

Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and Their Psycholinguistic Background

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0.1. On the psycholinguistic basis of grammatical parallelism

The most salient feature of Canaanite (Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew) poetic form, as well as that of other oral literatures the world round,¹ is grammatical parallelism. The purpose of this study is to define two distinctive features of Canaanite poetry as variations, or stylistic transformations,² of grammatical parallelism. While we intend to establish the precise form of these transformations from the standpoint of Semitic philology, we shall also endeavor to explain the universal linguistic and psychological basis for the transformations we discuss. We hope to show that psychological processes underly the non-arbitrary directions that stylistic variations take and that psycholinguistic analysis enhances one's appreciation of Canaanite poetics.

0.2. If we characterize poetic art as a pattern of repeating linguistic elements, or sames,³

1 See R. Jakobson, "Grammatical Parallelism and Its Russian Facet," *Language* 42 (1966), 399-429. In this comprehensive treatment Jakobson cites grammatical parallelism in folk poetry from ancient Canaan, China, Finland, Turkey, and Russia.

2 With due caution N. Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 127, distinguishes grammatical transformations by which deep structure sentences are mapped onto (transformed into) surface structure sentences from the "stylistic reordering" of syntactic units. P. Kiparsky, "The Role of Linguistics in a Theory of Poetry," *Daedalus* (Summer, 1973), 238, employs the term "stylistic inversions" for syntactic orderings that are permitted in poetry but not in prose. I use the term "stylistic transformations" for specific syntactic transformations that are characteristic of poetic language. Although such transformations are not necessarily identical with those that generate surface structure sentences from underlying (deep) structures, some may be identical and operate in the same way. See below, §§ 1.0f., on the verb deletion transformation.

3 Cf. R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics," in T. A. Sebeok, ed., *Style in Language* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), especially 368, quoting G. M. Hopkins; Kiparsky, *The Role of Linguistics*, esp. 233.

grammatical (or syntactic) parallelism is that pattern in which the syntactic structure of one line of poetry is replicated in the following line(s). As a literary form, grammatical parallelism serves to correlate lines that share a similar syntactic construction. The correlation may be one of reiterating statements (*synonymous parallelism*), contrasting statements (*antithetic parallelism*), or supplementing or completing statements (*synthetic parallelism*).⁴ By the same token, lines that break the syntactic pattern are differentiated in relatedness from lines that display the same syntactic pattern.⁵ Deliberately or intuitively the poet prescribes particular syntactic constraints for some lines and violates them in others.⁶

0.3. The world-wide popularity of grammatical parallelism is not, however, a result of literary convention so much as psychological effect. Psycholinguistic investigations indicate that speakers tend to correlate similarity of structure and similarity of meaning. Thus when subjects in an experiment were asked to listen to a simple modifier-actor-verb-object sentence and then produce another sentence of the same syntactic construction, most subjects responded by producing sentences that had a meaning related to the meaning of the stimulus sentence. For example, the stimulus sentence *The lazy student failed the exam* elicited responses such as *The smart girl passed the test*.⁷

0.4. On the speech perception side, it has been shown that when a listener perceives a sentence with a certain syntactic construction, this establishes in the listener a preference or expectation for the same syntax in the next sentence. A series of experiments capitalized on the finding that when a subject processes a sentence possessing a certain syntactic structure and then receives another sentence whose surface syntactic structure is identical but whose meaning may be analyzed in two ways (representing two possible deep structures), he tends to interpret the latter sentence according to the unambiguous former sentence.⁸

4 Cf. G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (New York, 1915; reprint: N.Y., 1972), 49; R. Jakobson, "Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry," *Lingua* 21 (1968), 601-2.

5 Cf. Jakobson, *Grammatical Parallelism*, 423: "Any form of parallelism is an apportionment of invariants and variables. The stricter the distribution of the former, the greater the discernability and effectiveness of the variations."

6 A vivid example of how such rule prescription works is provided in K. Koch, *Wishes, Lies, and Dreams* (Vintage Books ed.: New York, 1971). Koch channeled the linguistic creativity of elementary school children into poetic structure by requiring them to follow rules. The rules in effect generally placed syntactic constraints on the children's sentence construction such that grammatical parallelism resulted; see e.g., poems on pages 7, 14. Even where the rules did not necessitate syntactic uniformity, children intuitively produced poems in syntactic parallelism; see e.g., the poem of M. Morales on page 192. On deviation within parallelism, cf. M. Bierwisch, *Modern Linguistics* (The Hague, 1971), 92-94.

7 H. H. Clark, "The Prediction of Recall Patterns in Simple Active Sentences," *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* (hereafter *JVLVB*) 5 (1966), 99-106, esp. 100.

8 D. G. MacKay and T. G. Bever, "In Search of Ambiguity," *Perception & Psychophysics* (hereafter *Perc. & Psych.*) 2 (1967), 193-200; J. Mehler and P. Carey, "The Role of Surface and Base Structure in the Perception of Sentences," *JVLVB* 6 (1967), 335-38; Mehler and Carey, "The Interaction of Veracity and Syntax in the Processing of Sentences," *Perc. & Psych.* 3 (1968), 109-11; D. J. Foss, T. G. Bever, and M. Silver, "The Comprehension and Verification of Ambiguous Sentences," *Perc. & Psych.*

For example, the sentence *They are visiting sailors* is ambiguous. If preceded by sentences of the type *They are performing monkeys*, the subject will interpret *They are visiting sailors* to mean that the sailors are doing the visiting. But if preceded by *They are bombarding cities*, the subject will interpret the test sentence to mean that someone else is visiting the sailors.

0.5. A repetition of syntactic structure (= grammatical parallelism) reinforces the interpretation of a sentence. Deviation from that pattern delays sentence processing.⁹ This perceptual effect underpins the principle of literary analysis which holds that deviations from a set pattern are significant and call for interpretation.¹⁰ Thus grammatical parallelism serves the function of associating and dissociating lines of poetry according to similarity and dissimilarity of syntactic construction, thereby facilitating the listener's perception of (especially) oral poetry.

0.6. However, as we stated in §0.1 above, grammatical parallelism in Canaanite poetry does not simply consist of juxtaposing sentences that manifest a similar syntax. For literary effect, stylistic transformations are optionally applied within the syntactic framework. We shall discuss here the features of (1) verb deletion in the second of two parallel hemistichs and (2) so-called *climactic parallelism*.

