

Nicolai Winther-Nielsen

A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua

A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis

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Nicolai Winther-Nielsen

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Abstract:

The story of the Israelite conquest in the Book of Joshua has been explored by historians, archaeologists, sociologists and literary critics, but few linguists have contributed to its study. This investigation into Joshua develops a functional discourse grammar to explain how grammar and text articulate structure, coherence and themes.

The study applies current linguistic theory and computational tools for syntactic analysis. Following the linguistic approach of functional grammar, especially Role and Reference Grammar, the study explores how semantic meaning is packaged in syntax for pragmatic purposes. It explains predicate typology, layered clause structure and verb functions at the intraclausal level. At the interclausal level, clause combining is tied into linkage at predicate, core or clause level. The activation, relevance and hierarchy of nominal referents is related to the pragmatic functions of topic and focus. Theory on Hebrew verb sequencing is discussed.

This pragmatic grammar is tied into current theories of discourse grammar. Two major analytical procedures are added to investigate clause relations: (1) the pragmatic interpretation of relations in the Rhetorical Structure Theory; (2) the computational description by syntactic programs of the Werkgroep Informatica at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.

Most of the investigation is an application of this textual interpretation and computer-assisted description based on a functional grammar. The matching of syntactic and rhetorical description as well as referential mechanisms are traced comprehensively throughout Joshua 2.

A story-level analysis of episode structure, story line coherence and dialogue themes is pursued throughout Joshua 3–8. The analysis uncovers a similar structure in stages (3:1; 5:13; 6:27–7:1) followed by long dialogue instructions, culminating in double peaks (3:14–17; 4:18; 6:16–20b, 20c–21; 8:13b–16, 17–24), and ending in marked time closures (4:19–24; 6:26; 8:28–29). It also uncovers the unique structure of each individual unit.

For the whole discourse, the investigation focuses on the structure and demarcation of 3 episodes embedding 31 smaller units. Computer-generated syntactic codes are used to draft a grammar of clause combining and to distinguish between syntactic sequences and pragmatic variants. Computational displays of dialogue provide access to the central themes of Joshua. The themes of conquest, distribution and covenant are announced in the initial divine speech (1:2–5) and all is framed by the theme of servanthood in the manner of Moses.

Keywords:

Bible, Old Testament, Book of Joshua, Hebrew, literary criticism, linguistics, Functional Grammar, Discourse Grammar, Rhetorical Structure Theory, tense-mood-aspect, topic, focus, clause combining, coherence, computer-assisted analysis.

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To
OWLs

*Ordinary Working Linguists
&
Ostentatively Wycliffe's Longacre*



Judith Winther-Nielsen

Preface

A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua combines two major different disciplines, (1) textlinguistics applied to computer-assisted grammatical study and (2) Biblical interpretation. My work therefore relates to two very different audiences. My functional grammar of Hebrew is written for linguists and my textual interpretations for scholars of the Bible.

The reader should keep this broader scope in mind. I do not expect an equal interest in all areas from every reader. The interpreter can skip ahead to the texts, while the linguist can focus on the grammar. Above all, I recommend that the reader familiarize himself with the summary in chapter 6, which surveys the backbone of my argumentation, or the shorter outline in 1.5. I try to clarify my views through numerous illustrations: examples for linguistic data, tables for listings and figures for displays which involve some graphic representation.

The grammar exploits a computational database. It is published in *A Computational Display of the Book of Joshua* by Winther-Nielsen and Talstra (1995), a companion volume to this grammar. In this cooperation, Talstra is responsible for programs and the new version of the *Werkgroep Informatica Text*, while I take responsibility for interpretations and organization of data. The displays are a syntactic and rhetorical computer edition of the text with a syntactic concordance. The tables of relations in the Rhetorical Structure Theory (Table 2.31) and of codes for clause relations (Table 2.33) are also attached as a separate overleaf.

I would like to thank my assistant supervisor, Professor Eep Talstra of the *Werkgroep Informatica* at Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam for this co-work on Joshua. I am grateful for the use of his ingenious tools and for being allowed to be a part of his team for the automation of biblical studies. His questions on a functional grammar have been stimulating, and I hope he finds "formal treasures" in my own blend of structuralist functionalism. I also wish to thank the team in Amsterdam for their invaluable assistance: Hendrik-Jan Bosman, Constantijn Sikkels, Henk Harmsen, Alan Groves, the Ferenc Postmas and many others. May the displays of Joshua bear witness to the glorious conquests of this computational commando unit.

Among those to be thanked, the *primus inter pares* is my advisor Professor Trygve Mettinger. His encouragement, advice, curiosity and friendship stimulated me to the frontiers of my discipline. As a contributor to the best of historical-critical Old Testament scholarship, he irrevocably bound me to its legacy and history. Under Mettinger's command of the Old Testament Seminar at the University of Lund, bright young students entered the linguistic game to explore the frontiers of

Hebrew text-linguistics. I thrived on the keen interest and backing of Åke Viberg, Michael Cheney, Bo-Krister Ljungberg, and Göran Eidevall.

Other credits are due to a long line of functional grammarians. The English grammar of the functional grammar of Joshua was corrected by a grammarian of Judges, Dr. Kirk Lowery of Budapest. He labored hard to amend my technical language into English diction. His competence in linguistics often forced me to defend and sometimes to alter my position.

My friend and mentor, Professor emeritus Robert E. Longacre of the University of Texas at Arlington trained me in discourse grammar during my sabbatical year in 1986. I am grateful for his interest and acknowledge this by dedicating the grammar to all Ordinary Working Linguists in Bible translation, and especially to Wycliffe Bible Translator's outstanding discourse scholar. I also appreciate my contacts with the Professors Simon Dik, Sandra Thompson and Robert Van Valin, as well as a long line of Danish functional linguists. Among textlinguistic theologians, I would like to thank Professor Christof Hardmeier, whose dissertation in 1980 kindled my text-linguistic fires. The *Research Group for the Functioning of Grammar and Discourse in the Hebrew Bible* formed by Christof Hardmeier, Ellen van Wolde, Kirk Lowery and myself, helped me to understand the value of continued conquests in our field.

I appreciate the valuable comments that Professor Alan Millard, Dr. Mats Eskhult and Mr. Georg Adamsen made in early stages of my work. I owe an enormous depth of gratitude to my colleague, Assistant Professor Carsten Vang, who meticulously checked all my Hebrew transcriptions. In case of doubt we consulted Professor Doug Gropp. My sister Birthe and David McNally generously helped me with the final proofreading. I had invaluable technical help from my nephew, Christopher Wilson, and from Henrik Dam Pedersen. I thank the Board, colleagues and students of the Free Faculty of Theology, Århus, for vital support and encouragement. I gratefully recollect how it all started with Leif Kjølner Rasmussen at the Danish Bible Institute, Copenhagen.

And last, but not least, I want to express my thanks to my family. Firstly to my parents, Ludvig and Misse, for their continued support. Sadly my father did not live to see my work completed. Secondly, to my dear family. I acknowledge how my brilliant wife, Dr. Margrethe Winther-Nielsen, set a shining example of how to finish a dissertation within a reasonable period of time. I also owe our two daughters, Judith and Christel, an apology for requiring them to grow up with grammar and computer at night and on week-ends. I appreciate how Judith gave a final touch to my dedication by her drawing of my favorite owl.

Emdrup Christmas 1994

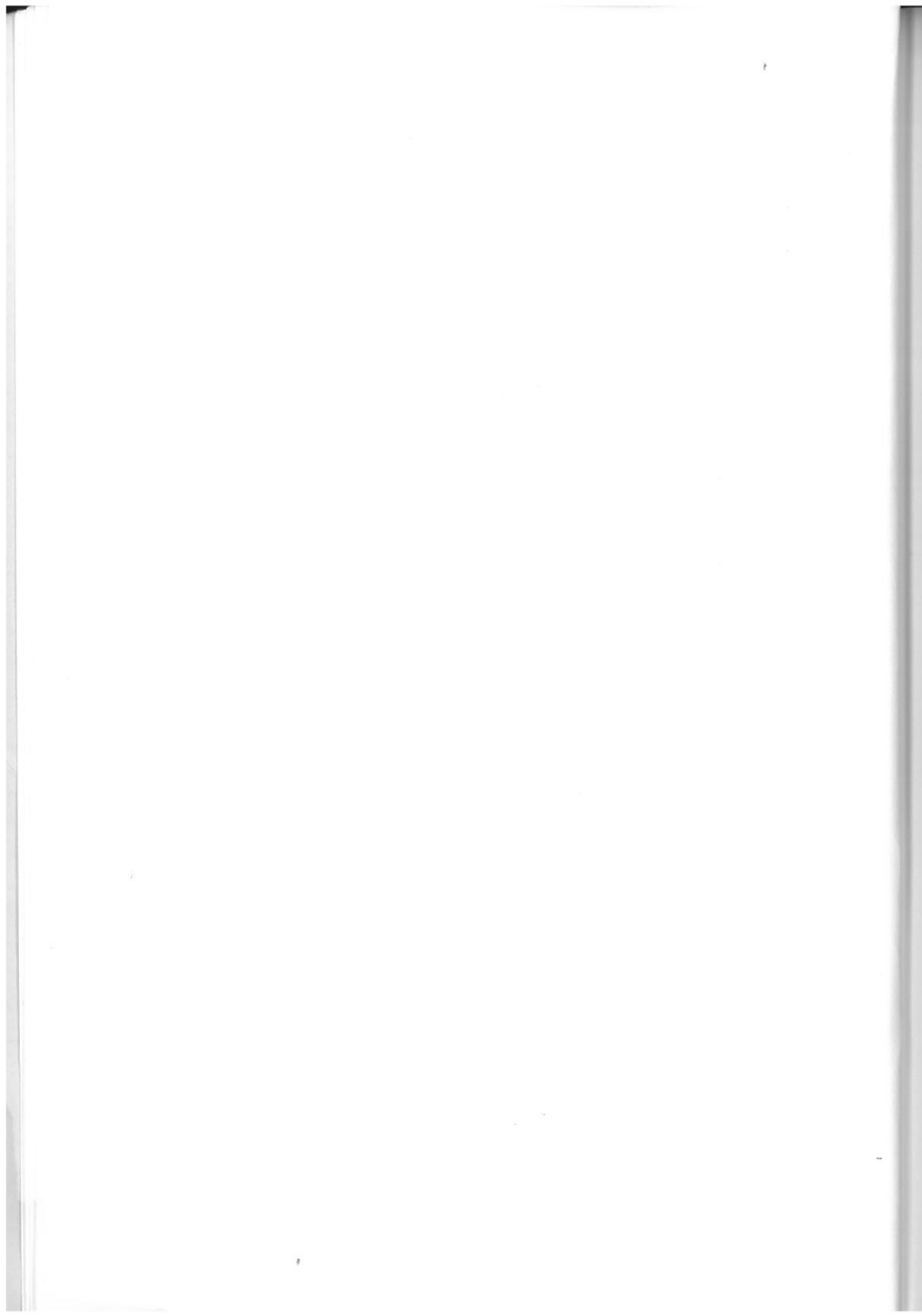


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Chapter 1 Choosing a Strategy: Introduction

The founder of *Functional Grammar*, Simon Dik, in a recent presentation of his grammatical theory, asserts that linguistic expressions can be understood properly only "as functioning in settings, the properties of which are co-determined by the contextual and situational information available to speakers and addressees" (1989:6).

I apply this concept of the functioning of natural languages to the ancient Book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible. **The story of the conquest** is attacked by first choosing a strategy and then mapping the theory, gathering intelligence on grammar, conquering stories by discourse approaches and mopping up the whole operation.

The study uses modern linguistic theory for analysis of ancient Hebrew grammar and text. It applies a **functional grammar** which explains linguistic "rules and principles in terms of their functionality" (1989:4). It has a **discourse-pragmatic** orientation in the sense that it looks for "the sequencing or placing of atomic propositions within a wider communicative context" (Givón 1984:31). The study assumes that "both the immediate discourse context and overall thematic context control the choice and use of most grammatical devices" (1984:10).

The grammar presents a functional view of clause structure. It explores the mechanisms of clause-combining, reference and sequencing. These grammatical domains are brought together within a theory of **discourse grammar**. In order to deal with clause connections within a whole book, the study uses a **computer-assisted description** of relations between clauses and an **analysis of rhetorical structure** among related regions of text. Both of these special fields of discourse analysis have the pride of place in a comprehensive linguistic description of Joshua. In short, as indicated by the sub-title, it is both a computer-assisted and a rhetorical structure analysis of the Hebrew of the Book of Joshua.

The study is an **interpretation** of Joshua, but focuses on the grammatical aspects of reading and understanding. One story, the self-contained narrative on the spying on Jericho in Joshua 2, is treated in great detail in order to develop and test discourse linguistic method. Three other stories in Joshua 3-4, 6 and 7-8 are treated from a more general, textual perspective. Demarcation of units, grammatical constructions connecting clauses, and discourse themes are traced throughout Joshua.

1.1 Preview: Tells, Tales and Textuality

The Book of Joshua tells a story as great as any ever told. After the death of Moses God commissioned Joshua to lead the Israelites into Canaan and they took the land in a grand-scale conquest (Joshua 1–12). The land was allotted as their territory, and, after a solemn affirmation of the covenant, Joshua also died (Joshua 13–24).

These stories of miraculous conquests have been a source of excitement to generations of readers. They inspired dramatic imagination, theological reflection, and joyful singing to the tunes of *Joshua fought the battle of Jericho*. They have also been a tremendous challenge to the critical study of Israel's early history and literature, perhaps more now than ever before.

For over a century excavators have been **digging the tells** in search of tangible evidence of the conquest. The scientific conquests once dreamed of by biblical archaeologists soon slid away into inconclusive evidence and conflicting interpretations. A virtual stalemate has been brought about by elusive or disputed evidence for the fallen walls of prominent Canaanite cities.¹ As a result modern archaeology is now developing into surveys of ecological and environmental factors.² Sociologists study settlement patterns, subsistence strategies, economic specialization and political ties (Thompson 1992b:5). Few scholars now support the model of Albright (1939) for a 13th Century BC Israelite conquest.³ Fewer still will accept the substantial agreement between archaeological data and the biblical in a 15th Century BC dating of the invasion.⁴

However, as Merrill (1982) so succinctly has phrased the crucial issue,

¹ Evidence is absent from Jericho, Ai, Tel Yarmuth, Arad and Taanach, sparse at Hazor and Dan, and late at Lachish and Megiddo (Finkelstein 1988:296–301). Or it exists only at Hazor and Bethel (Dever 1992:548) and Lachish (Mazar 1992:334).

² The new directions focus on surveys of the hill region (Finkelstein 1988:18–21) and ecological evidence (Zertal 1991:31). Finkelstein (1988:353–355) suggests that the settlers had a pastoral-nomadic background. Zertal (1991:36–37) interprets pottery dispersion in Manasseh as evidence of settlers arriving from Transjordan.

³ The Merneptah stele proves that “Israel is clearly grouped with the major geographical and political entities of the day” (Bimson 1991:22; Hallo 1990:194; Hess 1993:133–135; contrast Ahlström 1991:28–32; Whitelam 1994). Excavations at Mount Ebal and Shiloh may also have uncovered positive evidence (Hess 1993:135–138; cf. Ahlström 1993:366–370).

⁴ Either the conquest is dated to the end of the Late Bronze I Period from evidence at Jericho (Wood 1990), Hazor (Waltke 1990:192) and Ai=Kh. Nisya (Bimson and Livingston 1977). Or the end of the Middle Bronze Age IIC is dated later, producing destruction evidence for virtually all conquered cities (Bimson 1978).

do tells tell tales?⁵ A century ago, scholars began **searching the tales** of the tells to find solid literary evidence on the conquest. They traced sources, traditions, collections and redactions to explain the alleged gaps between the history of the tells and the stories in the tales. But even this kind of exploration of literary stratigraphy is being abandoned in today's trend in conquest research. Scholars now reconstruct a Palestinian society in the Late Bronze Age on the basis of sociological studies and evidence for cultural evolution (Lemche 1992:533). Nomadic elements fled from their Canaanite villages to the mountains as tribalized settlers (1992:539). The new histories of 'Israel' confine their descriptions of the periods before the monarchy to such settlement processes in the hill regions (Ahlström 1993:286).

In today's scholarship, the conquest is one of the "most controversial battlegrounds between maximalists and minimalists" (Halla 1990:193) and "skeptical voices dominate the scene" (Dever 1992:555).⁶ Instead of a historiographical scrutinizing in "respect for the Biblical record" (Halla 1990:193), scholars plead for an archaeologically independent history of 'Israel' (Thompson 1992a:158–170). The conquest story is largely discharged as ideologically biased (Ahlström 1991:22) and unreliable (Whitelam 1991:61). It is a historical source only for the times of the much later scribes (Lemche 1991:16; 1992:527–528).⁷ The current drift toward late-dating has even pushed Joshua all the way down into the Hasmonean Period as the latest book of the Hebrew Bible (Strange 1993:138).⁸ Few will seriously consider the internal evidence for an early composition in the time of Joshua (Goslinga 1986:10–19) or the era of 11th Century Shiloh (Koorevaar 1990:255–261).

However, in contrast to the new sociological fashion to work "unencumbered by the theological baggage and agenda of the Hebrew

⁵ Destruction evidence is immaterial if the policy was to leave the population centers (Merrill 1982:108), with their "abandoned and undamaged properties" (1982:111).

⁶ Note now the ardent attack on this "deconstructionist school" by Rainey (1994). Historical skepticism is rejected by Waltke (1990:183, 186) and Hess (1993). Such typological features of the conquest as Canaanite weakness, spying, logistic advantage of the Gilgal-base and indirect tactics (Malamat 1983) are discharged (Lemche 1992:535). Late comparative evidence from Assyrian sources are preferred (Van Seters 1983) to second millennium parallels (Niehaus 1988 and Younger 1990).

⁷ Scholars reject historical information prior to the 7th Century (Thompson 1991:78) or even any ancient tradition prior to Hellenistic-Hasmonean times (Davies 1992:132, 155–161).

⁸ This development started when the Yahwist was dated later than the Deuteronomist (Rose 1981:171–220). The latter collected and adapted traditions little known prior to 722 BC (Lemche 1985:375) or authored Joshua originally (Van Seters 1990:5).

Bible" (Whitelam 1994:84), other scholars are **investigating the textuality of the tales**. New models are emerging (Schöckel 1985). While the old defense-works of former critical method slowly crumble, modern literary criticism is forming a battle over new textual territory to be claimed. The new literary approach has seriously attacked traditional methodology for its "recourse to hypothetical literary history" and for its attempts to "recreate the historical development of the text" by "explanations ... virtually unlimited in number" (Eslinger 1989:29).⁹ No contemporary conquest scholar can afford to overlook such textual issues as the narrator's point of view, character-portrayal, or voices (Whitelam 1991:63), nor can he dispense with the final literary product (1991:66).¹⁰ We should pay attention to the meaning, structure, setting and compositional integrity of the literary works (Davies 1992:39).

Modern text-oriented approaches reformulate the way that knowledge is "actively conquered ... [by] well-organised 'heuristic' questions" guiding "the choice of method and procedure" (Wiklander 1984:5). They promise that "application of methods from the field of structural linguistics, text theory and literary criticism would ensure progress of research" (1984:2). Besides a new type of "text-linguistic and rhetorical" analysis (1984:26) there is also a narratological linguistic research oriented towards aspects of interaction and discourse (Hardmeier 1986b:92; 1990:6-7). With its focus on narrative as a formal product, and above all as an interactive process, it may in effect

der Gefahr begegnen, durch forschungsgeschichtlich bedingte, heteronome oder unsachgemäße Ad-hoc-Argumente Textstrukturen auseinanderzureißen, bevor sie auf ihre Ganzheitlichkeit hin überprüft worden sind. (1990:6).

This study seeks to contribute to the conquest by attacking the grammar of Joshua. It traces the ways that the texts tell their tales. It reinvestigates the linguistic structure of Joshuan discourse. Instead of a reconstructed sociological context and reference (Thompson 1992a:383-399) it looks for a linguistic and textual concept of sense and usage.

⁹ Can the modern historian discredit the biblical writers as "unable to create a realistic picture of the past" (Lemche 1991:15; cf. 1992:528), or is it our confidence in the modern historian's ability that is being undermined (Whitelam 1991:61)?

¹⁰ Whitelam dismisses the text as "a record of facts" (1991:68), but challenges us to explore "the ways in which it functions or participates in the shaping of reality." New literary criticism has a constructive role (Dever 1992:555 and Hess 1993:139).

1.2 Problem: Trends and Readings

The problems of tells, tales, and textuality is very acute in the research on Joshua. For a century scholars have collected evidence for **historical inconsistency, literary disunity and theological diversity**.

As evidence of this diversity, it is pointed out that the unsuccessful conquests of individual tribes in Judges 1 is historically inconsistent with the conquest of all of Canaan in a single sweeping operation (Josh 10:42; 11:16–20, 23; 12:7–24; 21:43–45).¹ The conquest account within Joshua only begins with the capture of Jericho and Ai in Joshua 6–8, and soon after Gibeon, Joshua 10–11 slides into “stereotyped reports” (Rendtorff 1986:20–21). Literary disunity is found in the timing of the crossing in 1:11 and 3:2 vs. 2:16 (Rudolph 1938:165), an extra set of stones set up in the middle of the Jordan in 4:9 (Eissfeldt 1974:252–253), the gap between the Jericho stories in Joshua 2 and 6 (Noth 1953:21),² and the confusion on the number of men in ambush at Ai in 8:3 and 12. The theological diversity revolves around the contrast between partial and complete fulfillment of promises and the extent of obedience (Rendtorff 1986:165–166).

These examples are just the tip of the iceberg. But even if such problems exist, their solution in today’s scholarship is less evident. There are highly divergent trends in the solutions offered by earlier diachronic approaches and in new synchronic studies.³

The **diachronic readings** investigate literary sources, forms and traditions in order to trace preliterary and more genuine historical material on the real events behind the conquest story. The evaluation of historicity is closely integrated with literary presuppositions in a circular reasoning, the historical and theological value depends on the evolution of literary documents and oral traditions, yet “historical and theological insight ... answer the literary questions themselves” (Miller and Tucker 1974:1).

A **source critical method**,⁴ formulated in the last century, has been advocated until recently despite its demise in studies of the Pentateuch

¹ Cf. Miller (1977:215), Lemche (1985:44–46) and Dever (1992:555).

² Cf. also Mowinckel (1964:13), and Gray (1986:62).

³ The two opposing distinctions, synchronic and diachronic, are used as convenient terms for the “‘historico-genetical’ and ‘holistic-synchronic’ modes of interpretation” (Wiklander 1984:15). They originate with de Saussure’s distinction between the state of a language at a given time vs. in various periods (cf. WO § 3.4a (58)).

⁴ Cf. the Yahwistic-Elohistic source (JE) of Fohrer (1979:216, 218–219), the L(*alienquelle*), J, E and P sources of Eissfeldt (1974:251–255) and the J(E) fragments in Joshua 2*, 6:25 and 11:13 of Mowinckel (1964:12–14). Langlamet (1969 1971)

(Floss 1982:2).⁵ Its crisis began with Noth's (1943) theory of a **Deuteronomistic History Work** (DtrH) which was prefaced by Deuteronomy and in Joshua-Kings told the story of ancient Israel from conquest to exile. The work was characterized by speeches or narratives which at strategic points summarized the national consequences of history (1943:5, 40-47). In Joshua, the deuteronomistic redactor created the framework (1; 21:43-22:6 + 23), summaries and links to Deuteronomy and numerous glosses (1953:9). An old tradition in Joshua 24 was added in a second deuteronomistic stage (1953:10, 15-16).

Two critical methods, **form-criticism** and **tradition historical** research, are widely used to explain how earlier oral material developed until a written stage. Noth (1953:11-12) traced a continuous narrative of edited etiological *Sagen* in Joshua 2-9.⁶ They had a *Haftpunkt*, or local background, at a shrine in Gilgal where a crossing of Jordan was celebrated.⁷ The Gilgal traditions developed into all-Israelite lore in the period of Saul, and war narratives of various local background were edited into a Southern and Northern campaign in Josh 10:1-11:9. A compiler, the *Sammler*, working in Judah around 900 BC, combined the Gilgal and war traditions and inserted the Joshua figure. He added 5:1; 6:27; 9:3, 4aa; 10:2, 5, 40-42; 11:1, 2, 16-20 (1953:16).

Following Alt's ([1927] 1953b:196-200) work, the allotment section of Joshua 13-21 has generally been viewed as a composite of tribal border descriptions from the conquest period and late town lists from the time of Josiah (15:21-62; 18:21-28; 19:2-7, 41-46).⁸ The cities of refuge in Joshua 20 are dated to pre-deuteronomistic times, but this is considered more doubtful for the Levitical cities of Joshua 21 (Mayes 1983:53-54).

In the last several decades, diachronic readings have been preoccupied with **redactional methods**. First there was a tendency to increase the

did source criticism on Joshua 2-4, Otto (1973) on Joshua 2-6.

⁵ Continuous sources cannot be established (Noth 1953:8) and "specific relations with the source-strata ... are exceedingly difficult to pin down" (Boling 1982:143).

⁶ Cf. Fohrer (1979:217), Gray (1986:41-42) and Butler (1983:xxii).

⁷ A cycle of sagas served to edify the pilgrims (Gray 1986:62). Cultic backgrounds are also suggested by Kraus (1951), Soggin (1966), Wilcoxon (1968), Wijngaards (1969), Porter (1971) and Otto (1973). Lemche rejected a central sanctuary and with it the "*Sitz im Leben* for a centralized cultic-historical tradition" (1985:303).

⁸ Note the survey in Auld (1980). Kallai (1986:415) dates the lists to the early part of Solomon's reign, except for earlier town-lists of Simeon or later lists on Benjamin and Judah. Na'aman (1986:203-236) views the Solomonic date as a purely literary justification of David's conquests, and Ottosson (1991:198) finds an exilic program.

number of deuteronomistic redactional layers. A double redaction theory proposed that a pre-exilic Josianic edition of the bulk of material (the "deuteronomistic" Dtr1) was reworked into an exilic version with a broader and often humorous perspective (the "deuteronomistic" Dtr2) (Wright 1982:49; Boling 1982:133-135, 138). A triple-redaction theory has suggested that a first deuteronomistic historian's (DtrH) promise of historical success for all Israel was edited by a later "nomistic redactor" (DtrN) who added Joshua 1:7-9, 13:1b β -6, and 23 to emphasize obedience to the law and conditional success (Smend 1971:494-503). Against Noth, the theme of total victory in Joshua 24 could then be attributed to the DtrH layer (1971:503-504). However, Joshua 8:30-35 and 24:1-28 could also derive from a third "ceremonial editor" (Mayes 1983:51-52).⁹

Today there is a reverse tendency to reduce the number of layers to a single deuteronomistic piece of very late origin. It is assumed that the writer of DtrH authored the conquest narrative on the basis of Assyrian annals, and a priestly writer/editor added Joshua 2, 7 and 8:30-35 (Van Seters 1990:3-6).¹⁰ Or the dtr writer used older historical and geographical material to sketch a program for restoration of the Davidic Kingdom (Ottosson 1991:13, 15).¹¹ A priestly writer could even have propagated Jewish claims on Samaritan territory (Strange 1993). The most recent commentary by Fritz sustains a process of "ergänzenden Kommentierung" (1994:3) by a deuteronomistic and a post-priestly redactor.¹²

A completely different trend is found in modern **synchronic readings** which "have demonstrated rich potential" (Hawkins 1991:16) and promise sweeping literary conquests.¹³ Modern literary criticism has moved away from earlier author-centered genetic explanation to a text-oriented holistic reading. It emphasizes the rhetorical, structural, pragmatic or ideological shape of the texts as the primary object of study.

⁹ Both are located at Shechem, concerned with ritual and refer to the book of the law (8:31-32, 24:26). This "ceremonial" dtr redaction continued Deut 11:29-30, 27:1-8, 11-26 (Mayes 1983:52). Contrast Wright's (1982:7) early dating of Joshua 24.

¹⁰ Van Seters rejects that an author-compiler created his work out of "odd fitting pieces without giving a clear indication as to its purpose" (1990:3). Noth's detrimental notion of etiological legends led him to construe "a complex, hypothetical process." For a critique of the Assyrian parallels, see Fritz (1994:17).

¹¹ A comparison of Exod 12-17 and Josh 3-8 could indicate the use of old priestly tradition material from the cultic centers of Gilgal, Gibeon, and Shilo (Ottosson 1991:25-26).

¹² Fritz (1994) was published too late to be included in my work.

¹³ The changes are so dramatic that literary criticism is almost becoming "the new orthodoxy in biblical studies" (Gunn 1987b:65; but contrast Otto 1991).

Modern literary criticism of Joshua has been practiced in close-readings and rhetorical-aesthetic studies of scenic shifts, drama and narrative techniques for anticipation and resumption since Moran (1967:274, 278–279) and McCarthy (1971b:169, 171–172). The main impetus stems from Polzin's (1980) **structural poetics**. Polzin (1980:80–82) integrated all shifts of perspective into a unitary reading of Joshua as an exposition of the meaning of the law of Moses. He noted how God in his direct discourses interprets or applies his own words. The promise is made dependent on the observance of the law (1:7–9, 16–18), and the work explores how fulfillment was “considerably less than the promise outlined” (1980:80).¹⁴ Others have also noted how the action pauses at the defeat of the kings in Joshua 12 and shifts to “the rhetoric of listing and ordering” (Gunn 1987a:102). The ambivalence of allotting inheritance in Joshua 13–22 reflects this partial fulfillment of the promise (1987a:103). A similar effect is achieved when Joshua, despite the earlier disastrous spy mission in Numbers 13, gropes for the gift by sending spies (2:1), Achan seeks security of mammon and seven tribes tarry (1987b:110).

Polzin, moreover, originated the idea that the statements of total victory (e.g., 21:43–45) are “deeply ironic, given the literary context in which the Deuteronomist places them” (1980:208). In support of this idea, Eslinger points out that positive descriptions of success are balanced by an equal number of negative descriptions (1989:26–27):

success	6:20–21; 8:19–29; 10:10–43; 11:8–22a; 15:14; 15:17; 19:47
failure	7:4–5; (9:14–27); 11:22b; 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; 17:11–12; 18:2

If the narrator only tells of a partial success, his explicit claims to the contrary (11:23; 21:43–45) are either wrong or ironic (1989:31–32).¹⁵ In a reading of Josh 5:13–15, Hawk has even asserted that an incoherent presentation of events “plays with the reader’s sense that reality is coherent” (1991:24). That positive statements reaffirmed intervening contradictory information is seen as the configurational agenda of the entire book (1991:43).

The alternative—that such contradictions point to a meaningful dialogue between promise and law—has recently been argued by Hauch (1991). He

¹⁴ The narrator intends “a polemic response to a simplistic characterization of Joshua’s and Israel’s fulfillment of God’s commands” (Polzin 1980:80).

¹⁵ These evaluations from the narrator (11:23; 21:43–45; 23:1), Joshua (22:4; 23:1; 23:4–5) and Yahweh (13:1–6) “do not offer a master key to understanding the complexities of the narrative; if anything, they add to it” (Eslinger 1989:29).

observes how the apparent story of obedience and success of conquest in Joshua 1–11 consciously reverses the story of the wilderness rebellion in the Book of Numbers. In a rhythm of command and fulfillment Joshua is portrayed as Moses' virtual double (1991:112–113). But below the surface there is a submerged story of Israel's inability to be obedient. The success was short-lived and is deconstructed temporally (3:1–3) and topographically (8:30, 33) (1991:130–132). The submerged story of a failing conquest is a story of developing distorted endings—they did not conquer—could not—would not—and then the land was lost. The meaning of 11:23 and 21:43–45 is to excuse the leaders of a new generation as duped or forced into erring (1991:154).¹⁶ Gros Louis and Van Antwerpen (1993:142–144) in a similar vein show how a tremendous victory turns into the civil war of Joshua 22, illustrating the "precariousness of the Israelites' position" (1993:144).

An alternative to these literary readings is formulated in Culley's seminal **narrative analysis** of story functions in Joshua 2, 6, 7 and 8.¹⁷ By means of action analysis, Culley traces how a movement from announcement (Joshua 1) to occurrence (Josh 11:23) governs the text as a whole. Subordinate stories, complete in themselves, then mark the steps on the way to the conquest (1984:26). The stories embody purposeful and coherent action through the activities "within which character and point of view are developed" (1984:28).

In conclusion, a survey of past and present readings of Joshua reveals opposing trends, and a consensus is not within reach (Childs 1979:244). The diachronic tradition moves towards refined author-oriented redactional processes, while a new synchronic literary criticism propagates subtle themes. Yet the synchronic approaches reopen the case for an investigation of the structure, coherence, and thematic unity of the Book of Joshua.

¹⁶ The story is not indeterminate, but transforms incongruence into congruence (Hauch 1991:134). Though deeply ironic, the success statements "create openings, portals of access, to the submerged story" (1991:152). The contexts "are, with minor exception, at pains to show just how intent Israel had been on keeping the law" (1991:153).

¹⁷ Culley (1984:35) rejects Polzin's view that Joshua or Israel is cast in a negative light. Two views of divine intervention and human action combine into a textual richness (1984:41–42).

1.3 Proposal: Textual Analysis

On a more fundamental level, however, past and present diachronic and synchronic readings share a common trait of linguistic inadequacy. In these interpretations "reference to linguistic data often only constitutes a second line of argumentation, apart from the content-based arguments" (Talstra 1986c:557).¹ While diachronic studies looked for buried and stratified kernels in a text, a modern reading in an extreme case can maintain that meaning is not inherent in a text, but solely depends on "the reader's role in the production of meaning" (Hawk 1991:19).

This linguistic deficiency is serious, since language is the fundamental system at work in texts. Furthermore, interpretative divergencies among competing readings can only be reduced when they are brought to a linguistic test. Disagreement will of course never disappear once and for all, but overwhelming interpretative diversity poses a challenge.²

The crucial problem is ... the lack of adequate ways of controlling the process of scholarly interpretation, of reducing the growing variety of conflicting interpretations, and of defining their respective consistency and value as evidence of certain facts. (Wiklander 1984:1-2).

Discourse grammarians have emphasized that explicit linguistic criteria are indispensable as proof of the validity of analyses (Fox 1987b:91; cf. Hirsch 1967). Foremost among those are the criteria of the linguistic norm (a legitimate reading), the correspondence norm (no arbitrary or inadequate linguistic account is allowed), and the generic appropriateness norm (the criterion of text-type). As a fourth and more fundamental norm she mentions the criterion of plausibility or coherence.

There is an urgent need for a new textual analysis of Joshua based on such solid linguistic norms. This investigation will assume that the canonical version of the texts should be studied as grammatical, aesthetic and transmitted data. In the following I will explain the contribution from text-linguistics (1.3.1), draw some text-theoretical consequences for a literary-rhetorical analysis (1.3.2) and consider its text-critical implications (1.3.3). A following section will then introduce computer-assisted procedures as a significant technical asset for textual analysis (1.4).

¹ See further Talstra (1980:123; 1986c:337) and Hardmeier (1986:91).

² Divergency may even "bring into relief some complementary aspects of meaning which contribute to a deeper understanding of the nature of meaning in the text" (Wiklander 1984:1).

1.3.1 Text-linguistic Contributions

The linguistic agenda for the present work follows from Culley's discussion of certain restrictions to his own narrative approach, and his call for additional work from other perspectives:

A complete study of narrative would have to examine ... other features explored by various kind of literary, discourse and structuralist analysis. (1984:41).

Culley (1985:168–171) spells out what he has in mind in an excellent survey of the newest trends in Old Testament scholarship. This survey also lists two major grammatical currents at the forefront of the present study.³

The first major grammatical development is represented by the Munich circle of Wolfgang Richter which applied **modern structural linguistics** to the study of Hebrew grammar. Richter's crowning work is his three-volume *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik* on morphology, phrase structure grammar and sentence grammar (1978–1980). Structural sentence grammar has now found its way into new monumental grammars of the Hebrew Bible.⁴ It has also received a text-linguistic extension in syntactic work on Hebrew text grammar by Schneider (1982), Talstra (1978; 1982; 1986c:563) and Niccacci (1990:§ 2–5 (19–21)).

The second major development is **American discourse analysis**. Field linguistic work since the late 1950's convinced Longacre (1968; 1972; 1990b) and other discourse grammarians that verb, sentence, and paragraph features in many languages of the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Mesoamerica, and East Africa form universal discourse patterns. Longacre developed a theory of discourse grammar in close interaction with the work on text theory and macrostructure initiated by van Dijk (1972; 1977) and others within European linguistics. Andersen (1970; 1974) implemented this research for Hebrew sentence analysis and Longacre (1979a; 1989a) proposed a fully fledged Hebrew discourse grammar. At the same time, an independent work on Hebrew began with the communicative-pragmatic studies of Hardmeier (1978; 1986b; 1990) and Wiklander (1984), as well as in Schweizer's (1981) more Greimas-inspired pragmatic extension of Richter's structural grammar.

The still fairly limited work on Hebrew discourse structure has led syntacticians to doubt its usefulness at present. They maintain that

³ Note also Hardmeier's (1990:8 n. 24) recommendation of the communicative orientation of Culley's narrative analysis, and his reference to Sternberg (1985).

⁴ Note especially the semantic sentence grammar of Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990) (=WO), and Muraoka's

linguistics should be restricted to the confines of the sentence, because discourse grammar is still "in its infancy" (WO § 3.3.4e (55)). Larger units are then consigned to literary critics (§ 3.3.4a (53)). However, an analysis of a restricted textual corpus such as the Book of Joshua ideally offers an opportunity to develop a cross-clausal grammar, because it forms a connected textual entity of some unified thematic closure.⁵ I propose that a "divide-and-conquer" approach can make major inroads into the grammar of Hebrew discourse.⁶

Linguistic work on Joshua has barely begun. A **structuralistic-semiotic approach** was used by Ascaso in his attempt to investigate "die kombinierte Anwendung auf die Textoberfläche von Abgrenzungs- und Kohärenskriterien auf syntaktischer, semantischer und pragmatischer Ebene" (1986:266). However, he did not advance beyond investing traditional diachronic views with text-ontological status. The "linguistischen Makrozeichens Jos 2–11" (1986:265) is devoid of "*eigene Bedeutung*" (1986:282) except for its "Textentwicklung als solche."⁷ In a semiotic narrative grammar "die Beschreibung der Textoberfläche ... sind daher peripher" (1986:270). This loss of the actual ancient historical narrative and its language is detrimental to linguistic analysis. Nor is it clear that much help is offered by abstract semiotic schemas or transitive functions of subject and object actants on semantic kernels.⁸

An analysis of Joshua 9–12 by Younger has developed a **comparative historical-linguistic** method emphasizing so-called "syntagmic structures" (1990:70).⁹ Younger describes how "Assyrian ideology is an important

revised version of Paul Jüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (1991) (=JM).

