the relationship between R, E, and S is composed of a bonded RE and SR.¹² The following table illustrates the possible tenses and linear orderings of any given language according to Hornstein:

Table Appendix 2.3. Norbert Hornstein’s List of Possible Tenses and Linear Orderings¹³	
Tense	Combinations Using Reichenbach’s List
Present	(S, R) ° (R, E) = S, R, E (i) (R, S) ° (E, R) = E, R, S (ii)
Past	(R ← R) ° (E, R) = E, R ← S
Future	(S ← R) ° (E, R) = S ← R, E
Present perfect	(S, R) ° (R, E) = E ← S, R (i) (R, S) ° (E ← R) = E ← R, S (ii)
Future perfect	(S ← R) ° (E ← R)
Past perfect	(R ← S) ° (R ← E) = E ← R ← S
Future in past	(R ← S) ° (R ← E)
Proximate future	(S, R) ° (R ← E) = S, R ← E (i) (R, S) ° (R ← E) = R, S ← E (ii)

In conclusion, Reichenbach’s R-Point Theory was incredibly influential to the development of many historic and modern tense theories. Hornstein’s definition and use of “intrinsic” and “extrinsic” orderings appears in discussion with the orderings of rules in generative rule-based syntactic and phonological theories.¹⁴ This is important to note especially when observing Cook’s aspect prominent theory.

¹¹ Hornstein, *As Time Goes By*, 89. Cook provides the following examples for understanding the difference between “intrinsic” and “extrinsic.”

For instance, in the simple past formula (E, R ← S or R, E ← S) the order of E and R is extrinsic, whereas the order of E and R with S is intrinsic since the temporal priority of E and R to S is reflected in the Temporal interpretation. Wherever the order of R, E, or S is extrinsic, ordering differences may be ignored. Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 12.

¹² Hornstein, *As Time Goes By*, 108. Cook explains, “Thus, for instance, the ordering of points for present tense (E, R, S) should not be interpreted as E relative R relative S, but as composed (°) of (E relative R) ° (S relative R).” Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 12.

¹³ Adapted from Hornstein, *As Time Goes By*, 118–9; Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 13.

¹⁴ Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 12. Citing Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, 83. Cook states,

[...] two rules are *intrinsically* ordered when some formal or logical property demands they be ordered in a certain sequence (e.g., if the output of rule A provides the necessary input of rule B they must be intrinsically ordered A–B); two items are *extrinsically* ordered if there is no formal or logical constraint on their ordering, but they must simply be sequenced in some order for the purpose of carrying out the transformation. Cook, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System,” 12.

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