1.0. Verb deletion in the second of two parallel hemistichs

The two extant bodies of ancient Semitic poetry, those of Canaanite and Akkadian,¹¹ both employ grammatical parallelism. In Canaanite, however, parallelism is the predominant poetic form, while in Akkadian it is featured in certain genres and compositions but is not usually a dominating form. But a clearly distinguishing characteristic between the Canaanite (especially Ugaritic) and Akkadian parallelistic style itself is that in Canaanite the verb is

4 (1968), 304-6; Foss, "Some Effects of Ambiguity upon Sentence Comprehension," *JVLVB* 9 (1970), 699-706; Carey, Mehler, and Bever, "Judging the Veracity of Ambiguous Sentences," *JVLVB* 9 (1970), 243-54; Carey, Mehler, and Bever, "When Do We Compute All the Interpretations of an Ambiguous Sentence," in G. B. Flores d'Arcais and W. J. M. Levelt, eds., *Advances in Psycholinguistics* (Amsterdam-London, 1970), 61-75; M. F. Garrett, "Does Ambiguity Complicate the Perception of Sentences," in *ibid.*, 48-60; MacKay, "Mental Diplopia: Towards a Model of Speech Perception at the Semantic Level," in *ibid.*, 76-98.

⁹ This may be inferred from the studies cited in the previous note in which an unambiguous sentence with the same surface structure but a different underlying structure from a preceding set of sentences took longer to process than a sentence with the expected syntax; see esp. Carey, Mehler, and Bever, *When Do We Compute*.

¹⁰ For this effect in music too, cf. L. B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago, 1956), 30f.

¹¹ See already Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, 38-39. Parallelism is most prevalent in Akkadian in such compositions as *Enuma Elis*, *Gilgames*, and *Ludlul II*; and such genres as hymns and prayers, didactic literature, and incantations.

as often as not deleted in the second of two parallel hemistichs and in Akkadian the verb is hardly ever deleted.¹²

1.1. In Ugaritic the prevalent poetic form is that of syntactically parallel couplets or distichs, and in many such couplets the main verb (V) is elliptical in the second hemistich.¹³ The following examples are typical:

- III AB, A:10: t q ḥ m l k 'l m k
 d r k t d t d r d r k
 Thou'lt take thine eternal kingdom,
 Thine everlasting dominion.¹⁴
- NK 33-37 a d n h y ṣ t m ṣ b m z n m
 u m h k p m z n m
 i ḥ h y ṣ t 'r m ṣ r r m
 a ḥ t t h l a b n m z n m
 Her father set the stand of the balances,
 her mother the trays of the balances.
 Her brothers arranged the weights (?),
 her sisters the balance-weights.¹⁵
- II D, 2:14-15: k y l d b n l y k m a ḥ y
 w ṣ r ṣ k m a r y y
 For a son's born to me like my brethren's,
 A scion like unto my kindred's.¹⁶
- I K 111-14: s 't b ṣ d m ḥ ṭ b h
 b g r n t ḥ p ṣ t
 s 't b n < p > k ṣ i b t
 b b q r m m l a t
 Sweep from the fields the woodcutting 'wives',
 From the threshing floors the strawpicking ones;
 Sweep from the spring the women that draw,
 From the fountain those that fill.¹⁷

1.2. The feature of verb deletion is also a major (but not prevalent) feature of biblical Hebrew poetry, of which the following may serve as examples:

12 The verb is deleted, e.g., in the following Akkadian passages: Lambert, *BWL*, 100:29 *lezēnu ē tātamī//tēmu lā kīni* "Do not utter (any) slander, (Any) unsubstantiated opinion" (cf. *CAD L*, 163a); 163a); Zimmern, *BBR* #100:15 (cf. *CAD S*, 145a) *urabbišūma šēru kī abišu//qirbētu kī ummišu* "The steppeland reared it (a gazelle kid) as though it were its father, (and) the fields as though they were its mother."

13 Cf. Gordon, *UT*, §13.105; Greenstein, *JANES* 5 (1973), 159, n. 20.

14 Trans. H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 131.

15 Trans. Ginsberg, *Orientalia* 8 (1939), 324.

16 Trans. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 150.

17 Trans. Ginsberg, *ibid.*, 144; see J. C. Greenfield, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), 63.

- Gen. 4:23c-24: kī 'īš hōragtī ləfiš'ī
 wəyēlēš ləhabbūrōtī
 kī šivō ayim yuqqam-qōyin
 wələmēx šiv'īm wəšiv'ō¹⁸
 Yea, I have slain a warrior for my wound,
 and a lad for my injury.
 Yea, Cain shall be avenged seventy-fold,
 and Lamech seventy-seven-fold.
- 1 Sam. 18:7b: hikkō šō'ul ba'ālōfōv
 wəšōwīš bərivvōōv¹⁹
 Saul has slain his thousands,
 and David his ten-thousands.
- Ps. 114:4: hēhōrīm tirqəšū xə'ēlīm
 gəvō'ōθ kivnē-šō'n
 The mountains skipped like rams,
 (the) hills like lambs.

1.3. It is clear that in Canaanite poetry, when two lines are syntactically parallel, the main verb (V) may be deleted in the second line provided the grammatical subject and object of the second line correspond to the subject and object of the first line. When the subject in both lines is identical, it is generally deleted in the second line along with V. However, in such cases the Canaanite poets sometimes preferred to repeat an identical subject in the second line by substituting an epithet or appositive for the subject noun phrase (NP) used in the first line;²⁰ for example:

- I K 154-55: krt yḥt wḥlm
 'bd il whdrt
 Keret awoke, and (lo, it was) a dream;
 The Servant of El, and (lo, it was) a fantasy.²¹

1.4. There is no clearcut attestation of two parallel lines where V is elliptical in the first line but not the second. (A systematic exception to this is found in what we label "suspension of analysis" climactic parallelism; but this in no way contradicts but rather confirms our thesis, as we shall explain below in §2.6f.) But here and there interpreters of Canaanite texts have analyzed a couplet in such a way that V seems to be elliptical in the first of two parallel lines but appears in the second. We shall maintain that in no case does V deletion occur in the first of two parallel hemistichs. Such an occurrence is unsubstantiated

18 For a study of the lexical parallelisms in this passage, see S. Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* (Chicago, 1963), 25-34.

19 Gevirtz, *ibid.*, 15-24, studies the "thousand"/"ten-thousand" parallelism.

20 Cf. "epithetic" parallelism in Gevirtz, *ibid.*, 26, 49; and see Jakobson, *Grammatical Parallelism*, 427, for this feature in Russian folk songs.

21 Trans. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 144.

philologically and violates a principle of sentence perception, which we shall discuss below, §§1.10-1.14.

1.5. In cases where the verb is alleged to be elliptical in the first hemistich, alternative philological interpretation can be shown to yield a syntactic construction in conformity with our principle.²² An example that illustrates this point is found in a recent crux in Ugaritic, *Ugaritica* V, no. 1:1-2:

*il dbḥ bbth//mšd šd bqrb bkl[h].*²³

The syntax is problematic to any interpretation. The parallelism of *bbth* 'in his house'//*bqrb bkl[h]* 'in his palace' is very well attested, and in every case these phrases occur as the last words in the hemistich. Methodologically we must assume that the case is such here too and divide the stichoi accordingly.²⁴ Orthographically it is impossible to tell whether *dbḥ* is a verb or a noun. *mšd šd* looks like an object noun plus cognate verb, but *šd* could be a noun orthographically. (No one disputes that *mšd* is a noun.) The matter is further complicated by the attested synonymous parallelism of the noun *dbḥ*//*mšd* in the Keret Epic.²⁵ Thus S. E. Loewenstamm,²⁶ who correctly divides the stichoi, parses *dbḥ* as a noun, parallel to *mšd* and the object of a verb *šd* in the second line. But the syntax he proposes is not only unique in Ugaritic literature but, as we shall show, contravenes a perceptual principle that predicts that such a syntactic construction would be unacceptable.