⁵ Discourse analysis may imply that "we could 'accurately' write a grammar of only an entire literary text" by "book, pericope or section, paragraph, sentence, clause, phrase, word, morpheme" (WO § 3.3.4c (54)), but even a "grammar of any given body of material or author would be revealing" (WO § 3.4g (60)).

⁶ Cf. the linguistic use of this conquest metaphor by Longacre (1989a:xi).

⁷ His point of departure is the contradiction between a total campaign and local skirmishes as a variant of myth vs. history (Ascaso 1986:254–255)—"Die historische Illusion ist perfekt" (1986:254). Because the text only mediates a history and events, history only has an abstract *Bedeutung* (1986:257) as "geschriebenes Geschichte" (1986:259), and the pragmatic dimension is captured by diachronic "Entwicklungsstadien" (1986:266). The semiotic nature of the text is located in its "quantitative Wachstum" (1986:262).

⁸ See Ascaso (1986:271, 273, 276–277). The genetic deep structure is distilled as a contrast between foreign vs. own land (1986:280).

⁹ Syntagmic structures are a configuration of syntactic entities within an episode (Younger 1990:70), "the predominant stylistic structure of the Assyrian conquest accounts" (1990:69). They manifest an "iterative scheme" of similar re-occurring elements (1990:71–79).

part of the super-structure undergirding the historical texts" (1990:64) and how all ancient accounts share their common "figurative nature" with historical narrative. There are abundant parallels for such hyperbolic language as 'no survivors were left' (1990:247). Fear and panic is attested everywhere in descriptions of divine destructions (1990:259).

Koopmans has worked on Joshua 23 and 24 by means of "a colometric approach with particular attention given to parallelism" (1990:171; cf. 1988:88–90). This **synchronic-linguistic analysis** without doubt represents an important new direction in the study of Joshua.¹⁰ Semantic, grammatical and syntactic parallelism within the Bible and in Ancient Near Eastern texts is investigated for the functions of external parallelism across poetic verses (1990:172–173).

A more explicitly linguistic precursor for the present work is found in the immense work on Joshua 2 by Floss (1982; 1986) of the **Richter school**. Prior to his analysis, Floss rearranges the textual data into an assumed diachronic order and only then studies the reconstructed textual units by linguistic tools. In this way, the analysis will inevitably translate diachronic assumptions into a linguistic mold.¹¹ Furthermore, because this *literaturwissenschaftliche* version of structural linguistics only explores the constellations between *actants* from a narrow, anaphorical perspective, it rarely addresses the overall structure and function of a connected Hebrew text.¹² Instead of asking fresh linguistic questions of canonical texts, a diachronic tradition is canonicalized by a linguistic framework.

A *Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua* is set within a **discourse-pragmatic research tradition**. Richter school structuralism will primarily serve as a frame of reference for discussion and interaction in an attempt to reorient linguistic research on Hebrew language and text. It assumes that the meaning and function of texts is expressed by their encoded linguistic structure. Rhetorical and stylistic features of literary texts are approached from a grammatical angle on the assumption that "variation can be explained in terms of the pragmatics of author choices within discourse structure" (Longacre 1989a:xiii). It professes "the credo of a textlinguist that such variation is not ... "free" or "stylistic" ..., but is

¹⁰ Koopmans (1990:463–464) concludes that stylistic repetition renders *dtr* assessments doubtful. He favors a J/E corpus of the Pentateuch from the early settlement period.

¹¹ For this critique of Richter and Floss, see Culley (1984:26, 31).

¹² Cf. Talstra's (1983:32) discussion of earlier analysis by Schweizer.

motivated" (1989a:xii). The goal of the grammar is to set out how biblical texts structure units and mark boundaries by grammatical means of reference, ranking of verbs in sequences and spatio-temporal devices. The grammar develops a linguistic methodology which can address the holistic and communicative aspects of discourse and pragmatics and can analyze "Erzählungen als integrale Ganzheit gegenstandsadequat" (Hardmeier 1990:5).

This study proposes a **functional grammar** for Hebrew (cf. p. 1 and below, ch. 2). It departs from a structural syntax stripped of meaning (Richter 1978; 1979; 1980 and Schneider 1982),¹³ but also from generative semantics loaded with interpretation (Waltke and O'Connor (WO)). However, this does not mean that it proceeds in successive steps from syntax through semantics into pragmatics as Schweizer (1981:18–21).¹⁴ Nor does it concentrate solely on the "möglichen Ausdrucksformen der textexternen (kommunikations- und geschichtenbezogenen) Gliederungsmerkmale im Althebräischen" as Hardmeier (1990:72, cf. 63).¹⁵

This discourse-pragmatic grammar integrates syntactic variation of semantic meaning for pragmatic purposes with a focus on cross-clausal relationships. Pragmatics is "the all-encompassing framework within which semantics and syntax must be studied" (Dik 1989:7). It recognizes that there are "both bottom-up and top-down dependencies in linguistic structure" (1989:51).¹⁶ But usage is decisive:

¹³ Richter's (1978:11) 'Inhaltsseite' or 'Funktion' hardly exhausts the role of semantics in linguistic description. Linguistics rapidly moves away from the view that we actually "die ... Dichotomie von Ausdrucks- und Inhaltsseite zwei unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Beschreibungsstadien zuordnen können (Grammatik/Syntax einer- und Semantik andererseits)" (Floss 1982:90 n. 2).

¹⁴ Schweizer's restrictive view of syntax as only "Zusammenordnung, Syntax, der Zeichenformen" (1981:40) restricts the realm of syntax and represents a too "einseitigen, wenn auch unverzichtbaren" formalism (Hardmeier 1990:72). Semantics and pragmatics only play a "zeichenförmigen" role without "einzelsprachunabhängigen semantischen und pragmatischen Erfordernissen der Kommunikation." Pragmatics is restricted to isolated components of the language system at the cost of the text (1990:73).

¹⁵ Note that Hardmeier (1990:72) also asserts that only a bi-directional approach which incorporates both the text semantic functions and the individual expression forms will advance research in *Textgrammatik*.

¹⁶ Comprehension "is interactional in both directions" (Longacre and Hwang 1994:337). Discourse processing includes a top-down use of schemas and a bottom-up use of context and cues in the text. Note also van Wolde (1994:20, 23).

Ultimately, a pragmatically adequate grammar will have to show in what respects the local organization of linguistic expressions is dependent on higher-level features of the discourse in which they occur. (1989:51).

This study of the grammar of Joshua most directly continues the functional approaches of Lowery (1985), Butth (1987a; 1987b; 1992a) and van der Merwe (1994:19–21). With the former it also shares a related topic (the grammar of Judges) and a similar goal (the use of computer technology). Yet its scope differs from Lowery in the attempt to cultivate a new structuralist-functional approach to grammar (2.1–3); by striking a more rhetorical pragmatic stance (cf. the Rhetorical Structure Theory (2.4.2); and by exploiting a more automated computer-assisted approach (the computer-assisted syntactic analysis (2.4.3)).

I propose that a combination of functional grammar and discourse-pragmatic theory can untangle some of the otherwise unexplained grammatical features of texts.¹⁷ Its major concern is to uncover how discourse is commenced, continued and concluded, how it is structured within its verb sequencing of actions, events and states, which devices are used for reference to participants, and what further cohesive devices are used for connectivity and clause integration. Pragmatic and rhetorical issues are assumed to explain the shaping of theme and high point(s), the functions of style and dialogue and all further grammaticalized aspects of the functioning of language in text for literary communication.

In conclusion, *A functional discourse grammar of Joshua* continues a discourse-pragmatic tradition in strong interaction with a structural and semantic tradition. It is consistent with text-syntactic structuralism, yet its theoretical grid is determined by the potentiality of a functional grammar to include the role of discourse and pragmatics in a linguistic description.

1.3.2 Text-theoretical Foundations

With this wide textual perspective on grammar, a textual analysis will naturally be strongly influenced by current developments within the theory of text. A text-theoretical orientation helps us to define the three types of dominant material in the Bible: the literary, the historical and the theological (Ryken and Longman 1993b:16). We will eventually add rhetorical structure as a textual component with great linguistic potential.

The modern paradigm of structural analysis of literature and discourse continues a long tradition from classical arts of rhetoric, poetics and

¹⁷ Contrary to Richter (1978:14), it is assumed that also transmitted written texts in “dead” languages contain situative features that indicate their pragmatic function.

grammar.¹⁸ Discourse grammar has gradually developed within an interdisciplinary study of literature, texts, and human behavior to include in a broad sense "any work in language science devoted to the text as the primary object of inquiry" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:14).¹⁹

Within this modern text paradigm, Joshua can be approached as a "coherent and unified discourse" rather than as "a non-text which is heavily distorted and unusually rich on later additions of all kinds" (Wiklander 1984:20). A text-linguistic approach will not primarily search for hidden diachronic meanings buried below the surface of a text. Rather, it will search for the linguistic aspects of the literary work as art, for the communicative situation presupposed in the text's historical universe, and for the textual relations within its rhetorical structure.

First, a textual analysis will contribute to a **literary reading**. Text-linguistics is highly consistent with insights from modern narrative criticism. Research on Hebrew narrative at present generates a wealth of theory and readings which can explain many conventions of biblical storytelling.²⁰

The new narratological approach builds on a theory of **poetics**, a "systematic study of literature as literature" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:2). To explain what texts are and how they are constituted, it studies the two parts of a narrative, its *story* with events in chronological order and participants, and its *discourse* as the actual expressions communicating the action and describing the characters (Chatman 1978:19). The structure of the story is shaped by the *plot's* movement towards a central conflict, the acting and speaking *characters*, the spatial and locational *settings* and the narrator's *point of view* (Bar-Efrat 1989). The actual narrative style of the Hebrew discourse uses *repetition* to create coherence (Longman 1993:76), *omission* to produce depths of indirect characterization (Alter 1981:115, 117, 125-130), *dialogue* to access a character's psychology and ideology (Berlin 1983:64) and *irony* to dramatize or create deeper levels of meaning (Bar-Efrat 1989:125-129, 210-211).

¹⁸ This tradition has been revived by modern structural linguistics and its offshoots in Russian formalism, French structuralism, stylistics, pragmatics, and artificial intelligence; cf. de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981:14-18) and Kintsch and van Dijk (1983:1-4).

¹⁹ Van Dijk surveys the attempts "to apply the theoretical machinery of grammar to description of discourse" (1985:2). He refers to style studies in literary scholarship and its precursor in classical rhetoric. He also mentions the role of cognitive research, sociolinguistics, anthropology, hermeneutics, and psychology (1985:4-10).

²⁰ Note the exhaustive bibliographic collection in Gunn and Fewell (1993:206-252).

A narratological analysis will try to ascertain which voice is dominant in a narrative. This is tied up with subtle distinctions between the real author, the implied author, and the narrator (Chatman 1978:151). The real author may as an implied author express ideas which he does not share personally.²¹ The narrator guides the reader to his ideological stance and point of view through events, characterizations and descriptions. Hebrew narrative is mostly told by hidden, omniscient and reliable narrators in a third person narrative form.²²

Like most other texts, Hebrew narrative discourse generally communicates an intentional and determinate sense, and its readers will look for this in the story. To some extent meaning depends on the reader and his competence and creativity (van Wolde 1990:13), but the text is the guiding force, and the reader only the reacting force (1992:650). Multiple or ambiguous meanings may occur, but the prevention of meaning by undecidability or unreadability is counter-balanced "by context or textual coherence which makes it possible to approach a writer's intention" (Backman 1991:48).²³

A modern textual analysis of a biblical text will face the inconsistencies, doublets, and interpretative cruxes usually chased by diachronic readers. However, it refutes a *Literarkritik* which assumes that "alle 'Brüche', 'Spannungen' oder 'Wiederholungen'" can be used for diagnosis of "separate 'Quellen' und Überarbeitungsschichten" (Hardmeier 1990:30).²⁴ It betrays a "starren Methodenschematismus, der mit einer apriorischen, 'rein' literarkritischen Textscheidung einsetzt" (1990:30), but only "postpones the discussion of coherence to a much

²¹ An "implied author" is a "construct inferred and assembled from all the components of the text" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:87). It is "de-personified ... as a set of implicit norms rather than as a speaker or a voice (i.e. a subject)" (1983:88). The Hebrew Bible also presumes an "author-revealer" (Wiklander 1984:41).

²² Narrators give an "authoritative account of fictional truth" unless there are indications of "the narrator's limited knowledge, his personal involvement, and his problematic value-scheme" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:100). He may use irony (1983:103), but only on a local level "within a certain part of the text" (Longman 1993:78).

²³ A plurality of voices "provoking a non-unitary, 'polyphonic' reading" (Rimmon-Kenan 1983:81) primarily betrays a contemporary preference for "suggestiveness and indeterminacy" and "the active role of the reader" (1983:61). The idea of multiple reference in deconstructionism means that "all language can do is breed confusion" (Backman 1991:48).

²⁴ Source and *neo-literarkritischen* approaches are impeded by "ein mechanistisches, additiv-/subtraktives Verständnis von der Produktion und der Verarbeitung von Texten in je neuen Kommunikationszusammenhängen" (Hardmeier 1990:17).

later stage in the investigation" (Culley 1984:42). It is not clear how former methods can be defended in terms of an adequate theory of texts and of the process of reading. It is quite clear that

[d]ie groben und stumpfen Werkzeuge der Literarkritik, "Brüche und Spannungen", "Leitworte", "geprägte Wendungen" etc. sind durch eine (erzähl-)texttheoretische Fundierung ... zu ersetzen. (Hardmeier 1990:18).

A discourse grammar may look for literary functions of repetitions, temporal discontinuities, narrative breaks and variation in style

not as diachronic runes to be deciphered and then archaeologically rearranged, but as narrative gaps and allusive indicators that come laden with hermeneutical potential. (Hauch 1991:4).

In contrast to synchronic readings, a discourse linguistic approach does not only find a central role for repetition in structuring text (Tannen 1989:36-37), but also in accomplishing interpersonal involvement (1989:52-53) and pervading conversation (1989:56-57). This kind of textual analysis looks for grammatical devices marking text structure, coherence and theme. It studies the linguistics of the written texts (Sailhamer 1992:9-10), unfold the author's intention and the communicative situation (1992:10-11), and work with narrative as a text type (1992:12-16). It will trace the literary devices (1992:25-29), but will emphasize such linguistic aspects as articulation of *theme* and *rheme* (1992:29-31).

Secondly, a textual analysis will also foster a particular view on **historical inquiry**. Historical data in texts are dealt with in terms of the narrative without a prior hypothesis on what might be historically true, uncertain or false. The relation between a text and its context, cultural values and historical settings is not reduced to a simplistic deduction of some specific literary genesis or genius. It rejects that readers must in advance determine different authors or series of retellings of a story (Culley 1984:27). To separate a number of diachronic layers and invest them with an authorial status is not only difficult, but also highly controversial.

The issue at hand is how to evaluate ancient historiography. Classical Herodotian research has taught scholars that ancient historical accounts may have literary qualities and unity.²⁵ However, the literary features do not *per se* imply that Hebrew narrative is purely "*historized* prose fiction"

²⁵ These studies "elucidate the form and structure from within the work itself and as a quality of that particular author as distinct from others" (Van Seters 1983:18).

(Alter 1981:24) or a narrative history mirrored "through the imaginative lenses used to create all fictions" (Halpern 1988:8). Cases like the poor man's lamb in 2 Sam 12,1-4 prove that a choice between a historical or a parabolic sense of a story can only be made on the basis of its function in the communicative situation as determined by the receiver and the sender (Winther-Nielsen 1987:172-173).

A text-linguistic investigation is primarily guided by factors determined by the pragmatic triangle of communication with sender, text and receiver.²⁶ The communicative process requires that a text has a writer who committed himself to write for his audience.²⁷ The analysis can not dispense with an "author", or at least the writer, in the fashion of New Criticism or structuralism.²⁸ It will search for historical information in the textually derived picture of the audience, if discernible, and in the social and cultural background of events from the narratives.²⁹

Historical inquiry in a broader sense should therefore follow as a second step after a textual analysis of the source text. Archaeological, anthropological, and sociological methods only apply when the text has been adequately investigated for its linguistic and literary features, for the historical universe of the text and for the communication situation. The analysis will be oriented towards the "recorded history in the text of the Scripture" (Sailhamer 1986:283).

Denn nur auf dem Hintergrund der Beurteilung einer Quelle als *ganzer* ist der Indizwert bzw. die Glaubwürdigkeit von darin enthaltenen Einzelnachrichten für die Rekonstruktion historischer Ereignis- und Sozialzusammenhänge angemessen zu beurteilen. (Hardmeier 1990:11-12).

²⁶ See among others Gülich and Raible (1977), Hardmeier (1978:52-106), Wiklander (1984:39-45), Olson (1985), Longacre (1989a:13-14).

²⁷ Cf. Hardmeier (1986:98) and Nielsen (1990:89-90). The receiver has a privileged perspective, being guided by an author's perspective on events (Sailhamer 1986:286).

²⁸ Ljung (1991:54) maintains that the author is a priori present in his text and must be posited as external information explaining influences and intentions or as the voice of the work. Note also Mettinger (1993:262-263) and Cheney (1994:14-15).

²⁹ The task is not to "discern what is fictitious and what is factitious" (Halpern 1988:11), which is an arbitrary distinction (Gros Louis and Van Antwerpen 1993:137). Historical biblical narrative is presumably dictated by historical experience, yet shaped by social and literary concerns (Bird 1989:119-120; McNutt 1987). Thematic, historical and literary analysis should converge (Pratt 1990:87-104). A historian "cannot reject the narrator's description of the reality of the story world without also rejecting the story that is being told" (Eslinger 1989:27 n. 3).

A similar stance can be taken towards the investigation of the ideological content expressed in the texts. A textual approach will avoid that peculiar "assured scientific results" predetermine the ultimate semantic authority of the literary work. It is theologically significant that "behind texts stand authors who have rendered their intentions in texts" (Sailhamer 1986:292). The "goal of a text-oriented approach ... is a revelation in history in the sense of a meaning of a history recounted in the text of Scripture".

Finally, the present textual analysis applies a **rhetorical theory on the nature of texts** (cf. 2.4.2). The linguists Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson have developed a new *Rhetorical Structure Theory* as "a framework for describing rhetorical relations among parts of a text" (1992:42). This theory is very satisfactory for a discourse grammar of Joshua, because it provides a pragmatic framework for "a unified description of text structure regardless of genre" (1992:68). The theory explains how a text can "achieve the purposes of speakers and produce effects in hearers" (1992:69).

Rhetorical Structure Theory has several points in common with the present proposal for functional grammar. It is a linguistic theory of text structure which also emphasizes "functions of particular uses of language" (1992:52). It has grown out of similar research efforts to establish "a theoretical basis in designing computer programs with some of the capabilities of authors ... and resulted in an understanding of discourse that has had many other uses, including several applications in linguistics" (1992:42).³⁰ Finally, it is critical of the adequacy of an exclusively "formal compositional semantics" (1992:64).³¹

In conclusion, all the literary, historical and rhetorical assumptions mentioned above are assumed to provide an adequate framework for a textual analysis of actual Hebrew discourse. This kind of analysis uncovers the formal structure and functions of a text as a literary whole, it looks for contextual information in extant textual sources, and it is informed by pragmatic insights into the rhetorical structure of texts.

³⁰ The initial work analyzed some 400 texts (Mann and Thompson 1987b:80).

³¹ On the subjectivity of a propositional semantic analysis, see Brown and Yule who even deny "a single correct semantic representation" (1983:114). Rhetorical Structure Theory challenges "theories of language that equate the communication effect of a text with the 'meanings' of its sentences and compose those meanings from the meanings of its syntactic structures and lexical items" (Mann and Thompson 1987a:21).

1.3.3 Text-critical Perspective

Textual analysis of traditional literature handed down over several millennia deals with a unique set of "field" data. The Book of Joshua is recorded in the Hebrew manuscript tradition of the Massoretes (MT) and translated in the ancient versions, principally the Greek Septuagint (LXX). Unfortunately, they diverge to the extent that one prominent scholar has declared the LXX variations to "present a book different from that contained in the MT" (Tov 1986:322).³²

Textual criticism of the Book of Joshua therefore divides into two sharply opposing schools advocating the priority of either the Hebrew or the Greek text. The traditional view is that the **MT has primacy**. Joshua is generally uncorrupted except for scribal errors (Soggin 1972:18) and the Greek text—except for a few more significant variants—mostly contains abbreviations and simplifications of the MT (Noth 1953:7).

Another position argues for the **superiority of the LXX**. Holmes (1914:1) concluded that a translator of the Greek text would hardly have used a Hebrew *Vorlage* similar to the MT, because the LXX translation seems consistent in its internal variations from the MT.³³ Several scholars now assume that the LXX can be used as diachronic evidence for a more pristine Hebrew *Vorlage*. Tov (1986:337–338) concludes that the LXX has genetic priority among the two editions of the book of Joshua. A shorter Hebrew text existed as late as the third or second century BC.³⁴

Despite this tendency in recent textual criticism, two important points must be made. To begin with, if the MT additions are diachronic accumulations, the Hebrew text would be disqualified "as a sure base for a close examination of the literary structure and relationships of the Book of Joshua" (Auld 1979:7). It would be futile to develop its grammar and discourse structure.

³² Auld finds twice as many additions in the MT than in the LXX for Joshua 1–4, 6, 8–9, 13–16, 18, 20–21, 24, but four or five times as many in Joshua 5, 7 [corrected by this author], 10–12, 17, 19, and 22–23 (1979:3). The omissions of LXX amounts to 4–5 % (Tov 1986:326). LXX has important additions in 16:10, 19:47, 21:42, 24:30, 33 (1986:326) and a different sequence (9:2 is followed by 8:30–35).

³³ If the Greek translator knew the MT, he was displaying "great skill in redaction in ch. xix., a conspicuous want of it in ch. vi., a keen eye for what was necessary for consistency in chs. v, and xviii., a dull perception when obvious contradictions are concerned as in ch. vi 7, 8, 9, and 13, and ch. vii 15 and 25" (Holmes 1914:2).

³⁴ Tov finds the additions of LXX "faithful Greek translations of actual Hebrew phrases" (1986:328), and "since biblical literature developed by way of adding layer upon layer ... a short text *like* the LXX was expanded to a long text *like* MT" (1986:329). The extreme position of Orlinsky was that "[t]here never was, and there

But, more important, a discourse grammar of Hebrew should not even attempt the common practice of reconstructing a more original text. It should not fuse the MT with variant readings prior to textual analysis. Instead, it should use the **synchronic approach to textual criticism** proposed by Rabe (1990; 1992). The textual basis is then a verifiable existing text which is analyzed as a material and literary unit (1992:292).³⁵ Only scribal errors are corrected to ensure the readability of the manuscript.³⁶

Synchronic textual criticism avoids a problem inherent to Floss' (1982; 1986) laborious work. His linguistic analyses are carried out on reconstructed and artificial linguistic data. His grammatical rules are inconclusive for grammars based on our known text of the Hebrew Bible. In contrast, a synchronic approach can rely on the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) text as a sufficiently dominant textual base to allow serious linguistic research on attested forms of Hebrew grammar and discourse. A discourse grammar can formulate textually derived rules for manuscript comparison on a synchronic basis.

However, the reliability of the transmitted Hebrew text does not extend to its **graphical markings**. Koorevaar (1990:123) has analyzed 124 different outlines of the Book of Joshua statistically and compared the most frequent and most reasonable proposals with ancient demarcations. He used the Codices of Cairo, Aleppo and Leningrad (the BHS-text) (1990:62–63). The analysis of the ancient *parasha*-paragraphs showed that the main divisions into *petuhot* diverged in 50 % of the cases (1990:77) while smaller subdivisions into *setumot* agreed in 80 % of the cases (1990:80). The ancient divisions are of some use for paragraph analysis, but not for a full book-length analysis of discourse units.

In conclusion, a prominent standard text must be used for grammatical analysis, and only obvious scribal errors should be corrected prior to analysis. Corrections of the traditional Hebrew text can only follow as a sequel to textual synchronic and discourse-pragmatic analysis, when well-founded grammatical criteria have been established.

never can be, a single fixed massoretic text of the Bible!" (1969:187 n. 1).

³⁵ Rabe (1992:290–291) points out that an eclectic text has never been handed down, has no features of a particular manuscript tradition and contains no criteria for evaluation of the selected variants. It is unwise to mingle textual and literary criteria (1992:289).

³⁶ Only the well-known canons of haplography, dittography and the like are to be used (Rabe 1992:294–295). Variant readings only fulfill a heuristic function for disclosing mistakes.

1.4 Procedure: Technology for Linguistic Description

The present textual analysis of Joshua is not only influenced by modern theory on grammar and text, but also by an aim to utilize and develop computational tools for grammatical analysis.¹ A computer-assisted procedure is also highly consistent with the literary, historical and rhetorical foundations for the study (cf. 1.3.2).

The fact that the machine can search in the text, but not behind the text in background material, has impact on the method of textual analysis. The machine stimulates, in fact, research which aims at a synchronic exposition of a text. The language of the text is the first object of research (Talstra 1989b:5).

The use of computer technology affects both the procedure and the scope of textual analysis. It requires a high degree of **methodological precision**, because the computer can only "describe language and linguistic compositions according to well defined grammatical and lexical rules" (Talstra and Van Wieringen 1992b:1). This forces the analyst "to discern carefully between linguistic description of poetic texts and their literary, rhetorical analysis" (Talstra 1982:29). But at the same time, a computational approach also constrains the literary scope of textual analysis. It can only address the traditional type of critical enquiry in so far as it relates to empirical and verifiable linguistic data.² A diachronic verification of an author as well as historical and social background is beyond its proper grasp—it can not grope behind the text. Eventually, the analyst is therefore forced to distinguish between the structural and the referential capacities of language, "between *language and text-structure* at the one hand and *the text and its relations with its non-linguistic, referential background* at the other hand" (Talstra and Van Wieringen 1992b:2).

Both these requirements—an exact grammatical procedure and the constraint of empirical textual data—enhance the computer's role when we

¹ On the liaison between Hebrew grammar and computers since Wilhelm Schickard's work in 1623, and the idea of "mechanicalization" of humanistic work, see Talstra (1992a:1–6). Some sort of "Geheimwissenschaft" (1986b:563) need not be feared. This "biblical engineering" has proved not only "one of the best practical jokes", but indeed "much more practical than anyone ... could have dreamed of" (1989b:1).

² The computer demands that "the linguistic part of the exegetical argument satisfy stricter demands" (Talstra 1980:123). As it only deals with the "raw-materials" of language, it is only useful "in testing the effectiveness of the criteria used or being developed in source criticism or redactional criticism" (Talstra 1986c:337; cf. 1980:123; 1989b:5).

want to explore the relationship between interpretative reading and grammatical description. For the construction of a new grammar it guarantees that "nicht vorschnell der Exegese oder der Literaturwissenschaft einverleibt werden soll" (Talstra 1983:34). The computer can ensure that reading and perception is set within a far more objectified framework.³ This is especially so because it demands a very precise and consistent way of textual description.

Computer-assisted research of a text-grammatical type will provide the exegete with a tool to construct the syntactic framework of a textual composition, without being too much dependent on *ad hoc* textual interpretation. As a result exegetical discussion will gain more profit from grammatical argumentation both in stylistic [*sic*] and in literary critical textual analysis. (1991a:193).

The computer has been available to biblical scholarship for years. Reliable databases of the Hebrew text have enabled standard word processing operations such as searching the entire Hebrew Bible, and several computational applications have already been implemented.⁴ But the computer also has the capacity to perform complex linguistic analysis such as that carried out by Talstra's research in the *Werkgroep Informatica* at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.⁵ An electronic database of the text of the Hebrew Bible contains complete information on the grammatical structure of every word. This morphologically tagged text of the *Werkgroep Informatica* (WITBHS) enables **computer-assisted analysis of syntactic structure** at higher textual levels.

The strictly data-oriented nature of computer-assisted analysis goes beyond a mere collection of interpretational data (Talstra 1980:126). It far exceeds the filing of data procedure used by Lowery (1985), Andersen and Forbes (1992) and others, which is valuable to the extent that it

³ "Computer procedures do not establish syntactical theories, nor do they propose textual interpretations. What they do introduce into biblical studies is the possibility of experiment: comparing and testing" (Talstra 1989a:91). They "let the linguistic part of the exegetical arguments satisfy stricter demands" (1980:123; cf. 1991a:182).

⁴ Groves (1989) has tagged the Michigan-Westminster text morphologically, Andersen and Forbes (1983; 1992) have coded particles and clause divisions, Lowery (1985) analyzed cohesion statistically and Bergen (1984; 1994) developed a program for discovery of verb structural profiles.

⁵ For its history, see Talstra and Postma (1989b): Pascal-programming and morphological studies (1977-1979), semi-automatic coding and selection programs (1979-1983), phrase and clause analysis (1983-1985), data correction and a syntactic concordance program for the PC (Groves et al. 1992).

applies an adequate model of grammar and text.⁶ But the real potential of computational tools lies in syntactic and textual parsing, grammatical analysis within a consistent formal and rule-governed framework, and testing of discourse-pragmatic hypotheses in relation to clause relation types (Talstra 1983; 1987b:96-97). The present analysis therefore pursues a functional and pragmatic approach (as Lowery and Andersen and Forbes), but exploits the potential of computer-assisted description (as Talstra).

The programs developed by Talstra combine words into phrase, sentence and text structures. Their use for determination of phrase structure, demarcation of clauses, and description of textual hierarchies is set out in 2.4.3. These discourse-oriented investigations aim at "the building of a grammatically analyzed textcorpus" (1991a:182). This research has so far only been completed for Deuteronomy and Kings. The present study contributes to the description of the Book of Joshua. It exemplifies how computational tools can be used in the analysis of Hebrew grammar and text. The full analysis of Joshua is available in a second volume (Winther-Nielsen and Talstra 1995).

Computational procedure has influenced the investigation of Joshua in two major ways. First, it has strengthened its **empirical consistency**. The data-processing of a complete textual corpus gives a broader basis for its linguistic conclusions. Processing of linguistically coded data is especially important in the case of a "dead" language like Hebrew where no other informants than a well-programmed computer is available as a "language helper."⁷ Results are obtained in a more reliable manner and with less human error in output, although they necessarily depend on prior decisions on coding and programming.⁸ A computer-assisted analysis also

⁶ Talstra's (1991a:181) criticism of merely labelling elements in a database instead of letting linguistic programs do the analysis is correct, but *per se* a functional grammar is linguistically more adequate than Talstra's syntactico-formalistic restricted phrase structure grammar. Furthermore, Lowery (1985:91) did develop an algorithm for automated clause division, a statistical procedure for data proofreading (1985:86), and paid full attention to grammatical marking in the statistical indexes. Nevertheless, this method is restricted to statistics and theory testing.

⁷ The computer is the only other party available to "correct scientific intuition" It can "test sufficient distributional criteria" to found linguistic theory "on a broad and also directly accessible set of data" (Talstra 1987b:96 n. 1). It enforces a step-wise procedure with "a very rigid consistency check" disclosing weaknesses in results (1989a:87).

⁸ Thus "[i]t is still the theory of literature that counts, before any machine starts (re)counting of its own accord" (Talstra 1986c:558), and "[t]he linguistic work has to be done first ... [because the] use of computers ... implies quite a lot of preliminary

demands a consistent specification of analytic objectives, and it generates a clearer perception of the nature of data and sources of information.

Second, the use of computational tools has dictated the choice of a specific type of **grammatical theory** (1.3.1).⁹ It was necessary to use a grammar which combined the structural and the functional aspects to fully explain linguistic structure, meaning and usage. Only a combined structural-functional framework can balance the inherently formal data obtained by computational procedures. It can integrate computational data and linguistic interpretation equally well.

In conclusion, a computer-assisted approach enables a consistent, broad and empirical description of textual structure. The computational goals of the study enhances the data-oriented analysis of linguistic structure, while the functional and textual goal enhances the text-oriented scope of computational description. Textual analysis can then bridge the gap between a functional interpretation of regularities in discourse and a formalist description of rules in grammar.

grammatical research" (1989a:90).

⁹ It requires a new type of grammar (Talstra 1983:34) which reduces the dominance of semantic or literary interpretation, i.e., "[s]emantic analysis should be performed within the framework set by the syntactic features of a text, because in linguistic communication syntactic and semantic levels co-operate and do not function mutually independently" (Talstra 1982:38; cf. Dyk and Talstra 1988:54-55).

1.5 Plan: The Tactics of the Study

The study of the grammar of the book of Joshua is by its nature interdisciplinary. It deals with current research in functional grammar, discourse grammar, computational linguistics and literary criticism. Accordingly, a broader audience than practitioners from any of these individual fields is anticipated. This is reflected in the following outline of the study.

The study of the Book of Conquest will be directed as a battle. After these introductory proceedings on the choice of strategy, the next part will map the territory by developing **the linguistic theory**. It offers a new model for discourse-pragmatic analysis within a functional grammar (chapter 2). It presents a grid for grammatical and textual analysis of Hebrew, but uses other texts and languages as well. Both the general linguist with functional and pragmatic concerns and the Hebrew grammarian with syntactic and textual interests will find much to interact with.

Grammar and computational procedures are applied in **the main analytical parts** of the study (chapters 3–5). It consists of three parts of diverse complexity and scope. These parts were chosen to test the grammar and the computer with intraclausal, interclausal and holistic analysis at all levels and to different degrees of detail.

In the first part, an exhaustive account explores grammatical intelligence in 'Spying on Jericho' in Joshua 2. It tests the functional discourse grammar at **clause level** on a restricted corpus (chapter 3).

Secondly, discourse-pragmatic conquests are the objective of the analysis of three major narratives in Joshua 3–8, which are treated at an intermediate **story level**. It addresses literary issues and explores the grammar of boundary marking and episode structure, of interclausal coherence, and of expression of discourse themes (chapter 4).

Thirdly, the operation is completed in an outlining of all the grammar and text of Joshua on a **book-length, holistic level**. It presents the analysis of units within the overall structure of Joshua, a grammar of clause combining and verb sequencing in the grammatical system, and the analysis of thematic unity of the complete discourse (chapter 5).

The aim has been to document the wide range of the grammatical task—from below the word to above the text. Ultimately the aim is to contribute to the reading of Joshua. It aims at a general readership of linguists, literary critics and Hebrew Bible scholars. The latter may want to read the more familiar presentations of chapters 3.1–2, 3.4, all of 4, 5.1–2, and 5.4.

Chapter 2 Mapping Out the Angle of Attack: A Functional Discourse Grammar

Discourse grammar has extended the scope of linguistics beyond the confines of the sentence. It bridges the gap between relatively tightly knit clause structures—only partly explicable by traditional sentence grammars—and more complex grammatical constructions of human discourse. It pays special attention to mechanisms that code coherence beyond clauses in textual units, boundaries and themes.

A **functional discourse grammar** can be defined as the study of connected discourse in order to render “a complete and adequate account of the grammatical organization” (Dik 1989:12). It is also characterized by a pragmatic component which ultimately integrates the “constructivist interaction between environment and mind” (Givón 1984:10). Its main linguistic aim is to account for “stable correlations between **grammatical devices** and the **discourse contexts** in which they appear; that is the distribution of grammar in text” (1990:893).

The grammar deals with three areas of **language study**: the study of sentences, textual context and purpose, and functional distributions (1984:10–11). Sentences are studied in relation to their intraclausal organization, interclausal combining and coherence (1.3.1). Textual context is viewed from a theory of how texts are organized, and textual purpose through a model of how writers communicate their pragmatic goals (1.3.2). Finally, the distribution of grammatical constructions and their function are explored by means of data-oriented computational tools (1.4).

This chapter first explains how meanings (semantics), expressions (syntax) and uses of language (pragmatics) are combined at clausal, interclausal and textual levels (2.1). At the intraclausal level, it describes predicate types, layers in clause structure and the Hebrew predicate itself (2.2). These constituents are the basic building-blocks in the grammar of interclausal linking, nominal expressions and verbs (2.3). Finally, interclausal grammar is extended into a discourse grammar which includes a pragmatic analysis of rhetorical structure and a computer-aided description of syntactic structure (2.4). In sum, the issues of the grammar are:

	intraclausal (2.2)	interclausal (2.3)	textual (2.4)
<i>semantic</i>	predications (2.2.1)	clause links (2.3.1)	discourse (2.4.1)
<i>pragmatic</i>	clause layers (2.2.2)	reference (2.3.2)	rhetorical layer (2.4.2)
<i>syntactic</i>	verb function (2.2.3)	verb sequence (2.3.3)	verb hierarchy (2.4.3)

2.1 Functional Grammar and Discourse-pragmatics

Linguists increasingly place functionalism and discourse-pragmatics at the center of their study because of their growing awareness of the communicative aspects of language. A new user-oriented **functionalism in the tradition of Prague school linguistics is replacing Chomskyan generative-transformational formalism** and its rigid system of idealized, discrete and abstract structure, which neglected actual language in use and rhetorical function (Givón 1984:5-9).

Modern functional grammar has exchanged a text-as-product for a discourse-as-process approach (Brown and Yule 1983:24). Form is not understood as separate from the context-dependent nature of linguistic units.¹ It locates the interpretation of an utterance in the "reader's effort to arrive at the writer's (or speaker's) *intended meaning* in producing a linguistic message" (1983:224-225).

Functional grammar is a **pragmatic theory which assumes that the mutual knowledge shared by senders (S) and addressees (A) shapes their communicative interplay:**

S and A possess a huge amount of pragmatic information, P_S and P_A , respectively. In saying something to A, S's intention is to effect some kind of modification in P_A S will therefore try to anticipate the interpretation that A is likely to assign to his linguistic expression. (Dik 1989:8).