1.6. Our suggestion follows different lines. In the same Keret passage in which the noun *dbḥ*//*mšd*, the verb *dbḥ* 'to sacrifice (to a god)' is employed intransitively or elliptically with the cognate noun understood,²⁷ parallel to the idiom *šrd bdbḥ/mšd* 'to honor²⁸ (a god) with a sacrifice'. Hence, we interpret *dbḥ* in our passage as an intransitive verb or a transitive verb with an elliptical cognate object understood, meaning 'to offer a sacrifice'; and we interpret *mšd šd* as an idiom synonymously parallel to it and similar in meaning to *šrd bmšd* in Keret. We translate: "El offers a sacrifice in his house//an *oblation he makes*²⁹ in his palace."

22 See e.g., M. Held, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), 72, n. 15.

23 Ch. Virolleaud, in *Ug. V* (Paris, 1968), 545f.

24 So S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 1 (1969), 73; and see idem, *UF* 3 (1971), 358, for documentation. Other commentators failed to realize this: Virolleaud, *Ug. V*, 545; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969), 168; H. P. Rüger, *UF* 1 (1969), 203f.; B. Margulis, *UF* 2 (1970), 132.

25 I K 76-79; cf. 168-71.

26 *UF* 1 (1969), 73; cf. *UF* 3 (1971), 357-59.

27 The verb *dbḥ* 'sacrifice' takes its cognate noun *dbḥ* 'sacrifice' as object in II K, 1:39-40, 61. Dr. M. Held has suggested (oral communication) that the noun *dbḥ* was omitted in the first line by haplogy. In order to balance the longer second line and to provide a more precise syntactic parallel to *mšd šd* Dr. Held reads the first line: *il dbḥ <dbḥ>bbth*.

28 Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 143; cf. Loewenstamm, *UF* 3 (1971), 358, n. 1; the word is not yet clearly understood.

29 Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 143.

1.7. The principle of deleting V only in the second of two parallel lines can also be upheld in the textual criticism and philological exegesis of the Hebrew Bible.³⁰ A case in point is Ps. 67:5.³¹ M. J. Dahood³² misdivides the stichoi, yielding:

yīsməḥū wīrannənu lə'ummīm kī tišpoṭ
'ammīm mīšōr
ūlə'ummīm bō'ōrēṣ tanḥēm sēlī.

A translation of this verse which follows Dahood's interpretation but more faithfully reflects the original word order and usage of identical terms is:

Will be happy,
and will shout for joy the nations,
because you are the ruler.
Peoples into the plain,
and nations into the land you will lead. *Selah*.

Dahood's analysis contravenes our principle. Moreover, a philological reexamination of the verse shows that Dahood's interpretation of the verse is unsound.

1.8. Dahood was misled into seeking a parallelism between *mīšōr* 'plain' and 'ēreṣ 'land'. But elsewhere *mīšōr* is parallel to words denoting some specific kind of terrain, never to such a broad and neutral term as 'land' and never in particular to the word 'ēreṣ. As Dahood knows, *mīšōr* can also mean 'uprightness, justice'; see the lexicon of Brown, Driver, and Briggs, 449b, and compare Akkadian *mīšaru(m)* 'justice, equity'. It is true that the verb *nōḥē* 'to lead' goes with 'oraḥ *mīšōr* 'straight path' in Ps. 27:11 and with 'ēreṣ *mīšōr* 'level/straight land' in Ps. 143:10. However, in those verses *mīšōr* does not denote a type of terrain but is a *nomen rectum* serving as an adjectival substantive meaning 'straight' and does not occur alone. Moreover, 'ēreṣ 'land' in Ps. 143:10 is probably a scribal corruption for 'oraḥ 'path', with some manuscripts.³³ In both passages the 'straight course' is meant figuratively in the domain of morality.

1.9. Further, Dahood³⁴ translates *tišpoṭ* as an imperfect stative verb 'you are the ruler'. But *šōfaṭ* 'to rule' is attested in the imperfect (and perfect) tense only as an active and never as a stative verb (unless one stretches the meaning of such verses as 1 Kgs. 7:7 and Ps. 82:1). On the other hand, the verb *šōfaṭ* or its synonymous parallel is modified or complemented by (*bə*)*mēšōrīm* '(in) justice' (Ps. 9:9; 58:2; 75:3; 98:9). Since our *mīšōr* 'justice' is

30 E.g., Gevirtz, *Patterns*, 91-92, employs this principle implicitly in his attempt to restore a verb in the first hemistich of 2 Sam. 1:23b. However, his restoration may be gratuitous since the NP 'the beloved and the pleasant' may serve as the predicate of the former stich in lieu of a precise parallel to the verb in the latter stich; cf. W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 2 (1922), 84-86.

31 For an alternative treatment of this passage, involving emendation, see H. L. Ginsberg, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), 46-47.

32 *Psalms II*, Anchor Bible #17 (New York, 1968), 126, 128-29.

33 See *BH*³, ad loc.

34 *Psalms II*, 126.

cognate to and synonymous with *mēšōrīm* 'justice', it should be clear that *kī tišpoṭ* means 'for you rule' and belongs to the second stich with *mšōr* '(in) justice', just as the Masoretic tradition has it. When the stichoi are properly divided, both stichoi contain verbs, and our principle is upheld. Compare the correct translation of the RSV:³⁵

Let the nations be glad and sing for joy,
for thou dost judge the peoples with equity
and guide the nations upon earth. *Selah*.

1.10. It is pertinent to observe that the deletion of the main verb in the second but not first of two parallel syntactic constructions is not a peculiar feature of Semitic poetry. Not only is it a well-known feature of Finnish epic poetry too,³⁶ it is a common transformation in reduced compound sentence constructions in, say, English.³⁷ For instance, the sentence *John drank a glass of bourbon and Mary drank a bottle of wine* may be reduced by a verb deletion transformation to *John drank a glass of bourbon and Mary a bottle of wine*, which is perfectly acceptable, while **John a glass of bourbon and Mary drank a bottle of wine* is unacceptable.³⁸ The verb may be deleted only in the second clause.

1.11. The basis for the unacceptability lies in the perceptual operations we automatically activate in processing sentences. Recent psycholinguistic investigations have demonstrated that when we process speech, we assign a syntactic analysis to a sentence clause by clause according to the deep structure of the sentence.³⁹ Subsequent experiments that studied ambiguity in sentences⁴⁰ confirmed those findings and yielded the important conclusion that after we believe we have reached a clause break, we assign a syntactic interpretation to

35 Cf. the translation of the Jewish Publication Society, *The Book of Psalms* (Philadelphia, 1972), 65.

36 The *Gapping* rule, described by Kiparsky, *The Role of Linguistics*, 237.

37 For a survey of constituent reduction transformations in English compound sentences, see D. T. Langendoen, *The Study of Syntax* (New York, 1969), 88f.

38 It may be objected that when the verb comes as the final constituent in an English compound sentence, a sentence such as *John a glass of bourbon and Mary a bottle of wine drank* is acceptable. However, although it is comprehensible, such a sentence will be excused as poetic but must be admitted to be ungrammatical. This particular sentence is comprehensible because the relationship between the noun phrases is clear semantically without syntactic marking. That is, on the basis of semantic cues alone the listener parses "John" as the actor NP and "a glass of bourbon" as the object NP even without V ("drank") expressed. The syntax of this sentence (NP₁ - NP₂ - and - NP₃ - NP₄ - V) does not by itself allow for comprehension. The following sentence, which adopts this syntax but lacks semantic cues, is incomprehensible: *The dog the cat and the monkey the man bit*. This sentence structure is readily seen to be imperceptible and ungrammatical, although when the semantic associations are clear-cut such a construction may be acceptable to many English speakers—just as other ungrammatical sentences can often be understood with facility.

39 For a summary of these experiments see T. G. Bever, J. R. Lackner, and R. Kirk, "The Underlying Structures of Sentences Are the Primary Units of Immediate Speech Processing," *Perc. & Psych.* 5 (1969), 225-34; for a more general discussion see Bever, "The Cognitive Basis for Linguistic Structures," in J. R. Hayes, ed., *Cognition and the Development of Language* (New York, 1970), 286f.

40 See the studies cited above in n. 8.

what we have heard and retain in our immediate memory the semantic meaning of the clause but not its actual phonological representation.⁴¹

1.12. Now in a reduced compound sentence in which V is deleted from the second clause there is no impediment to speech perception. The first clause contains a complete sentence and is thus interpreted without difficulty. The semantic interpretation is retained in memory, including the relationship between the grammatical subject NP and the object NP that is expressed by V.⁴² When in the second clause V is deleted, so long as the subject NP and the object NP remain in the same order as they appear in the first clause, the relationship between them (= V) can be mentally supplied.

1.13. If V is elliptical in the first clause, no syntactic analysis can be applied to the two NPs since no clause boundary is perceptible. Since verbal material that is unstructured syntactically is extremely difficult to recall,⁴³ it seems that rather than burden our memories with unstructured linguistic material, we discard it as nonsense. In the case of the unacceptable compound sentence, then, we do not process the unstructured NPs in the first clause, but we proceed to process the second clause, which is syntactically perceptible. Only through a troublesome retrieval process could we mentally supply V of the second clause in the first clause.

1.14. In recent writings T. G. Bever has described how we apply certain perceptual strategies toward the syntactic analysis of speech.⁴⁴ For example, we tend to interpret any unmarked NP₁-V-NP₂ sequence as actor-action-object.⁴⁵ In the case of compound sentences we seem to manifest a perceptual strategy that in a sequence NP₁-V-NP₂-and-NP₃-NP₄,

41 Cf. Mehler and Carey, *The Role of Surface and Base Structure*, 338. This finding is corroborated by other investigations as well; cf. J. Mehler, "Some Effects of Grammatical Transformations on the Recall of English Sentences," *JVLVB* 2 (1963), 346-51; Clark, *The Prediction of Recall Patterns*; and S. A. Bobrow, "Memory for Words in Sentences," *JVLVB* 9 (1970), 363-72.

42 It is also noteworthy that some experiments have found that the verb is the best recalled grammatical element of a sentence; R. J. Jarvella and S. J. Herman, "Speed and Accuracy of Sentence Recall . . .," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 97 (1973), 108-10; contrast the mildly divergent results of Clark, *The Prediction of Recall Patterns*. That the main verb is the most central element to the meaning of a sentence is implied by T. A. Gladney and G. K. Krulee, "The Influence of Syntactic Errors on Sentence Recognition," *JVLVB* 6 (1967), 692-98.

43 Cf. W. Epstein, "The Influence of Syntactical Structure on Learning," *American Journal of Psychology* 74 (1961), 80-85; S. Rosenberg, "Recall of Sentences as a Function of Syntactic and Associative Habit," *JVLVB* 5 (1966), 392-96; K. I. Forster, "The Effect of Syntactic Structure on Non-ordered Recall," *JVLVB* 5 (1966), 292-97; Epstein, "Some Conditions of the Influence of Syntactical Structure on Learning . . .," *JVLVB* 6 (1967), 415-19; Jarvella and Herman, *Speed and Accuracy of Sentence Recall*.

44 Bever, *The Cognitive Basis for Linguistic Structures*; idem, "The Influence of Speech Performance on Linguistic Structure," in Flores d'Arcais and Levelt, eds., *Advances in Psycholinguistics*, 4-30; Bever and Langendoen, "The Interaction of Speech Perception and Grammatical Structure in the Evolution of Language," in R. P. Stockwell and R. K. S. Macauley, eds., *Linguistic Change and Generative Theory* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972), 42f.

45 Bever, *The Cognitive Basis for Linguistic Structures*, 298f.; cf. D. I. Slobin, "Universals of Grammatical Development in Children," in Flores d'Arcais and Levelt, eds., *Advances in Psycholinguistics*, 174-84.

where NP₃ and NP₄ can syntactically interchange with NP₁ and NP₂, respectively, in identical semantic associations, V is understood to be elliptical between NP₃ and NP₄.⁴⁶ This analysis of sentence perception would predict that in Canaanite poetry too, where two lines of poetry contain two clauses of parallel grammatical construction, V might be elliptical in the second line but not in the first.

2.0. Climactic parallelism

Another variation of grammatical parallelism in Canaanite is the special case of *climactic* or "staircase" parallelism.⁴⁷ Although most scholars include in this category the climactic parallelism of two lines,⁴⁸ we shall consider only the parallelism of three (or more) lines in which the following rules are observed:

46 Where NP₃ = NP₁, NP₃ is deleted in the second clause along with V. Thus this rule transforms the sentences *John drank a glass of bourbon* and *John drank a bottle of wine* → *John drank a glass of bourbon and a bottle of wine*. This deletion transformation occurs also in Canaanite and is described above, § 1.3.

47 Cf. Jakobson, *Grammatical Parallelism*, 427, n. 78. For early comparisons of this poetic form in Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew, see Ginsberg, *Orientalia* 5 (1936), 180-81; idem, *Orientalia* 7 (1938), 7; cf. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson* (Edinburgh, 1950), 4f.; and idem, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (New York, 1968), 5-7. For the history of scholarship on this Canaanite form from Medieval times to the present, the reader is referred to the comprehensive discussion of Loewenstamm, "The Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse," *JSS* 15 (1969), 176-96 = *Leshonenu* 32 (1967-68), 111-26 [in Hebrew]; and see the important material added by Y. Avishur, "Addenda to the Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse," *UF* 4 (1972), 1-10. For a nihilistic approach, contrast S. Mowinckel, *Real and Apparent Tricola in Hebrew Psalm Poetry* (Oslo, 1957).