This communicative use of language also affects its view of **discourse** as

the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker / writer to express meanings and achieve intentions (discourse). (Brown and Yule 1983:26).

This study is deeply indebted to *Role and Reference Grammar* (RRG), a **structural-functionalist theory** proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984; Van Valin 1993), and to Dik's (1989) *Functional Grammar* (FG), as well as to other related linguistic frameworks.² The chief merit of these

¹ See Foley and Van Valin (1984:9-10). Sentence grammar is insufficient, because "human communication is **multi-propositional**... [T]he immediate discourse context and overall thematic context control the choice and use of most grammatical devices" (Givón 1984:10).

² I abstain from some of their extravagant uses of complex symbolic logic. My grammatical theory is also influenced by Givón's (1984; 1990) discourse-pragmatics and has an ancestral line back into the *Tagmemics* of Pike as dejargonized by Longacre

grammars is their ability to combine meaning and function at a single syntactic expression level.³ As such, they can integrate discourse-oriented pragmatic interpretation and text-oriented, computational description within a single theory. Both the prototypical clause patterns and the more frequent complex linguistic variations in natural language are explained by actual surface structure (Van Valin 1993:74). Furthermore, this kind of grammar assumes that "there is a relationship between the form of a sentence and its function in discourse, and that grammatical form is *in part* determined by the pragmatic circumstances under which the sentence is used as a unit of information" (Lambrecht 1988:138; cf. 1987:223).

A discourse-oriented functional approach, therefore, requires a re-examination of **syntax and semantics within a framework of pragmatics** (Brown and Yule 1983:24–25). The interplay between expression, meaning and use can be illustrated by clauses with *nātan* 'give' from Joshua:

- (1)a. *wayyittēn yahwēh 'et-lākīš bəyad yiśrā'el* (10:32a)
and-(he-)gave Yahweh AM-Lakish in-hand-of Israel
b. [*wayyiqbārū 'ōtō bəgib'at ...*] *'āšer nittan-lō bəhar 'eprāyim* (24:33c)
[they-buried him in-hill-of ...] which (it-)was.given-to-him in-hills-of E.
c. *raq hakkesep ... nātānū 'ōšar bēt-yahwēh* (6:24b)
only the-silver ... they-gave [as] treasure-of house-of-Yahweh

These clauses have a similar semantic meaning, but are differentiated by syntactic variations in word order and morphology. In example (1a), the giver and receiver roles are separated by a transacted object. In (1b) the giver is unmentioned and the receiver positioned directly after the giving, but the transacted object (represented by relative pronoun) is now logical subject of the clause. In (1c) the transacted object is explicitly mentioned before the verb and the receiver only implicitly referred to.

Such systematic variation in linguistic usage proves that syntactic structure is shaped in various ways in order to attach a specific informational status to the constituents in their wider communicative setting. Any account of clause structure must include semantic information and pragmatic function (Givón 1984:32). To understand the specific correlation between semantic meaning and pragmatic function in the syntax, we need to study "the functional distribution of various morpho-syntactic structures within the text" (1984:10–11). Linguistic forms can never be studied

(1983; 1985b). Note the survey by Edmonson and Burquest (1992:167–187).

³ No syntactic deep structure explains transformations into surface structure, but the "syntactic level corresponds to the actual structural form" (Van Valin 1993:2).

separately from their function, and often a functional, text-based explanation will be more satisfactory than a strictly formal account. The correlation between a form and its pragmatic use is "much stronger—or more predictable—in the direction from function to structure" (1992:307).

The interplay between structure, meaning and usage is by no means simple, because semantic and pragmatic factors function in a complex interaction in the grammatical system.⁴ To determine the role of each of these factors, we may identify syntax, semantics and pragmatics as distinct **functional components** of the communication system with specific "analytic foci" in the grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984:14).

Component	Analytic foci
semantic	predicate selection and argument functions
morpho-syntactic	word order, adpositions, relative clause
discourse (text)	topicality, contrast, salience, reference, definiteness
pragmatic (situation)	context, social norms, human behavior

Table 2.1 Grammatical Components

Syntactic alterations for pragmatic purposes can be termed packaging variation, or how pragmatic information is arranged in clauses.⁵ It encompasses such diverse functions as the articulation of "topic" and "focus,"⁶ whether reference is identifiable (definiteness), and how situations are viewed by speakers (perspective) (Andrews (1985:77). Syntactic packaging also encodes **foreground** and **background**, a distinction between temporally ordered "backbone" material and more ancillary types of information in discourse (Longacre 1983:14–17).⁷ This grounding in texts is coded syntactically by tense-mood-aspect, word order, sub-

⁴ "[V]arious grammatical forces ... compete with each other for the limited coding possibilities afforded by the grammar of the language" (Lambrecht 1988:143).

⁵ I.e., "the way that content is wrapped up and presented to a hearer" when people manipulate given and new, subject and predicate, clause, sentence, etc., (Chafe 1987:21; cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984:107–108 and Givón 1984:42–43; 1990:896).

⁶ Dik distinguishes topicality—"the things we talk about"—from focality—"the most important or salient parts of what we say about the topical things" (1989:264). Other terms are "old" or "given" vs. "new" or "known" information, the Prague School "theme" vs. "rheme," and Halliday's "topic" vs. "comment".

⁷ Temporally sequential clauses have been called "narrative" clauses (Labov and Waletzky 1967) and "foreground" clauses (Hopper 1979). Subordinate clauses can also be foregrounded (Thompson 1987:441), and possibly the two terms should be traded for "more specific, less circular and empirically better grounded notions" (Givón 1987:185).

ordination, transitivity, participant coding and voice. It is a composite of an anaphoric relation to the preceding discourse and a cataphoric importance for the following discourse (Givón 1987:180). Packaging forms three **strands, or threads**, of coherence spanning from clause to clause.⁸

Strand	Definition
sequential	sequencing of events or actions in coherent temporal order or states in thematic order to trace the main line
referential setting	introduction and tracking of discourse participants across clauses temporal and spatial elements for scenic staging

Table 2.2 Strands of Discourse

Functional grammar posits two major levels of grammatical organization. At the **intraclausal** level, it deals with semantic structure and layers of the clause and special positions for topic and focus. The **interclausal** level subsumes mechanisms of clause combining, referent tracking and verb sequencing in connected text, as well as higher level discourse factors. The interclausal level is part of the hierarchical structuring that pervades language. Sounds, morphemes, words, phrases, and clauses build into successively more complex syntactic structures, and discourse organizes into ever larger clusters of sentences, paragraphs, and episodes. At the **discourse level**, the grammar will explain how coherence shapes the wholeness and integrity of a text and the role of individual elements in its total structure. Coherence involves a natural expectation of every normal communication that relevance holds true and that the same place, time, participants and theme are maintained until a change is explicitly marked (Brown and Yule 1983:66).

In conclusion, a functional discourse grammar relates the meaning and form of a clause to its use in discourse. It explains how pragmatics is involved in syntactic packaging of simple clauses into complex, linguistic constructions at the interclausal level and at the level of discourse.

⁸ Cf. the list: a. Topics-participants continuity, b. Temporal continuity, c. Spatial continuity, and d. Action or theme continuity (Givón 1987:179; 1990:896).

2.2 Intraclausal Grammar

A functional grammar must explain how semantics and pragmatics influence the syntactic structure of the clause. This can be explained both by semantic relations between types of verbs and nouns (2.2.1) and by a pragmatic hierarchy which emerges from a layered clause structure (2.2.2). A layered clause structure can also account for the function of the Hebrew verb at the intraclausal level (2.2.3).

2.2.1 Intraclausal Semantic Relations

In general, every language will form discrete units (clauses) by associating verbs with nouns according to specific rules. In terms of predicate logic, this means that internal clause-syntax is determined by the way that types of predicates (mainly verbs) dominate the semantic functions of their co-occurring arguments (mainly nouns). This part of the grammar describes how predicate semantics works in a **relational clause structure**.

Following Dik (1989:89), the combination of a predicate with its arguments in a **predicate frame** can be specified by a meaning definition, which is a first-order paraphrase of its semantic aspects.¹ These meaning specifications refer to sets of state of affairs or relations between entities in some world. Thus the verb *give* (cf. example (1) in 2.1) is a verbal predicate governing three arguments with semantic functions. Its structure is set out in the following representations:

- (2)a. *give* (John)(the book)(to the librarian) (Dik 1989:46)
 b. *give_v* (x_1 : < anim > (x_2))_{Ag} (x_2))_{Go} (x_3 : < anim > (x_3))_{Rec} (1989:54)
 c. *nātan* (*yahwēh*)('et-lākīš)(bāyad yīsrā'ēl) (10:32a)
 give Yahweh AM-Lakish in-hand-of Israel

A language has a fund of lexical meanings organized into such predicate frames. Each set of frames can be classified into types of "Mode of Action" or *Aktionsart* classes (1989:90). The most consistent and complete universal typology has been worked out by Foley and Van Valin (1984:36-63), but is flawed by its logical reduction of predicate frames.²

¹ Both the predicate and its argument positions must be included in the specification because "the semantic nature of the whole predication may be co-determined by the nature of the arguments and satellites with which the predicate combines" (Dik 1989:90).

² Lexical decomposition reduces predicate frames to primitive stative predicates plus three sentential operatives and connectives. But we should avoid representations like

It is better to use some of the semantic parameters suggested by Dik, but only after altering his typology in accordance with their classification. The most important parameters and their syntactic tests are shown in Table 2.3 (Dik 1989:91–96).³

Parameter	Sem.	Syntactic test	Definition
dynamism	[±dyn]	±Speed <i>quickly</i>	unchanged situation vs. event
telicity	[+tel]	+Duration <i>in an hour</i>	achieved, reaches terminal point
control	[+con]	1st argument	determines realized action

Table 2.3 Semantic Parameters for Predicates

By these parameters, the predicate types can be classified into a simpler typology for predicate state of affairs. State (STA) can be represented as [-dyn], achievement (ACH) as [-dyn][+tel], activity (ACT) as [±con][+dyn], and accomplishment (ACC) as activity + achievement ([+con][-dyn][+tel]). These classes fit perfectly with the logical structures of Van Valin as shown in Table 2.4 (1993:34–37).

FVV	Dik-based	Logical Structure (Valin)	Predicate Examples
STA	[-dyn]	predicate' (x)	know, be shattered, dead
ACH	[-dyn][+tel]	BECOME predicate' (x)	receive, learn, die
ACT	[±con][+dyn]	DO (x, [predicate' (x)])	walk, talk
ACC	= STA + ACH	ϕ CAUSE ψ ⁴	give, teach, kill

Table 2.4 A Combined Predicate Typology

This classification has several advantages. First, it underscores the systematic relationship between a state predicate such as *see* (x,y) and activity *watch*, achievement *notice* and accomplishment *show* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:47). It also clarifies two derivative relationships found in

$$\text{kill}(x)(y) = \text{CAUSE } (x)(\text{BECOME}(\text{NOT}(\text{ALIVE}(y))))$$

because “there is hardly any limit to the analyses which can be argued to underlie lexical elements” (Dik 1989:21–22); e.g., *X cut Y with a knife* (Van Valin 1993:45):

$$[[\text{do'} (x)] \text{ CAUSE } [\text{BECOME be-at'} (y,z)]] \text{ CAUSE } [\text{BECOME cut'} (y)]$$

³ Other syntactic tests are: [+dyn] is found by *do so* reduction, [+tel] applies when “*x was V-ing* (pragmatically) entail[s] *x has V-ed*” (Foley and Van Valin 1984:40). States do not occur in progressive (WO § 22.2.1e (364)) and accomplishment is “having been caused to be put into the state of being...” (WO § 22.2a (363)).

⁴ Foley and Van Valin use the symbol ϕ for BECOME **predicate'** (x) and ψ for DO (x, [**predicate'** (x)]), i.e., activity and achievement are combined in a causal relation.

many languages (Van Valin 1993:37–38):⁵

- (3) Non-activity state → achievement → accomplishment
(predicate patterns: A is open → A opens → B opens A)
- (4) Activity → accomplishment
(argument increasing: *Bill ran in the park* → *Bill ran to the park*)

Second, the typology yields a more consistent account of **semantic functions** of arguments. Since Fillmore's (1968) famous article on "The case for 'case'," linguists have attempted to explain why part of the meaning of a clause remains constant under different syntactic manifestations. There is still no definitive list of semantic functions (Andrews 1985:70).⁶ Foley and Van Valin propose the inventory of semantic roles illustrated by Table 2.5. It relates semantic functions of nouns to argument positions and predicate types (Van Valin 1993:39–41).

Roles	Definition	Syntactic characterization
Agent	Volitional controller of action	Single argument activity
Effector	Non-volitional/non-controlling doer	1st argument activity
Experiencer	Participant aware of something	1st arg. perception/cognition
Locative	Location of a participant	2nd arg. locational state
subgroups	source, path, goal, recipient ⁷	
Theme	In/changing within state/condition	Located state/changed action
Patient	Participant in state or condition	Single arg. state or condition

Table 2.5 Case Role System

This enables a smooth mapping from semantic function to syntactic assignment, or *vice versa*, "interpretation from sentences to logical structures" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:185).⁸

⁵ Derivation of transitive accomplishment verbs from stative and achievement predicates by morphological causativization has been posited for Lakota, a Siouan language (Foley and Van Valin 1984:40–47), Phillipine Tagalog (1984:63–74) and other languages (Van Valin 1993:37).

⁶ Cf. Cook (1979), Longacre (1983), and for Biblical Hebrew Lowery (1985:65–69). Dik's (1989:101–103) set is too idiosyncratic (Force, Positioner, Processed, Goal, Reference, etc), cf. Rasmussen (1990).

⁷ This group is defined as **be-at/in/on'** (goal), **have'** (recipient) and **NOT be-at/in/on'** or **have'** (source) (Van Valin 1993:154 n. 23). They are "inner" locatives, while "outer" ones locate "the event or state as a whole" (Andrews 1985:70).

⁸ The decomposed logical structures "correspond to the thematic relations ... defined in terms of the argument positions" (Van Valin 1993:39, cf. Dik 1989:100).

Types	Hebrew predicates	Semantic function
STA loc[-dyn]	Prep [<i>bə</i> - 'in'/' <i>al</i> 'on' ...]-NP + NP	(x=loc, y=theme)
poss[-dyn]	Prep <i>lā</i> 'to'-NP + <i>hāyā</i> 'be' + NP	(x=loc, y=theme)
exis[-dyn]	<i>yēš</i> , 'ēn-expressions	(x=loc, y=theme)
stat[-dyn]	<i>zāqēn</i> 'be old' (x), <i>qāṭōn</i> 'small' (x)	(x=patient)
perc[-dyn]	<i>rā'ā</i> 'see' (x,y)	(x=exp, y=theme)
cogn[-dyn]	<i>yāda</i> 'know' (x,y)	(x=exp, y=theme)
sens[-dyn]	<i>'āhēb</i> (' <i>āhab</i>) 'love'	(x=exp, y=theme)
ACHstat[-dyn][+tel]	<i>zāqēn</i> 'become old' (x)	(x=patient)
ACT imov[-con][+dyn]	<i>'ākal min</i> 'eat from'	(x=effector, y=loc)
mov[-con][+dyn]	<i>šibbēr</i> 'fall' (x)	(x=theme)
vol[+con][+dyn]	<i>hālak</i> 'walk' (x), <i>'amar</i> 'say' (x)	(x=agent)

Table 2.6 The Predicate Typology of Hebrew

This universal typology can also explain significant parts of the predicate system in Hebrew shown in Table 2.6 above. **Verbless** predicates⁹ are used in locational, existential and possessive predicates (e.g. *X at/on/in Y*, *existence-of X*, and *to X is Y*).¹⁰ They are also used for semantic distinctions between identification of what or who the subject is (as a rule with definite predicate in subject-predicate word order) and classification of how the subject is characterized (as a rule with indefinite predicate in predicate—subject word order).¹¹ Characteristic examples from Joshua are:

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------|
| (5)a. <i>dāmō bārōšō</i> | his-blood on-his-head (2:19a) | locational |
| b. <i>'ēl ḥay bəqirbākem</i> | God living in-your-midst (3:10b) | |
| c. <i>hū' bākōr yōšēp</i> | he firstborn-of Joseph (17:1b) | identification |
| d. <i>wə'ārēhem gib'ōn ...</i> | and-their-cities Gibeon... (9:17b) | |
| e. [<i>qiryat-ba'al</i>] <i>hī' qiryat yə'ārīm</i> | [Qirjath-baal] it Qirjath-jearim (15:60b) | |
| f. <i>nəqiyyim 'ānaḥnū miššəbu'ātēk</i> | clean we from-your-oath (2:17b) | classification |
| g. <i>'abdēkem 'ānaḥnū</i> | your-servants we (9:11e) | |
| h. <i>ḥamiššīm šəqālīm mišqālō</i> | 50 shekel its-weight (7:21a) | |

⁹ Cf. Dik's (1989:165–182) syntactico-semantic classes of possessive *The house is John's*, identification *John is president*, and classification *John is intelligent*.

¹⁰ Cf. Jenni (1981:81). Existential particles or 'quasi-verbal indicators' are *yēš* 'there is' (WO § 4.5b (72)) and negative *'ēn* 'there is not'. Possessive uses a *be*-verb: *wayhī haggōrāl ləmatṭēh mənāššeh* 'and-(it)-was the-lot for-tribe-of Menasseh' (17:1a).

¹¹ These definitions follow Andersen (1970:32 *et passim*). Note also Hardmeier (1978:182–183), Muraoka (1985:1–28), WO (§ 8.4 (130–135)), and JM (§ 154ea (566–567)). Hoftijzer (1973:493–504) and Richter (1980:70–80) use syntactic criteria.

Verbal predicates are then used for other primitive semantic predicates of state as well as the non-state classes (cf. WO § 22.2.1 (363–364)). Some verbs of state even have exceptional phonological traits, e.g., *zāqēn* ‘be old’ and *qātōn* ‘be small’ is found along with the standard vocalization *gādal* ‘be big’.¹² An emotional state verb can be vocalized *ʾāhē/ab* ‘love’.¹³ Other predicates of achievement and activity can also be fitted within this typology. Each predicate is then associated with predictable semantic functions of the required arguments.

This system of semantic predicates in Hebrew coexists with a productive process of **verb stem** formation. The morphology of the verb marks a three-way distinction between stems and their passive (or reflexive) variants in the so-called *qal* (with *niphal*), *piel* (with *pual* and *hitpael*), and *hiphil* (with *hophal*) forms (WO § 21.1 (351–352); 22.1–2b (362–363)). It could be argued that stem derivation is only a lexical process without syntactic motivation.¹⁴ But Jenni (1968:33–122) has made a strong case for finding a semantic clue to stem formation in the function of the *piel*.¹⁵ He suggested that when an adjectival, state or intransitive predicate is described as being brought into its state, it is a “factitive” *piel*, but when the *piel* is derived from a transitive activity predicate, it is a “resultative” with a caused terminal point. Contrast the following two *piel* forms derived from the state predicate *be big* (a) and the activity predicate *apportion* (b):¹⁶

- (6)a. factitive *giddal yahwēh ʾet-yəhōšuaʿ* ‘Yahweh made Joshua great’ (4:14a)
 b. resultative *waykallū mēhallēq* ‘they completed apportioning’ (19:51b)

¹² The *ē* and *ō* vocalization conforms to the pattern of *lābēš* ‘be clothed’ vs. *lābaš* ‘put on clothes’. This is rare, cf. the more usual *qārēb* ‘be/draw near’ (WO § 22.2.3c–d (367)).

¹³ Cf. “quasi-fientive” state with direct object (WO § 22.2.3b (366)).

¹⁴ In Functional Grammar, predicate formations which change the status of the frame, reduce or increase arguments or modify semantic functions of argument positions “are confined to the ‘fund’ of FG, the component which contains the set of predicates and the set of terms from which predications can be constructed” (Dik 1989:20). Both treats Hebrew stems as unpredictable “lexicon-forming patterns” just “fixed by usage and context” (1992:97).

¹⁵ Jenni’s categories are syntactico-semantic, but also philosophical and so in need of linguistic refinement (Mettinger 1973:67–69). Hoftijzer (1992:119–120) objects against a solution based only on derived stems or *piel* alone. Distinct functions of the stems may be blurred (1992:123) or vary according to attested stems (1992:128).

¹⁶ For the first, see WO (§ 27.2d (437)). The latter is also attested for *qal* activity *wayyahlaqū ʾet-hāʾāreš* ‘they divided the land’ in 14:5 (WO § 24.3.1a (406)).

Second, macroroles are central to the grammatical process of **transitivity**. Jenni (1981:148) has used subject and object categories to explain how an actor in different stems affects an entity in "auf den Ziel gerichtete Handlung." However, the actor (A) and undergoer (U) macroroles allows for a simpler explanation, because only the first of three possible arguments (x,y,z) needs to be specified.¹⁹

Jenni: "Ziel"	x	y	z	Stem	Function
S → O	A	U		Qal	transitive
S —	A/U			Qal	intransitive
S → S	A=U			Hitpaal	reflexive
→ S	U			Niphal	non-agentive passive
S → O → O ₂	A	U	X	Hiphil	causative to Qal transitive S
S → O —	A	U		Hiphil	causative to Qal intransitive
S → S —	A=U			Hiphil	inner causative to Qal transitive
→ S —	U			Hophal	passive causative

Table 2.7 Macroroles in Hebrew

Semantic relations are vital to syntax and pragmatics, because predicate types function in the semantic structure of discourse. Achievement and accomplishment verbs function in the temporal foreground structure (cf. 2.1), and state and activity verbs in the durative/descriptive structure (Foley and Van Valin 1984:371; Marchese 1987:272). Furthermore, the 'transitivity hypothesis'²⁰ suggests a connection between predicate and argument selection, so that more dynamic verbs involve a more prominent participant reference than state verbs, but state verbs sometimes have participants of lesser status. Finally, the use of non-arguments for discourse-pragmatic purposes, can only be determined when the semantic roles are known.

In conclusion, we can see the value of a universal predicate typology. It shows how clauses are formed by a set of semantic relations which obtain between a predicate and its arguments.

case.

¹⁹ Note the extensive treatment of stem functions in WO (§ 21–28 (351–452)).

²⁰ The 'transitivity hypothesis' of Hopper and Thompson (1980) proposes that a prototypical transitive predicate has two participants, reports a kinetic event, is punctual and perfective, has a definite, referential, individuated and wholly affected patient as well as a volitional agent salient in the animacy hierarchy, and is affirmative and realis. It correlates with foreground in narrative and procedural discourse.

2.2.2 The Layered Structure of the Clause

Semantic relations between predicates and nominals are complemented by a hierarchical layering of constituents. This kind of layering explains how clauses can be packaged for syntactic and pragmatic purposes (cf. 2.1).

Foley and Van Valin (1984:77–80; Van Valin 1993:5) proposes **the theory of the layered structure of the clause** to account for the contrast between the predicate and its arguments on the one hand, and the contrast between noun phrases in argument function and adpositional phrases in non-argument function on the other hand. The clause constituents (Cl) consist of the predicate in the nucleus layer (Pr), the predicate and its arguments in the core layer (Co), and the non-argument locative and temporal setting adjuncts to the core in the Periphery layer (Pe).²¹

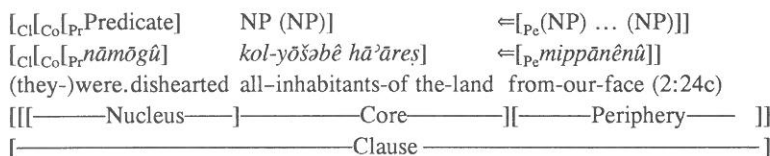


Figure 2.1 The Layered Structure of the Clause

These constituents are defined by semantics. Depending on the particular language, they only partially reflect a syntactic linearization, cf. Hebrew:

- (9) [_{Co}[_{Pr}*wayyišlah*] *yāhōšua'-bin-nûn*] ⇐[_{Pe}*min-haššittîm*][_{Co}*šənayim-ʾānāšîm*]
 and(-he)-sent Joshua-ben-Nun from-Shittim two-men (2:1a)

Layering operates at all intraclausal levels. Not only are noun phrases organized into nominal heads and attributive modifiers, but the nucleus layer is also internally layered. In Hebrew, the verbal **predicate has bound morphemes** placed in layers around the lexeme. The internal semantics of voice and stem is marked not only by vocalic infixes and/or consonantal doubling in the root morpheme, but also by a prefix layer for stem derivation in front of the predicate. Tense, mood, and aspect plus person, number and gender cross-reference is then marked solely by a single bound affix morpheme in the outermost layer of the predicate. This layering of lexical, derivational, and grammatical morphemes can be

²¹ These labels and terms are more useful at the interclausal level than Foley and Van Valin's (N, C, P). Other terms are: participatory vs. circumstantial roles (Andrews 1985:69–71) or arguments vs. satellites (Dik 1989:47; Lowrey 1985:59–65).

illustrated by the predicate *qāṭal* 'kill' in Figure 2.2.²²

[[_{Prefix} person/number/gender, tense-mood-aspect	
. [_{Prefix derivation} verb type, stem, and voice	
. . [_{Infix} Root form] _{Infix}]	
. . . tense-mood-aspect, person/number/gender _{Suffix}]	
. . . . pronominalized object _{Suffix}]	
<i>ta</i>	(<i>ha*</i>) - <i>qāṭil</i> Ø - <i>ēhū</i> <i>yiqtol hiphil</i> you/2ms/IMPV-CAUS/ACT-kill-him
Ø	<i>ho</i> - <i>qāṭal</i> - <i>tā</i> <i>qatal hophal</i> CAUS/PASS-kill-PFV/you/2ms

Figure 2.2 The Layered Predicate of Hebrew

The **core** layer is shaped by the contrast between the predicate and its arguments in the semantics of the relational structure. The contrast between these core arguments and the adjuncts of the **peripheral** layer is then grounded in the setting of the clause in the wider discourse context.²³ Unlike the six central semantic roles listed in Table 2.6, the peripheral roles are optional in the syntax of the clause, and modify the whole predication. A useful, though not exhaustive, list of peripheral roles is found in Andrews (1985:70):

- (10) Benefactive, outer locative (the place where something is done), reason, comitative (something that accompanies a participant), temporal

It is difficult to sort nominals into arguments and peripheral adjuncts, because grammatical marking of prepositional phrases overlaps with the core—periphery distinction. This problem is aggravated by the existence of a third intermediary group between the obligatory and optional prepositional phrases (1985:91):

- (11) Cally moved (the computer) (onto/*on the table)

Here *the computer* is a core argument determined by the verb, while *on the table* in one reading is an optional peripheral setting adjunct. However, in the sense of *onto the table*, where **on the table* is not permissible, the argument is more closely related to the core, but still “expresses meaning to some extent independently from the verb” (1985:

²² For the morphemes, see WO (§ 20.1f (345)). It is an arbitrary decision to choose the rare verb *qāṭal* (cf. WO § 21.1b (352)). It is used in the citation form for conjugations, *qatal* and *yiqtol*, or *qtl/yqtl* (WO § 29.1b (455–456)).

²³ Periphery pertains to the “spatio-temporal setting of the event, as well as the secondary participants in the event, e.g., beneficiaries” (Foley and Van Valin 1984:77).

91).²⁴ The same problem can be illustrated for Hebrew by the following pair where *‘ălêhem* ‘to them’ (12a) is more closely connected to the core, and where *šāmmâ* ‘there’ in (12b) may or may not be an optional setting:

- (12)a. *wəhî’ ʿălôtâ ʿălêhem* ‘*al-haggāg* She went up to them_{Co} on the roof_{Pe} (2:8b)
 b. *wayyiškābû-šāmmâ* And they lay down there_{Pe} (2:1e)

Clause layering is crucial for a description of packaging variation. Some packagings work only as a pragmatic variation within the same semantic layer. The Hebrew **dative-shift** moves a *lə-* + noun phrase or proper name left to the immediate postverbal position in the core layer. In the following examples, the individuated undergoer marks a semantic macrorole. The word order variation codes which of two postverbal entities are the more well-known or topical (cf. 2.1):²⁵

- (13)a. *kî-nātan yahwēh lakem ʿet-hāʿîr* (6:16d)
 for-(he-)gave Yahweh to-you AM-the-city
 b. *wayyittēn ʿet-ḥēbrôn lākālēb ben-yəpunneh lənaḥālâ* (14:13b)
 and-he-gave AM-Hebron to-Caleb ben-Jephunneh for-inheritance
 c. *kî-nātan yahwēh bəyādēnû ʿet-kol-hāʾāreṣ* (2:24b)
 for-(he-)gave Yahweh in-our-hand AM-all-of-the-land
 d. *wayyittēn yahwēh ʿet-lākîš bəyad yiśrāʾēl* (10:32a)
 and-(he-)gave Yahweh AM-Lakish in-hand-of Israel

Other packaging variations are movements across layers. The assumption of **special fronted positions** in clauses is a trade mark of functional grammar. Dik (1989:349) suggested that a universal first position in the clause (the so-called “P1”) is used for designated elements such as question words, subordinators and relative pronouns, as well as for elements with pragmatic function.²⁶ Van Valin (1993:6) now suggests more useful,

²⁴ Periphery is split into inner and outer periphery (Foley and Van Valin 1984:93–94). Dik (1989:195–198) lists additional participants (Beneficiary and Company), means and manner specifications (Instrument, Manner, Speed, and Quality), and spatial orientation (Source, Path, and Direction) as specifying additional features of state of affair (his level 1 Satellites). They differ from spatial, temporal and cognitive dimensions (Location, Time, Circumstance, Result, Reason, and Cause, level 2 Satellites) (1989:206–208).

²⁵ In Israeli Hebrew ‘To whom did he give the book?’ is answered by *hu natān et-ha-séfer la-ishâ* ‘he gave the book to the woman’, but ‘What did he give to the woman?’ by *hu natān la et-ha-séfer* ‘he gave her the book’ (Givón 1984:172).

²⁶ Other special positions in FG are Theme (P2), Tail (P3), Vocative (P4), clause internal P0 (Dik 1989:359–365; Siewierska 1991:150–153).

descriptive terms.²⁷ A **precore slot (PCS)** is used for "clause internal, but core external" question words and fronted elements as in *BEAN SOUP I can't stand*. A **left-detached position (LDP)** refers to externally fronted phrases of simple sentences such as the optional adverbial in *YESTERDAY, I bought myself a new car* or the *As for...* constructions with resumptive pronoun within the clause. Another core external construction is the backshifted **right-detached position (RDP)** of *I know them, those boys* (1993:153 n.8).²⁸

These positional variants can be represented directly in the syntactic surface of the layered structure of the clause (1993:77-78):

- (14)a. [_{Co}Maria [_{Pr}presented] the spatula to Larry]
 b. [_{Cl}[_{Co}the spatula [_{Pr}was presented] to Larry] ⇐[_{Pe}by Maria]]
 c. [_{Cl}[_{PCS}Who] [_{Co}[_{Pr}presented] the spatula to Larry]]

These variations also exist in Joshua, and the two left-shifting devices can be combined in one sentence (b):

- (15)a. [_{Cl}[_{PCS}'ānā] [_{Co}[_{Pr}hālākū] hā'ānāšīm]]
 where-to (they-)went the-men (2:5c)
 b. [_S[_{LDP}kol-māqôm 'āšer tidrōk kap-raglākem bō] [_{Cl}[_{PCS}lākem] [_{Co}[_{Pr}natattiw]]]]
 every-place which (it-)treads sole-of-your-foot on-it to-you I-give-it (1:3a)
 c. [_S[_{Cl}[_{Co}[_Nwayyābō'ū] 'ad-hayyardēn] [_{RDP}hū' wākol-bānē yišrā'ēl]]]
 and-(they-)came to-the-Jordan he and-all-sons-of Israel (3:1b)

A theory of clause-layering is somewhat problematic for Hebrew, because it has **head-marking** traits in its grammar. The relation to the predicate is not marked on the argument (dependent-marking), but on the verb carrying the morphemes for gender, number and role of arguments (head-marking). The Hebrew verb *ta-qṭîl-ēhū* 'you will kill him' is head-marked, or cross-referenced, for actor and undergoer and can function as a clause on its own (cf. WO § 20.1d (344)). Languages of this type may omit the arguments without affecting the grammaticality of the clause. The head verb alone counts as the whole unit.²⁹ In these languages, the

²⁷ These terms refer to formal categories and do not presuppose a particular pragmatic function. They replace the fuzzy and arbitrary terms "topicalization" and "left-dislocation" (contrast Foley and Van Valin 1984:125).

²⁸ These constructions function as "backgrounded appositives" with a "more precise specification of arguments in the clause" (Mithun 1987:315).

²⁹ Hebrew is a polysynthetic language (Mithun 1987:283-284) or an appositional language with overt subjects solely specifying a noun in apposition to the cross-

arguments often play a less crucial role for the layered structure of the clause.³⁰ But head-marking in Hebrew is restricted, because the pronominal object suffix is used solely when the object nominal is omitted. This justifies a representation of its layered clause structure on a par with a fully dependent-marking language like English.

In conclusion, the theory of the layered structure of the clause explains the internal structure of the Hebrew predicate. It is especially important for the distinction between peripheral adjuncts and core arguments. These nominals play a crucial role in packaging variations with positions initial in the clause, or to the left or right of the clause within the sentence.

2.2.3 The Grammatical Functions of the Hebrew Verb

The usefulness of hierarchical clause layering is not exhausted by the predicate—core—periphery distinction (cf. above Figure 2.1), but extends into the grammatical functions of tense, mood and aspect. Layering helps to explain the elusive Hebrew verb better than other grammatical frameworks, and is also more consistent with universal language typology.

Layer	Operator
nucleus	aspect and directionals (like <i>go down</i>)
core	modality, internal negation, participant directionals ³¹
clausal	actuality, external negation, tense, evidentials, illocutionary force

Table 2.8 Layer Operators

Functional grammar treats semantic distinctions like tense, mood and aspect as grammatical **operators**, “a limited number of rough distinctions ... sedimented in the grammatical system” (Dik 1989:138).³² In a verb-

referenced verb (Dik 1989:134). In these head-marking languages “*the pronominal affixes on the verb are the core arguments of the clause*, not the optional independent lexical NPs and pronouns” (Van Valin 1993:17–18).

³⁰ The arguments are clause internal but irrelevant to statements of grammatical phenomena (unlike the pronominal affixes), and therefore “the order of the optional NPs are clearly not central to the working of the grammar” (Van Valin 1993:18).

³¹ Directionals for participants’ movement in relation to others or speaker, like *rādāpû ‘ahārêhem* ‘they-pursued after-them’ (2:7a).

³² Operators are “grammatically rather than lexically expressed. ... through items belonging to closed paradigms, manifesting themselves in the inflectional modifications of lexical predicates, and/or in “form words” such as articles, quantifiers, auxiliary verbs, etc.” (Dik 1989:138).

inflected language, these operators are primarily coded by affixes or clitics attached to the nucleus (Foley and Van Valin 1984:208). Furthermore, their relative ordering reflects their scoping.³³ Operators include the universal and ranked set in Table 2.8 (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984:208–224, Van Valin 1993:8).

These grammatical functions can conveniently be illustrated by English examples. They are first attested by a series of outer operators (cf. Foley and Van Valin 1984:223):

- (16) [_{CI}Frankly, it is certainly possible [_{Co}that John won't [_{Pt}meet] his ... target]]
 Illocution Evidential Actuality Modality

The ordering of these illocutionary, evidential and epistomological ("actuality") adverbs reflects the relative scope of outer operators. The English verb shows the same scoping in illocutionary variants like *Is John going* and *do-support* with negatives like *John does not write*. The operators of aspect, modality, actuality and tense thus match the universal template in the way shown by Figure 2.3 (cf. 1984:225).³⁴

Universal:	[_{CI} Tense Actuality		[_{Co} Modality	[_{Pt} Aspect	]]]	
English:	<i>Tense</i>	—modal—		<i>Perfect Progr</i>	<i>Zero</i>	<i>Verb</i>
	Will John		have		to be	leaving
	John could		be able			to leave
	John		could	have		written
	John			had		written
	John			had been		writing
	John				wrote	

Figure 2.3 "More-inner" Operators in English

This universal system of relative ordering of grammatical functions can explain many problems in the enigmatic Hebrew verb system.³⁵ Any new

³³ Thus "they extend their influence over a certain section of the underlying clause structure, depending on the level of structure where they operate" (Dik 1989:138; cf. 1989:22 and Foley and Van Valin 1984:208).

³⁴ English illustrates how tense is the outermost operator (Foley and Van Valin 1984:232–234), how modals express actuality and/or modality in that order (1984:229–232), and how perfect-progressive (1984:225–226, 228–229) and zero aspect (1984:227) are ordered. Similarly, Huddleston (1984:124–131).

³⁵ Hebrew should not be seen as some odd dialect in which any verb form can have any tense, mood or aspect (WO § 29.3c (462)). For recent surveys of the Hebrew verb, see Mettinger (1973), McFall (1982), Zuber (1986), Isaksson (1987), Eskhult (1990:19), WO (§ 29), JM (§ 111–118), Joosten (1992), and Buth (1992a).

solution must take into account that inflectional systems always has tense-mood categories (Greenberg 1966:112 rule 30), and that this grammatical sub-system is an obligatory category of languages (Givón 1984:269). The challenge of Hebrew is to explain how a simple multi-functional coding system can mark universal grammatical functions.³⁶ The following will explain how the verb functions within the clause—and how little is actually explicitly coded.

This functional approach views **aspect** as the innermost operator. It is a predicate layer operator used when

the speaker chooses a particular point from which to view the internal temporal phases of the event. [It] simply expresses the temporal structure of the reported event without reference to anything else. (Foley and Van Valin 1984:209).

Aspect differs from the internal semantics of predicates or *Aktionsart* (cf. 2.2.1 and Dik 1989:186). The ungrammaticality of English **John was knowing* is caused by predicate semantics. Similarly, a Hebrew predicate of state refers to present time in *qatal*, while its *yiqtol* form changes *Aktionsart* to express movement into that particular state (Eskhult 1990:26).