Loewenstamm, *The Expanded Colon*, 184, includes III K, 3:17-19 as a climactic parallelism. But this passage lacks features (a) and (b) of climactic parallelism (see immediately below) and is actually only a tricolon similar in form to such passages as I K 62-64, etc. Avishur, *Addenda*, 6-7, wants to restore a climactic parallelism to III K, 2:18-20 and read:

<i>brkm ybrk</i>	Indeed he blesses,
<i>[brkm] ybrk il krt [l'</i>	[Indeed] blesses El Keret [the Noble]
<i>ymr] m n'm[n] g'lm il</i>	[beatif]ies the Belov[ed] Lad of El.

However, even restored thus the passage lacks feature (b) of climactic parallelism. Moreover, placing the restoration in the second line rather than the first overloads the second line while leaving the first line irregularly light. It seems best therefore to accept Ginsberg's restoration of the first line *brkm ybrk [l'bdb]* (see A. Herdner, *Corpus* [Paris, 1963], 68, n. 9) and translate with Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 146: "Indeed he blesses [*his servant*] / El blesses Keret, / [Beatif]ies the Beloved, Lad of El." The restoration is duly supported by II D, 1:35-37.

48 Loewenstamm, *The Expanded Colon*, claims that the three-line climactic parallelism or "staircase" evolved from the two-liner. This is in no way supported by the evidence since there is no clear case of a two-line staircase in Ugaritic (but cf. II AB, 5:113-16) against nearly twenty three-liners. And in Hebrew, which is certainly later, two-line staircases by far outnumber those of three lines. All chronological evidence, then, argues for the reverse of Loewenstamm's evolutionary theory. It is interesting that Loewenstamm attempted to show another simple-to-complex development in the seven-day counting formula of Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew; *Tarbiz* 31 (1962), 227-35 [in Hebrew]. But in fact the latest occurrence, in the Keret Epic, is by far the simplest and barest; see D. Freedman, *JANES* 3 (1971), 79. Recently Loewenstamm's student, Y. Avishur, tried to establish a simple-to-complex

- (a) the initial two words⁴⁹ of the first line are reproduced initially in the second line;
 (b) the last word(s) of the first line is (are) either the grammatical subject NP of the first two lines or a vocative;
 (c) the second and third lines are parallel either synonymously or synthetically. When the parallelism of the second and third lines is synonymous, very often there is a syntactic chiasmus in the third line, a stylistic transformation by which the word order is inverted; where there is no chiasmus, the verb is sometimes deleted in the third line.⁵⁰

2.1. The literary and psychological effect of climax—a subject that has been neglected in other treatments of climactic parallelism, so far as I know—is produced by either of two syntacto-perceptual operations: (1) a shift in the syntactic function of a repeated word, which requires the listener to reanalyze the syntax of the second line; or (2) an incompleting sentence or idiom in the first line, which requires the listener to suspend syntactic analysis of the first line until he has heard the second line. There is a third, weak form of climactic parallelism in which the requisite rules of form, (a), (b), and (c), outlined above in §2.0, are observed but in which the second line merely adds a clause or phrase to the first without altering the syntax. We shall be concerned only with the strong forms of climactic parallelism, (1) and (2). We shall now examine the syntactic and perceptual operations that contribute toward the climactic effect. A synopsis of passages in Ugaritic and in biblical Hebrew with their respective features is provided in Table (1).

2.2. One strong form of climactic parallelism involves a syntactic shift in function of the second word in the first line when it is repeated in the second line. Some examples are reproduced here:⁵¹

I K 21-25: y'n ḥtkh krt
 y'n ḥtkh rš
 mid grdš⁵² ṭbth
 He sees his offspring, doth Keret;
 He sees his offspring ruined,
 Wholly *undermined* his seat.⁵³

development in the double and triple question formulae in Ugaritic and biblical Hebrew; *Sefer Shazar* (Jerusalem, 1973), 421-64 [in Hebrew]. But while the $\emptyset$ -bm formula in Ugaritic (= biblical *b-'im*; see M. Held, *Eretz Israel* 9 [1969], 71-79) is well attested, Avishur alleges that this developed from a $\emptyset$ - $\emptyset$ paradigm. His principal evidence for this formula is in V AB, 3-4:45-47, where he follows Cassuto in rendering: "Is Baal driven out from the Heights of Šaphon? Did his crown fall and were his ears cut off? . . ." (Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* [Jerusalem, 1951], 68 [in Hebrew]; Avishur, *Sefer Shazar*, 428). However, this passage contains relative clauses, not rhetorical questions; see, e.g., Driver, *CML*, 87b; Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 137a; Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete* (New York, 1966), 53; Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1961), 240. Thus Avishur fails to establish that there was in Ugaritic even one remnant of the most primitive paradigm in his theory.

49 The only exception is Song 4:9 in which the accusative pronominal suffix on the verb serves in lieu of the second word.

50 This follows the feature of verb deletion discussed above in §§1.0f.

51 We employ only a consonantal transcription of the Hebrew text here and below for reasons of space; in any case our interest here is syntactic, not phonological.

52 A farflung Semitic etymology for this verb is suggested by Greenfield, *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969), 61.

53 Trans. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 143.

Ps. 92:10: hnh 'ybyk yhw h
 hnh 'ybyk y'bdw
 ytprdw kl pw'ly 'wn
 Behold, thy enemies, O YHWH,
 Behold, thy enemies shall perish,
 Shall be scattered all evildoers.⁵⁴

Ps. 77:17(16): r'wk m ym 'lhy m
 r'wk m ym yhy lw
 'p yrgzw thm w t
 See thee the waters, O God,
 (They) see thee, the waters whirl,
 Yea, turbulent are the seas.

In each of these cases the second word in the first and second line serves a different syntactic function in the second line from its function in the first line. Figures (1) - (3) illustrate the respective syntactic shifts. ("S" represents a sentence.)

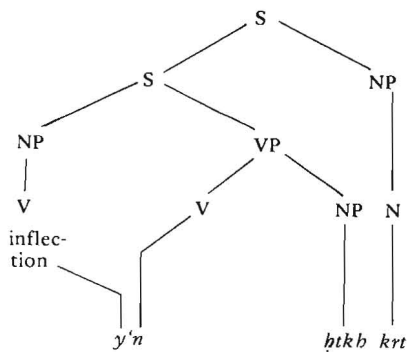


Fig. (1) A syntactic diagram of the first two stichoi of I K 21-25.

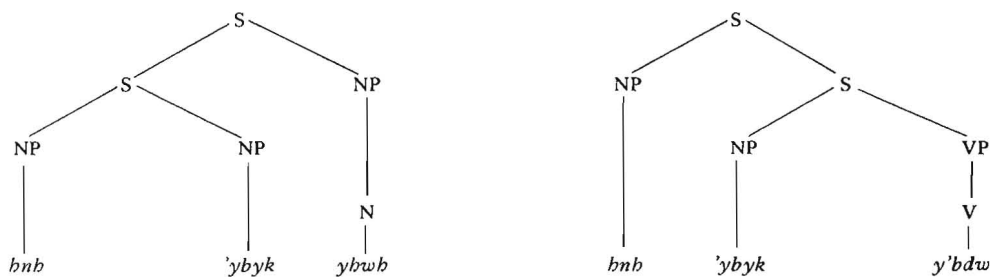


Fig. (2) A syntactic diagram of the first two stichoi of Ps. 92:10.

⁵⁴ Cf. RSV.

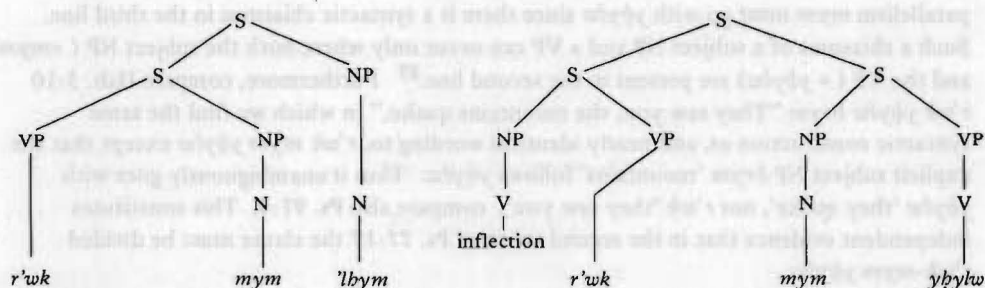


Fig. (3) A syntactic diagram of the first two stichoi of Ps. 77:17(16).

2.3. In Fig. (1) *h'tkb* 'his offspring' is a direct object in the first line and the subject of the nominalized sentence *h'tkb rš* 'his offspring (is) ruined' in the second line.⁵⁵ In Fig. (2) *ybyk* 'thy enemies' is the predicate NP of the deictic *bnh* 'Behold' in the first line and the subject NP of the nominalized sentence *ybyk y'bdw* 'thy enemies shall perish' in the second line. In Fig. (3) *mym* 'the waters' is the subject NP of the sentence *r'wk mym* 'the waters see thee' in the first line; but in the second line *mym* can be perceived syntactically as the subject NP of both *r'wk* 'see thee' and *yhylw* 'whirl'. Some readers may desire to parse the second line of Fig. (3) as Fig. (4) represents it.⁵⁶ Although it is hazardous to make dogmatic claims about the syntax of an extinct language, the literary forms of Canaanite poetry are of

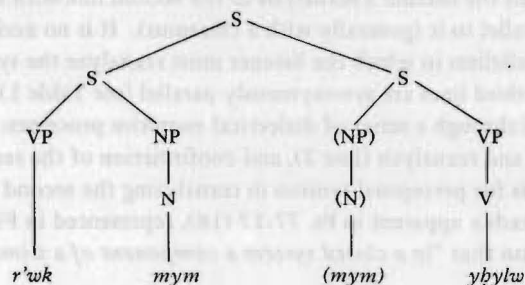


Fig. (4) Alternative diagram of Fig. (3).

great assistance in analyzing Canaanite syntax. Such an analysis as that represented by Fig. (4) ignores the fact that the second and third lines of this climactic parallelism parallel the phrases *mym yhylw* 'the waters whirl'/'*p yrgzw thmwt* 'yea, turbulent are the seas'. In this

55 Although Ugaritic distinguishes case endings, which are rarely expressed in the script, in either case the accusative ending would be expected.

56 So the recent translation of the JPS, *The Book of Psalms* (1972), 78; cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 136.

parallelism *mym* must go with *yhylyw* since there is a syntactic chiasmus in the third line. Such a chiasmus of a subject NP and a VP can occur only where both the subject NP (= *mym*) and the VP (= *yhylyw*) are present in the second line.⁵⁷ Furthermore, compare Hab. 3:10 *r'wk yhylyw brym* "They saw you, the mountains quake," in which we find the same syntactic construction as, and nearly identical wording to, *r'wk mym yhylyw* except that the explicit subject NP *brym* 'mountains' follows *yhylyw*. Thus it unambiguously goes with *yhylyw* 'they quake', not *r'wk* 'they saw you'; compare also Ps. 97:4. This constitutes independent evidence that in the second colon of Ps. 77:17 the clause must be divided *r'wk-mym yhylyw*.

2.4. To return to the climactic effect, the syntactic shift in the second line startles the listener and requires him to reanalyze the syntax.⁵⁸ Perceptually, the listener first analyzes the sentence of the first line. The syntax of the first line establishes an expectation for that syntax in the second line.⁵⁹ When the first two words of the second line are found to be identical to the first two words of the first line, this together with the listener's expectation signal his speech processing mechanisms to analyze the second line as soon as the first two words are perceived.⁶⁰ Before the third word is perceived the listener has begun to assign a syntactic analysis to the first two words in the second line identical to that which he assigned those words in the first line. When the listener perceives the third word, his internalized knowledge of syntax informs him that his analysis of the first two words was mistaken, and he must reinterpret the second line.⁶¹ The second line, then, poses a perceptual obstacle before the listener, which he must overcome. Once he does, the third line confirms the listener's reanalysis of the second line with a line synonymously and syntactically parallel to it (generally with a chiasmus). It is no accident that in every case of climactic parallelism in which the listener must reanalyze the syntax of the second line, the second and third lines are synonymously parallel (see Table 1). The literary effect of climax is achieved through a series of dialectical cognitive processes: certainty of analysis (line 1), uncertainty and reanalysis (line 2), and confirmation of the reanalysis (line 3).⁶²

2.5. Another basis for perceptual tension in reanalyzing the second line of a climactic parallelism is most readily apparent in Ps. 77:17 (16), represented in Fig. (3). It is a general principle of perception that "in a closed system a component of a stimulus cannot serve

57 See Table (1). Where V is deleted in the third line there can be no syntactic chiasmus. For the parallelism of *mayim* and *təbōm* (ṯṯ), cf. Exod. 15:8; Ezek. 31:4; Jon. 2:6; Ps. 104:6; Job 38:30.

58 An excellent example of the poetic usage of syntactic shifts is afforded by Wallace Stevens' poem "The Snow Man," which is brilliantly analyzed by S. J. Keyser, "Towards a Theory of Poetic Form and Meaning" (mimeographed, 1973), esp. 29-31.

59 See above, §0.4.

60 A listener segments incoming speech according to the most readily perceived clause break in the underlying syntactic structure that is manifested in the surface structure; Bever, Lackner, and Kirk, *The Underlying Structures of Sentences*, esp. 229f.; cf. Bever, *The Influence of Speech Performance*, 15.

61 Cf. Bever, *The Influence of Speech Performance*, 15; Bever and Langendoen, *The Interaction of Speech Perception and Grammatical Structure*, 43f., 46f.