Aspect also differs from the foreground—background distinction. In English, the contrast between zero aspect and progressive has a function both in an intraclausal aspectual sub-system and in an interclausal sub-system opposing sequential and non-sequential (Jensen 1985:112). Hebrew, in contrast, has two sets of forms for the two sub-systems (Buth 1992a:103–104). It distinguishes between a “perfective” (PFV) *qatal* form using suffixes and an “imperfective” (IMPFV) *yiqtol* form marked by prefixes (plus additional suffixes for person/number/gender).³⁷ two further verb forms add sequentiality to perfectivity by prefixing the connective *wə*- ‘and’ in the *wayyiqtol* form (perfective with doubling of the suffix) and the *wəqatal* form (imperfective with final tone in some forms). This four-way morpho-syntactic system can be illustrated by the 2ms inflection of *qāṭal* ‘kill’ in Table 2.9.

³⁶ The use of a single affix for tense, mood and aspect “makes for a more impoverished coding system, with inflections often used in multiple functions” (Givón 1984:299).

³⁷ Other terms are “perfect” and “imperfect” and morphological “Suffix Conjugation” and “Prefix Conjugation”, see WO (§ 29.1b and n. 2 (455)) and Givón (1984:296).

	PFV	Form (2ms)	IMPFV	Form (2ms)
NON-SEQ	<i>qatal</i>	<i>qāṭal-tā</i> killed-you	<i>yiqtol</i>	<i>ti-qṭōl</i> you-kill
SEQ	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	<i>wat-ti-qṭōl</i> and-you-killed	<i>wəqatal</i>	<i>wə-qāṭal-tā</i> and-kill-you

Table 2.9 Hebrew Verb Forms

The primary aspectual distinction of **perfectivity** can be defined according to a number of universal parameters (Dik 1989:187).

	Completion	Boundedness	Closing	Divisibility	Viewpoint
Perfective	complete	bounded	closed	indivisible	external
Imperfective	non-complete	non-bounded	non-closed	divisible	internal

Table 2.10 Perfectivity

The basic aspectual opposition in Hebrew is between perfective *qatal* for complete situations and events and non-perfective *yiqtol* for non-complete ones.³⁸ The completeness parameter explains why perfective *qatal* can also cover durative and incompleted situations (cf. WO § 30.1d (480–481)). The sequential *wayyiqtol* is used in all perfective senses of *qatal* for “self-important, independent acts” (§ 29.5h (473); 31.1.1g (501)). Sequential *wəqatal* prototypically has a non-perfective value in succession to a perfective form.³⁹

But aspect is also a multifaceted phenomenon. It can be graded into a **phasal aspect** for a “reference point on the temporal dimension” (Dik 1989:190),⁴⁰ and a “quantificational”, or **repetitive aspect**, for “sets of occurrences” (1989:204).⁴¹ The three types are ranked as shown in Table 2.11 (1989:138, 187).

³⁸ Contrast Eskhult (1990:19–20), who opposes stativity of *qatal* with action of *yiqtol*. He splits action into its negative value (a ‘cursive’ aspect for situation viewed from within in *yiqtol* (LF)) and its neutral value (a ‘constative’ aspect for situation viewed as a single whole) (1990:23–25), i.e., *wayyiqtol* and the jussive *yiqtol* for “action as such, opposed only to stativity” (1990:20).

³⁹ It is used like imperfective *yiqtol* and does *not* always continue the aspect of a preceding verb (WO § 32.1.3d–e (525); 32.2.3e (533)). Pragmatics is often the sole clue “to show that the whole discourse is referring to the future, whether in prediction (indicative) or instruction (precativ) (Andersen 1994:103).

⁴⁰ Dik lists prospective *is going to*, immediate prospective *is about to*, ingressive *starts*, progressive *is -ing*, egressive *stops*, present perfect *has just*, perfect *has*.

⁴¹ Dik lists habitual, frequency (‘semelfactive’ *just a single time*, iterative *several*

Type	Parameter
Aspect-1 (viewpoint):	imperfective—perfective
Aspect-2 (phasal):	prospective—ingressive—progressive—perfect
Aspect-3 (repetitive):	iterative—habitual—frequentative

Table 2.11 Aspect Distinctions

These finer aspectual gradings explain how a special interpretation can be forced out, when the aspect operator is applied to a predicate type with which it is incompatible. This happens when an imperfective clashes with an achievement predicate or perfective with a state predicate (1989:189):

- (17) IMPFV x [+tel]: a. conative *The athletes tried to run the marathon*
 b. iterative *The athletes ran the marathon several times*
 c. distributive *Each of the athletes ran the marathon*
 PFV x [+dyn]: ingressive *The men sat down around the table*

Hebrew lacks a distinct morphological coding of the finer aspectual distinctions.⁴² The **phasal aspect** can be found in past perfect sense with *qatal*, especially in adverbial clauses with a causal subordinating conjunction like *kî* 'for' (18a) or a temporal conjunction 'ad (ʔăšer) 'until' (18b).⁴³ The imperfective *yiqtol* with 'ad (ʔăšer) 'until' can express future perfect (18c):

- (18)a. *kî-nātan yahwēh lākem ʔet-hāʕir* (6:16d)
 for-(he-)gave Yahweh to-you AM-the-city
 b. 'ad ʔăšer-tammū kol-haggōy laʕbōr ʔet-hayyardēn (3:17c)
 until that-(they-)had.completed all-the-people to-cross AM-the-Jordan
 c. 'ad ʔăšer-yānīaḥ yahwēh laʔăḥkem (1:15a)
 until that-(he-)will.have.brought.rest Yahweh to-your-brothers

In main clauses the precore slot + *qatal* is often used for past perfect. A phasal use of *yiqtol* is only marginally attested by the present progressive

times and frequentative *many times*), continuative and intensity.

⁴² They are not marked by "distinct grammatical aspect values" (Dik 1989:188). Only "semantic content can, in actual usage, get several more specific interpretations."

⁴³ See WO (§ 30.3 (483–485); 30.5.2 (490–491)) and Eskhult (1990:22, 29–30).

function in *ûmē'ayin tābō'û* "and where do you come from" (9:8) (McFall 1982:84–85). Both *qatal* and *yiqtol* can function as past progressive:

- (19)a. *kol-hallaylā 'alā min-haggilgāl* (10:9b)
 all-the-night he-went.up from-Gilgal (=he was marching up)
 b. *ʔiš-ʔehād mikkem yirdāp-ʔālep* (23:10a)
 man-one(=everyone) of-you pursues-thousand (=was pursuing)

A Hebrew **repetitive aspect** is found in imperfective *yiqtol* for iterative past *he used to*.⁴⁴ If we override the massorettes' verse division, a present habitual (or customary) *yiqtol* (WO § 31.3e (506)) is perhaps found in the clause *lakkənaʿānī tēhāšēb (patnāh) hāmēšet sarnē pəlišūm* 'among the Canaanites are counted the five Philistine princes' (13:3b).

The next major category of verb inflection is 'mood'. This term has been used for several different grammatical functions which can be clarified by a theory of scope over different layers of the clause (Foley and Van Valin 1984:213–216).⁴⁵ Modals like *must*, *will*, *can*, and *may* can be used for a **modality** of obligation, intention, or ability with scope over the core.⁴⁶ But they can also be used for the realis–irrealis continuum, or the **actuality** of an event, with scope over the clause.⁴⁷

This distinction is also drawn by Waltke and O'Connor for Hebrew.⁴⁸ Their semantic-interpretative examples clearly show that irreal and modal is not coded uniformly in Biblical Hebrew (Givón 1984:299).⁴⁹ Hebrew

⁴⁴ Compare *customary non-perfective* in *kākā yaʿāšeh ʔiyyōb kol-hayyāmīm* "Thus Job would always do" (Job 1:5; WO § 31.2b (502–503)) with *kōh ʿāsū šēšet yāmīm* 'so they did for six days' (6:14c; cf. 6:3b).

⁴⁵ The different scope of modals is clearly marked in Lisu of the Lolo-Burmese family (Foley and Van Valin 1984:215):

modality	[_{Pe} [_{Co} Asa is good] [_{Co} at hoeing the field _{NON-PAST}]]
actuality	[_{Pe} It is good _{NON-PAST} [_{Co} that Asa hoes the field _{NON-PAST}]]

⁴⁶ Note obligation, intention, and ability as "the speaker's estimate of the relationship of the actor of the event to its accomplishment" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:214).

⁴⁷ The "actuality of the event, whether it has been realized or not... whether the action is necessary, or likely, or merely possible" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:213).

⁴⁸ Cf. a speaker's uncertainty about "the reality of a situation" vs. "the reality existing between the subject and its predicate in the situation" (WO § 31.4a (506–507)).

⁴⁹ Hebrew may only have "an inherent modality" for ability/willingness, obligation, permission in "relations between a participant and the realization of the SoA" (Dik 1989:205). This level 1-operator is "not expressed by grammatical means, and belong to the internal structure of the predication." Sub-areas of modality are 'deontic objective modality' for a scale of obligation—permission—forbidden and 'epistemic objective modality' for a scale of probability—possibility—impossibility.

uses *yiqtol* in both cases and leaves "other indications in the context to decide its precise value" (WO § 31.4b (507)). Only the innermost perfective-imperfective distinction is marked and modality or actuality will depend on discourse-pragmatic considerations.

The problem can be illustrated by the interpretation of *kol-māqôm 'āšer tidrök kap-raglakem bô* (1:3a) as the possibility "every place where you may set your foot" (WO § 31.4e (508)). This example could equally well be interpreted as a general future unless the future is also interpreted as modal (Joosten 1992:13-14). The same hesitation applies in other cases of modality (a-b) and actuality (c-d):

- (20)a. *wə'aḥar tēlakû lədarkəkem* 'afterwards you can go your way' (2:16f) ability
 b. *kōl 'āšer-šiwwītānū na'āšeh* 'all you ordered us we will do' (1:16b) intention
 c. *bî 'ādōnāy mā 'ōmar* 'oh Lord, what can I say' (7:8a) permission
 d. *wə'ek 'ekrot[Q]-ləkā bərīt* 'how could I make you a covenant' (9:7c) possibility

With regard to actuality, there is a further peculiarity. A *yiqtol* is used in conditional and purpose clauses (WO § 31.6.1 (510-511)). A *qatal* is used in hypothetical conditional and counterfactual clauses (30.5.4b (493-494)), e.g., *wəlû hō'alnû wannēšeb bə'eber hayyardēn* 'had we just decided and remained (=to remain) on the other side of the Jordan' (7:7d).⁵⁰

Form	Tense	Characterization
<i>qatal</i>	present	state, cognition/sensation, habitual gnomic or proverbial ⁵¹
	speech acts	perfective of resolve, performative ⁵²
	future	absolute or rhetorical future ⁵³
<i>yiqtol</i>	past	adverbial (<i>bə'terem</i> 'not yet' and sometimes <i>'āz</i> 'then' ⁵⁴

Table 2.12 Special Tense Functions in Hebrew

The operator **tense** is primarily marked for past (*wayyiqtol* and *qatal*) vs. non-past (*yiqtol* and *wəqatal*), although this opposition is often neutralized (Andersen 1994:100-101). Only context, particles or syntax

⁵⁰ Cf. optative past (JM § 163c (615)) or irreal conditional (WO § 38.2e (638)).

⁵¹ Cf. WO (§ 30.4b (485) and 30.5.3c (492-493)).

⁵² Note present of *resolve*, *saying* and *performative* (WO § 30.4b (485) and 30.4d (488-489)). This *qatal* belongs to the near future (JM § 112g (363)).

⁵³ Cf. WO (§ 30.5.1e (489-490)).

⁵⁴ Cf. WO (§ 31.6.3 (513-514)) and JM (§ 113i-k (369-370)).

may can indicate the more special tense functions of Table 2.12.⁵⁵

The outermost grammatical operator, **illocutionary force**, is used for declarative, imperative, interrogative and exclamative 'mood'.⁵⁶ Its outer scope is betrayed by clause initial interrogative particle *hă-*, the precore slot interrogative pronoun, and a clause initial imperative.

Imperative force is marked by a functional group of **volitional forms** illustrated in Table 2.13.

Form	Person	Defining trait	Function
<i>'eqtālā</i>	1st	singular	voluntative personal resolve
<i>niqtālā</i>	1st	plural	cohortative interpersonal encouragement
<i>qātol</i>	2nd	stripped form	imperative conjugated for gender/number
<i>yiqtol</i>	3rd	jussive form	command, advice, permission, request wish

Table 2.13 Imperative Forms in Hebrew

The jussive is problematic, because its reduced form is unmarked for most roots and forms of the verb. We may assume a jussive function for *wəyā'ālū min-hayyardēn* 'and they shall go out of the Jordan' (4:16b), but it is not formally marked.⁵⁷ The jussive form is used frequently in the *'al* + jussive combination, the so-called **vetitive** (21a). It contrasts with *lōʔ* + *yiqtol* for a categorial negation, the **prohibitive** (21b), and for a negated future situation (21c):⁵⁸

- (21)a. *'al-təyaggaʿ-šāmmā ʿet-kol-hāʿām* not-you-exhaust-there AM-all-the-people (7:3c)
 b. *lōʔ-yāmūš sēper hattôrâ* not-(it)-must.depart book-of the-law (1:8a)
 c. *lōʔ-yityaššēb ʾiš ləpānēkā* not-(he)-will.hold.stand man for-your-face (1:5a)

Another problem is that *yiqtol* is not only used for present (21a) and future (21b). It is also used for a **volitional injunctive** for request and

⁵⁵ Note English zero form *John wrote/writes* for "an act, pure and simple" in definite past (completed) or non-past (universal, habitual, present or definite future) (Foley and Van Valin 1984:227). Danish non-past *Jeg kommer* 'I come' can be specified by adverbials for past (*ofte*), present (*nu*), or future (*til næste år*) (Jensen 1985:96). This is similar to the Hebrew atemporal *yiqtol* (JM § 113o (372)).

⁵⁶ As a rule illocutionary mood has no or little distinctive inflectional marking, and only word order distinguishes the different groups (Dik 1989:256).

⁵⁷ A jussive "im Anlehnung (mit Waw) an einen Imperativ oder Kohortativ als Ausdruck einer Absicht" (GK § 109f (334)). The *waw* is juxtaposing (JM § 116b n. 1 (382)). Note also an unmarked one-member clause *yihəyū* 'they-shall.live' (9:21b).

⁵⁸ Cf. vetitive (WO § 34.2.1 (566-567)) and prohibitive, a negative in legislative

command (21c) and a **volitional of juridicial instruction** (21d).⁵⁹ These clauses are similar in form:

(22)a. *wə'attem tāšūbū hayyôm* and-you (you-)turn today (22:18a)

b. *hayyôm hazzeh 'āḥēl* today this I-will.begin (3:7b)

c. *wə'attem ta'abrū ḥāmušim* and-you (you-)shall.cross armed (1:14b)

d. *kol-š 'āšer ... yūmāt* every-man who ... (he-)shall.be.killed (1:18a)

The highly divergent meanings associated with non-perfective *yiqtol*, especially the past tense, may reveal a historical development. *Yiqtol* split into an indicative *yiqtol* long form (LF) and a jussive short form (SF):⁶⁰

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (23) * <i>yaqtulu</i> → <i>yiqtol</i> | present-future, iterative past LF |
| * <i>yaqtul</i> → <i>yiqtol/wayyiqtol</i> | jussive mood, preterite action |

The *wəqatal* also has a parallel in the Byblos Canaanite bound *u*-prefix for succession and consequent clause after conditional.⁶¹

Historical linguistics aside, the actual system of aspect, mood and tense must have functioned in natural contexts and usage "anchoring entire propositions ... relative to other propositions, temporal or thematic contexts" (Givón 1984:270). This context is crucial, if indeed the particular grammatical functions are only expressed by syntactic word order variation and the functions of the connective *waw*.

In conclusion, Hebrew expresses the universal operators of aspect, mood and tense through a very simple and multifunctional binary opposition between perfective and imperfective. It explicitly only marks a few points in the continuum from aspect to illocution. Syntactic context and discourse-pragmatic features express other points on the continuum. Inherent ambiguities of this simple system are resolved by "structural or cohesive constraints within a piece of discourse" (Andersen 1994:102).

contexts (§ 31.5d (510)) and more solemn and specific (JM § 113m (371)).

⁵⁹ Cf. Gross (1976:24, 31), Schweizer (1981:104-106), WO (§ 31.5b-c (509-510)). It has a modal nuance of *must* (JM § 113m (171)).

⁶⁰ The *wayyiqtol* and jussive *yiqtol* (SF) may be remnants of an older **yaqtul* form related to Akkadian *iprus* for preterite and jussive. A **yaqtulu* then evolved from *iparras* for present, future, and modal into indicative *yiqtol* (LF) (see WO § 39.4e-h (468-469); 31.1.1d (497-498); Butz 1992a:100-101). The preterite value of **yaqtul* has been disputed (Gross 1976:15-32, Eskhult 1990:25 n. 30; WO § 31.1.1e-h (499-501)).

⁶¹ Cf. WO § 32.1.2b (521-523) and Eskhult (1990:21-22).

2.3 Interclausal Grammar

Many grammatical functions coded at the intraclausal level can only be explained within the "texture" of discourse forming the "tapestry of discourse coherence" (Givón 1990:880).

Functional grammar perceives clause combining, participant reference and temporal sequencing of predicates as the three main domains of interclausal grammar (2.1). Participants and situations together create dynamic strands of coherent referential and sequential information "that run vertically down the discourse" (Longacre 1989a:18).¹ Another domain of coherence is how discrete clauses link units into clusters or chains by means of connective devices and clause reduction or expansion (note Table 2.14).²

Domain	Analytic foci
Linkage	clause combining and function of particles
Reference	noun, pronoun, verb affixes, and anaphoric zero
Sequence	function of verb forms

Table 2.14 Interclausal Grammar

In what follows, the domain of linking is first broadened into a typology of interclausal combining (2.3.1). The domain of coherence is then discussed in relation to new discourse-pragmatic theories of reference (2.3.2) and theories of sequential coherence for Hebrew (2.3.3).

2.3.1 The Grammar of Clause Combining

The interclausal domain of **clause combining** explains alternations of simple clause patterns into reduced or complex structures. In connected discourse, "no clause is *totally* independent of its immediate clausal context" and "the strands of discourse coherence always entail *some* grammatical concomitants" in clause-combining syntax (Givón 1990:826).

A major problem of clause combining is that the **sentence** is difficult to define³ and, to some extent, is an arbitrary theoretical construct derived

¹ "Referential and temporal continuity are the two most visible, most often grammaticalized features of thematic coherence in discourse" (Givón 1990:882).

² So Longacre (1989b:413). Also called the grammar of "topic identification," "propositional identification" and "connectives" (Givón 1984:270).

³ Cf. Andersen (1974:22-24) and WO (§ 3.3c (50); 4.8e(78-79)). It will not do to work with just an intuitive understanding of *Satz* (Schneider 1982:§ 44.1 (159)).

from the linguist's "decisions regarding coherence and rhetorical effect" (Chafe 1987:46). Besides the "simple" sentence and the "complex" sentence with a second clause subordinated to the main clause, Hebrew also has a more elaborate compound sentence with several verbs joined only by connectives, but sharing a single subject and adverbial modifier (WO § 4.8i (79–80)):⁴

- (1)a. *wayyēlēkū wayyābō'û hāhārā* (2:22a)
and-they-walked and-they-came to-the-mountain
b. *wayyēšəbū šām šəlōšet yāmim* (2:22b)
and-they-sat there three days

Here the *walk* and *come* clauses (a) are closely related by sharing a setting adjunct, while the *sit* clause (b) is more independent. This kind of clause combining is especially noticeable in cases where a "common subject of two coordinated verbs is delayed" (Andersen and Forbes 1992:185). In Hebrew, this can be marked by a right-detached position for the subject:

- (2) *wayyis'û mēhaššitīm wayyābō'û 'ad-hayyardēn hû' wəkol-bənē yiśrā'el* (3:1b)
and-they-went from-Shittim and-they-came to-Jordan he and-all-sons-of Israel

Even if this clause has the source and goal adjuncts in separate clause units, they are closely linked through their right-shifted subject. Sometimes *wayyiqtol* clauses mark subject switch by cross-referencing affixes, but still imply local reciprocities of lexical nature:

- (3) *wattəšalləhēm wayyēlēkū* and-she-sent-them and-they-walked (2:21c)

Such peculiarities are common in chaining languages,⁵ and call for very subtle distinctions. If a Hebrew sentence is defined by the occurrence of the connective *wə*- 'and', its clauses would form tiny paragraph units.⁶

⁴ Thus for *wayyiqtol* "two or three links form a complex within the whole" (Longacre 1989a:70) and *qatal*-forms can form "a (possibly ambiguous) *multi-clause*, an integral number of clauses" (Andersen and Forbes 1992:185).

⁵ This "enumerative Redewiese" has been compared with Swahili (Br § 135a (133)). Chaining is found in SOV verb-final chaining languages, but also in African "consecutive" chaining languages. Sudanese VSO-language LuWO even has *u*- prefix for consecutive (Longacre 1989a:60; 1990b:79–80). For similarities between OV and VO chaining, see especially Givón (1990:874–876, 889–891).

⁶ Such sentences are then short and contextually bound, and clause combining

This is detrimental to universal typology, albeit any sentence, and paragraph definition in a chaining language will be tentative.⁷

As this distinction is "largely terminological" (Givón 1990:864 n. 26), a better solution is probably to set up a linkage system sensitive to the "degree of connectivity of clauses, or inter-clausal cohesion." It only requires that a **clause** is defined as any grammatical construction with a predicate as the dominant phrase.⁸ Clauses with embedded or modifying units are then considered extended **complex clauses**.⁹ In other cases **clause fragments** form separate intonation units characterized by: (1) missing predicate, (2) quote formula, (3) conjoining of two verb-object combinations like "... he would close his notes and walk out of the room," (4) "orientation" for preceding or following clause (temporal, spatial, epistemic background), (5) false starts, afterthoughts (Chafe 1987:39-40).

Both the reduced and the extended clause structures are explained very well by a functional theory of clause linkage which "unites the internal morphosyntax of the clause with the complex structures of the sentence and ultimately of discourse" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:238). Intraclausal relations and layers (cf. 2.2.2) are expanded into clause combining by means of two parameters, 'juncture' level and 'nexus' relation type (1984:238-243). Under the first parameter of hierarchical **level** are predicate, core or clause level of units. Under the second parameter are the syntactic **relation** types between the linked units. A **subordination** relation type is distinguished by its embedding (+embedded). A neither embedded, nor dependent **coordination** relation (-embedded, -dependent) differs from a non-embedded, but dependent **cosubordination type by dependency** (-embedded, +dependent).¹⁰

"correspond to combinations of sentences" (Longacre 1989a:84-85), i.e., paragraphs.

⁷ Cf. Papuan verb-final languages like Yagarina with switch reference (Van Valin 1993:63). They may require a continuum of non-discrete syntactic levels from morphology to paragraph (Lehman 1988:189).

⁸ So Lehman (1988:182). Or a unified utterance with smaller dependent utterances (WO § 4.8h (79)) or a predication realized once (Andersen 1974:23; Blokland 1990:73-74 n. 2).

⁹ Or "extended clause" (Chafe 1987:42). Andersen's (1974:24-25) "included clause" subsumes subject and object clauses and circumstantial constituents; the "incomplete clause" embeds participial and infinitival phrases. Longacre (1989a:84) posits a complementative sentence with *wayhi* + temporal expression + main clause.

¹⁰ The intermediary type (cosubordination) is necessary, because "in many languages, the sharp binary distinction between subordination and coordination is a gross over-simplification of the facts" (Givón 1990:826). In the hard cases of an argument shared at core level, it must be shared by all cores in cosubordination, and not only

	Subordination [+emb]	Cosubordination [+dep]	Coordination [-dep]
Pred.	Aspect	Ø	Lexical, intensive
Core	Complement, modal	Goal, manner, lexical	Accusative infinitive
Clause	Complement	Adverbial, chaining	New paragraphs

Table 2.15 Interclausal Levels and Links

The three relation types and three linkage levels are illustrated in Table 2.15. The potential functions will be explained below. The linkage system refines clause combining into a universal system of nine possible linkage types realized in various ways and to different degrees in natural languages.¹¹ It provides us with a consistent framework for analysis of clause combining. This system enables a smooth progression from sub-clausal reduction to interclausal "linkage of sub-clausal units ... in complex sentences" (Van Valin 1993:106). A bottom-up progression from clause fragments to complex constructions is useful for a computer-assisted analysis which has to work its way successively up through the hierarchical levels of language (cf. 2.1).

Another advantage is that Ancient Hebrew and its clause combining can be compared with languages of similar structure. This is important for a typological study of the universals of clause combining. So far Foley and Van Valin's linkage theory has only been applied to one similar verb-initial language, Nootka, by Jacobsen (1993).¹² Like Hebrew, it has no unique marking of coordination,¹³ and cosubordination is found on all three levels of the clause.¹⁴ Moreover, by analyzing Hebrew within this

by the adjacent core as in coordination (Van Valin 1993:116).

¹¹ Note that an abstract type is often realized by more than one construction type, and no language has all types (Van Valin 1993:109–110).

¹² Nootka is spoken on Vancouver Island and related to the Wakashan language family (Jacobsen 1993:238). Like Hebrew it is "a verb-initial head-marking non-configurational reference-dominated ... suffixing language" (1993:235) and has VSO word-order pattern with VOS and SVO variants and truncated VS, VO, SV or just V.

¹³ Despite coordination of "predications sharing the same subject ... nothing overtly distinguishes them from cosubordinate or unlinked clauses" (Jacobsen 1993:238).

¹⁴ "Clausal cosubordination occurs as instances of clause chaining in narrative style. Here it seems that the shared grammatical categories are projected forward from the first clause of the sequence. ... Core cosubordination can be found in the prepositional clauses used for focusing an argument or adding an additional argument to a clause. And finally, the tightly knit relationship of nuclear cosubordination is manifested in a common pattern of verb serialization" (Jacobsen 1993:239).

framework, we can contribute to the understanding of VSO-languages with progressive clause chaining (1993:263–264).

In the following, I will present the essentials of the linkage system and provisionally illustrate it with my own proposal for Hebrew. In the first level type, **the predicate link**, two adjacent units form a complex predicate sharing a single set of core arguments (Foley and Van Valin 1984:191). This type is fairly restricted in Hebrew because most chaining sequences are either core- or clause-level combinations. Furthermore, Hebrew uses stem-formation or lexicalization instead of serialized predicate **cosubordination** for shared aspectual or directional inflection (1984:262).¹⁵ However, it does have predicate **subordination** for aspect as do some other chaining languages.¹⁶ These serial constructions use verbs like *ḥālal* ‘begin’, *yāsap* ‘continue’ and *māḥar* ‘hurry’ to mark a phasal aspect (*PrSu*):¹⁷

- (4)a. *hayyôm hazzeh ’āḥēl gaddelkā bā’ēnē kol-yiśrā’ēl* (3:7b)
 the-day this I-will.begin make.great-you in-eyes-of all-Israel
 b. *lō’ ḏōsīp lihyōt ’immākem* (7:12d; cf. with *lāhōrīš* in 23:13a)
 not I-will.continue to-be with-you
 c. *waymahārū hā’ām wayya’ābōrū* (4:10d; cf. 8:14b)
 and-(they-)hurried the-people and they-crossed

Predicate **coordination** is defined by independent aspectual or directional marking (1984:248). It can explain the complex predicate complement in English *John painted the table red* (Van Valin 1993:108). This kind of verbal complementation can also be posited for restricted features of Hebrew grammar. It can explain that an infinitive absolute is used adverbially for intensification or emphasis (17:13c).¹⁸ The verb *haqqēp*

¹⁵ Cf. French [_{Cl}[_C*Je* [_N*ferai*][_N*manger*] *les gâteaux à Jean*]] (Van Valin 1993:108).

¹⁶ Foley and Van Valin (1984:256) denied the existence of nuclear subordination, but Van Valin (1993:113–114) now posits verb serialization of the type *He grass cut finish pile throw away*. This structure has both a predicate subordination of *finished cutting* and predicate coordination of *piled* and *threw away*. A serialization with *continue call listen* would indicate that *calling* and *listening* were predicate cosubordinations.

¹⁷ For *šûb* ‘do again’ and *yāsap* ‘continue’ corresponding to verb + adverb, see WO (§ 39.3.1b (656)) and JM (§ 124c (433)); 177b–c (650)). For *hiphil ḥēḥēl* ‘begin’ and *piel miḥēr* ‘hurry’ + infinitive, see WO (§ 36.2.1d (602)) and Longacre (1989a:71–72).

¹⁸ Cf. a “pure adverb” like *harḥēq* (3:16) or *hākēn* (3:17) and the postposed function as finite verb for “circumstance relative to the action of the preceding verb or a determination of adverbial nature” (JM § 123r (426–427); cf. WO § 35.4a (592)).

'encircle' (6:3), which has been analyzed as adverbial complement (WO § 35.3.2a (588–589)), is a predicate core link. Syntactic evidence also supports that *ḥāzaq we'ēmaš* in (5b) (cf. 1:6a, 9a; 10:25d) form a complex inner layer, because it is followed by an infinitival purpose clause. The same can be argued for *liqra't* 'to meet'.¹⁹ two examples (*PrCo*):

- (5)a. *wəḥôrēš lō' ḥôrîšô* and-disposes_{InfAbs} not they-disposed-it (17:13c)
 b. *raq ḥāzaq we'ēmaš mə'ōd lišmôr la'āšôt* (1:7a–b)
 only be.strong and-be.courageous very to-keep to-do

The second level type, the **core link**, forms a single complex unit within the peripheral layer (Foley and Van Valin 1984:188). It has independent sets of core arguments, but the two distinct cores also overlap by sharing one core argument.²⁰ Core level serialization need not be coreferential. An actor-actor/subject coreference often expresses simultaneity, while the switch involving undergoer-actor/subject coreference generally is causative (1984:196).

In core **subordination**, a core or clause like a gerund or a complement core is embedded in an argument position of the clause.²¹ Hebrew does not use core complements with *know to* or *tell to*, but the object complement (or the *that*-clause) is frequently found in clauses with Hebrew *kî* 'that' following a matrix verb like *know*, *see* or *hear* (**complement-CoSu**):²²

- (6) *wəḥū' lō' yāda' kî-ōrēb lō mē'ahūrē hā'ir* (8:14d)
 and-he not (he-)knew that-ambush for-him from-behind-of the-city

Furthermore, because modality has scope over the core-layer, it is also reasonable to interpret links with modal *yākōl* 'could' (7a) as core sub-

¹⁹ Cf. *liqra't* 'to meet' with RDP subject: *wayyēšə'u 'anšē-hā'ir liqra't-yiśrā'el lam-milḥamā hū' wəkol-ammō lammō'ēd* 'and-(they-)went.out men-of-the-city to-meet-Israel for-the-war he and-all-his-people to-the.meeting.point' (8:14c; cf. 9:11c).

²⁰ "Crucially, the other arguments are coded as arguments of particular nuclei" (Van Valin 1993:107). Note also the "merged sentence" (Longacre 1985b:240).

²¹ Cf. a *that*-complement in *That John won the race surprised no one*, the gerund *John's winning the race surprised everyone* and *for*-infinitives like *For John to win the race would be the surprise of the year* (Van Valin 1993:110).

²² A *that*-complement like *Max reported /believed that Louise will arrive in London tomorrow* is peripheral from the interclausal perspective of operators, but still a core-level juncture (Foley and Van Valin 1984:251–253). Van Valin (1993:119) now differentiates between *to* as core complementizer and *that* as clausal complementizer.

ordination for ability.²³ Likewise, both *nātan* 'give' in the sense of permit something to happen (7b)²⁴ and *ʔābā* 'be willing' (7c) express marked modality (*modality-CoSu*):²⁵

- (7)a. *lōʔ tūkal lāqūm lipnē ʔōyābēkā* (7:13f)
not you-will.be.able to-stand for-face-of your-enemies
b. *ʔal-tittānūm lābōʔ ʔel-ʔārēhem* (10:19d)
not-you-give-them to-come to-their-cities
c. *wəlōʔ ʔābītī lišmōaʕ ləbilʕām* and-not I-wanted to-listen to-Bileam (24:10a)

Core **cosubordination** is found when "verbs share a core argument and core operators and all peripheral constituents and operators" (1984:261).²⁶ In many of the world's languages, productive core-level cosubordination functions as a **valence increaser** to incorporate an extra core argument (cf. 2.2.1). Benefactive and goal can be expressed by a *give* verb, while instrument, manner or comitative are formed by a *take* verb (1984:198).²⁷ Perhaps Hebrew shows incorporation of a manner argument with 'bring into hiding' (*manner CoCs*):

- (8) *wattiqaqḥ hāʔiššā ʔet-šənē hāʔnāšīm wattispənō* (2:4a)
and-(she)-took the-woman AM-two-of the-men and-she-hid-them

The addition of a goal argument frequently occurs with the motion verbs *hālak* 'go' + *bōʔ* 'arrive' for 'go over to'. The occurrence of the subject *hūʔ wəkol-bənē yiśrāʔēl* 'he and all the Israelites' in right-detached position in 3:1b proves that *wayyisʕū* and *wayyābōʔū* form a complex core with the sense 'travelled over to Jordan from Shittim'. Note also another example (*goal CoCs*):²⁸

²³ Cf. 7:12d, 13f; 9:19c; 15:63a; 17:12a, 12b; 19:19a, 51b; 24:19b.

²⁴ Contrast the infinitive CoCo of *wāʔettēn ləʔēšāw ʔet-har šēʔir lārešet ʔōtō* 'I gave to Esau the hill country of Seir to possess' (24:4b).

²⁵ Van Valin (1993:114) now analyzes [_{Cl}[_{Co}*John* [_{Co}[_{Pf}*wants*]] [_{CMPL}*to*]]⇒[_{Co}[_{Pf}*try*]] [_{CMPL}*to*]]⇒[_{Co}[_{Pf}*wash*] *the car*]] as CoCs, because *John* is argument of several cores "dominated by a superordinate core node in cosubordination" (1993:115).

²⁶ Cf. stance verb *lay*, *stood* + *-ing* form, *Paul sat playing his guitar for hours*, with modal scope over both predicates (*can sit playing*) (Foley and Van Valin 1984:262).

²⁷ Cf. serialization in clusters of the structure *take X + come* for 'bring' (Foley and Van Valin 1984:191, 193) or *put + stand* to yield the meaning 'erect' (1984:262).

²⁸ In *wayyānos wayyēšēʔ haḥūšā* 'he fled went outside' (Gen 39:12) the peripheral locative is shared by both predicates (Longacre 1989a:72; cf. Blokland 1990:94).

- (9) wayya'abrû wayyābō'û 'el-yəhōšua' bin-nūn (2:23b)
and-they-passed and-they-came to-Joshua ben-Nun

In other cases serialization is used **lexically** to build complex cores expressing "composite semantic notions" (1984:205).²⁹

Core **coordination** is found in the accusative plus infinitive construction (**CoCo**):³⁰

- (10) nišba'û la'ābôtām lātet lāhem I-promised to-their-fathers to-give to-them (1:6b)

A participial link like English *Leon saw Phil washing his car* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:269) is apparently also a core coordination. It can explain the following purpose construction (**participial CoCo**):

- (11) wayyišlah yəhōšua'-bin-nūn min-haššittīm šənayim-ʾānāšim mərəggəlīm hereš
and-(he-)sent Joshua-ben-Nun from-Shittim two-men spying secretly (2:1a)

The third level type, the **clause** link, combines clauses with independent peripheries and no shared arguments (1984:188). Van Valin now includes both clausal complements and adverbial clauses³¹ within **subordination**. Both would be represented in the following (**CISu**):

- (12) wayhî miqšəh šəlōšet yāmīm 'aḥārē 'āšer-kārātū lāhem bərīt *
and-it-was from-end-of three days after that-they-cut for-them covenant
wayyišma'û kī-qərōbīm hēm 'əlāyw ūbəqirbō hēm yōšəbīm (9:16a-b)
and-they-heard that-near they to-'them' and-among-'them' they were.living

Clause **cosubordination** has links with coreferential zero anaphora (1984:259). Most Hebrew sequential clauses are of this type (**CICs**):

- (13) wayyišlah yəhōšua' mal'ākīm wayyārušû hā'ōhēlā (7:22a-b)
and-(he-)sent Joshua messengers and-they-ran to-the-tent

²⁹ Cf. Longacre's (1989a:72) example wayyištû wayyiškərû 'they-drunk and-they-became.drunk' for 'get drunk' (Gen 43:34).

³⁰ Syntactic tests (passivization and clefting) show that the infinitival complement is not embedded as a core argument (Foley and Van Valin 1984:247-248).

³¹ Marked by subordinating conjunctions like *because*, *after*, and *if* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:249). Clauses like [C_I[C_OJohn saw Mary]] ← [P_C[C_O[P_rafter[C_Ohe[P_rarrived] at the party]]]] would have "predicative prepositions which have clausal arguments" (Van Valin 1993:120). Dik (1989:206-208, 258-261) posits embedding for all levels of clause layer, i.e., complement clause as core, adverbial clause as periphery (or clausal), NP restrictors (relative clauses and participials) as nucleus.

Clause **coordination** then covers the remaining less bounded connections.³² It includes apposition as well as quote, or dialogue parts introduced by speech verbs (*CICo*):³³

- (14) wayyē'amar lamelek yārîḥô lē'môr hinnēh 'ānāšîm bā'û hēnnâ... (2:2a)
and-it-was.told to-king-of Jericho saying: "Look, men (they-)came here ..."

Hebrew chaining prefers long and involved zero-subject references. Simultaneous or sequential action (overlapping and non-overlapping) is found both in cosubordination and coordination. Unconnected action-action clauses are only found in coordination and usually mark new units.