62 For a similar process in music and in perception in general, see Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, 27f.

two opposite functions at the same time."⁶³ In terms of syntax, a syntactic element cannot serve two syntactic functions simultaneously and be understood. Now in the second line of Ps. 77:17(16) the NP *mym* is at first perceived as the explicit grammatical subject of the VP *r'wk* while by the end of the line it is perceived as the subject NP of the VP *yhylw* (see § 2.3 above). The listener cannot perceive it both ways at the same time, and so he must segment the clauses differently from his first analysis. That is, following the first line the listener initially segments the clause in line 2 after *mym*; then he must redivide the clauses before *mym*. In this type of climactic parallelism the following stylistic transformations combine the syntax of the first clause in line 1 with a second clause whose initial element is identical with the final element in the first clause:

[deictic - NP₁] + [NP₁ - VP₁] → [deictic - (NP₁ - VP₁)]

or [VP₁ - NP₁] + [NP₁ - VP₂] → [VP₁ - (NP₁ - VP₂)].

2.6. The second strong form of climactic parallelism prescribes an incompleted sentence or idiom in the first line and the completion of that sentence or idiom in the second line. The following examples are illustrative of this type:

II K, 6:54-57: yṭbr ḥrn ybn
 yṭbr ḥrn rišk
 'ṭtrt šm b'l qdqdk
 May Horon break, O my son,
 May Horon break thy head,
 Ashtoreth name of Baal thy pate.⁶⁴

Ps. 93:3: nś'w nhrwt yhw h
 nś'w nhrwt qwlm
 yś'w nhrwt dkym
 The currents raise, O YHWH,
 The currents raise their roar,
 The currents raise their *pounding*.⁶⁵

IV AB, 2:13-16: wyšū 'nh aliy n b'l
 wyšū 'nh wy'n
 wy'n b'lt 'nt
 n'mt bn aḥt b'l
 Lifts up his eyes, Puissant Baal,
 Lifts up his eyes and beholds,
 Beholds the Maiden Anath,
 Fairest *among* Baal's sisters.⁶⁶

⁶³ Bever, *The Influence of Speech Performance*, 11, his italics; cf. idem, *The Cognitive Basis for Linguistic Structures*, 333f.

⁶⁴ Trans. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 148.

⁶⁵ Cf. Dahood, *Psalms II*, 339; JPS, *The Book of Psalms*, 97.

⁶⁶ After Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 142.

2.7. In the example from II K the object of the verb *ṭbr* 'break' does not appear until the second line. In the second example, from Ps. 93, the idiomatic object⁶⁷ of the verb *nāśš* 'raise' likewise does not appear until the second line. And in the IV AB passage the full idiom *wyšū 'nh wy'n* 'he lifts up his eyes and beholds'⁶⁸ appears only in the second line. (Moreover, *wy'n* 'he beholds' in the second line can be perceived as intransitive while in the third line through a syntactic shift *wy'n* takes an object; see §§ 2.2-2.5 above.) In each of these cases the listener is cued, through his internalized linguistic knowledge, to suspend complete syntactic analysis of the first line until he receives further acoustic stimuli.

2.8. Psycholinguistic experiments have demonstrated how a listener's knowledge of the syntactic relations into which lexical items may enter affects speech perception.⁶⁹ This is evident from the finding that when a listener is presented with a verb that can enter a variety of syntactic relations, speech processing is more encumbered than it is when the verb can be followed by only one type of syntactic structure. After certain verbs the listener expects predictable syntactic constructions. In this type of climatic parallelism the expected syntactic element is "withheld" until the second line; the listener is cued to suspend complete syntactic analysis of the clause or phrase until the second line is presented. This suspension of speech analysis produces an effect of anticipation or suspense in the listener.

2.9. Specifically, in our first example from II K, when the listener hears *yṭbr* 'may he break', his knowledge that *ṭbr* 'break' is a transitive verb cues him to expect a direct object to follow. This is not merely a modern assumption but is amply supported by the Ugaritic texts. The verb *ṭbr* is attested about twenty times in an active conjugation (*qal* or *pi'el*), always with a direct object expressed.⁷⁰ The listener suspends syntactic analysis of the sentence until he perceives the direct object, which appears in the second line.

67 The idiom *nś' qwl* 'raise the voice' is attested in the Hebrew Bible in Gen. 21:16; 27:38; 29:11; Jud. 2:4; 9:7; 21:2; 1 Sam. 11:4; 24:17; 30:4; 2 Sam. 3:32; 13:36; Isa. 24:14; 52:8; Job 2:12; Ruth 1:9, 14.

68 See below, n. 76, for the Ugaritic examples, and n. 77 for analogous Hebrew examples.

69 Fodor and Garrett, "Some Syntactic Determinants of Sentential Complexity," *Perc. & Psych.* 2 (1967), 289-96; Fodor, Garrett, and Bever, "Some Syntactic Determinants of Complexity II: Verb Structure," *Perc. & Psych.* 3 (1968), 453-61; Bever, Lackner, and Kirk, *The Underlying Structures of Sentences*, 232; cf. Bever, *The Cognitive Basis for Linguistic Structures*, 300; Bever and Langendoen, *The Interaction of Speech Perception and Grammatical Structure*, 45. See also D. T. Hakes, "Does Verb Structure Affect Sentence Comprehension," *Perc. & Psych.* 10 (1971), 229-32, for a critical but inconclusive review of the experiments of Fodor, Garrett, and Bever.

70 I AB, 6:29; III AB, B:7-8 (twice, partly restored); III AB, C:18; ID 107-8 (twice); 114-15 (twice); 122-23 (twice); 128-29 (twice); 136-38 (twice); 142-43 (twice); 148-50 (twice). The intransitive usage employs the *qal* passive or *nif'al* conjugation; cf. II AB, 2:17-18 (restored); V AB, D:30; ID 94-95 (partly restored); II K, 1:54. That *ṭbr* in these passages (= the fear formula) is the passive predicate of *ksl* 'tendons' (see M. Held, *Studies Landsberger*, AS 16 [1965], 401-6) is sustained by the fact that the verb *ngs* 'loosen' in these same passages is *qal* passive; see D. Marcus, "The *qal* Passive in Ugaritic," *JANES* 3 (1970-71), esp. 107. (The other two verbs in these passages, *d'y* 'sweat' and *anš* 'weaken', are already intransitive in the *qal*.) The exclusive usage of the *nif'al* conjugation of *ṭbr* in Hebrew for the intransitive meaning 'break' might favor an analysis of *t/yṭbr* placing it in the N conjugation.

2.10. In the second passage, Ps. 93:3, the listener is cued by the verb *nš'w* 'they raise' to await a direct object. The verb *nš'w* 'raise, bear' is one of the most common verbs in the Hebrew Bible. Generally it takes a direct object or an object preceded by a preposition (*l*, *m*, or *b*).⁷¹ Sometimes it is used with an antecedent object understood⁷² or in an idiomatic usage in which the object is elliptical.⁷³ In only a handful of cases is there no object expressed, but it must always be mentally supplied.⁷⁴ (A few cases demand revocalization or emendation.)⁷⁵ Thus, we have every reason to assume that the listener upon hearing *nš'w* 'they raise' suspends processing the sentence until he perceives an object.

2.11. Finally, in the example from IV AB the idiom *nš' n(m)* 'to lift up eye(s)' occurs. In Ugaritic this idiom is *always* followed by a verb 'see', either *-n* or *ph*.⁷⁶ Compare the Hebrew idiom *nš' yn(ym)* 'to lift up the eye(s)', which in the great majority of cases is followed by the verb 'see', generally *r'b*.⁷⁷ An analogous idiom is used of crying. In Ugaritic *nš' gb* 'to raise the voice' is *always* followed by the verb *šb* 'to cry out',⁷⁸ and in Hebrew the idiom *nš' qwl* 'to raise the voice' is nearly always followed by the verb *bkb* 'cry'.⁷⁹ We may safely conclude, therefore, that upon hearing *wyš'u 'nb* 'he lifts up his eyes', the listener suspended syntactic analysis until he perceived the anticipated verb 'see' in the second line.

2.12. What we have classified as the third or "weak" type of climactic parallelism resembles the two strong types only in form. Psycholinguistically it has no special effect of suspense, climax, or surprise because the first line possesses a self-contained statement, and the second line reproduces the first words of the first line without a change in syntax or meaning. If

71 With *l*: Gen. 18:24; 50:17; Exod. 23:21; Num. 14:19; Josh. 24:19; 1 Sam. 25:18; Isa. 2:9; Hos. 1:6; Ps. 25:18. With *m*: Gen. 45:23; Lev. 11:25; Josh. 4:3. With *b*: Ezek. 18:19, 20; Neh. 4:11.

72 E.g., Gen. 44:1; 1 Kgs. 5:23; Isa. 46:4; Ezek. 12:6.

73 Cf. the idioms *nš' (wn)* 'to pardon sin': Gen. 18:26; Jer. 44:22; Ps. 99:8; Job 34:31; *nš' (qwl)* 'to raise the voice': Isa. 42:2, 11; Job 21:12; Isa. 3:7 (*qwl? mšl?*); cf. M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology* (Rome, 1965), 41; *nš' (rgl)* 'to lift the leg' (i.e., 'proceed'): 1 Sam. 17:20; Ruth 2:18.

74 Cf. Exod. 18:22; Num. 11:17; Hos. 5:14; Mic. 2:2; Prov. 9:12(?).

75 For Deut. 33:3 see Cross and Freedman, *JBL* 67 (1948), 193, 201, n. 117, following Gaster. For Hos. 13:1 see Ehrlich, *Mikrâ Ki-Pheschutô* (Berlin, 1899), and *BH*³ ad loc.; cf. already Rashi's commentary. For Nah. 1:5 and Ps. 55:13 see *BH*³, ad loc.

76 With *-n*: IV AB, 2:13-16, 26-28. With *ph*: II AB, 2:12; I D 28-29, 76, 105, 120, 134-35; II D, 5:9; 6:10.

77 With *r'b*: Gen. 13:10, 14; 18:2; 22:4, 13; 24:63, 64; 31:10, 12; 33:1, 5; 37:25; 43:29; Num. 24:2; Deut. 3:27; 4:19; Josh. 5:13; Jud. 19:17; 1 Sam. 6:13; 2 Sam. 13:34; 18:24; Isa. 40:26; 49:18; 60:4; Jer. 3:2; 13:20; Zech. 2:1, 5; 5:1, 5, 9; 6:1; Dan. 8:3; 10:5; 1 Chr. 21:16. With *whnb* 'and lo!': Exod. 14:10; Ezek. 8:5. With *bbyl* 'observe': Isa. 51:6; with *bkyr* 'recognize': Job 2:12. Without a following verb: Gen. 39:7; 2 Kgs. 19:22 = Isa. 37:23; Ezek. 18:6, 12, 15; 23:27; 33:25; Ps. 121:1; 123:1.

78 There are over thirty cases; see R. E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 458-59.

79 With *bkb*: Gen. 21:16; 27:38; 29:11; Jud. 2:4; 21:2; 1 Sam. 11:4; 24:17; 30:4; 2 Sam. 3:32; 13:36; Job 2:12; Ruth 1:9, 14. With *qr* 'call': Jud. 9:7. Without a following verb: Isa. 24:14; 52:8.

the literary form of climactic parallelism achieved popularity on account of its psycholinguistic effects, we must assume that the weak, additive type of climactic parallelism resulted from poetic imitation of the popular form without recognizing what made that form successful.

Table (1)

Canaanite passages with climactic parallelism and their respective features

Type	First line	Parallelism of second and third lines			
<i>Suspended analysis</i>	<i>Subject/Vocative</i>	<i>Synonymous/Synthetic</i>	<i>Chiasmus</i>	<i>V-deletion</i>	
IVAB, 2:10-12	x			x	
IVAB, 2:13-16	x			x	
IVAB, 2:21-23		x		x	
IVAB, 2:26-28	x			x	
IIK, 6:54-57 (cf. IIIAB, B:7-8)		x			x
IID, 1:7-9, 12-14	x	x		x	
Ug. V, 7:70-71	x	x		x	
Hab. 3:8a ⁸⁰		x			x
Ps. 29:1-2		x			
Ps. 93:3		x			
Ps. 115:1				x	
Song 4:8				x	
Song 4:10		x			x
<i>Reanalysis</i>					
IIIAB, A:8-9		x		x	
IK 21-25	x	x		x	
Ug. V, 7:73-74		x			x
Ps. 77:17		x		x	
Ps. 92:10		x		x	
<i>Additive</i>					
IAB, 4:25-27, 36-38 ⁸¹		x		x	
IIIAB, B:36-37 ⁸²		x			
IIK, 6:27-29				x	
IIK, 2:21-24		x			
IID, 1:14-16	x	x			
IID, 6:26-28		x			x
Ug. V, 7:71-72		x		x	
Exod. 15:11				x	
Song 4:9		x		x	

80 See Albright, *The Psalm of Habakkuk*, 12, who properly restores <hrb> in the second colon; but a better translation is: "Against River does burn, O YHWH, / Against River does burn your anger? / Against Sea your wrath?" Loewenstamm, *The Expanded Colon*, 188, does not see the stylistic necessity of inserting <hrb> in the second colon; nor does Avishur, *Sefer Shazar*, 449, n. 91. But in all other cases where an idiom or phrase (in this case *hrb 'p*) is broken up in the first line, the second line carries the full idiom or phrase. (Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 140, n. 98, eliminates the idiom from the text altogether!)

81 For a commendable philological discussion of this somewhat obscure passage, see P. J. van Zijl, *Baal*, AOAT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 207-12.

82 See Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 183, n. 162; cf. Ginsberg, *ANET*³, 130.