This brief outline of my proposal for linkage in Hebrew will be treated in more detail in 5.3.2. I diverge from Foley and Van Valin's clause-linkage system in certain respects. In the first place, in contrast to Foley and Van Valin (1984:266), I treat subordination as more tightly integrated than cosubordination. I propose a **linkage relations hierarchy**, which Jacobsen (1993:260) also considers possible in Nootka:

- (15) subordination > cosubordination > coordination

Second, even if it may be preferable to distinguish **adverbial clauses** from clause cosubordination, their "subordination" is "hypotactic" rather than truly embedded. They are not just constituents of a main clause, but rather "sentence margins" that can go with a variety of different clauses and cores (Longacre 1985b:236). They also function as a general property in the hierarchical structuring of discourse (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:305). When fronted, they are used for "anticipatory linkage" (Chafe 1988:19).³⁴

³² Cf. *Make yourself at home, and I'll fix us a snack* (Foley and Van Valin 1984:244)

³³ Quote is not considered an embedded clause or object (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:283 and 318 n. 6). Quotative clauses preceded by verbs of speech, emotion, perception are discourse clauses of a different order (Blokland 1990:80); they represent metalanguage (Miller 1994:200-201).

³⁴ They are topics for the following main clause (Van Valin 1993:144). Initial conditional, temporal or relative clauses convey old or assumed, definite information, and frame the event of the following clause (Marchese 1987:270). They provide orientation (Thompson 1987:445) and contain cohesive lexical recapitulation (1987:449).

Adverbial clauses may be used to provide cohesion for an entire discourse by assisting to maintain the discourse perspective and by helping to articulate the sections of the discourse. (Thompson and Longacre 1985:206).

In contrast, postposed adverbial clauses mostly append local circumstantial information.³⁵

This allows us to distinguish between the two types of "subordination" listed in Table 2.16 (cf. Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:283).³⁶ Contrasting truly embedded clause-fragments and adverbial clauses, we can sort out syntactic linkage within complex clauses from discourse-based sentence combinations. The **clause unit** then encompasses complex predicates, core level subordination and cosubordination. Participial and infinitival core coordination and higher level units are reduced clauses within **complex sentences**. This clause definition fits with the assumption of the Rhetorical Structure Theory (cf. 1.3.2) that "relations involve every non-embedded clause in the text" (1988:287).

Linkage	Types
hypotaxis	non-restrictive relative cl., reported speech, adverbial cl.
subordination	embedded restrictive relative cl., subject and object complement

Table 2.16 Hypotaxis vs. Subordination

In conclusion, clause combining in part consists of syntactic linkage within extended clauses. A clause-linkage system involves several semantic relation types ranging from tightly bound to more loosely connected links on the level of the predicate, the core and sometimes the clause. Other cross-clausal links depend on pragmatic or rhetorical relations within sentences.

2.3.2 Referential Coherence

The interclausal linkage system draws heavily on pragmatic uses of intraclausal constituents. The first of these domains, **referential coherence**, ties connected chains of clauses together by references to participants or themes. The grammar of topic-coding describes how

³⁵ Cf. Lehman (1988:187) and Givón (1990:844–847). But in *He [the little pig] was up in the tree when he saw the wolf coming*, the postposed adverbial clause marks the story line in order to put thematic spotlight on the pig (Longacre 1989b:419).

³⁶ Lehman (1988:182) also distinguishes subordination in narrow sense (hypotaxis with finite dependent) from an embedded subordinate syntagm.

nominal, pronominal or affixal mechanisms code coherence. It includes such diverse linguistic features as existential-presentative constructions, topic-marking morphology, precore fronting, left- and right-dislocations, dative-shifting and raising (Givón 1990:739).

Within linguistics, the grammar of reference has been widely discussed as a matter of pragmatic **topicality**, or what a clause is about (cf. 2.1).³⁷ Thematicity commonly shows up in individual nominal arguments tracking and identifying the participants, but coded at clause level primarily as grammatical subjects and objects (Givón 1990:901).³⁸ Yet, as a pragmatic property, these referents "are topical *across a certain span* of multi-clausal discourse" (1990:740) in a system of 'topic maintenance', 'topic continuity' (1984:137) or 'topic management' (Dik 1989:277).

For this reason, **reference** is not only a matter of how a nominal can refer to an entity in the world, but also how "the hearer can uniquely identify the referent of the NP" (Foley and Van Valin 1985:284).³⁹ An identifiable referent can either be retrieved from discourse or recalled from memory (Lambrecht 1988:144). Nominals name extra-linguistic entities in some mental world (semantic *reference*) or they refer to entities within the discourse or situation (pragmatic *topicality*). Both functions influence the grammatical operator for definiteness.⁴⁰

Current research does not view referential coherence as a simple anaphoric (backwards) relation in textual strings.⁴¹ It is much more concerned with the three interlocking domains of topicality of nominal referents, structure of coherent discourse and grammar of referential coherence (Givón 1990:895). The central issues are how referents are made active in memory and context (activation), at which discourse level they occur (textual hierarchy), and how prominent they are in subsequent discourse (relevance).

³⁷ Or "the pragmatic relation of *topic*, ... as the relation of *aboutness* holding between a referent and a proposition in a particular context" (Lambrecht 1988:146).

³⁸ "Topicality is a property of the **nominal participants** ('referents')" (Givón 1990:740). Discourse is "prototypically about the fate, affairs, doings, trials and tribulations of individual—most commonly nominal—**topics**" (1984:137).

³⁹ It is the referent which a speaker assumes that a "hearer is able to pick out from the set of referents describable by some linguistic expression" (Lambrecht 1988:144).

⁴⁰ Dik (1989:16) exemplifies definiteness as an operator by Danish *d[hus-]* expressed by *hus-et*. Compare *the house* in English and *hab-bayit* in Hebrew. The typical nominal topic tends to be referring (identifiable to a hearer) and anaphoric definite (talked about in the preceding discourse) (Givón 1990:899).

⁴¹ The 'continuity hypothesis' equated pronominalization with small referential distance, and full nominals with resumption after longer gaps (Givón 1990:906–912).

First, referential coherence concerns the cognitive **activation** status of referents. This discourse-pragmatic notion captures the changing stance “which the referents of linguistic expressions may have in minds of speech participants at any given point in a discourse” (Lambrecht 1988:144). A referent can be active, semi-active or inactive in the mind of a speaker (Chafe 1987:25).⁴² An **active** state occurs with continuous predictable topics in chains of equi-topic clauses,⁴³ while an **inactive** state introduces new topics.⁴⁴ An intermediate textually, situationally or inferable **accessible** state is used for reference to preceding text, speech situation or available cultural knowledge (Givón 1990:924–925).⁴⁵ Following Lambrecht (1988:145), accessible referents can be sub-divided as shown in Table 2.17.

Accessible	Definition
textually	deactivated from some earlier active state in the discourse
situationally	saliently present in the extralinguistic context
inferable	inferred from some other active or accessible element in the universe of the discourse

Table 2.17 Activation of Accessible Referents

The distinction between an identifiable and an activated referent is crucial to explain why inactive referents can be coded both as definite and indefinite (Lambrecht 1988:146).

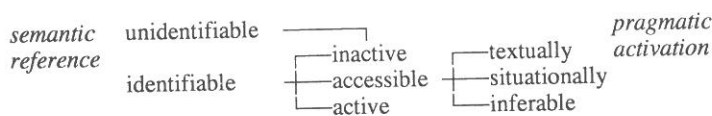


Figure 2.4 Reference vs. Activation

⁴² A speaker estimates whether a hearer's 'concepts' are in focus of consciousness, peripheral in background awareness or are only present in long-term memory (Chafe 1987:25).

⁴³ Or, "Given Information" (Chafe 1987:26–28): it is currently being lit up and in focus of consciousness at a particular moment (Lambrecht 1988:144).

⁴⁴ Or, "New Information": a concept is changed from inactive to active state, without any earlier reference in the discourse, nor has it been evoked by a schema (Chafe 1987:31). Other terms are "unidentifiable inactive" or "brand-new" entity (Lambrecht 1988:146).

⁴⁵ Or, "semi-active": concepts deactivated after referential gap or belonging to a schema (Chafe 1987:28–31).

Second, referential coherence depends on the place of a referent within the **hierarchy** of the discourse.⁴⁶ Discourse analysis has shown that a pronoun can refer to its antecedent after a considerable gap and a full nominal referent immediately after a preceding referent (Tomlin 1987:456). A pronoun is therefore used as long as the referent is activated on the same hierarchical level of the discourse (Fox 1987b:45), and even in a context with another referent of the same gender (1987a:171). The intervening gap between two successive mentions of the same referent can contain background material or confrontation.⁴⁷ However, the antecedent is referred to with a full noun phrase, if another character acts on his own (1987a:165–166) or a new narrative unit is opened (1987a:168). The coding of a successive mention of a referent will therefore depend on the nature of the intervening referent and its gender as shown in Table 2.18.

Intervening gender	Referent Constraints
Different	Pronoun <i>After</i> off the event-line, scenery, general truth no action of another character fast-paced confrontation or interaction
Different	Full NP <i>After</i> actions of another character, new narrative unit
Same	Pronoun <i>The pronoun</i> is grammatical subject of current action
Same	Full NP <i>The NP</i> is non-subject of current action

Table 2.18 Anaphora after Intervening Referents

Third, another aspect of topicality is how new entities are introduced as salient elements to replace previously topical elements. Narratives typically open with an establishment of a general topic which often fills an entire sentence and persists for a while (Mithun 1987:308). This cataphoric, or forwards, referential function of nominals is a matter of **relevance**, or importance, in the subsequent discourse.⁴⁸ In the non-

⁴⁶ The 'continuity hypothesis' assumed undifferentiated linear strings without textual relations (Fox 1987a:157–158). But texts "are designed and understood hierarchically, and this fact has dramatic consequences for the linguistic coding employed" (1987b:1). Fox uses Rhetorical Structure Theory to describe "adjacency pairs" at the hierarchical level (1987b:13, 26–28).

⁴⁷ After an "off-event-line aside ... the event-line is resumed with a pronoun" (Fox 1987a:163), even after an intervening same-gender referent (1987a:164) and "a fast-paced confrontation or interaction, such as a fight, a chase, or a conversation" (1987a:165).

⁴⁸ A determination of the thematic importance of definite nouns "must precede all activation decisions" (Givón 1990:923). Often "thematic switching alone conditions the shifts from using zero anaphora to using pronouns" (1990:884).

default situation of the non-continuous active state, only thematic referents get activated.⁴⁹ Definiteness determines whether such important referents are inactive (indefinite) or accessible (definite).⁵⁰ Givón's (1990:914–920) rules of activation are summarized in Figure 2.5.

zero pronoun	default:	continued, active referent
stressed pronoun, NP	└if important:	continued, active referent
	└if unimportant	└indefinite: discontinued, inactive
		└definite: discontinued, accessible

Figure 2.5 Activation of Important Referents

The importance of definite nouns may also be coded by fronting and left-dislocation (1990:923) as well as by repetition (Fox 1987b:31).

These are the major factors in referential coherence. In other cases, non-structural factors determine a special employment of full NPs where pronouns are normally sufficient.⁵¹ This is found in cases of disagreement and when the identity of a person is overtly displayed and negotiated (Fox 1987b:64–65). A full nominal can also be used in assessments of a “speaker’s attitude towards characters,” especially when a negative effect is intended (1987b:66).

This approach is truer to the text specific nature of reference and more pragmatically and psychologically appropriate (Tomlin 1987:457). Dik’s (1989) functional grammar explains how packaging is influenced by the assignment of the two intraclausal pragmatic functions of topic and focus to different parts of the clause.⁵² **Topic** is posited when a thematic discourse-topic is singled out for special treatment at the clause level (1989:267). The first mention of a D-Topic is called a New Topic (New-Top). Once it is introduced, the following clause can refer to it by a Given Topic (GivTop) or by a term inferred from the prior entity, the

⁴⁹ “[T]opic persistence in the subsequent discourse is a reliable though indirect heuristic measure of *local* thematic importance. Referents coded ‘important’ by the grammar continue to be talked about—i.e. remain *activated*” (Givón 1990:921).

⁵⁰ They can be thematically active and as “**paragraph initial** devices ...trigger reference searches **across the boundary** of the current paragraph” (Givón 1990:933). They “block the text into its structural units” (Fox 1987b:144).

⁵¹ They are used for evaluation, different perception and ambiguity resolution (Tomlin 1987:469–471).

⁵² Van Valin (1993:23–27) only posits predicate focus (topic-comment articulation), sentence focus without topic (presentational articulation), and narrow focus (marked focus in fronting). Mackenzie and Keizer (1990) rejects the topic for English.

Sub-Topic (SubTop). An entity from the previous discourse can then be referred to again as a Resumed Topic (ResTop):⁵³

- (16) *John gave a party_{NewTop} last week, but the music_{SubTop} was awful* (1989:275).
John had a brother Peter_{NewTop} and a sister Mary_{NewTop} ... Now, John's sister Mary_{ResTop} ... (1989:277)

Topicality can thus be associated with the previously discussed parameters of referential coherence. It is important to stress that an inferable accessible topic, a SubTop, need not be semi-active, but can also be totally unused in the discourse as inactive (Siwierska 1991:158). The topic functions can then be mapped onto activation states (1991:160).

Topic term	Activation status
GivTop	active
SubTop	situationally or inferable accessible
ResTop	textually accessible (topic shifts, often LDP)
NewTop	inactive (existential, presentative, "topicless")

Table 2.19 Activation of Topics

Dik (1989:282–285) also subdivides **focus** into a number of functions. The first type is the new or completive focus (NewFoc), which gives additional information and is often used in a question-answer pair. The second type includes a number of varieties of contrastive focus. The most important function is found in parallel focus contrasting two statements (1989:278–279). Other cases are counter-presuppositional focus types⁵⁴ such as replacing (*not X, but Y_{RepFoc}*), expanding⁵⁵ (*also Y_{ExpFoc}*), restricting (*only Y_{RestrFoc}*) and selecting functions (*Y_{SelFoc}*) (1989:283–284).

- (17) *John was nice, but Bill_{ParFoc} was...*
 Where is John going? John is going to the market_{NewFoc}
 John bought coffee No, he bought rice_{RepFoc}
 John bought coffee Yes, but he also bought rice_{ExpFoc}
 John bought coffee and rice No, he bought coffee_{RestrFoc}
 Would you like coffee or tea? Coffee_{SelFoc}, please

⁵³ SubTop is inferred from a NewTop or GivTop "on the basis of our knowledge of what is normally the case in the world" (Dik 1989:275). ResTop has strong anaphoric reference (1989:277).

⁵⁴ Focus because "the information presented is opposed to other, similar information which S presupposes to be entertained by A" (Dik 1989:282).

⁵⁵ ExpFoc is the least contrastive. It only adds information (Dik 1989:284).

Focus often involves fronting and clefting (Givón 1990:703–706), but also emphatic accents, special particles (focus markers), and *be*-constructions (Dik 1989:277–278).⁵⁶ Discourse initial clauses often have a special **presentative clause articulation**. A clause-initial spatial or temporal scene-setting expression (NewFoc) is followed by a dummy *there* (Hannay 1990:13).⁵⁷ It often occurs in a bi-clausal structure, where a referent is introduced (a NewTop) in the first clause and referred to by relative pronoun (a GivTop) in the second clause.⁵⁸ Or a dummy *there* is followed by NewTop and NewFoc (Siwierska 1991:176).⁵⁹

- (18) Once_{NewFoc} there_{Dummy} was a king_{NewTop} with three children who_{GivTop} lived in...
There_{Dummy} appeared a band of poachers_{NewTop} with automatic weapons_{NewFoc}

Even when we carefully redefine our understanding of topicality in view of this recent discussion, we are still left with a number of problems. For one thing, it is a weakness in the theory that some elements can be both topical and focal (Dik 1989:266) and that some clauses miss a focus or a topic (Siwierska 1991:176). The most important case is a topic-less event-establishing clause like *A tiger chased a tourist* (Lambrecht 1988:148). It is also clear that a new discourse topic (NewTop) could equally well be defined as a focus, or the point of the communication, rather than its starting point (Hannay 1990:5–6).⁶⁰

Another problem arises from the complexity of natural languages. Focus and topic are relevant to the organization of linguistic expressions in all languages, but the set of distinctions varies for individual languages

⁵⁶ Cleft-focus and contrastive focus with stressed pronoun or fronted object (Y-movement) code “definite important referents that are currently inactive, and ... find their text-based antecedence *within* the currently active thematic paragraph” (Givón 1990:930–931; cf. 710–711), and never “across paragraph boundaries” (1990:932).

⁵⁷ The preposed optional adverbial is within the scope of assertion (Givón 1990:711). I therefore consider this a NewFoc.

⁵⁸ It is “a ‘topic-creating’ construction. ... ‘promoting’ referents on the topic acceptability scale” to an active state (Lambrecht 1988:148–149).

⁵⁹ Cf. expletive *there*-constructions (Andrews 1985:80) and Neutral Mode without P1 and dummy building up to a final subject clause for focus (Hannay 1990:14–15).

⁶⁰ NewTop can be “assigned to either unused or brand new discourse referents” (Siwierska 1991:161). Lambrecht (1988:148; 1987:255) allows for topic with new information about an identifiable inactive referent. However, a brand-new referent is unidentifiable and not acceptable as topic.

(1989:266). Syntactic devices used to express pragmatic notions in Hebrew VSO-word order can be compared typologically with other similar languages. A strict VOS-language like Tzotzil places unexpected new information in the precore slot, but marked old information pre-clausal in the left-displaced position (Van Valin 1993:14; Lambrecht 1988:136). A Semitic VSO-language like Arabic seems to split the precore slot into two (a P1 and P0 position) (Dik 1989:364):

- (19) In the Arabic clause template P1 P0 V S O X, the P1 is subordinator position and P0 a question word or contrastive Focus. A Subject Topic is placed in S, but may optionally move to P0, if the position is not otherwise occupied.

Moreover, the Hebrew system is best set out when verb types and clause sequences are taken into consideration (2.3.3).

The final problem concerns the application of topicality to a large amount of discourse data like Joshua. It may be necessary to enrich the topicality system by notions from the **participant reference system** of discourse grammar. Longacre (1989a:142–143) incorporates introduction, tracking and reinstatement of participants as well as their prominence in the whole discourse (major participant), their local importance in a particular episode or paragraph (minor participant) and the less important entities ('props').⁶¹ More specialized functions are integration as central or thematic participant and special focus categories: 'confrontation/role reversal', 'local contrast/local thematicity' and 'author evaluation/comment'.

In view of these discourse considerations, we retain the topic and focus categories, but improve on their definitions. Our proposal can be compared with Mackenzie and Keizer's (1990:19–27) application of Dik's proposal. The following is a slightly revised version of a passage of running text in their sample:

- (20) In the great forest_{NewFoc} a little elephant_{NewTop} is born. His name_{SubTop} is Babar. His mother_{SubTop} loves him very much. She_{GivTop} rocks him to sleep with her trunk while singing softly to him.
Babar_{ResTop} has grown bigger. He_{GivTop} now plays with ...

In our analysis, the "ResTop is assigned whenever there has been a temporal interruption" (1990:24), i.e., *Babar*_{ResTop} instead of *Babar*_{GivTop}.

⁶¹ Cf. theme for "the protagonist in a story; sub-theme refers to other characters that take part in the story" (Flashner 1987:131), or "global" vs. "local" thematic impor-

Mackenzie and Keizer do not prefer this option, but it would allow them to explain much more data in view of discourse structure. I also view *In the great forest* as NewFoc rather than as NewTop, because the forest is not a theme or central topic of the story. It is presentative information articulated early in the discourse, as argued in example (18).

In conclusion, the multi-functionality of referential coherence includes a number of pragmatic aspects. Most important are activation status, discourse structure and subsequent relevance. We suggest that all these factors can be included in Dik's theory of topicality, which explains the pragmatic functions of assignment of topic and focus. However, it can only be applied to Hebrew discourse with some modification.

2.3.3 Sequential Coherence and Hebrew Clause Articulation

The second major strand of cross-clausal information is made up by **sequential coherence**, or action-event sequencing of predicates (2.1). This component of a discourse grammar explains how a sequential sub-system of the verb complements the aspectual sub-system (cf. Table 2.9 in 2.2.3). It is also important for a theory of focus and topic in Hebrew.

In 1974 Schneider (1982: § 48.8 (207–208)) proposed a **text-syntactic solution** to Hebrew verb sequencing. It has been developed and applied to computational research by Talstra (1978:171; cf. 1982; 1992a) and substantially restated by Niccacci (1990; 1991).⁶² According to this theory, the foreground of a narrative (N) text type is marked by sequential *wayyiqtol*, while *yiqtol* marks the foreground of the text type 'direct discourse' (D) which is found in the direct addresses of dialogue, sermons and prayers (1990:§ 7 (29–30)). Background is expressed by a finite verb preceded by a subject, object, or adverbial manner as a clause-initial x-element (1990:§ 6 (27)).⁶³ Depending on temporal perspective, the background forms are either anterior past *qatal* forms⁶⁴ or one of two

tance (Givón 1990:907; de Regt 1991–1992:161–164).

⁶² Niccacci (1990:§ 3 (19–21)) differentiates text type (speaker's "attitude"), grounding ("emphasis," "highlighting," or "prominence") and relative time (linguistic "perspective" on information as recovered ("antecedent" as a flashback), on degree zero (the level of story), or anticipated ("disclosure" by anticipation)).

⁶³ An x-element is thus any lexeme or function word except a connective (i.e., modifiers like infinitive absolute or negation (*lōʾ*), question word, pronoun, relative, adverbial, and conjunction) (Richter 1980:214) and deictic *kēn* and *kōh* (1980:212).

⁶⁴ Non-initial *qatal* is "retrospective" (flashback) after conjunction/particle. A (*wa-*) x-*qatal* construction (x nominal/adverbial) can precede *wayyiqtol* to mark antecedent information or follow to mark peripheral background (Niccacci 1990:§ 15 (35)).

posterior forms, the narrative modal *yiqtol*⁶⁵ or the future of discourse *wəqatal*. For the foreground of discourse, Niccacci posits more specialized forms such as volitional forms, (x-) *qatal* of reports,⁶⁶ future x-indicative *yiqtol* and the "simple noun clause" (the participial and verbless clauses) (1990:§ 8 (30)). Niccacci's (1990:§ 3 (20–21)) proposal is illustrated somewhat simplified in Table 2.20.

Grounding	Perspective	Narrative	Discourse
Background	anterior	<i>wə-x-qatal</i>	<i>x-qatal</i>
Foreground	degree Ø	<i>wayyiqtol</i>	x-indicative <i>yiqtol</i> , volitional forms (x)- <i>qatal</i> report, ptc, verbless cl.
Background	posterior	<i>yiqtol</i>	<i>wəqatal</i> , subordinate cl. <i>yiqtol</i>

Table 2.20 Hebrew Verb Syntax (Niccacci)

This theory reveals several important features of interclausal relations in Hebrew. Syntax has a central discourse-pragmatic function in marking "the linguistic forms that conduct the process of communication" (Talstra 1978:169). Particles like *wayhî* 'and-it was' (N), *wə'attâ* 'and-now' (D), and *wəhāyâ* 'and-it-will.be' and *wəhinnēh* 'and-look' (N/D) are treated as "macro-syntactic signs" (Niccacci 1990:§ 12 (33)), or discourse markers. Particular sequences of linguistic features like conjunction, negation and verb form, and changes in person, number, gender and text type can be registered as clause parameters by a computer (Talstra 1983:20–21) and will indicate the hierarchical structure of a text (1983:33). Shifts from narrative tenses to those of direct discourse (or "tenses of commentary") will signal a pragmatic change into dialogue between actors (Niccacci 1990:§ 4 (21)).⁶⁷ The use of special text types like "comment in narrative" can account for specialized functions of verb types as illustrated by Table 2.21 (1990:§ 13 (33–34)).

	Discourse	Comment in narrative
<i>wəqatal</i> , <i>yiqtol</i>	future	repeated action
participle	present	contemporaneous action

Table 2.21 Discourse vs. Comment (Niccacci)

⁶⁵ Note modal *yiqtol* in D (Talstra 1982:30–32) and future *yiqtol* in N (1982:32–34).

⁶⁶ Verb-initial *qatal-x* is found only in the foreground of D (Niccacci 1990:§ 8 (30)). This reporting *qatal* is a perfect for comment in "Rede" or "Bericht" (§21 (41–42)).

⁶⁷ A writer can shift from narration to direct address to the reader. In addition he can also shift to a new speaker-hearer domain, when characters participate in speeches and

One problem in the Schneider/Talstra/Niccacci theory is the syntactic solution of mood. Niccacci (1990:§ 55 (77–78)) suggested that non-initial *x-ind yiqtol* is used for simple future in contrast to a jussive clause-initial *wə-yiqtol*, but this solution is probably too simple (Talstra 1992b:286–287). A more fundamental problem in the theory is that *x-qatal/yiqtol* are not analyzed as constructions with precore slot. Pragmatic fronting is instead equated with marking of a special clause type, the “Compound Nominal Clause” (CNC) (Talstra 1978:170 and Niccacci 1990:§ 6 (25–29)).⁶⁸ Buth succinctly contests that “[s]ubjects may be arguments of an event but simultaneously mark an additional state while objects can only be arguments of events” (1987a:9–10).⁶⁹ The nominal characterization confuses clause type with word order variation, since only clauses with a VSO-pattern would be defined as verbal clauses (Richter 1980:10 n. 22).⁷⁰

In the same year as Schneider’s original proposal, Andersen (1974:18–19) offered a more functional (tagmemic) and **discourse-semantic solution**, which Longacre (1979a; 1989a; 1989b) developed further. Based on his work in many languages, Longacre (1989a:81) posited a scalar cline for the functions of verb and clause types in Hebrew narrative as shown in Figure 2.6. It has sequential *wayyiqtol* as the most dynamic story line verb at the top of the cline. It grades down into actions demoted to a secondary story line with verb-initial *qatal* or noun followed by *qatal*. Backgrounded participial, ‘be’-verb (*hāyā*), verbless and existential clause types are posited lower down the cline. Negated clause types referring to an unreal world are the least salient.

“both the domain and the speaker intention change” (Talstra 1992b:281).

⁶⁸ But Schneider (1982:§ 44.1.2.4 (161)) admits that a fronted *Zeitbestimmung* need not mark a CNC, and Niccacci (1990:§ 6 (23)) that *x-qatal* of report is verbal.

⁶⁹ Already Richter objected that “[i]m zusammengesetzten Nominalsatz könne O = P und Verb = S sein” (Richter 1980:224–225 n. 862). Niccacci breaks away from common linguistic notions, stating that when an element is fronted, “the predicate is not identical with the verb, but in actual fact with ... that noun or adverb” (1990:§ 9 (29)), cf. also Beckers 1992). Niccacci (1993:217–218) now defends his view by presentatives like *il y a*, but they are bi-clausal cleft-constructions introducing new referents (Lambrecht 1987:227), and subject and verb are not reanalyzed.

⁷⁰ Word order marks verb functions, not *Satzbestimmung* (Richter 1990:225 n. 862). The CNC-analysis is rejected by GK (§ 140d–f (471)) and more decisively by Gross (1987:37–38), but also implicitly by WO (§ 4.5 (71–73)). Eskhult (1990:41) and Longacre (1989a:64–65, 80, 81; 1992a:221–222) note the CNC’s discourse function.

Band 1:	1. Preterite (primary story line)	Foregrounded Actions
Band 2:	2.1. Perfect (secondary story line)	Backgrounded Actions
	2.2. Noun + perfect (with noun in focus)	Backgrounded Activities
Band 3:	3.1. <i>hinnēh</i> + participle	Backgrounded Activities
	3.2. Participle	
	3.3. Noun + participle	
Band 4:	4.1. Preterite of <i>hāyā</i> , 'be'	Setting
	4.2. Perfect of <i>hāyā</i> , 'be'	
	4.3. Nominal clause (verbless)	
	4.4. <i>yēš</i> existential clause	
Band 5:	5. Negation	Irrealis

Figure 2.6 The Theory of Verb Ranking (Longacre)

A similar interplay between verb ranking and clause types is worked out for other text types. In predictive discourse, a primary event line *wəqatal* verb is followed by a secondary event line with the verb *yiqtol* (1989a:106–111). Expository discourse has verbless, participial and existential clauses as their primary exposition-line (1989a:111–117). In hortatory discourse types Longacre discovers various pragmatic mitigations of commands for social purposes of deference. They are expressed by scalings of volitional forms.

The strength of Longacre's discourse semantic proposal is his treatment of the two sequentially marked verb forms *wayyiqtol* and *wəqatal* as the dominant main line forms.⁷¹ He accounts for a rich functional diversity within different discourse types. However, the functions of focus and topic in the precore slot construction is not well integrated into the system. Furthermore, Hebrew (*wə*)-*x-qatal* does not signal backgrounded action only, nor is it always a secondary story line form (1992a:208–209) for preliminary staging, restaging, predictable resulting event (1992a:215) and participant focus (1992a:222). Longacre now admits that (*wə*)-*x-qatal* can be promoted to the primary story line (1992a:213–214) and dominate a paragraph (1992a:222).⁷²

The system of **sequential coherence** is fundamentally shaped by *wayyiqtol*-clause chaining, the "workhorse of Hebrew narrative" (Ander-

⁷¹ Contrast *wayyiqtol* vs. *yiqtol* (Niccacci 1990:§ 7 (29–30)). Future foreground *wəqatal* is recognized (1990:§ 55 (77); 60 (87)), but it is interpreted as a continuation of (*wə*)-*x-yiqtol*, participle, verbless clause, or imperative (1990:§ 57 (82–83)). See also Talstra (1992b:278).

⁷² A helpful idea is that "staging is made portmanteau with the reporting of an event" (Longacre 1992a:214; cf. independently Winther-Nielsen 1992:68, 76–78). Some subordinate structures can be on the time line plus do other jobs (Thompson 1987:445).

sen 1974:77), and its corollary in chain initial, medial and final constructions (Longacre 1989a:64–82). In the prototypical cases, these temporally sequenced *wayyiqtol* clauses form the foreground skeleton of narrative.⁷³ The *wayyiqtol* is used for topic and situation continuity and “connects one situation with another” (WO § 33.1.2b (545)). However, it is not dependent on a preceding verb form and can begin whole books, stories or paragraphs, without another preceding story-initial verb form.⁷⁴

The narrative *wayyiqtol* chain may be broken by other verb types at chain initial, medial and final positions. In the **chain initial** position, a (*wə*)-*x-qatal* clause can be used for presentative articulation.⁷⁵ There are also various temporal, locative, adverbial and infinitival constructions.

Chain medial interruptions may break a longer paragraph or episode chain for commentary on events (Niccacci 1990:§ 9 (30–31)). The circumstantial (*wə*)-*x-qatal* clause provides secondary and local parenthetical information as a “description, or a circumstance bearing either on the nearby clause, or on the whole episode” (Eskhult 1990:37), before or after *wayyiqtol* (Niccacci 1990:§ 20 (40); § 45 (66)). Another significant clause type is the use of a *qatal* in a chiasmic sentence paraphrasing a preceding *wayyiqtol*. In this bi-clausal construction two actions are staged simultaneously (foregrounded), and are “more intimately interwoven ... and integrated” (Andersen 1974:120).⁷⁶ There are clause combinings like *wayyiqtol-obj:obj-qatal* with fronted object for contrast (Eskhult 1990:22) as well as rare cases of *qatal-x* for “focus on an object” (Longacre 1989a:75). The full range of chain-interrupting background clauses may include the forms and functions shown in Table 2.22 from Niccacci (1990:§ 49 (71)).

⁷³ The “*wayyqtl* traces the thread of discourse” (WO § 33.2.1c (549)), the main line or time-advancing events (GK § 111a (338); Andersen 1974:64–65; Longacre 1979b:259–260; 1989a:64–65; Myhill 1992:266–270).

⁷⁴ The *wayyiqtol* marks succession (JM § 118c (390)), but is *not* “always subordinate to a preceding statement” (WO § 33.2a (547)). A *qatal* need not open a narrative chain (Longacre 1989a:66; Niccacci 1990:§ 17 (37)).

⁷⁵ Cf. Andersen (1974:79–80), Jenni (1981:70), WO (§ 39.2.3c (651–652)), Eskhult (1990:32–33), Bailey and Levinsohn (1992:196–197).

⁷⁶ Cf. Longacre (1989a:77) and Eskhult (1990:33). They are not “topicalization at points of discontinuity in the storyline” (Bailey and Levinsohn 1992:186).

Form	Function
<i>wə-x-qatal</i>	anteriority, simultaneity, contrast, emphasis circumstance of following <i>wayyiqtol</i>
ptc or verbless cl. <i>wəqatal</i> , (<i>wə</i>)- <i>x-yiqtol</i>	simultaneous circumstance repeated action

Table 2.22 Background Functions (Niccacci)

Finally, various **chain final** constructions are used to mark the conclusion of a unit, notably *wəlōʿ* + *qatal* (Longacre 1989a:76–77) and (*wə*)-*x-qatal* (Andersen 1974:80–82). A *yiqtol* may conclude a story (Talstra 1978:173).

I shall also argue (5.3) that narrative chaining has a parallel in **chain-ing in direct discourse**. In this respect, Hebrew exploits a mechanism related to the common switch reference systems of verb-final languages which mark same or different subject of the following clause on their medial verbs. The progressive chaining system of a verb-initial language differentiates verb functions through the same or different subject in the *following* clause. So far grammars of Hebrew have just attached semantic notions to the undifferentiated connective *wə*- of *wəqatal*.⁷⁷ My data indicate that, if the *wəqatal* form has the same subject as the major subject of the preceding discourse context, it marks a command (I term this a Command (SS)). A switch to a different subject may mark a resultative relation (Result (DS)). A future sequence may be marked by *wəhāyā* or *wəqatal* (Future (DS)). Hypotactic clauses can be followed by *wəqatal* Explicative (SS) before a *wəqatal* Apodosis (DS). Note the system in 6:5:

- (21) 6:5a *wəhāyā* [*bimšōk*...] and-it-will-be [in-blow] Future *wəhāyā*
 5c *yārîʿû kol-hāʿām*... (they-)shall.shout all-the-people Injunctive
 5d *wənāpālā hōmat hāʿir*... and-(it-)will.fall wall-of the-city Result (DS)
 5e *wəʿālū hāʿām*... and-(they-)shall.go.up the-people Command (SS)

The crucial issue for a Functional Grammar is how sequentiality relates to expression of pragmatic functions in the **precore slot** (2.3.2).⁷⁸ Tradi-

⁷⁷ I.e., *waw* of apodosis, succession (temporal sequence), modal *waw*, final-consecutive *waw* (logical consequence) (JM § 117a (386–387)). Forms are future (§ 119c (396–397)), logical (§ 119e (397)), or unconnected (§ 119f (397)). It results in a glossing of the imp-*wəqatal*'s in 1 Kings 2:31 as: Do X .. Y, and then you will bury him (succession), and thus you will remove (consecution) (§ 119l (399–400)). The same happens with WO's "(con)sequential *waw*" (§ 32.1.3a–d (523–526)).

⁷⁸ This framework differs strongly from the theme-rheme tradition. It avoids positing Given and Theme for a clause-initial 'Let us make' (Gen 1:26), when no GivTop is

tionally, Hebrew fronting has been defined loosely in terms of "emphasis", "circumstance" and "contrast".⁷⁹ The problem is, however, that emphasis is an ill-defined focus type of partly contrastive nature (Mackenzie and Keizer 1990:15),⁸⁰ and "circumstance" or background is not well integrated among topic-focus functions.

Recently van der Merwe (1991a) has investigated the functions of marked word orders in Joshua. He used pragmatically more adequate distinctions like focus of illocutionary act, focus of topicalization and new topic (1991a:136–137). However, if we are to use the new inventory of pragmatic functions in Functional Grammar, the categories need to be redefined.⁸¹ To apply topic and focus to Hebrew, we suggest that commentary on the preceding discourse uses the P1 for focus (Hannay 1990:14).⁸² The two traditional functions of emphasis/contrast and background can then be redefined as **contrastive focus** (ParFoc) and **new focus for background** (NewFoc) to fill information gaps.

On this account, Joshua has a parallel focus in (22a) rather than "contrasting topics that are in antithesis" (van der Merwe 1991a:139). We can also propose a new focus for background in (22b) rather than a catch-word like "Interruption of a narrative sequence" (1991a:141). Our proposal for a new focus in discourse-initial positions also avoids positing a new topic for "Generic temporal indications" (1991a:141) in (22c):

- (22) a. *nəšəkem*_{ParFoc} ... *yəšəbū* ... *wə'attem*_{ParFoc} *ta'abrū* (1:14a–b)
 your-wives... (they-)shall remain ... and-you (you-)shall cross
 b. [The king of Ai saw...] *wəhū'*_{NewFoc} *lō' yāda'* and-he not (he-).knew (8:14d)
 c. *māhār*_{NewFoc} *yō'marū bənēkem* tomorrow (they-)will say your-children (22:24c)

marked, and the verb is in focus (contrast Payne 1992:64).

⁷⁹ Either "ein besond. Nachdruck," or to avoid that "die Erzählung weiterführendes (neues) Factum berichtet, sondern vielmehr etwas *Zuständliches* beschrieben" (GK § 142a (476)), i.e., *Hervorhebungseffekt* and marking *Nebenhandlung* (Richter 1980:212 and n. 800), emphasis and contrast (Muraoka 1985:32–33, 38–39), contrast, circumstance, and shift of scene (WO § 39.2.3 (650–652)), focus and topicalization (Bailey and Levinsohn 1992:188).

⁸⁰ Word order variation is then just "attributed to the author's desire to emphasize a certain clause constituent" (Bandstra 1992:109), but this is a psychological notion with no "empirical linguistic definition" (1992:113; cf. van der Merwe 1991a:129).

⁸¹ Contrast the list of Buth (1992:102 n. 11). He reshuffles the inventory of FG into a non-standard terminology of "comparative Topic," "time Discontinuity" topic, "Unit boundary" for NewTop/ResTop and "Dramatic Pause" for climatic NewFoc.

⁸² Following Hopper (1979:220–221) Hannay claims that "backgrounded utterances used for supporting and commenting on mainline events will often reveal a new-given order of constituents" (1990:18).

Some of the more specialized functions of focus are well laid out in van der Merwe's work on **focus particles**. We can restate his proposal in Dik's terminology: Hebrew has *gam* 'also' for expanding focus (1990; 1993a:35–37), *'ak* 'but' for replacing focus (1991b:304–306) and *raq* 'only' for restrictive focus (1991b:300–302). In (23), The entity within the scope of the particle is excluded from membership in the more general class of spoils listed in the preceding (1991b:300; cf. 1991a:135, 138):

- (23) *raq rāhāb hazzônâ_{RestrFoc} tihāyeh hî' wəkol-ʾāšer ʾittah babbayit* (6:17c)
 only Rahab the-whore (she-)shall.live, she and-all-which with-her in-the-house

An additional function is found in the use of fronting to re-activate a referent and/or to open a new paragraph (Givón 1990:934; van der Merwe 1991a:140–141), **ResTop** or **NewTop**—depending on the discourse status of the referents. The paragraph initial clauses often have an explicit subject in a VSO, VSX or VS pattern (Bandstra 1992:115). But fronting can also introduce new, non-anaphorical entities (Givón 1984:208). This is often overlooked in the linguistic theme-rheme tradition with its assumption that a known entity will always precede a new one.⁸³

Longacre (1979a) has also established a function of rhetorical fronting to create a dramatic retarding effect at a climatic point in a discourse. We propose that it functions as a highly repetitious **discourse level NewFoc**.

On this account, the new terminology of Functional Grammar for new and parallel focus and new and resumed topic can be operationalized for the analysis of Hebrew. This inventory of pragmatic functions can also be related to Givón's (1984:208–210) outline of word order variation. A VS word order contrasts with "discontinuous/disruptive word order, SV" along scales of continuity and activation. One problem in this general statement is that fronted objects are not always contrastive.⁸⁴

⁸³ Contrast Bailey and Levinsohn's (1992:201–202) definition of SV word order as a "topicalization" discontinuity. They collapse structure (fronting) with anaphora (a topic-comment function). This forces them to postulate unlikely cases of anaphora, e.g., the brand-new snake in Gen 3:1 becomes anaphorical (1992:192–193). Gross (1993:172) correctly restricts *Topikalisierung* to a *Satzstellung* in the *Vorfeld*.

⁸⁴ Contrast the claim for a locally contrastive device by Fox (1983:226) along with Givón. But a fronted object can have a referential distance of over 12 clauses (Myhill and Xing 1993:32). They propose that non-contrastive object-frontings are chosen to secure verb-second word order (1993:42–43).

VS/SV	(Dis)continuity	FG-functions
V(S=zero)	tight thematic continuity	GivTop
VS (full NP resumed)	slight thematic discontinuity	ResTop
SVO (PCS: name, indef-S)	topic and/or action/theme disc.	NewTop/NewFoc
OVS (Y-movement)	definite new object in contrast	ParFoc

Table 2.23 Discontinuous Word Order and Topic Function

Finally, I suggest that the pragmatic functions can also be related to the interclausal categories worked out by Andersen (1974) and Longacre (1989a; 1992a:217 n. 5). This suggestion is set out in Table 2.24.

Andersen	Longacre	Defining features	FG
circumstantial	secondary	background: parenthetical	NewFoc
episode-initial	promoted	introductory, new unit boundary	NewTop
chiastic	paraphrase	<i>wayyiqtol</i> _i N ₁ [<i>±wə</i>] N ₂ ... <i>qatal</i> _i	NewFoc ⁸⁵
contrastive	contrast	N ₁ <i>qatal</i> _i N ₂ <i>qatal</i> _j	ParFoc ⁸⁶
antithetical	neg. antonym	contrasts X and comment	ParFoc

Table 2.24 Interclausal Connections of Andersen and Longacre

In conclusion, the venerable linguistic tradition of focus and topic can be applied to Hebrew. The important function of marked word order will allow for assignment of pragmatic functions. A new work on sequential coherence can then exploit the great potential in the work on text syntactic relations (Schneider, Talstra and Niccacci) and on discourse linguistic clause ranking (Longacre).

⁸⁵ The same or a synonymous verb is used for expansion/amplification (Longacre 1992a:210), and they are foregrounded as aspects of the same event (Andersen). Myhill and Xing (1993:37) include object-fronted listings among contrastive frontings. It could be ExpFoc.

⁸⁶ Longacre assumes that there is a chiastic variant [*wayyiqtol*_i N₁] [N₂ *qatal*_j] of the contrastive sentence.

2.4 Discourse Organization

The final step in the presentation of a discourse-pragmatic grammar is to move beyond the local grammatical strategies marking interclausal connectivity (2.3) into comprehensive models of the organization of discourse. Modern discourse grammar has amply documented that interclausal connectivity and coherence interlocks with a more global and hierarchic organization of texts (Givón 1990:897). Oral and written discourse are shaped by the pragmatic aspects of speakers' goals and social interaction with hearers and by the discourse context and information status (1984:32). A pragmatic notion of a communicative context for literary communication will thus explicitly include a discourse linguistic dimension (Bange 1986:77).

The grammatical analysis of **discourse organization** is primarily a matter of segmentation of larger stretches of discourse into chunks or spans of connected text and "the relations of such parts to the whole and of the parts to each other" (Longacre 1989b:413). There are three principal kinds of discourse **structure** (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:41):

Structure	Definition
holistic	overall semantic genre types and text variety
relational	internal pragmatic organization of coherent contiguous text
syntactic	grammatical coding

Table 2.25 Discourse Structure

We will first introduce theories of discourse grammar which trace thematic organization of discourse beyond the syntax of reference into the holistic organization of texts (2.4.1). This framework will then be broadened in two directions: (1) a functional and pragmatic interpretation of textual relations following the Rhetorical Structure Theory (2.4.2); (2) a formal and syntactic description of grammatical hierarchies through computer-assisted analysis (2.4.3). This theoretical discussion helps us to combine form and function at discourse level on the assumption that

the discreteness of structure helps constrain the potential mushiness of function, while the substantiality of function helps constrain the occasional cacuity of structure. (Givón 1984:34).

2.4.1 Models of Discourse Grammar

Modern discourse grammar has as its guiding principle that a text is a linguistic unit with an overall structure and a communicative purpose. As the total text is more than the isolated parts distributed at random, it seeks to understand the organization of texts in part and in whole, i.e., "the kinds of parts in a text, the arrangements of the parts, and the way they are connected to form a whole text" (Mann and Thompson 1987b:79).

Discourse grammar is still in a process of change and development. It is gradually moving from typological characterizations of linguistic features of dialogue and monologue (Longacre 1983:1) or "algorithmic, rule-governed processes" (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:11) towards the interactive processing of discourse.¹ A predominantly structural reduction of discourse patterns (van Dijk 1972; 1977) is thus extended into a "cognitive modeling of discourse processing" which emphasizes the strategic nature of the act of communication (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:4).

Both models of discourse organization can be brought together within a comprehensive discourse-pragmatic framework. In a discourse-oriented model, the text is viewed as a linear structure made up by dynamic strands of coherence and a static constituent structure. Both determine the way a macrostructure expresses the central idea of the discourse. Figure 2.7 illustrates this discourse model.²

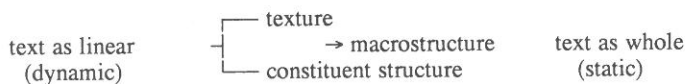


Figure 2.7 A Discourse Model of a Text (Longacre)

This model can be supplemented by experimental work on discourse comprehension (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983) and by analyses of spontaneous everyday narrative (Gülich and Quasthoff 1986). In this user-oriented model, speakers are assumed to form a mental model of an object which is then represented in a text and expressed through its grammar. Figure 2.8 illustrates this pragmatic model (cf. Tomlin 1987:459).

Mental model (X) → Text representation (X) → Functional syntax → Text

Figure 2.8 A Pragmatic Model of a Text (Tomlin)

¹ It is "a strategic process in which a mental representation is construed of the discourse in memory, using both external and internal types of information, with the goal of interpreting (understanding) the discourse" (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:6).

The account of a discourse-pragmatic theory assumes that interclausal grammar forms local coherence strategies (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:14–15). Other grammatical features at a higher level of a discourse are global strategies for the expression of theme (macrostructure), shaping of discourse units (constituent structure), choice of text types (superstructure), use of stylistic effects (style structure) and embellishment by oral discourse (dialogue structure).³

First, discourse grammar posits a **macrostructure** to account for the overriding discourse theme.⁴ The macrostructure governs the dynamic flow of a discourse through its individual parts, influences its opening and closure elements and shapes its cumulative development of tension in rising and falling levels of excitement. It affects the referential and sequential strands at the interclausal level, the “texture,” and the hierarchical structuring of levels in the discourse, or its “constituent structure” (Longacre 1989a:14).

Semantic theories employ logical reduction rules to deduce a macrostructure from a discourse.⁵ Pragmatic theories will instead derive the macrostructure from textual standards of efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness that control the constitution and use of texts (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:12). These standards are followed by narrators when they generate their participant descriptions, event-lines and situations as “cognitive figures” or “structures” of a narrative (Hardmeier 1986:99).⁶ In turn, these standards enable an analyst to ascertain the narrator’s intention and determine the ideological stance of a discourse. One

² See “Aspects of Text Analysis in their Broader Setting” (Longacre 1989a:13).

³ The new ‘pentagrammatical theory’ of Toegby (1993) aspires to be a complete theory of texts and interpretation. Much more work, however, has to be done on linguistic aspects of Hebrew before we can even begin to think of a unified theory of the Hebrew Bible in terms of a full-blown discourse-pragmatic understanding.

⁴ Macrostructure is the “germinal idea (or closely related complex of germinal ideas) that acts as an overall plan in the development of the discourse” (Longacre 1989a:17). Other terms are gist, upshot or topic of a text (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:15).

⁵ Semantic mapping of a discourse theme from propositions “derive the global meaning of an episode or a whole discourse from the local, sentential meanings of the discourse” (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:190). Longacre (1979a) listed all backbone clauses (the *wayyiqtol* clauses), reduced repetition, summary and paraphrase, and rewrote direct speech into reporting clauses to find the macrostructure’s “governing effect on the relative inclusion, balance and elaboration of detail” (1989a:17).

⁶ Narrators must provide sufficient detail (a “detailing compulsion”), without leaving issues open (a “closing the structure compulsion”), but sticking to “the most important and the relevant” (a “condensing compulsion”) (Hardmeier 1986:100).

can "infer from the macro-structure ... how and with what intention the narrator concretely "solved" the permanent dilemma between adequate detailing as well as structure closing and necessarily condensing" (1986:100).

Macrostructure analysis has often concentrated on the foregrounded sequential action clauses in the event structure of narratives. However, referential coherence of topical entities is just as important for thematicity. Participant description, rhetorical devices and explanatory author comments reflect the writer's purpose:⁷

The non-narrative segments—which create conditions of time and place, explain, build motivation, evaluate, or have particular introductory or concluding purposes—perform functions which do not merely fill in extra information, but give the story its value (Kumpf 1987:189).

A functional grammar offers a linguistic solution to the analysis of macrostructure. It assumes that a **Discourse Topic** (the theme or content) is expressed by the top-most discourse elements which are the "natural candidates for treatment as the "most important" components of the discourse topic" (Brown and Yule 1983:107):

[Discourse Topics] may be hierarchically organized ... relative to the stretch of discourse (book, chapter, section, paragraph, and ultimately the individual clause) [but] ... may also be sequentially organized, as when different and possibly even unrelated D-Topics are treated one by one in a sequence of discourse episodes. (Dik 1989:267).

Second, discourse grammar assumes that a **constituent structure** shapes the compositional hierarchy of discourses. These constituents include story, chapter, episode, macro-paragraph, thematic paragraph, and complex sentences (Givón 1984:137). These disparate and ill-defined units can be reduced to simply paragraph and discourse units provided that episode is defined as a plot-related unit (Longacre 1983:273–274). The paragraph is then the most important unit of interclausal coherence in the information flow of discourse.⁸

⁷ Both cognitive content and structural devices (*Gestaltungsverfahren*) combine in a text "as a function of the communicative author-reader-interaction" (Hardmeier 1986:99).

⁸ A paragraph establishes its own unity of time, place, action and participants (Givón 1984:245). It leads to a major shift in the set of concepts which are deactivated (Chafe 1987:32). In conversation a speaker pauses longer at "a significant change in

Longacre (1989a:14) uncovers these larger paragraph units by means of a semantic or notional constituent analysis based on predicate and propositional logic. By allowing for recursive embedding of discourse within discourse or paragraph within paragraph, sentence and paragraph types are arranged into tree diagrams and a finite set of structural units for a given language worked out.⁹ In our functional discourse grammar, we will supplement this structural segmentation of constituents (Longacre and Hwang 1994:337 and 357 n. 2) with the relational units of Rhetorical Structure Theory that offer a more flexible and graded continuum (2.4.2).

Third, discourse grammar assumes that a **superstructure**, or conventional, culturally variable schematic structure such as setting or complication and resolution, influences the structure of a discourse (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:16, 235–236). This is especially important for a pragmatic reformulation of discourse types through their strategic “discourse-type specific” elements (Longacre 1992b:110). It offers an alternative to a semantic classification of discourse types into narrative, predictive, procedural, hortatory and expository discourses of early field work.¹⁰ It posits a pragmatic alternative to the common binary distinction of text types into narrative (N) and direct discourse (D; following Niccacci 1994:119).¹¹

Longacre’s superstructure strategies do not substantially change our understanding of **narrative**. After initial *exposition* come the *inciting incident* and *mounting tension*. The highest point of tension, the *climax*, marks the solution of plot-related problems and a another climax, *resolution* (or denouement), may follow before *lessening tension* and *closure*.

Another type, **instruction** or “procedural/instructional discourse” (1992b:111), is characterized by a *problem* or *need*, followed by preparatory *procedures*, main, efficient procedures and concluding (often utilization) procedures.

scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like” (1987:42).

⁹ Cf. Longacre’s (1989a:85) nine structural paragraph types in Hebrew: sequence, simple, reason, result, comment, amplification, paraphrase, coordinate, antithetical.

¹⁰ A finite set of four categories is no longer maintained (Longacre 1989a:59). Larson (1984:365–366) lists six basic genres, adding repartee (recounting speech exchange). For other distinctions, see Fox (1987b:94) and Tomlin (1987:460–461).

¹¹ Schneider (1982:§ 48.1.3 (182–183) following Weinrich distinguished between *erzählend* and *besprechend* text types (cf. Talstra 1978:171; 1980c:561; Eskhult 1990:37). Hardmeier (1987:72–73) posits narrative vs. argumentative. Niccacci (1990:§ 13 (33)) distinguishes an addressing part of a narrative, “comment,” from dialogue and prayer, and assumes comment in the guise of narrative for series of nominal clauses (1990:§ 83 (112–113)).

The revision of **exhortation** or "hortatory text" modifying conduct of text receivers, is more thorough. It first establishes *authority* and a *need* (a problem or a situation) before the crucial *command(s)* (the issue), which may be supported by a concluding *motivation* (threatening or promising results).

The superstructure of **persuasion** begins with its *issue* (a problem or question) and then proceeds to a proposed *solution/answer* and supporting *argumentation* (logical, experimental or authoritative). At the end occurs its minimal and basic *appeal* "often very subtle" to give credence, or to adopt certain values" (1992b:111). It differs only at this point from **exposition** which has evaluation instead of appeal.

This new proposal can be plotted onto a generalized chart of how writers or speakers exploit superstructure strategies to introduce, state a problem, unfold it, reach the intended goal, compress on remaining issues and conclude in different types of text. The strategies are summarized in Table 2.26.

	Narrative	Instruction	Exhortation	Persuasion	Exposition
introduce	exposition		authority		
problem	inciting incident	question	need	issue	issue
unfold	mounting tension	preparation		solution	solution
goal	climax	main procedure	command(s)	argument(s)	argument(s)
goal	resolution				evaluation
compress	lessening tension				
conclude	conclusion	final procedure	motivation	appeal	

Table 2.26 Superstructure of Different Text Types (Longacre)

Fourth, discourse grammar recognizes that various stylistic and rhetorical strategies can be used to signal the macrostructure of a text (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983:92-95, 251-255). They mark a **peak structure**, or "a cumulative development" towards a climax or resolution of the narrative plot or towards the goal in other discourse types (Longacre 1983:25-38). Such peaks will often create a zone of turbulence and analytical difficulty by a rhetorical and grammatical twisting of syntactic devices.¹² Cheney (1994:192-195) has now coined the very felicitous term "tortuous syntax"

¹² "[T]he cumulative development(s) of a discourse usually manifests itself in certain grammatico-lexical characteristics." In these peak marking zones "predictable discourse features are skewed so that certain typical features are removed or partially suppressed, while other features are introduced" (Longacre 1989a:18).

for poetic changes to higher clause-per-verse ratio in Job. The shift in poetic strategy in Job 28 marks the resolution of the macrostructure (1994:123–124, 145–147). Bergen traces eccentric grammar in “statistically unusual features” (1994:332). The universal set of peak-marking features includes the set in Table 2.27.

Twisting	Devices
Rhetorical	repetition, paraphrase, change in story line, crowded stage, shift to dialogue or drama (without citation formula)
	grammatical variation of sentence lengths, tense (backbone form as main), person

Table 2.27 Peak-marking Devices (Longacre)

Such peaks may correlate with an action peak in either climax or resolution, or both. In other cases, they mark a final thematic conclusion in a didactic peak, underpinning the gist of the story.¹³

Utterance	Dialogue function		
Initiating (IU)	Question (Q)	Proposal (P)	Comment (C)
Continuing (CU)	Counter-ques. (~Q)	Counter-prop. (~P)	Counter-comm. (~C)
Resolving (RU)	Answer (A)	Response (R)	Evaluation (E)

Table 2.28 Dialogue Units and Functions

Fifth, discourse grammar accounts for conversation or direct speech as a separate discourse mode shaped by a **dialogue structure**.¹⁴ A **simple dialogue** consists of an initiating and a resolving utterance, and this simple, paired utterance-structure can be varied in diverse ways (1983:48–55).¹⁵ It is unresolved if the addressee does not respond (1989a:190). It is complex if he does not accept the terms of the dialogue, but alters its course by adding a continuing utterance (1983:51). Turn-

¹³ Didactic peak has vivid exchanges of dialogue (sometimes dramatic divine monologue), no chronological development, only two characters on the stage, but is replete with props, exposition, or even cyclic structures (Longacre 1981:349).

¹⁴ Longacre (1989a:185) includes other types of interaction paragraphs besides dialogue. In an execution paragraph “the reported Execution of the plan is non-verbal” (1989a:201). Stimulus-response paragraphs have past action and response (1989a:202–203). Most models propose that an exchange structure of adjacency-pair parts is situated in an action structure (Schiffrin 1987:24–25).

¹⁵ It is a pragmatic “initiation, continuance, and closure in terms of speaker dominance and bids for dominance” (Longacre 1989a:185).

taking by means of a continuing utterance may alter the course of the conversation. The system is summarized in Table 2.28 above.¹⁶

Sometimes ordered pairs occur within compound dialogue paragraphs. Separate discourse **exchanges** are marked off by subdivisions:

Each Exchange consists of a single or complex dialogue, whether resolved or unresolved. At the seam between Exchanges, exclusion of a former speaker or inclusion of a new speaker can occur. (1989a:197).

Longacre (1989a) has also contributed to an understanding of the pragmatics of **speech introducers** in Hebrew. The general rule is that a proper name or noun is used for both speaker and addressee to introduce direct speech in dialogue initiation, while dialogue continuation demotes the speaker and refers to addressee by nominal or pronoun (1989a:162–163). Other devices are used in mid-dialogue redirection. A speaker can be promoted by nominal reference (Sp:N + Add:N) to indicate a tension or confrontation or to mark the equal status of speaker and addressee (1989a:165–166).¹⁷ Both are demoted (Sp:Ø + Add:Ø) in case of either social civility or conversational stalemate (1989a:169, 171–172). Table 2.29 illustrates Longacre's (1989a:174–175, 184) summary of speech formulas.

Position	Reference device	Function
Initiation	Sp:N + Add:N	identification
	Sp:N + Add:pr	speaker dominance (rank-pulling; decisiveness)
Continuation	Sp:Ø + Add:pr	neutral contribution
Redirection	Sp:N + Add:N	tension/confrontation (struggle)
	Sp:Ø + Add:Ø	civility or stalemate (compliance)
	Sp:N + Add:pr	speaker's attempt to gain control (decisive)
	Sp:N + Add:Ø	speaker enforces point of view (finality)
	Sp:Ø + Add:N	addressee-centeredness (superiority)

Table 2.29 Dialogue Introducers (Longacre)

These five central assumptions of discourse grammar can be used to

¹⁶ Counter-tokens are not necessarily evoked by the question, proposal, or remark, nor paired with them (Longacre 1989a:191–192).

¹⁷ Other rules are that the addressee may be demoted to pronoun for a decisive intervention by the speaker (Sp:N + Add:pr) in a kind of "rank pulling" (Longacre 1989a:167–168) or demoted (Sp:N + Add:Ø) for an indisputable contribution by the speaker (1989a:172), even an emotional outburst. Note also addressee-dominant focus (Sp:Ø + Add:N) on a superior participant (1989a:183).

delineate **the profile** of a story.¹⁸ The superstructure and the stylistic strategies of a discourse are associated with the progression of episodes towards peak(s), with or without interpeak(s) between one or all of the peak episodes. In the profile, the discourse strategies (superstructure) can then be superimposed on the structural units (constituent structure) and their plot-related features (style structure) (cf. the diagram in 1983:22):

Introd.	Problem	Unfold	Goal		Compress	Conclusion
expos.	inc.inc.	mounting tens.	climax	resolution	less.tens.	conclusion
stage	episode(s)		peak	peak	episode(s)	closure

Table 2.30 Profile of Narrative

A functional discourse grammar does not posit an autonomous deep structure below the actual surface structure (cf. 2.1). The superstructure and peak structure strategies serve pragmatic goals which influence the grammatical expression of discourses and can be deduced from actual texts. A new discourse grammar along these lines more adequately capture the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic aspects of linguistic analysis and is also more compatible with the two new pragmatic and syntactic frameworks that are added to the theory (2.4.2-3).

In conclusion, discourse organization can be explained in the terms of the grammar of macrostructure, constituent structure, superstructure, peak structure and dialogue structure. Discourse grammar assumes that semantic discourse structure is syntactically varied for pragmatic purposes.

2.4.2 Pragmatic Analysis of Rhetorical Relations

Modern discourse grammar is an all-embracing theory of communicative functions of texts. However, the nature of the tie between grammatical constructions and textual structure at higher levels is still in need of extensive functional and pragmatic research.¹⁹

Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) attempts to bridge this gap. This theory describes how texts are organized beyond grammatical

¹⁸ A profile represents "diagrammatically the rising and falling tension of a text with the beginning, peak, and end as reference points." It is "an overall morphology of the discourse. Furthermore, peak constitutes a reference point ... in reference to which other parts of the discourse can be plotted" (Longacre 1989a:19)

¹⁹ Linguistics has barely accounted for "how language can be used to communicate, i.e. a detailed description of how it contributes to the outcomes of interactions" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:40).

mechanisms of interclausal linkage and coherence. It offers an independent, user-oriented and descriptive basis for the analysis of clause combining and textual coherence.

RST provides a general way to describe the relations among organizational elements in a text, whether or not those relations are grammatically or lexically signalled. Thus, RST is a useful framework for relating the meanings of conjunctions, the grammar of clause combining, and non-signalled parataxis (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:46–47).

It also explicitly includes an evaluation of the writer's intended effect upon the reader (Mann and Thompson 1987a:19).²⁰ In a functional discourse grammar, it can lead beyond logic-based semantic interpretation and serve as an independent framework for computer-assisted syntactic description.²¹

Rhetorical Structure Theory was formulated to explain why a restricted set of **relations** continually recur in pairs within connected text.²² The presence or absence of an ancillary member divides the relations into two major types, a head—modifier "Nucleus—Satellite" and a paratactic "List" (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:289). The former is a pervasive text-organizing device marking central or supplementary goals of discourse (1989:290).

Relations occur at every hierarchical level of a discourse.²³ They can be of any size from phrase to text level, but the most useful basic unit is a non-embedded text 'span' (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:47, 51), or our 'extended clause'. Relations can combine into 'schemas'

²⁰ While "[m]ost often, discourse descriptive methods have no place for intended effects" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:40), RST "imputes to the speaker desires for particular effects."

²¹ It does not "incorporate accounts of either genre or syntax" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:41). It allows for descriptions of holistic and syntactic structure "in more than one way" (1992:42) and assumes that "varieties of structure interpenetrate and illuminate each other." RST is therefore compatible with analyses of topicality or dialogue structure (1992:75 n. 3), and "can interface with ... functional theories of syntactic structure" (1992:75 n. 2).

²² "[M]any phenomena of text structure involved pairs of regions of the text. The mutual relevance of the two parts ... could be identified with recurrent relations holding between the parts" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:42).

²³ They "hold between texts of a wide range of sizes, from clauses to groups of paragraphs" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:42; Mann and Thompson 1987b:80).

which shape "the structural constituency arrangements of text" (Mann and Thompson 1987a:5). These stretches of connected text are defined as

abstract patterns consisting of a small number of constituent text spans, a specification of the relations between them, and a specification of how certain spans (nuclei) are related to the whole collection. (1987a:5).

The theory assumes that textual **coherence** is expressed by such organizational or rhetorical relations between its parts, rather than by means of overt grammatical markers (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:287). The wholeness or integrity of coherent texts is accounted for by "a theory of textual communication" which "assign (or appropriately fail to assign) a status to every part of the text" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:41). Relational unity and integrity in a text does not depend on lexical links or semantic notions.²⁴ Readers are capable of filling in connectors as required during the reading process. Explicit signals only guide their interpretation of discourse.²⁵

Unity and coherence is also given a functional interpretation, independent of a coherent event-line or participant reference. Coherence is a matter of an **intentional use** of language to express the goals of a writer:

A (region of) text is perceived as having unity and coherence because all of its parts are seen as contributing to a single purpose of the writer, i.e. as created to achieve a single effect. (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:43).

It is assumed that relations can be recognized by the reader, who will make judgments about the writer and the plausibility of his intentions (Mann and Thompson 1987a:5). Relations are therefore not only carefully defined in terms of constraints on its parts, but also in terms of a locus of effect and the effect it achieves.²⁶

In the present application of a rhetorical structure analysis, the effects and constraints are not specified in full, but assumed throughout. The

²⁴ Relations are "*function-specific elements*" of segments (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:289) in contrast to logico-semantic units (Andersen 1974; Longacre 1983:77-149; Lowery 1985:75, 318).

²⁵ Speakers and hearers do not depend on formal markers (Brown and Yule 1983:198, cf. 124, 224). Interpretation depends on inference, and connectives are not "necessary signals of relations" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:64).

²⁶ Through the Effect field an analyst can "provide a plausible reason the writer might have had for including each part of the whole text" and how a "nucleus is more deserving of response, including attention, deliberation, and reaction" (Mann, Mat-

technical name for a relation is given as a transparent abbreviation consisting of its first four letters to facilitate a handy listing for all of Joshua. For the same reason, I do not represent relations by elaborate drawings of diagrams. Compare the diagram of the circumstance relation in Figure 2.9 from Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson (1992:50).

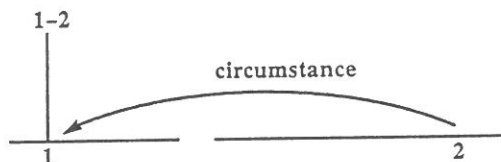


Figure 2.9 RST Diagram Showing the Circumstance Relation

Instead, relations are listed in a column next to the text with its computational line diagrams. In the in-depth analysis of Joshua 2, relations are specified next to the transliterated Hebrew text with its translation. The computational nodes are marked by double lines when an RST analysis guided me to an interpretation that was at variance with the syntactic description worked out by means of the computer programs. The name for the relation-pair is marked on the modifying satellite. The representation is therefore:

1a	Circ		wayyišlah yəhōšua ^c -bin-nūn min-haššittim šənayim-ʾānāšim
--	--		məraggəlim hereš ləʾmōr
			and-(he-)sent Joshua-ben-Nun from-Shittim two-men
--	--		scouting secretly saying
b	P		lākū rəʾū ʾet-hāʾāreš wəʾet-yəriḥō
			Go look AM-the-land and-AM-Jericho
c	Sequ		wayyēlākū wayyābōʾū bêt-ʾiššā zônā
			and-they-went and-they-came [to]-house-of-woman
--	--		harlot

Figure 2.10 RST-relations in Josh 2:1a-c

In the overall representation of the whole book of Joshua (Winther-Nielsen and Talstra 1995), the abbreviated relation term is listed next to the syntactic panel produced by the computer. The relation term is then the sole indication of the RST analysis.

The following presents a **list of 25 relations** that are recognized in the theory at present (cf. Table 2.31 overleaf). They are grouped according to their pragmatic functions.

thiessen and Thompson 1992:49).

A first group of relations provide information necessary for a reader's orientation in the subject matter. A **circumstance** (Circ) satellite sets a spatial or temporal framework in the subject matter so that a reader can recognize that the situation interprets the nucleus.²⁷ **Solutionhood** (Solu) states a problem in the satellite which the reader recognizes will find a solution in the nucleus.²⁸ By an **elaboration** (Elab) the reader recognizes that the satellite provides additional detail about the (inferable) situation or subject matter in the nucleus.²⁹ Finally, the situation in the **background** (Back) satellite increases the reader's ability to comprehend an element in the nucleus (Mann and Thompson 1987a:54; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:71). The following examples are found in Joshua:

- (1) Circ and they closed the gate_{Nuc} (2:7b) after the pursuers had went..._{Sat} (7c)
 Solu Why did you say ..._{Sat} (9:22c) Now, you shall be cursed ... _{Nuc} (23a)
 Elab ...to the house of a harlot_{Nuc} (2:1c) whose name was Rahab_{Sat} (1d)
 Back The woman hid the two men_{Nuc} (2:4a) She had brought them..._{Sat} (6a)

Two schemas evoke a reader action by presenting offers, requests, invitations, commands or suggestions (Mann and Thompson 1987a:54). An **enablement** (Enab) satellite increases the reader's potential ability to perform the action (including his acceptance of an offer) presented in the nucleus (1987a:54). A **motivation** (Moti) increases his desire to do so:³⁰

- (2) Enab Now start to cross ..._{Nuc} (1:2b) Be strong ..._{Sat} (1:6a)
 Moti Bring out the men..._{Nuc} (2:3b) for they came to spy..._{Sat} (3d)

Two schemas involve a reader's attitude to believe or accept the writer's right to present the nuclear material (1987a:9). The **evidence**

²⁷ It is often expressed by a circumstantial hypotactic clause (Mann and Thompson 1987a:48). The satellite supports the nucleus, but does not contribute to it (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:50, 71-72).

²⁸ The scope of the problem may be questions, requests (also for information), descriptions of desires, goals, intellectual issues, gaps in knowledge or other expressions of needs. It may also be negative conditions like calamities and frustrations (Mann and Thompson 1987a:50-52; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:72).

²⁹ Subtypes of the nucleus-satellite relations are: 1. set:member, 2. abstract:instance, 3. whole:part, 4. process:step, 5. object:attribute, 6. generalization:specific (Mann and Thompson 1987a:52; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:72-73).

³⁰ Often found in advertisements and invitations; cf. Mann and Thompson (1987a:55-56) and Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson (1992:55-56, 70).

(Evid) relation is used when a reader might not believe the claim made in the nucleus to a degree satisfactory to the writer, but more likely will believe it when it is supported by the satellite (Mann and Thompson 1987a:10; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:48–49). The **justify** (Just) relation increases the reader's readiness to accept the writer's right to present the claim of the nucleus (Mann and Thompson 1987a:10–11):

- (3) Evid I know that Yahweh gave..._{Nuc} (2:9b) For we have heard ..._{Sat} (10a)
 Just Certainly the men came..._{Nuc} (2:4c) but I didn't know..._{Sat} (4d)

In two relations, the desired effect is to cause the reader to have positive regard for the nucleus (Mann and Thompson 1987a:11). In **antithesis** (Anti), the contrasted situations differ in a few respects and are incompatible because of one or more of these differences, but the reader's comprehension of S increases his positive regard for the situation in the nucleus (1987a:12). A **concession** (Conc) admits a potential or apparent incompatibility between the situations, but the reader's recognition of compatibility increases his positive regard for the nucleus:³¹

- (4) Anti the pursuers searched..._{Nuc} (2:22d), but they could not find them_{Sat} (22e)
 Conc Certainly the men came..._{Sat} (2:4c) Pursue them quickly..._{Nuc} (5d)

The preceding seven relations are defined by the pragmatic effect they evoke in the reader. They represent "presentational" aspects of text structure" (1987a:17) and their "intended effect is to increase some inclination in the reader" (1987a:18). The other relations are discourse-oriented relations within the informational structure of the text.

Relations of cause are distinguished by their nuclearity. The causing situation is a satellite in cause, but nuclear in result (1987a:57). The situation in the satellite of a **volitional cause** (VCau) causes the agent of the nucleus to perform the action (1987a:58), while no motivating volitional action is involved in the satellite situation of a **non-volitional cause** (NCau).³² In a **volitional result** (VRes), the reader recognizes that the situation presented in the nucleus could be a cause for the action or the situation of the satellite, while **non-volitional result** (NRes) only has a

³¹ The writer asserts compatibility, but acknowledges potential incompatibility (Mann and Thompson 1987a:13–15; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:58, 71). Signals are both hypotactic *although* and paratactic *but*.

³² "S presents a situation that, by means other than motivating a volitional action caused the situation presented in N" (Mann and Thompson 1987a:59).

caused situation in the satellite.³³ By a **purpose** (Purp) relation, a reader recognizes that the activity initiated in the nucleus may realize the situation of the satellite.³⁴ Finally, in a **means** (Mean) relation, the situation of the satellite makes the nucleus possible.³⁵ Illustrations from Joshua are:

- (5) VCau Israel took all these kings..._{Nuc} (10:42a) for Yahweh battled ..._{Sat} (42b)
 NCau [They] did not strike them..._{Nuc} (9:18a) for they had sworn them ..._{Sat} (18b)
 VRes and help them..._{Nuc} (1:14c) so that they also can inherit..._{Sat} (15b)
 NRes For we heard..._{Nuc} (2:10a) and we lost courage..._{Sat} (11b)
 Purp Do not depart from it..._{Nuc} (1:7c) in order that you have success..._{Sat} (7d)
 Mean ...your border shall be..._{Nuc} (1:4a) Nobody shall hold stand ..._{Sat} (5a)

Two relations relate to the *realization of the satellite situation* (1987a:65). In **condition** (Cond), a reader recognizes how the realization of the nucleus depends on the realization of a hypothetical, future or otherwise unrealized situation in the satellite. In **otherwise** (Othe), realization of the nucleus prevents realization of the satellite situation:³⁶

- (6) Cond ...his blood is on our head..._{Nuc} (2:19c) if a hand is on him..._{Sat} (19d)
 Othe If in revolt ..._{Nuc} (22:22c) If not, we did it in anxiety..._{Sat} (24a-b)

Two relations assess nuclear material in regard to a *frame of reference* outside the nuclear subject matter. The **evaluation** (Eval) "relates the nuclear situation to a scale of positive regard on the part of the writer" (1987a:67, 70), while **interpretation** (Inte) relates it to "any other frame of ideas" (1987a:67, 69):

- (7) Eval ... to tell the people..._{Nuc} (4:10b) just as Moses had ordered ..._{Sat} (10c)
 Inte Walk after it (the ark)..._{Nuc} (3:3c) But a distance there shall be..._{Sat} (4a)

Finally, there are two kinds of *restatements of different bulks* (1987a:70). The **restatement** (Rest) relation proper holds when the

³³ Like NCau it includes deduction; cf. Mann and Thompson (1987a:62-63) and Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson (1992:73).

³⁴ Purpose is defined as neutral to volition; cf. Mann and Thompson (1987a:64) and Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson (1992:73).

³⁵ It "tends to make possible or likely the situation presented in N" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:74). This rare relation is also posited for 3:8a.

³⁶ Condition is not only marked by *if*, but by *whenever* and many other clause-types (Mann and Thompson 1987a:65-66). Otherwise is rare and posited only in two further cases (20:6c

nucleus and satellite are of similar size (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:74), while a **summary** (Summ) has a substantially smaller bulk in the satellite (Mann and Thompson 1987a:70–72):

- (8) Rest ...what you did to the two kings_{Nuc} (2:10c), to Sihon and Og..._{Sat} (10d)
 Summ Certainly the men came..._{Nuc} (2:4c) I don't know where they went_{Sat} (5c)

The multi-nuclear relations Sequence, Joint and Contrast have no satellites (1987a:6). A **sequence** (Sequ) is a multinuclear succession of nuclei,³⁷ while the two nuclei of **contrast** (Cont) are compared in differences (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:74). For the multi-nuclear **joint** (Join), "no relation is claimed to hold" (Mann and Thompson (1987a:75; Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:75).

All the relations posited at present are summarized in the simplified reference list of Table 2.31 below. They offer a full and comprehensive framework for the interpretation of texts in their entirety.³⁸ Each relation unit is either a minimal unit or a constituent of another relation pair (1987a:7).

The statements about the text and the writer are plausible rather than factual, because the analyst has access only to the text, and to some knowledge of context and shared cultural conventions, but not to the writer or other readers (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:64).³⁹ However, such judgments can be and are consistently made by readers as part of their comprehension (Matthiessen and Thompson 1988:290). Multiple analyses may occur because of boundary cases, text structure ambiguity (when incompatible analyses are equally plausible), simultaneous analyses (when two relations hold), differences between analysts, and analytical error (Mann and Thompson 1987a:26–29). However, faulty analyses can be rejected if they can not be related "to the actual use of language in context" (1987a:30).⁴⁰

³⁷ Succession in narrative, but also in recipes, etc. (Mann and Thompson 1987a:73).

³⁸ RST's "comprehensive assignment of status" goes beyond "selective commentary or partial theories" which "cannot by their nature account for the impression of unity or integrity that is one of the identifying marks of texthood" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:41).

³⁹ This denies the assertion that "formal means of identifying the topic [are] in fact, an illusion" and the analyst's interpretation at best only "the *possible* topics of a discourse" (Brown and Yule 1983:110).

⁴⁰ "[M]ultiplicity of analyses represents primarily simultaneous analyses and text structure ambiguities. The particular role of the analyst causes bizarre analyses to be legitimately rejected" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1992:60).

Abb.	Relation	Loc	Pragmatic Effect on the Reader
Satellite-nucleus relations:			<i>Orientation in subject-matter</i>
Circ	Circumstance	NS	R interprets sit. N by temporal/spatial framework of (not unrealized) sit. in S
Solu	Solutionhood	NS	R recognizes sit. N as a solution to a problem in S
Elab	Elaboration	NS	R recognizes that sit. S presents additional detail on sit. N
Back	<i>Background</i>	N	S increases ability of R to comprehend an element in N
Enab	<i>Enablement</i>	N	<i>Evoke action by offer, request, invitation, suggestion:</i> Comprehending S increases R's potential ability to perform action in N
Moti	<i>Motivation</i>	N	Comprehending S increases R's desire to perform action in N
Evid	<i>Evidence</i>	NS	<i>Reader's attitude towards the nucleus:</i> Comprehending S increases R's belief in the claim presented in S
Just	<i>Justify</i>	NS	Comprehending S increases R's readiness to accept W's right to present N
Anti	<i>Antithesis</i>	N	<i>Causing the reader to have positive regard for the nucleus:</i> Comprehending S increases R's positive regard for N when two contrasting situation are incompatible in differences
Conc	<i>Concession</i>	NS	Comprehending S increases R's positive regard for N when W acknowledges potential incompatibility between sit. in S and N, but regards them as compatible
VCau	Volitional Cause	NS	<i>The "Cause" Cluster: Cause, Result and Purpose:</i> R recognizes the sit. S as a cause for the agent of volitional action in N
NCau	Non-Vol. Cause	NS	R recognizes the sit. S, not motivated by an agent, as cause for the sit. in N
VRes	Volitional Result	NS	R recognizes that the sit. N could cause the volitional sit. or action in S
NRes	Non-Vol. Result	NS	R recognizes that the sit. N could cause the sit. in S
Purp	Purpose	NS	R recognizes that the activity in N is initiated to realize the sit. in S
Mean	Means	NS	R recognizes that the sit. S actually tends to make possible or likely the sit. in N
Cond	Condition	NS	<i>Realization of nucleus depends on a realized satellite:</i> R recognizes how the sit. in N depends on the realization of a hypothetical, future or otherwise unrealized sit. in S
Othe	Otherwise	NS	R recognizes that the realization of the sit. in N prevents realization of the sit. in S
Inte	Interpretation	NS	<i>Assessing nucleus by a frame of reference in a satellite:</i> R recognizes that S relates sit. N to a neutral set of ideas.
Eval	Evaluation	NS	R recognizes that S relates the sit. in N to a degree of W's positive regard toward the sit. N
Rest	Restatement	NS	<i>Restating satellites of different bulk:</i> R recognizes S as a restatement of N of comparable bulk
Summ	Summary	NS	R recognizes S as a restatement of N of shorter bulk
Multi-nuclear combination:			
Sequ	Sequence	N	Multi-nuclear succession of N sit.
Cont	Contrast	N	Two N are compared in differences
Join	Joint	N	Unrelated nuclei

Table 2.31 Relations in the Rhetorical Structure Theory

The abbreviations are: N: the nucleus of a relation pair or multinuclear schema; S: the satellite of a relation pair; Loc: the locus of effect as either N or N plus S; sit.: situation. presentational relations in *Italic*; groups are defined in bold and bold italic.

In conclusion, a rhetorical structure analysis allows for a description of how writer-intended relations are organized in texts. It provides an independent pragmatic procedure for discovery of grammatically or lexically unmarked relationships. It can be used to check functions of connectives and clause combining. It helps an analyst to point out which regions of a text present the topics of the discourse.

2.4.3 Computer-assisted Description of Syntactic Relations

A rhetorical and non-structural account of discourse relations is insufficient if it is not accompanied by analysis of syntactic structure. In the present grammar, the pragmatic analyses of Rhetorical Structure Theory are used to check the structural description of interclausal relations that can be carried out by means of **computer-aided syntactic analysis**.

This approach to textual analysis ensures that a pragmatic interpretation is balanced by a full recognition of the syntactic and sign-oriented aspects of linguistic coding. At the same time, the pragmatic and discourse-oriented Rhetorical Structure Analysis remedies some of the restrictions in coding capabilities inherent to syntax and to computational procedures.⁴¹ This matching of rhetorical reading and computational description within the framework of discourse grammar can handle the specific interplay between the extremely flexible, but very sparse and multi-functional language code, and the communicative, situational and intentional drive of human language in use. The rhetorical-computational combination of pragmatics and syntax is offered as an advance in Hebrew computational linguistics. Ideally, functional explanations can be verified by formal differences or distributional similarities. Moreover, computational processing of linguistic information can contribute significantly to the study of Hebrew syntax and discourse grammar.

The computer applications programmed by Talstra process the morphologically coded text and perform complex linguistic description beyond the morphological level.⁴² Methodology is changing from earlier rule-governed syntactic analysis towards a data-oriented approach, or object-oriented programming.

⁴¹ "Grammar is a discretizing phenomenon *par excellence*" only capable of coding the presence or absence of a certain feature (Givón 1990:901). For a similar consideration from a semiotic viewpoint, see van Wolde (1992:650).

⁴² Talstra lets the computer register form and only then propose a functional label (1991a:180–181). It starts with form, rather than functions, semantics, deep structure or interpretation (1991a:182, 188). Therefore, "the rather long detour along participles, noun phrases or clause boundaries is mandatory" (1989a:90).

[T]he computer compiles new linguistic data by comparing 'raw' linguistic materials with sets of previously analyzed *data* (parsed in earlier sessions) in order to propose new grammatical analyses (on the basis of the statistics of the previously analyzed data. (Talstra 1992b:135).

At any stage, the programs are designed to propose construction types based on earlier registered structural patterns by recognition matches. The more patterns that are established in such processes, the more new data can be treated from previously unanalyzed sets.

For the present grammar, the text data of Joshua have been analyzed at all linguistic levels from morpheme to text.⁴³ The analysis has been carried out in cooperation with Talstra. The textual data were produced by a series of programs, the so-called Syn01–05 programs, which analyze grammatical information successively upwards in the grammatical hierarchy from morpheme to text.

Program	Function	Output
Syn01	morphological analysis	grammatical functions are listed
Syn02	semantic analysis	lexical part of speech information added
Syn03	phrase structure analysis	phrases are produced and checked
Syn04	clause division	"clause atoms" demarcated
Syn05	clause relations	clause relations established and coded

Table 2.32 Syntactic Programs (Talstra)

These programs lead to a description of syntactic relations at the textual levels, and all stages must be implemented before connected textual segments can be dealt with (1986a:ix).

The first major stage is **phrase structure** analysis.⁴⁴ The Syn03-program combines the morphemes into word groups. During this session the analyst is required to correct proposed phrase combinations or change the part of speech functions if necessary. The results can be output as shown by the following format for 2:1a:

⁴³ The morphological coding system in the consonantal database mirrors the morpheme structure of every semantic and grammatical morpheme (the lexemes and the grammatical operators). For lexemes, part of speech and grammatical functions at word level, see Talstra (1980:127–128; 1981:231–232; 1986c:338).

⁴⁴ Talstra (1986c:343; 1987b:98–99). The phrase level program searches for nominal modifiers, changes in functions of word class, and word order variations (1987b:99–100).

- (9) [w-] [yšlh] [yhwš^c (bn nwn)] [mn h-šty] [šnym 'nšym] [mrglym)] [hrš] [l-'mr]

Thus the phrase *yəhōšua^c-bin-nūn* 'Joshua the son of Nun' is marked as a nominal phrase *[yhwš^c (bn nwn)]* containing an apposition *(bn nwn)*.

The next major stage is **clause division**.⁴⁵ The clause division program, Syn04, delimits clause or clause fragment units into minimal continuous strings of "clause atoms."⁴⁶ A clause division is posited in the case of a clause-initial verb or a verb preceded by clause-initial elements according to the following hierarchy (Verheij and Talstra 1992:23):

- (10) verb > connective + verb > conn. + adverb (+ noun) + verb

This rule is not sufficient for a fully automated clause demarcation procedure for special sentence combinations like the chiasmic one (cf. Table 2.24 in 2.3.3).⁴⁷ The problematic participial form is assumed to have clausal predicate status when it is modified by an argument (a noun phrase or prepositional phrase).⁴⁸ An infinitive absolute form can be verbal, adverbial or interjectional (Talstra 1987b:100). The connective *wə-* 'and' may serve both as a phrase level connective and as a clause level boundary marker.⁴⁹

The Syn05 program determines the **text hierarchical relations** of these clauses or fragments. The program maintains a list of all earlier analyzed clause opening types sorted according to preverbal elements, type of verb form, and total number of occurrences in a book (1991a:190; 1991b). The clause types are sorted according to their preverbal constituents and in comparison with earlier analyzed Hebrew data (1986c:345–347). The word order hierarchy is thus (Talstra and Van Wieringen 1992b:7):

- (11) Complementizer (prep.) > interrogative particle > connective > interjection
> negation > adverb > pronoun > noun phrase/verb phrase > verb

⁴⁵ The program posits a clause when no preceding combination is acceptable (Talstra 1987b:100). For the complex problems, see Andersen and Forbes (1992).

⁴⁶ I.e., when a "string of words between two clause divisions is not necessarily one full clause, but also could be a segment of a clause" (Talstra 1992c:136).

⁴⁷ Cf. the problem of distributional rules (Talstra 1986c:344–345) and asyndetic clauses (1989a:90).

⁴⁸ For participles, see Talstra (1987b:100; 1989a:87; 1991a:189), Dyk and Talstra (1988), Van Wieringen (1992:37), Verheij and Talstra (1992:25–26), Dyk (1994).

⁴⁹ When *wə-* occurs between two nominal groups the decision is: at phrase level it is surrounded by identical prepositions, suffixes, or number (Talstra 1987b:102–103).

However, the status of units without a verbal predicate can only be determined in the larger context on the interclausal level. In most of these cases, the analyst has to determine the exact nature of the verbless construction type through a series of questions asked by the computer:

(12) A verbless clause?

If no: an incomplete clause?

- i.e. - defective (because of preceding or following embedding)?
- or discourse marker?
- or left-detached position (fronted clause-external)?
- or vocative?

If no: an elliptic clause (a reduced clause with deletion)?

Thus, when a unit with no verbal predicate is not a verbless clause,⁵⁰ it can be an elliptic clause fragment with an omitted clause constituent.⁵¹ If it is an incomplete clause fragment, it can be defective because embedding intervenes between its other part containing the predicate (1986a:viii; 1987b:101), or it is a clause-external element. When none of these criteria are applicable, the clause can be identified as a canonical verbless clause.

This program is also used to establish the syntactical hierarchy of clause relations (1991a:183). It **calculates morphological and syntactical correspondences** between clauses in relation to anaphorical distance (1991a:183). It lets the analyst choose among one or several possible syntactic linkages and labels the selected proposal.⁵² It uses several parameters for a statistical calculation of the most likely combination (1991a:191; 1992c:141):

- (13)a. number of morphological and syntactical correspondences (conj., verb)
 - b. frequency of a similar combination in the previously analyzed text corpus
 - c. distance between the linked clause units

⁵⁰ Verbless clauses can be sorted according to the criteria of Richter (1980:74-84) into I. NP + NP, II. NP + PP, III. NP + adj., IV. NP + ptc. (Talstra 1987b:101).

⁵¹ I.e., omission of personal pronoun as subject in participial or verbless clause and verbal predicate or verbless clause subject after identical subject and connective *wā*, *kī*, *ʾap*, *raq*, or *lō* (Talstra 1983:5-7).

⁵² It analyzes backwards. It follows a linear reading process "by trying to connect the (syntactic) information of a clause with a preceding clause" (Talstra 1986a:viii). However, cataphoric importance can *not* be calculated, and can only be indicated manually.

A semi-automated combining procedure is facilitated by the following four grammatical rules (cf. 1992c:141):

- (14)a. when predecessor is formally identical, it is combined without calculation
- b. an identity of verb form or cross-reference is granted primary status
- c. infinitive and relative clauses can be attached directly to preceding clause
- d. verbs of speech followed by asyndetic imperative or *yiqtol* open direct speech.

In the actual work, the analyst first reproduces the text with **indentations** that mark the relation of a clause to one of the preceding ones as either dependent or parallel, cf. for 2:1a:⁵³

- (15)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|----|-----|-------|---|--------|-------|--------|-----|----|--------|------|-------|
| 1 | P1 | JOZ | 02,01 | . | W-JCLX | JHWC< | BN | NWN | MN | H-CVJM | CNJM | >NCJM |
| 2 | 3 | JOZ | 02,01 | . | . | . | MRGLJM | XRC | | | | |
| 3 | 2 | JOZ | 02,01 | . | . | . | L->MR | | | | | |

These indentations can then be converted into line diagrams. They are also assigned a unique **code** for type of conjunction, verbal (or other predicate) form, and preceding clause predicate (1989a:91, 84–85).

Each specific code can be determined from the full system of codes shown in Table 2.33 below.⁵⁴ In code <147> above, the first digit indicates a zero connective (<1-->, an asyndetic clause). The second digit indicates that this clause fragment is an infinitival predicate (<-4->). The third digit identifies the grammatical form of the preceding predicate as a *wayyiqtol* form (<-7>). This example also shows that the grammatical relations must be specified at the proper hierarchic level, i.e., not linked to the immediately preceding “nominal clause” (code <100>).

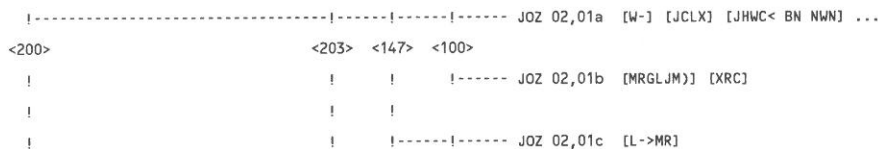


Figure 2.11 The Syntactic Display of Syn05 for Josh 2:1a–c

⁵³ The program tabulates a relation with an absolute figure (P1...Pⁿ) or an indication of dependent or parallel relation (=, +, or -). *Q* marks direct speech, *D* defective clause, and *E* an embedded clause (Talstra 1991b).

⁵⁴ For the full system of codes, see Groves, Bosman, Harmsen and Talstra (1992:124–127).

Except when the clause distance is very small or the intervening material is embedded, this description establishes only the relative relationship of syntactic linkage possibilities. The relations must be determined more precisely through further reading and interpretation—and eventually through a discourse grammar informed by rhetorical structure analysis.

At present, it is still not clear how far syntactic rules can be worked out for the textual level. Distributional rules are not sufficient for clause combining (Talstra and Van Wieringen 1992b:11).⁵⁵ The principal issue is where to locate the “grensgebied tussen beschrijven en interpreteren” (Talstra 1992a:25; cf. 1989a:90). No program can perform fully automated clause combining, but “[t]he more successful this research is, the more the program will “learn” Hebrew syntax and be able to predict clause hierarchies in other texts” (1991a:183). This is also the goal for the present study of the grammar of Joshua. Future programming will no doubt advance this research into new areas of discourse grammar.⁵⁶

In conclusion, a grammar of Joshua can profit from a carefully checked phrase structure database with clause demarcations added. Computer programs can then work out the syntactic relations hierarchy by means of clause combining programs.

⁵⁵ Talstra originally predicted that “their outcome will not only be a fully coded text, but also a complete set of morphosyntactical rules valid for the text of Deuteronomy and applicable, of course, to many other texts” (1986a:x), and envisioned a revision of “territories covered by “form” and “function,” because of the ability of programs to identify and to sort both simple and complex linguistic forms (1987b:98), but “in many cases distributional data will not be sufficient to isolate clauses and to determine the relationship between their constituents” (Talstra 1987b:96).

⁵⁶ The most recent research of Henk Harmsen has shown that subject and object assignment can be successfully determined for complex clauses in Deuteronomy. Hendrik-Jan Bosman is extending the query language of Quest to distributional registration of cross-clausal connectivity.

Attributive and infinitive clauses

- 10: Attributive clause with *hā*-relative
 11-17: Relative clauses (*ʔāšer*) + verb or nominal: <11> *yiqtol*, <12> *qatal*, <16> ptc., <17> nom.
 50: infinitive clause stripped without complementizer
 51-70: infinitive clause with complementizer (preposition): <51> *ʔahārē* 'after', <55> *bā*- 'in', <62> *kā*- 'like', <64> *lā*- 'for', <65> *lamaʿan* 'in order to', <67> *min*- 'from', <70> *ad* 'until'

Parallel clauses

- 200: completely identical verbs in both clauses
 201: identical verbs, except for connector: *wā*- is used in second clause
 202: identical verbs except for shift of gender and number in the second verb
 203: identical verbs with same gender but different number in the second verb
 204: identical verbs, but second clause has different explicit subject

Defective clauses

- 222: a part of a clause after an embedding, this part contains the verb
 223: a part of a clause after an embedding, the verb occurs before embedding

Special code

- 999: start of direct speech

Standard codes

< DIGIT-DIGIT-DIGIT >				
Present clause:		Preceding clause:		
	Connector	Predicate		Predicate
	↓	↘	0	nominal
100-169	zero, asyndetic		1	<i>yiqtol</i>
230-291	<i>ʔim</i> 'if' ⁵⁷		2	<i>qatal</i>
300-377	<i>wā</i> -/ <i>wa</i> - 'and'		3	imp.
411-451	<i>ʔō</i> 'or', <i>gam</i> 'also'		4	inf.cs.
480-486	<i>wā</i> - 'and' + <i>yiqtol</i>		5	inf.abs.
500-567	<i>kī</i> 'because, even if'		6	ptc.
611-627	<i>ʔal-kēn</i> 'therefore'		7	<i>wayyiqtol</i>
700-711	<i>ʔerem</i> 'before', <i>ad</i> 'until'			
810-827	<i>pen</i> 'in order that not'			
	<i>lamaʿan</i> 'in order to'			

Table 2.33 Codes for Syntactic Clause Relations

⁵⁷ The system for *ʔim* clauses begins with the value <230->. It thus differs from the <XYZ>-system: *ʔim* clause <23-> has nominal predicate, <24-> *yiqtol*, <25-> *qatal*, <26-> imp., <27-> inf.cs., <28-> inf.abs. and <29-> ptc.

2.5 Summary and Conclusions: Analytical Strategy

The two new approaches, the pragmatic rhetorical analysis (2.4.2) and the syntactic computer-assisted description (2.4.3), are significant contributions to discourse analysis (2.4.1). They can both be used within the framework of a functional discourse grammar.

A complete intraclausal **grammatical analysis** can be presented in detail only for a restricted text corpus such as **Joshua 2**, which happens to be the first major narrative of the book. The analysis is presented as a test of the functional discourse-pragmatic grammar. The analysis begins with a presentation of the Rhetorical Structure Analysis schemas for minor text spans (2.4.2). This rhetorical reading is then confronted with independent diachronic and synchronic readings relating to linguistic arguments for coherence, boundary marking and grammatical forms.

At the next stage, rhetorical reading and traditional interpretations are contrasted with linguistic explanations based solely on a functional grammar's description of clause combining, referential tracking and verb-sequencing (2.3). In this part of the analysis, the computational data on syntactic hierarchies can be incorporated (2.4.3). These analyses prepare for an account of superstructure (episodic organization), style structure (peaks, rhetorical devices and profile) and macrostructure (D-Topic and dialogue).

These analytical strategies are followed throughout in the investigation of **Joshua 3-8**. At this stage of analysis, space prevents us from going beyond **explaining coherence** within intermediate-size connected segments or paragraphs. This level is of paramount significance, because discourse is neither organized from clause-level upwards nor from discourse level downwards, but in a system of cross-sentential linkage. This calls for a mixed strategy of analysis of interclausal connectivity.¹ As a result, we concentrate on a description of the constituents, style and themes of the narratives to understand how they are expressed at the interclausal level of clause combining and referential and sequential coherence (2.3).

All grammatical descriptions are based on analysis of **computational data** on all of Joshua. The intraclausal phrase structure has been checked

¹ So "neither progressive refinement (top down) nor aggregation of apriori collections (bottom up)" (Mann, Matthiessen and Thompson 1989:46) can stand alone. Even if syntactic-computational analysis must move stepwise from small units into larger clusters, discourse, and especially literary text, can not be grasped by "inspecting it verse-by-verse without the study of the whole informing the study of the parts" (Longacre 1989a:x).

meticulously throughout. The demarcation of clauses or fragments was adjusted to the structural-functionalist theory of layered clause structure. Problems of phrase and clause structure are discussed for the whole Book of Joshua in (5.3.1). The computer text is then exploited for a survey of clause combining in accord with our functional grammar (5.3.2). These data play the central and most crucial role for a computer-assisted description of interclausal relations based on the syntactic clause hierarchies of all discourses (5.3.3–4). They are also used for a description of the overall thematic and rhetorical structure of the Book of Joshua (5.4). The displays are only partially presented, but are found in Winther-Nielsen and Talstra (1995).

The computational data are presented in a new, more “economical” format for book-length display shown below (contrast Figure 2.9 in 2.4.2):

2a	Circ	└──┐┐┐┐	02,01.1	[w- [yšlḥ] [yhwš ^c (bn nwn)] [mn h- štyṃ] [šnym ʾnšym]
--	CoCo	<100>	02,01.2	[mrglym] [ḥrš]
	QF	<147>	02,01.3	[l-ʾmr]
b	P	<999>	02,01.4	[lkw]
	CoCs	<200>	02,01.5	[rʾw] [ʔt h-ʾrš /w- /ʔt yryḥw]

Figure 2.12 Combined Rhetorical and Syntactic Display for Josh 2:1a–c

In this type of display, the text is represented with the computational information on relation nodes, syntactic codes (cf. Table 2.33), absolute clause-fragment number and the phrase divisions within the transliterated, consonantal text. In front of this computational panel there is an analytical column with abbreviations for functional-syntactic clause combining in italics. Thus *CoSu* is used for core subordination (cf. example (9) in 2.3.1). I also use such terms as *NP* (noun phrase), *Rel* (relative clause), *LDP* (left-detached position), and *PCS* (precore slot). Other symbols mark higher level relations. Discourse-pragmatic dialogue categories are marked in bold (e.g., **P** for proposal, cf. Table 2.28). I use *QF* (quote formula) when a transition from narrative to direct discourse is syntactically marked.² Rhetorical relations are listed in normal mode (e.g., *Circ* for circumstance, cf. Table 2.31).

² The category of quote is retained, because it is a structurally significant marking in the texts, even if its relational status is unclear (Mann and Thompson 1987a:73).

Chapter 3 Gathering Intelligence: 'Spying on Jericho' in Joshua 2

Joshua 2 tells how two Israelite spies crossed the Jordan on a reconnaissance mission and escaped from Jericho only "by a lie and a cord" (Bird 1989:127). They hid in the mountains and returned safely to report to Joshua at headquarters.

This short and apparently simple story is surprisingly troublesome. As aptly summarized by McCarthy,

the spies come, are hidden twice, converse with Rahab, escape, and then resume the talk in improbable conditions. Then how did the king learn of the spies' entry into Jericho? It can sound very confusing. (1971b:170).

It is not clear why this event is narrated at such length at the beginning of the story of the conquest and how it relates to the subsequent stories on the crossing of Jordan, fall of Jericho and victory at Ai.

The prominent position of Joshua 2 in the book, its thematic closedness, and its astonishing complexity make it an ideal test case for a functional discourse grammar. Moreover, the structural linguistic analysis of Floss (1982; 1986) offers both a springboard and a challenge for a new kind of grammar (cf. 1.3.1).

In *our* spying on Jericho, we will set off with a survey of the problems and readings (3.1). Grammatical intelligence is then culled in three successive operations. First, the discourse pragmatic organization of constituent units and their narrative function is traced (3.2). Next, the rhetorical and syntactic relations are tracked with the aim of a comprehensive evaluation of readings (3.3). The third step concentrates on an analysis of thematicity at the word level (referential coherence), the paragraph level (direct discourses) and the discourse level (D-Top).

In other words, constituents, coherence and content are explored for the main operational issue, whether "a careful, clause-by-clause reading of the text turns up a significant degree of unevenness" (Culley 1984:31).

3.1 Readings

There are several enigmatic features in the context, content and coherence of Joshua 2. To appreciate the contribution from discourse grammar, it is helpful to consider these problems and the solutions in prior readings.

To begin with, the story seems to differ from the **context** both in style and verbal usage (Tucker 1972:69). The accent shifts from general parenetic speech and deuteronomistic prose to detailed story-telling. Joshua 1 can even be connected directly with Joshua 3 without any loss, as 'within three days' (1:11) arguably "accommodates *either* the events of chap. 2 (cf. v.22) *or* those of chap. 3 (cf. v.2) (1972:69). Finally, the capture of Jericho and the rescue of Rahab and her family follows only in Joshua 6 after a considerable gap, and perhaps even "in keinerlei sachlicher Beziehung zueinander stehen" (Noth 1953:21).

The problem of the **content** is largely a question of how central the theme of espionage, and thus the conquest theme, is in the story.¹ Moreover, an agreement with a local inhabitant does not easily square with the Biblical policy of conquest.²

Yet, the internal **coherence** of the story is by far the most important problem. Tensions seem to protrude in doublets, contradictions and inconsistencies in the sequence of events. A short account of the spies' rescue from arrest is followed by a remarkably full speech by Rahab and even duplicated by another one by the spies. But before they reiterate the conditions of the agreement, their escape is first reported (v 15), and then mentioned again after the speech (v 21)—in effect suggesting that they are "pausing to complete their agreement with Rahab as they cling to the rope from her window" (Tucker 1972:76). There is also the problem of the correlation between their lying/sleeping (v 1), their not-yet-sleeping (v 8) and their no-sleeping-at-all further down the story. Finally, it is not clear how Rahab according to v 4 "could have dealt with the messengers and hidden the men all at the same time" (Culley 1984:32).

Early **source criticism** accepted the unity of the story except for deuteronomistic additions (v (9), 10–11, (24)) and a few "unbeträchtliche Inkonnizitäten" (Wellhausen 1899:119). This approach is not proved by

¹ The spies have a military mission (McCarthy 1971b:170), but do not "develop military strategy" (Butler 1983:34). Perhaps the story is not "meant to show the military skill of Joshua or as an account of spies and stratagems" (Tucker 1972:78).

² Thus "there is a glaring internal contradiction between ... Deut 20:10–20 and this negotiated exception" (Boling 1982:150) and it is "an infringement of the command to "devote" ... it is an illegal covenant" (Gunn 1987b:108).

Shittim (v 1) being mentioned in the wilderness traditions (Numbers 32).³

Later **form critics** have searched for an etiology of a prostitute involved in Canaanite fertility cult (Hölscher 1919-1920:55-56 and Mowinkel 1964:13) or of the preservation of Rahab and her family (Gressmann 1922:136-137, Tucker 1972:77 and Barstad 1989:43). Noth found "noch mehr Ätiologisches" (1953:23) in a red cord at the window of a house named *bêt rāḥāb* after the owner. Originally it meant 'brothel', derived from *bêt rāḥōb* 'das Haus am öffentlichen Platze'.

Others have traced holy war formulae in 2:9 and 24 and in specific vocabulary (McCarthy 1971a:228-230; 1971b:174 and Gray 1986:65).⁴ But it has also been argued that the story originally formed an independent account of the conquest of Jericho by treason (Windisch 1917-1918:193-197, Hölscher 1919-1920:54, Möhlenbrink 1939:258 and Noth 1953:22).⁵ A larger pattern may be found in a spy narrative form with six prominent elements (Wagner 1964:261-262; cf. Butler 1983:29-30):

selection (v 1a), execution of mission (v 1b-7), confirmation of information (v 9-11), return, report and formula for gift of the land (v 23-24).

Or it is composed by elements of a covenant form (Campbell 1972:243 and Ottosson 1991:46):

preamble (v 11), prologue (v 9-11), stipulations (protection on condition of obedience) (v 12-13 and 18-20), sanctions (v 18-20), oath (v 14, 17), and covenant sign (v 18-21).

By and large, however, a diachronic reading of the text has not advanced beyond a cautious conclusion that some oral tradition of an independent, "more-or-less 'profane' anecdotal saga" (Tucker 1972:83) was edited, and reconstructions must remain highly conjectural (1972:85). Estimates have varied from almost total unity to total spuriousness.⁶

³ Cf. Boling (1982:143) and Butler (1983:31). There is no evidence for sources (Moran 1967:276; Floss 1982:71 n. 34; Culley 1984:26).

⁴ Contrast holy war as a "*post eventum* interpretation and schematization" (Jones 1975:656).

⁵ Soggin defends "a house-to-house combat" (1972:38) by wording of v 18 in the Greek text and by 24:11. It would enhance the significance of the confession, but Rahab hardly plays this active role (Tucker 1972:78).

⁶ Rudolph removed a third, claiming that "dieses einheitliche Stück V. 1-9a. (9b?). 12a.bα. 13f. 20. 15f. 22f. (24?) jahwistisch ist" (1938:168). It is seen as a unity except for a dtr 10b (Noth 1953:30; Otto 1973:85) or 9-11 (Bächli 1970:23), or in total "a late tale added to the earlier Dtr history" (Van Seters 1990:4).

The issue is therefore whether a linguistic *Literarkritik* can salvage the diachronic legacy. Floss (1982:171–172, 205) thinks that the pre-literary oral story told of a prostitute and two of her customers charged with being spies. A basic literary unit (1) was supplemented by two minor redactional units (2–3) and all in turn were glossed and expanded (1982:77–79):

Unit	Extent	Expansions
1	1–3, 4c–6, 15–16, 22–23	4a–b, 7
2	8–9c, 11a–12, 13b, 14	9d–10, 11d, 13a
3	17a–19, 21	17b, 20a–b, 24

Floss (1982:120) argues that the internal coherence of unit 1 can be established by linguistic functions of text-external reference, anaphorical relations and smooth plot development. On the other hand, contradictions between expression and content (his “Ausdrucksseite und Kontextabsicht” (1982:169)) is evidence of diachronic disunity.⁷

One alternative is a **synchronic reading**. Narrative analyses of unity, meaning and stylistic techniques claim that the story is clear in its outline and does not fall apart into putative layers.⁸ It has all the features of a well told story with concentric arrangements of dialogues. Its pace of narration keeps the story interesting “omitting all but the essentials and sticking to action, not explanations” (McCarthy 1971b:172).⁹ Touches of ironic humor are seen in the slyness of a weaker Rahab outwitting the king, enabling the men to escape.¹⁰

Poetic analyses since Polzin (1980) have revolved around the issue of infringement of the Mosaic rules for holy war (cf. 1.2). A recent reading interprets the story as a hint that the incomplete conquest was caused by “lapses on the parts of both God and Joshua” (Eslinger 1989:34). Or Rahab has “tricked” the Israelites and “deceived them into breaking the

⁷ Linguistic disturbances within a unit are explained by pre-literary “im sprachlichen Ausdruck z.T. geprägten und literarisch verfaßten Gut” (Floss 1982:169).

⁸ “The story line and the form elements ... cut across all projected source analyses” (McCarthy 1971b:172–173). “[T]he narrative sequence manages to hold the story together in spite of gaps and distortions in the text” (Culley 1984:32–33).

⁹ McCarthy points to immediacy of *hinnēh*, *‘attā* and imperative, legal fascination and folkloristic “dialogues between women in towers and men below” (1971b:172).

¹⁰ Canaanite intelligence knows when strangers enter a prostitute’s house, but follows her advice without even searching the house. A prostitute, too busy to make it to the men’s bed, finally comes to confess her religious conversion (Butler 1983:31).

ban" as an intentional divine test of their obedience" (Hauch 1991:294).¹¹ But Rahab's confession and loyalty may also picture a sinner more righteous than the spies (1991:102).¹²

From an intertextual perspective, the story can be read as a reversal of the former events at Shittim, where the Israelites were once disobedient harlots (Num 25:16-18; 31), but now are saved by another (Butler 1983:31).¹³ There is also a contrast to the Bethel spy story in Judg 1:22-26. An individual had to be induced to enter an agreement and remained a Canaanite, but Rahab "spontaneously and at great personal risks, proclaims herself a true believer and asks in Yahweh's name for a pledge of loyalty" (Webb 1987:97; cf. Butler 1983:29-30 and Boling 1982:151).

In conclusion, the issue is whether Joshua 2 is a spy drama, a reinterpretation of the law of Moses, an exposition on the difficulties of obedience or even a condemnation of Joshua and Yahweh. Floss dispenses with such readings as a methodological circularity which reduces (his own) scientific tradition to "das Niveau bibliographischer Marginalien" (1982:229).¹⁴ But modern literary and linguistic developments hardly justify an outright rejection based on old fashioned diachronic methods combined with structural axioms.¹⁵ The challenge is still whether a non-diachronic functional grammar can establish textual integrity and thematic unity.

¹¹ The kindness of Rahab, the miracles and the absence of the narrator's censure suggest that "nothing really went wrong" (Hauch 1991:293).

¹² A pagan confessor commits herself as a "heroine of faith and a friend of Israel" (Bird 1989:131) or proselyte (Otto 1991:47, 49). She is obliged to act in obedience (1:14, 17, 20), just as Israel must obey the law (Polzin 1980:89).

¹³ The former resulted in the death of 24,000 people, but now two lives are saved and a harlot bows to God, strengthens their faith and initiates victory (Hauch 1991:101).

¹⁴ Floss criticizes Moran because "er zu Beweisendes, nämlich die literarische Einheit von Jos 2 voraussetzt" (1982:77 n. 52), and "die literarische Einheitlichkeit von Jos 2, a priori postuliert, aber nicht nachweist" (1986:58 n. 31).

¹⁵ Cf. Culley's (1984:32) doubts, and Van Setters' remark that Floss' Unit 1 "is a meaningless fragment without the broader narrative" (1990:4 n. 9).

3.2 Episode Structure

A functional discourse grammar assumes that a complete discourse adds up to more than any of its individual parts in isolation (1.3.1). It will first investigate the episodes and their function to understand the story as a whole. This will prepare the ground for a more detailed analysis of intraclausal grammar and the devices that mark coherence in (3.3).

The basic structure of the story is quite simple. Three dialogues are enclosed within a frame reporting the initiation of the spies' mission (v 1) and their rescue and return (v 22–24).¹ The spy story proper (v 2–21) can be arranged according to a literary design with shifts between narrative and dialogue (McCarthy 1971b:170):

- A. Dialogue: Rahab and the King's Men (2–5)
- B. Report of Israelite and Canaanite Activities (6–8)
- C. Dialogue: Rahab and the Spies (9–14)
- D. Report of the Spies' Escape (15)
- C. Further Dialogue: Conditions of the Oath (16–21)

Several concentric patterns have also been pointed out, notably that the arrival of the king's envoy (v 2–7) is framed by the two problematic occurrences of the word *šākab* 'lie down' in v 1 and 8 (Hauch 1991:292–291). *Hiphil* 'ālā 'bring up' (v 6) and 'ānāšim 'men' (v 7) may form a chiasm with *hēmā* 'they' and *qal* 'ālā 'go up' (v 8) (Moran 1967:282).

But such aesthetic patterns may cut across grammatical boundaries or split grammatical coherence lines. In McCarthy's proposal the closing frame (v 22–24) receives too little attention. The report element in v 15 seems too small and too different from the former report in v 6–8.

The investigation of **episode constituents and superstructure** in discourse grammar offers an alternative to literary structuring. An earlier examination of the plot structure could only point out that a series of *wayyiqtol*'s (v 1b–2) builds up to a climatic dialogue (v 3–5), a resolution (v 6–8), and a plot complication (v 12). But it failed to find a solution for the rest (Butler 1983:29–30).² Modern discourse grammar can offer a viable alternative with a more precise description of discourse schemata (2.4.1).

¹ Joshua 2 is "a closed whole" without Joshua 6 and "v.1 sets the scene, and v.24 closes it" (McCarthy 1971b:170). The frame is often interpreted as a spy mission report enclosing a folkloristic tale (1971b:170; Boling 1982:149; Floss 1982:169).

² After a counter-proposal (v 14), the rest becomes a prolonged resolution. Verses 15, 16, and 22 "may also belong to the original denouement" (Butler 1983:30).

The **stage** for the story (v 1) clearly serves a strategy of exposition. It introduces the two main participants in the story, the spies and Rahab, and refers to the mission and the arrival in Jericho.

The opening of **episode 1** (v 2) is marked by a change of place and by introduction of the king of Jericho as a local participant.³ The report to the king of the spies' arrival is the inciting incident in the narrative strategy. It is not immediately apparent how far this episode extends. The king's order to arrest the spies in the direct quote of v 3 largely repeats the content of v 2. As it continues with the same agent and implicitly also the same setting, it looks like an episode-internal repetition. However, this order is clearly what Rahab was told. It belongs with her response, which has no other addressing part. Thus, v 2 is more likely a complete episode, unfolding the problem of the story in a dramatic shortening.

If so, the following **episode 2** opens with a tail-head linkage (3a). Its complex logical sequence of events—the king orders messengers to tell Rahab (3b), Rahab hides (4a), Rahab answers (4b)—presents a narrative gap. It presupposes that she somehow managed to hide the spies before she answered. This is stated explicitly in 6a–8a which functions as a background paragraph with reporting constructions.⁴ Furthermore, this unit does not propel the story forward, but only elaborates on Rahab's hiding of the spies, the frustrated search by the pursuers (7a), the closing of the gate precluding escape (7b), and the sleepless spies in cover on the roof (8a). All of dialogue 1 and this commentary paragraph must belong within the same episode (3a–8a). Because it recounts only a temporary solution to their rescue from imminent danger, the narrative strategy apparently is to unfold the story with mounting tension.

This temporary solution to the problem is followed by an extensive exchange between Rahab and the spies in **dialogue 2** (8b–14e) and **dialogue 3** (16b–21d), separated by the enigmatic v 15. We may grant for the moment that dialogue 2 and 3 are peaks functioning as didactic climax and resolution.

The conversational material is followed by new problems accumulating towards the end of the story. It is not immediately clear whether a new **post-peak episode** begins in 21a, because the story shifts to swift narra-

³ Denial of scene shift (Floss 1982:161) is unfounded. The only inter-episodal coherence consists of the repeated place name Jericho (cf. 1b) (cf. also 1982:159).

⁴ The so-called disjunctive syntax (Boling 1982:146) or *Regreß* with a retarding effect similar to direct speech does not mark "eine inhaltlich besonders hervorgehobene Stelle im erzählten Geschehen" (Floss 1982:201).

tive action in a *wayyiqtol* chain continuing until the *wayyiqtol* with explicit nominal subject in 22d or in 23a, or whether it begins with the spies departure in 22a. The main problem is that both 21a and 22a miss an explicit subject just as the boundary in 15a.

At first glance the dialogue of 16b-f and 17b-20 looks like a complete exchange, while the short reply of 21b is little more than an indirect speech complement noting Rahab's unconditional acceptance of the terms of the agreement.⁵ However, the answer of Rahab (21b) and her execution of the spies' proposal (21c-d) follows very closely in continuation of dialogue 3. One can even argue that 15a-c are summary introductions to the dialogue, while 21a-d are its summary conclusions.⁶

If so, it is more likely that we are to posit the opening of a new episode in v 22. A break is marked by *wayyēlakû wayyābō'û hāhārâ* 'they went over to the mountain' (22a) with a cross-referenced subject switch and a new locative argument. This construction seems to be completely parallel to the middle of the stage (1c), where it is not a unit boundary. But there the spies directly execute Joshua's order, and this is more similar to Rahab's actions and the spies' departure at the end of dialogue 3 in 21c. Rahab is portrayed as a sender who duplicates Joshua's directions at the beginning of the story. In contrast to this, the spies departure and their stay in the mountains in v 22 form a short episode with a different theme.

Yet all the *wayyiqtol*'s in v 21-22 tie together several loose threads in the texture of the story. In 21c it is explained that dialogue 3 occurred before Rahab sent the spies to the mountains (16b-f). In 21d it is explained that the cord now attached to the window is different from the rope used for climbing down (15a). V 22 also reports the execution of Rahab's proposal in 16b-d and v 23a-b the execution of 16e.⁷

The narrator also compresses v 21-22 into a compact sequence of actions and crowds the scene with the major participants plus the pursuers:

⁵ So Floss (1986:74 n. 9), but it can not demonstrate different authors.

⁶ If an episode opening is posited for 21a Rahab's reply (21b) would be severed from its proper dialogue position. It would form a structural contrast to the device of locating the order to arrest at the king's palace (3a), and both direct speeches occur at the same point in the concentric structure before the first dialogue and after the last dialogue. A further contrast is that Rahab previously acted quickly and then spoke a lot; now she does not speak much, but acts instead. But it is not marked explicitly.

⁷ Cf. Floss (1982:79), although he uses this as proof that v 16 and 22-23b belong to Unit 1 with the intervening material being later expansion.

Participants	Extent	Content
Rahab	21c-d	sends spies away, ties cord to window in Jericho
Spies	22a-c	arrive at the mountains and sit there for 3 days
Pursuers	22d-e	search in vain at the fords and return to Jericho

This structure is a variation on the commentary paragraph in 6a-8a. The participant sequence Rahab (6a-b)—pursuers (7a-c)—spies (8a) focused on the tricked pursuers. Now the spies' escape and the mountain hideout is at the forefront. The pursuers are only mentioned to note their futile hunt. The equal number of characters between the two units incidentally confirms that the short note on the spies in 8a is part of the preceding background paragraph. Restless spies now rest sitting safely in the mountains.

The final unit (23a-24c) is a **closure** marked off by the modified nominal form *šānê hā'ānāšîm* 'the two men' and a new location (the mountains) as the point of departure (cf. 16b and 22a-b).⁸ The following spatial path and goal specifications bring the spies home safely at the end of the three day limit.⁹ The spies report back at head station (23c) and summarize all their dangerous operations. A final quote of a specific point of intelligence (24b-c) brings the spy story to a thematic conclusion.¹⁰

In conclusion, based on episode constituents and superstructure, the narrative strategy can be summarized in the profile of Table 3.1.

Constituents	Extent	Content	Superstructure
Stage	2:1	Spies sent and arrive	Introduction
Ep1	2:2	The arrival is reported	Inciting Incident
Ep2	2:3-8a	Dialogue 1	Complication
Ep3	2:8b-14	Dialogue 2	Climax
Ep4	2:15-21	Dialogue 3	Resolution
Ep5	2:22	The rescue of the spies	Lessening Tension
Closure	2:23-24	Spies return and report	Conclusion

Table 3.1 Profile of Joshua 2

⁸ That *wayyāšubû šānê hā'ānāšîm* (23a) is a grammatical disturbance without *Bedeutungseffekt* (Floss 1982:195) is disproved by its episode marking function.

⁹ As 23a-b achieves the goal promised in the last part of Rahab's directions in 16f, it cannot be argued that 22a-e brings the story to "gedankenlichen Abrundung" (Floss 1982:206) in the sense that pre-literary material excludes a continuation after 22d.

¹⁰ That neither Shittim nor Jericho is mentioned at the return (Floss 1982:167), is a condensing device showing the coherence of the story, rather than the opposite.

3.3 Analysis of Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations

Discourse-pragmatic observations on episode- and superstructure can ultimately only be demonstrated through the analysis of intra- and inter-clausal relations. Only by looking at the rhetorical and syntactic structure of continuity and discontinuity in segments of text can we ascertain the proposed demarcation of units. In this way, we can trace the internal coherence and stylistic devices in the texture. The closed, short, but complex story in Joshua 2 is an ideal size from which to gather intelligence on this kind of linguistic argumentation.

In what follows I test the lower levels of a functional discourse grammar in "spying on Jericho." It will show how rhetorical relations clarify the interclausal functions of grammatical constructions (2.4.2). Computational descriptions of syntactic relations are compared with a comprehensive analysis of the rhetorical organization of smaller segments (2.4.3). Actual examples will illustrate the intraclausal grammar of semantic relations, layered clause structure and predicate functions (2.2). The discussion of coherence will concentrate on the nature and function of the linkage system (2.3.1).

The presentation of intra- and interclausal grammar follows the episode divisions (3.2). These data offer the material for exploring referential coherence (3.4.1) and prepare for the study of verb sequencing (5.3).

3.3.1 Stage: The Sending and Arrival of the Spies (2:1a-e)

The spy story opens with the spies' commission, departure, and arrival at Jericho. The rhetorical structure of the stage is shown in Figure 3.1. Circumstantial information on location and characters is first elaborated in a direct quote of a proposal (1a-b). The primary event nucleus narrates the arrival of the spies at an inn/brothel (1c), whose owner is introduced by name in an elaboration (1d). It concludes with a terminal sequence noting that they lay down there (1e).

The opening complex clause *wayyišlah yəhōšuaʿ-bin-nūn* 'Joshua ben Nun sent' (1a) narrates the chief of staff's **directives for a spy mission**. The use of story-initial *wayyiqtol* in place of adverbial setting expressions has been interpreted as diachronic evidence.¹ Moreover, the Greek ver-

¹ Thus "וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ" is an unusual beginning for a literary work" (Tucker 1972:71) and "äußerst unwahrscheinlich" (Mowinckel 1964:49). Floss suggests a diachronic process of loss of "'absoluter' Erzählanfänge" (1982:147 n. 157) and *wayyiqtol* "könnte dann am Beginn einer 'kleinen Einheit' als Indiz eines solchen Verlustes gedeutet werden."

sion's rendition of *šənayim-ʾānāšim* 'two men' by 'two young men' could imply diachronic distortion in the frame.²

1a	└Circ	┌┐	wayyišlah yəhōšua ^c -bin-nūn min-haššitīm šənayim-ʾānāšim
--	--		məraggālīm hēreš lē'mōr
			and-(he-)sent Joshua-ben-Nun from-Shittim two-men
--	--		scouting secretly saying
b	P		└ ləkū rə'ū 'et-hā'āreš wə'et-yərīhō
			Go look AM-the-land and-AM-Jericho
c	Sequ	┌┐	wayyēləkū wayyābō'ū bēt-ʾiššā zônā
--	--		and-they-went and-they-came [to-]house-of-woman
			harlot
d	Elab		└ ūšəməh rāhāb
			and-name-her Rahab
e	Sequ		└ wayyiškəbū-šāmmā
			and-they-lay-there

Figure 3.1 RST-relations: The Sending of the Spies (2:1a-e)

However, *wayyiqtol* can serve simultaneously as a sequential marker of the story line and a story initial form. The verb *send*, like verbs of movement, can trigger new movement in a discourse, and opens an embedded narrative in Amos 7:10 (cf. Hardmeier 1986:94). Its boundary marking function is corroborated by the reintroduction from Josh 1:1 of the longer, textually accessible form of the proper name *yəhōšua^c-bin-nūn* (a ResTop). Furthermore, an inner peripheral source argument *min-haššitīm*³ is promoted to postverbal position.⁴ It precedes the 2nd argument theme *šənayim-ʾānāšim* 'two men', which as an indefinite inactive referent (a NewTop) introduces a new participant into the story. The pragmatic packaging is clear from a representation of its semantic layering:

- (1) [C]_i[C]_o[P]_r *šalah*] Joshua Ben Nun_{AgSu} two men_{ThDo}] ⇐[from Shittim_{SourcePP}]
 Resumed Topic New Topic Setting

² The LXX δύο νεανίσκους is supported by the Hebrew text of 6:23 (cf. Floss 1982:49–50). They are called 'the two men' in 4a, and a contrast between a vague reference to men in v 2–22 and two *nə'arim* in 1a, 1c and 23a (1982:54) does therefore not exist without conjecture. The Greek term may refer to "men of arms" (Soggin 1972:36), but more likely intends to lessen the moral problem by an excuse in their youth (Woudstra 1981:69 n.3).

³ For *'ābəl haššitīm* in Num 33:49 as wrong word division copied into Josh 2:1 and 3:1, see Floss (1982:16). It is "beheading," a loss of a generic head noun (WO § 6.4.1c (103)).

⁴ This intermediary argument type is analyzed as an optional adjunct ("C dislok-sep")

Conclusive evidence for the story-initial function can be found in the following *məraggālīm hēreš*, which is usually rendered as '(sent two men) secretly (from Shittim) as spies' (cf. RSV).⁵ But the participle more likely functions as the predicate in a reduced clause with an adverbial modifier: '(sent two men) spying secretly'.⁶ Example shows how the asyndetic participle forms a nominal clause (<100> in 02,01.2). The link is a core coordination which functions as a gerund-like complement with a telic meaning (cf. example (11) in 2.3.1).

- (2) $\begin{array}{l} \text{————} \\ | \quad | \quad | \end{array}$ 02,01.1 [w-] [yšlh] [yhwš^c (bn nwn)] [mn h-štym] [šnym
nšym]
| | | <100> 02,01.2 [mrglym] [hrš]
| | | <147> 02,01.3 [l-²mr]

The theme argument of the matrix clause is then shared as deleted subject of the participial clause. This bi-clausal presentative construction introduces a new topic (the two men) and then topicalizes it for further comment in the participial clause.⁷ This is proved by the usage *hāʾānāšīm haməraggālīm ʾet-hāʾāreš* 'the men who spied on the land' (6:22a), which is even rephrased by the infinitive clause *ləraggəl ʾet-yərīḥō* 'to spy on Jericho' (6:25c).⁸

The **direct quote** (<999>, 1b) has an asyndetic imperatival verb serialization *ləkū rəʾû* 'Go, look at' (<200>):

- (3) $\begin{array}{l} | \quad | \quad | \\ | \quad | \quad | \end{array}$ <999> 02,01.4 [lkw]
| | | <200> 02,01.5 [rʷw] [ʔt h-ʔrʷ /w- /ʔt yryḥw]

This verb serialization changes a perception state predicate *see* (x,y) into

by Floss (1982:112 n. 44; 138 n. 135).

⁵ If *hēreš* modifies the verb *send*, then *məraggālīm* is a nominalized occupational term (Floss 1982:112, 127, 129, 187). This could be supported by *šəṭayīm nāšīm zōnôt* "two women, prostitutes (=two prostitutes)" (1 Kings 3:16) (WO § 12.3b #9 (230)) and *ʾiššā zōnā* 'woman, harlot' in Josh 2:1d.

⁶ For the participle as a relative attribute, see WO (§ 37.6a (623–624)). Br (§ 103a (94)) interprets the form as a predicative accusative and translates "zwei Männer als Kundschafter." This interpretation supports our proposal for a core link.

⁷ French bi-clausal *J'ai ma voiture qui est panne* presents a participant in an action, event or state (Lambrecht 1988:138); the *qui*-clause is not restrictive (1988:141).

⁸ Contrast unrestricted *hannəʾārīm haməraggālīm* 'the young men who spied' (6:23). For participle "as the equivalent of relative clauses," see WO (§ 37.5a (621)).

an accomplishment *go to see* (x,y) by a core cosubordination for specification of goal (cf. example (4) in 2.2.1).⁹ A second theme argument *wəʔet-yarīhō* 'and especially Jericho' is an inferable accessible SubTop specifying *ʔāreš* 'land' and preceded by explicative *waw* (WO § 39.2.1b (648–649)).¹⁰ This double argument construction finds grammatical support in the modification of the verb *rāgal* 'spy' by both *ʔet-hāʔāreš* 'the land' and *ʔet-hāʔîr* 'the city' in 7:2.

The execution of the command (1c–d) has the following structure:

- (4) | └─<203> 02,01.6 [w-] [ylkw]
 | └─<200> 02,01.7 [w-] [ybʔw] [byt ʔšh zwnh]
 | └─<307> 02,01.8 [w-] [šmh] [rḥb]
 | └─<200> 02,01.9 [w-] [yškbw] [šmh]

The initial verb in the serialization *wayyēlakū wayyābōʔū* 'and they went (over) and came to' (1c) shifts to plural (<203>), but the zero pronominalization of the agents marks continuity with the preceding text span.¹¹ The core cosubordination of two identical *wayyiqtol* forms (<200>) is a goal addition in the sense of 'arrive' (cf. example (9) in 2.3.1). It is not a movement marking an episode boundary, but is, on the contrary, the most prominent event within the unit.

The complex core shares the goal argument *bēt-ʔiššā zônā* 'to the house of a harlot'.¹² The locative *bēt* has a modifier *ʔiššā* (a NewTop) which again is topicalized in the second part of a bi-clausal presentative construction. Its second part, *ūšāmāh rāḥāb* 'and her name was Rahab' (1d) with a *wə* + verbless clause following *wayyiqtol* (<307>), is used in a naming function.¹³ In contrast to the core coordination of 1a, this verbless

⁹ Or hendiadys (Boling 1982:144), without interjectional *lakū* (Floss 1982:108–109).

¹⁰ As "akward in the context" (Butler 1983:25) and a "limping addition" (McCarthy 1971b:174), it is often removed (Noth 1953:24; Bird 1989:135 n.23), but LXX^B ἰδετε τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν Ἱερὶχω supports it (Soggin 1972:36; Floss 1982:11 no. 4).

¹¹ LXX^B πορευθέντες εἰσῆλθοσαν οἱ δύο νεανίσκοι εἰς Ἱερὶχω καὶ εἰσῆλθοσαν 'going along, the two young men came to Jericho, and went into...' could be a MT homoioteleuton of יָבֹאוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ [šənayim naʔarīm ʔel yarīhō wayyābōʔū] בֵּית־אֶשָׁה (Holmes 1914:19; Soggin 1972:36; Butler 1983:26; Floss 1982:27, 50–51). Floss (1982:160) even posits a "syntaktische Schwachstelle" from his emended text.

¹² Cf. direction (Floss 1982:124 and n.87) and contextual determination (1982:128).

¹³ Barstad argues that the name Rahab as a metaphor for female genitalia "is not a 'real' personal name, but a 'nickname,' harshly indicating the woman's métier" (1989:49). The naming function is clear, and etiological explanation is superfluous if the term is used for narrative suspense (McCarthy 1971b:172), ironic provocation (Bird 1989:136 n.27) or a theology of election (Soggin 1972:41).

clause ascribes no activity to Rahab.¹⁴ This presentative interpretation explains an alleged tension between indeterminate genitive "(irgend-) ein Haus (irgend-) einer Dirne" (Floss 1982:128) and determined proper name Rahab (1982:170).¹⁵

Social evidence on the status of the prostitute in antiquity suggests that Rahab's place was an inn or public house (Bird 1989:127). In the historical universe of the discourse, her status as an inn-keeper implies that she was either a practicing prostitute or a state employed informer and "female small broker" (Wiseman 1964:9).¹⁶ The spies would have easy access and cover, and their presence would not attract undue attention. At the same time, a reader may ask whether they came to obtain information by a prostitute, bargain intelligence with a shrewd business woman or just listen to local gossip (Bird 1989:128).

The *wayyiqtol*-chain concludes with *wayyiškabû-šāmmâ* 'they lay down there' (1e), which is identical with its parallel node in 1c (<200>). This information seems at odds with the 'not yet' sleeping of 8a.¹⁷ However, when a state verb like *lie* is marked as sequential perfective, it forces out a special ingressive interpretation like 'go to lie down' (cf. example (17) 2.2.3).¹⁸ The locative *šāmmâ* 'there' is a peripheral adjunct referring to the setting.¹⁹ Although there may very well be a stylistic play on the sexual meaning of *šākab* (Floss 1982:189), the Greek translation equivalent 'lodge' very well brings out its setting function.

¹⁴ A dependent non-circumstantial attributive clause (Floss 1982:108, 149 and nn. 163–164). Compare also the relative clause function of an asyndetic nominal clause for weight (7:21a) or name (e.g., 1 Sam 17:4 and Job 1:1) (JM § 158b (593)).

¹⁵ The presentative sentence *wayyābō'û 'el-ārêhem bayyôm haššālîšî wā'ārêhem gib'ôn...* 'and they came to their cities on the third day and their cities were Gibeon' (9:17a–b) is similar, except for the situationally accessible referent 'their cities'.

¹⁶ The old interpretation of Rahab as merchant or innkeeper was rejected by Giessmann (1712) (I thank Ferenc Postma for this reference). But it may be supported by evidence on the keeper of the Old Babylonian *bît šābî(ti)* 'inn', who dealt in all sorts of commodities and had to notify the palace of intruders (Wiseman 1964:8). The inn was "the town's link with the economy of other tribes or people" (1964:9). Rahab is hardly an Israelite stuck in a dimorphic society (Horn 1987).

¹⁷ Moran (1967:275–277) surveys earlier solutions on the sleeping of the spies. It hardly reflects the opinion in Jericho (Soggin 1972:36). It is not a prolepsis (Moran 1967:283), because it plays no role before their departure. Most likely it is dramatic irony as a "double entendre in the Hebrew" (Bird 1989:135 n. 26).

¹⁸ The verb *šākab* is not a two-place predicate with obligatory direction argument 'lie down at' (1e) in contrast to a one-place predicate 'lie (or sleep)' (8a) (Floss 1986:12–14 n. 10), i.e., *sich hinliegen* vs. *liegen* (1982:111).

¹⁹ Contrast obligatory argument of dislocation (Floss 1982:124 n. 87).

3.3.2 Episode 1: The Endangering of the Spies (2:2a-b)

The new development in episode 1 heightens the drama as the reader senses a threat to the spies and may fear Rahab's betrayal (Moran 1967:280). The arrival of the spies is **reported to the king of Jericho**. Figure 3.2 shows how it is elaborated by a direct quote (2b).

2a	Sequ	└───┐ wayyē'amar ləmelek yəriḥô lē'môr
		└───┘ and-it-was.said to-king-of Jericho saying
b	C	└───┐ hinnēh 'ānāšîm bā'û hēnnâ hallaylâ mibbānê yisrā'el
--	--	└───┘ laḥpôr 'et-hā'āreš
		Look! men (they-)came here this-night from-children-of
--	--	└───┘ Israel to-investigate AM-the-land
		Israel to-investigate AM-the-land

Figure 3.2 RST-relations: The Report to the King (2:2a-b)

The unit opens with a *wayyiqtol* in the same form as the preceding partner node (1a=2a, <200>):

- (5) └───┐ <200> 02,02.1 [w-] [y'mr] [l-mlk yryḥw]
 | └───┘ <64> 02,02.2 [l-'mr]

However, the beginning of a new episode is still marked. The speech verb *'amar* is in passive *niphal* to allow for the 3rd argument recipient *ləmelek yəriḥô* 'to the king of Jericho' to be introduced postverbally (a New Top). The passivization demotes the unidentifiable subject actor (cf. Floss 1982:134).²⁰

The **quote** (<999>, 2b) has the following structure:

- (6) | └───┐ <999> 02,02.3 [hnh]
 | └───┘ <120> 02,02.4 [nšym] [b'w] [hnh] [h-lylh] [m-bny ysr'l]
 | └───┘ <64> 02,02.5 [l-ḥpr] [t h-'rš]

A sentence initial deictic particle *hinnēh* 'look' is used in attention arousing function.²¹ The clause has a presentative form with an indetermined *'ānāšîm* 'men' in the precore slot (NewTop) before a present perfect *qatal* (<120>). A presentative function is also marked by the order of the deic-

²⁰ A honorific passive could refer to a person of higher social status, but hardly a Canaanite king. The grammar does not reflect a defensive mood (Gray 1986:64), inevitability of report (Butler 1983:31-32) or king's knowledge (McCarthy 1971b:172).

²¹ It is not a logical deduction (Boling 1982:145), but an exclamatory use of a presentative particle (WO § 40.2.1b (675)) and "Sprech-Ggw" (Floss 1982:152).

tic adverbs *hēnnâ* 'here' and *hallaylâ* 'this night':²²

(7) verb—2nd argument goal—time adjunct—source adjunct.

The quote does not reveal the destination of the spies (Floss 1982:75), but as privileged readers we already know. The absolute time reference presupposed by *hallaylâ* 'tonight' is problematic in relation to 3:2, but if it refers to the twilight hours, the spies could have arrived just before nightfall.²³ An infinitive clause (< 64 >) in core cosubordination complements the matrix verb *came* to specify the goal.

3.3.3 Episode 2: The Hiding of the Spies (2:3a–8a)

In the next episode, illustrated by Figure 3.3 below, the king's order to surrender the spies is still located in the throne room. The proposal is elaborated in a quote. The king justifies his right to issue an order by his knowledge of the spies' presence (3c) and motivates Rahab by referring to their fatal task (3e).

3a	Sequ				wayyišlah melek yarihō 'el-rāhāb lē'mōr
					and-(he-)sent king-of Jericho to-Rahab saying
b	P				hōšî'î hā'ānāšim habbā'im 'ēlayik
					bring.out the-men that-coming to-you
c	Just				'āšer-bā'û lābētek
					who-(they-)came to-your-house
d	Moti				kî lahpōr 'et-kol-hā'āreš bā'û
					for to-investigate AM-the-land (they-)came

Figure 3.3 RST-relations: The King's order to Rahab (2:3a–c)

The new unit (3a) is again opened by *šālah* in *wayyiqtol* form (cf. 1a). There is no change of verb form from the preceding node 2a (< 200 >):

(8) |< 200 > 02,03.1 [w-] [yšlh] [mlk yryhw] [l rḥb]
 | |< 64 > 02,03.2 [l-ʔmr]

The king is reintroduced from the preceding parallel node 2a (as ResTop) in the same modified nominal form to mark the boundary of the new

²² Adverbial *hēnnâ* as argument changes activity *come* (x) into accomplishment *arrive at* (x,y). It is separated positionally from a source adjunct *mibbānê yišrā'el*.

²³ They could not enter the city at night, and Rahab claims they departed before darkness (5a). For cultic chronology, see Wilcoxon (1968:62 n. 30; cf. Boling 1982:145).

episode, and again the implied messengers are left out.²⁴ Rahab is mentioned by proper name as a textually accessible referent from 1d (ResTop). The quote (3b) deliberately avoids the ambiguity of *bāʾā* as entry/intercourse (Woudstra 1981:70),²⁵ and the action “contradicts the expectations aroused by the suggestive language” (Bird 1989:129).

The 2nd argument *hāʾānāšīm* ‘the men’ is now determined as the head of two distinctive types of relative clauses. Dik (1989:126) illustrates the difference by the following contrast:

- (9) a. The students who take Spanish go to Spain... (restrictive, identifies)
 b. The students, who take Spanish, go ... (non-restrictive, adds information)

The syntactic relations are:

- (10) | ⌊ < 999 > 02,03.3 [hwsyʿy] [h-ʿnšym]
 | || ⌊ < 10 > 02,03.4 [h-] [bʿym] [ʿlyk]
 | | ⌊ < 12 > 02,03.5 [ʿšr] [bʿw] [l-bytk]

The Hebrew participial relative clause *habbāʾīm ʿēlayik* ‘(the men) who came to you’ (< 10 >) is a restrictive identification of the men as visitors. The following *ʾāšer* + *qatal*-clause (< 12 >) is then most likely a non-restrictive relative clause which reminds Rahab of the fact that the king is informed. He has every right to issue the order.²⁶

The final complex reason clause *kî laḥpōr ʿet-kol-hāʾāreš bāʾû* (3c) repeats the former report (2b), but is presented as new to Rahab:

- (11) | ⌊ < 523 > 02,03.6 [ky]
 | | ⌊ < 64 > 02,03.7 [l-ḥpr] [ʿt kl h-ʿrš]
 | ⌊ < 222 > 02,03.8 [bʿw]

This time the infinitive clause *laḥpōr* (< 64 >) in core cosubordination is promoted to the precore slot after the sentence level subordinator *kî*. The

²⁴ As it intends “das Faktum einer Gesandtschaft auszudrücken” (Floss 1982:165–166 n. 174), the deletion of 2nd argument is no contradiction (against 1982:166 n. 174).

²⁵ Greek Ἐξάγαγε τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς εἰσπεπορευμένους εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν σου τὴν νύκτα. ‘Let out the men entering your house this night’ may be haplography of לְבִיתְךָ אֲשֶׁר-בָּאוּ [אֵלֶיךָ] to remove sexual connotations (Noth 1953:24; Hertzberg 1965:19 n. 1; Boling 1982:141). Or MT is a conflation of traditions (Butler 1983:26).

²⁶ It is probably a justify satellite, as the king/messengers are implied sender(s), rather than an interpretation commenting on the story: they entered the house, not her bed.

kî + *qatal* construction continues the imperative (<523>). But the matrix verb *bāʾû* is placed in a fragmented clause part (<222>) after the fronted infinitive clause (not a true “embedding”). The fronted infinitive clause adds contrastive focus on intelligence as against prostitution services (a NewFoc).²⁷

Rahab responds by **hiding the spies and answering the messengers** in the following sequences.

4a	Sequ	┌───┐	<i>wattiqqaḥ ḥāʾiššā ʾet-šanē ḥāʾanāšīm wattispānō</i>
			and-(she-)took the-woman AM-two-of the-men and-(she-)
--	--		hid-them
b	Sequ	┌───┐	<i>wattōʾmer</i>
			and-(she-)said

Figure 3.4 RST-relations: Rahab hides the Spies (2:4a–b)

The problem in the narration is that Rahab's hiding of the spies in 4a intervenes between the order (v 3) and the answer. Her action is reported again in 6b.²⁸ A reader must ask how Rahab could protect them (Bird 1989:128–129). Presumably, she hid the spies before she answered the messengers. If she had a sense of possible danger in advance, it would explain why she managed to avoid the messengers' suspicion (Woudstra 1981:70 n.12). If a servant received them at the door, she would have had time to hide them in advance.

The initial event, *wattiqqaḥ ḥāʾiššā ʾet-šanē ḥāʾanāšīm wattispānō* (4a),²⁹ continues 3a by shift of gender (<202>):

- (12) ┌───┐ <202> 02,04.1 [w-] [tqḥ] [h-ʾšh] [ʾt šny h-ʾnšym]
 || ┌───┐ <200> 02,04.2 [w-] [tspnw]
 || ┌───┐ <200> 02,04.3 [w-] [ʾmr]

It forms a complex core cosubordination with identical *wayyiqtol* sequence (<200>). It is a serialization for manner in the sense of ‘hide

²⁷ Cf. the examples in JM (§ 155r (585)).

²⁸ Floss (1982:71–72; 1986:110, 114) removes 4a and 7, because woman (4a), men (7a), and pursuers (7c) neutralize the semantic field of *Pornitāt* (1986:117).

²⁹ The verb וַתַּסְפֵּן [wattispān] has an anomalous suffix which is removed as dittography of וַתַּסְפֵּן [wattispān] (Boling 1983:141) or emended to *wattispānēm* (Holmes 1914:19; Margolis 1931:18) or *ʾōtām* (Hertzberg 1965:17 n. 3). Singular suffix may be distributive for ‘hid each of them’ (GK § 60d (169)) or an archaic dual (Woudstra 1981:70 n. 13).

away' as explained in example (8) in 2.3.1.³⁰ The active referent Rahab (3a) is unexpectedly realized by the determined noun *hā'iššā* 'the woman', rather than by the personal name or a zero-reference.³¹

c	└Conc		┐┐┐ <i>kēn bā'û 'ēlay hā'ānāšim</i>
			certainly, (they-)came to-me the-men
d	Just		┐ <i>wālō' yāda'ti mē'ayin hēmmā</i>
			and-not I-knew from-where they
5a	└Circ		┐ <i>wayhī hašša'ar lišgôr baḥōšek</i>
			and-it-was the-gate about-to-close in-the-dark
b	└Solu		┐┐┐ <i>wāhā'ānāšim yāšā'û</i>
			and-the-men (they-)went-out
c	Summ		┐┐ <i>lō' yāda'ti 'ānā hālākû hā'ānāšim</i>
			not I-know where-to (they-)went the-men
d	R		┐ <i>ridpû mahēr 'ahārêhem</i>
			pursue quickly after-them
e	Moti		┐ <i>kî taššîgûm</i>
			for you-will.catch-them

Figure 3.5 RST-relations: Rahab answers (2:4c–5)

Rahab then **answers the king's order** in a speech with an intricate web of rhetorical persuasion.³² The most probable reading is illustrated in Figure 3.5 above. Rahab answers the messenger's proposal by a response (5d), which is the nucleus of the speech. This response is a solution to the problem that the men had departed (5b), and all of the preceding 4c–5c thus forms a solutionhood satellite with its own summary (5c). Its nucleus (5d) is preceded by an initial concession of the incompatibility between the former presence of the spies and their alleged departure (4c). Moreover, Rahab justifies her right to admit the spies' arrival by pointing out that she did not know of their provenance (4d). On this background the nucleus of the response proposes the solution (5d–e) and motivates the action by a promise of success (5e).

Rahab's strategy is first to admit the visit of the men. She opens her speech with a fronting of an adverbial modifier *kēn* 'certainly' (4c) to the

³⁰ It has been interpreted as portraying Rahab's speed in hiding (Moran 1967:280) or indifference to logical details in Hebrew story-telling (Boling 1982:145).

³¹ The article does not mark "neue Information" (Floss 1982:119) or prove a "literarkritischen Vorentscheidung"; it has a pragmatic function (see 3.4.1).

³² The speech is a gem, sincere, plausible, "and absolutely untrue" (Moran 1967:280). She mimics a legal defence speech while telling a big lie. She answers point by point: they came—I didn't know from where—they went (1967:281). Not asking credentials is an entirely natural excuse (Boling 1982:146).

precure slot.⁰⁹³³ The situationally accessible and determined referent *hāʾānāšīm* 'the men' (a ResTop) is demoted to clause final position. It is preceded by *bāʾû ʾēlay* 'came to me' used in a past perfect accomplishment sense of 'had arrived at my place'. Rahab then defends her housing of the spies in a justify satellite *wəlōʾ yādaʿrî mēʾayin hēm̄mâ* 'but I did not know from where they were' (4d) with a coordinated *qatal* (<322>):⁰⁹³⁴

- (13) || |<999> 02,04.4 [kn] [bʷw] [ʔly] [h-ʾnšym]
 || ||<322> 02,04.5 [w-] [ʔ] [ydʿty]
 || ||<100> 02,04.6 [m-ʾyn] [hnh]

Rahab proceeds with a rudimentary narrative in order to explain how the spies had already left. It is introduced by a *wayhî* discourse marker (<372>, 5a). An inferable accessible referent *haššaʿar* 'the gate' is placed in the precure slot. It is followed by *lā-* 'to' + infinitive *sāgar* 'to close' in the rare *tempus instans* function of 'Then (just) when the gate was about to close in the dark'.⁰⁹³⁵ The division in WITSyn reflects both that *wayhî* is a text-level discourse marker and the demarcation rule that a *lā-* complementizer plus infinitive (<64>) is clause-initial (cf. example (10) in 2.4.3):

- (14) || ||<372> 02,05.1 [w-] [yhy]
 || ||<100> 02,05.2 [h-šʿr]
 || ||<64> 02,05.3 [l-sgwr] [b-ḥšk]
 || ||<320> 02,05.4 [w-] [h-ʾnšym] [ysʷw]

The temporal clause is followed by the main clause *wəhāʾānāšīm yāšāʾû* 'and the men left' (5b). This *wə-x-qatal* pattern is preceded by *wayyiqtol* (<327>) and marks a simultaneous event (Floss 1982:153; JM § 166d (623)). Rahab drives home the point of her argument so far by a summarizing declaration of innocence. It is expressed by an asyndetic negated

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⁰⁸³³ Cf. Floss (1982:141). An exclamative *kēn* clause 'True!' or 'Yes' is unparalleled in Hebrew (Moran 1967:280 n.30), and "there is no question preceding" (JM § 1611 n. 1 (613)).

⁰⁸³⁴ The matrix *wə-x-qatal* embeds a 'that' complement (a core subordination) with a precure slot interrogative adverb *mēʾayin* (WO § 18.4a (327)).

⁰⁸³⁵ The immanent sense of infinitive with *lā* 'about to (happen)' is parallel to *wayhî haššemeš lābôʾ* 'The sun was about to set' (Gen 15:12) (WO § 36.2.3g (610); JM § 1241 (436)). But Floss sees *haššaʿar* as 2nd argument (1982:137) and *wayhî* as copula (1982:105 n.23): "als man aber in der Dunkelheit das Tor verschloß" (1982:153).

complement sentence with *qatal* in both (<122>, 5c):³⁶

- (15) || | —<122> 02,05.5 [P] [yd^{ty}]
 || | —<122> 02,05.6 [Pnh] [hlkw] [h-²nšym]

As an apparent sign of collaboration, she finally reaches the nucleus of her response (5c). She misdirects the messengers by promising them success if they pursue the spies quickly.³⁷ This asyndetic imperatival appeal continues the speech-initial clause in 4c (<132>). It is modified by a *piel* infinitive absolute *mahēr* 'hurry' in predicate coordination for intensification as discussed in example (5) in 2.3.1. The proposal is motivated by an adverbial *kî*-clause (<513>):³⁸

- (16) || —<132> 02,05.7 [rdpw] [mhr] [P^{hryhm}]
 || —<513> 02,05.8 [ky] [tšy^{gwm}]

The next segment (6a-8a), illustrated in Figure 3.6, explains how Rahab could get away with **hiding the spies and disposing of the messengers**.

6a	Back	———	wahî' he'ēlātam haggāgā
			and-she (she-)brought.up-them to-the-roof
b	Sequ	———	wattiṣmanēm bapištē hā'ēš hā'ārukôt lāh 'al-haggāg
			and-she-hid-them in-flax-of the-stalks that-were.kept
--	--		for/by-her on-the-roof
7a	Sequ	———	wahā'ānāšīm rādapû 'ahārēhem derek hayyardēn 'al
--	--		hamma'bārôt
			and-the-men (they-)pursued after-them [by]-way-of
--	--		the-Jordan until-the-fords
b	Sequ	———	wahašša'ar sāgārû
			and-the-gate they-closed
c	Circ	———	'ahārē ka'āšer yāšā'u hārōdapīm 'ahārēhem
			after that (they-)went.out the-pursuers after-them
8a	Cont	———	wahēmmā ṭerem yiškābûn
			and-they not.yet (they-)slept

Figure 3.6 RST-relations: Rahab diverts the Messengers (2:6a-8a)

³⁶ It is present in contrast to 4d (Floss 1982:153). Adding *wā-* in 5c by conjecture (Boling 1982:141) blurs the grammatical difference between 5c and 4d (Floss 1982:19).

³⁷ Rahab's proposal may be read in a ironical second sense of "you can reach them—right here in the inn" (Moran 1967:280).

³⁸ For *rdpû mahēr* 'chase quickly' as pure adverb, see JM (§ 123r (427)). A *kî* fol-

This explanatory background satellite is a flashback "answering a number of the questions raised by 4a" (Moran 1967:281). Rahab brought the spies to the roof (6a-b), the messengers began their pursuit (7a) and the city gate was shut (7b-c). While the spies were hunted in vain by the messengers, they lay sleepless on the roof (8a).

Rahab's hiding of the spies (6a) is first expressed in the *wə-x-qatal* clause *wəhîʔ heʕēlātam haggāgā* 'and she brought them up on the roof' (6a). It reports background information continuing the *wayyiqtol* of 4a (<327>):

- (17) | ——— <327> 02,06.1 [w-] [hyʔ] [hʕltm] [h-ggh]
 || ——— <372> 02,06.2 [w-] [tʔmnm] [b-pšty h-ʕ]
 || ——— <10> 02,06.3 [h-] [ʕrkwt] [lh] [ʕ h-gg]

This past perfect *qatal* event occurred prior to the speech of 4b (McCarthy 1971b:171). It has an inner peripheral 3rd argument goal *haggāgā* (Floss 1982:135). After the opening clause (6a), a *wayyiqtol* form following *qatal* (<372>) marks continuation of the flashback in an embedded story. The locative adjunct *bəpištē hāʕēš*³⁹ is modified by a passive participle *ʕārukôt* with *hā*-relative particle (<10>), peripheral agentive *lāh* 'by her' and peripheral locative *ʕal-haggāg* (cf. Floss 1982:126). The new information on the hiding place in 6b may indirectly stress divine guidance, because the scarcity of wild flax in the season heightens the impression of "escape 'by the skin of your teeth'" (Boling 1982:146).

The success of the speech is reported in the comment on the pursuit (7a-c).⁴⁰ There is a stylistic play on a parallel between the spies *ʕal-haggāg* 'on the roof' (6a-b) and the pursuers *ʕal hammaʕbārôt* 'on (or towards) the fords' (7a).⁴¹ Here *hāʕnāšīm* refers to the pursuers and is placed in the precore slot of the *wə-x-qatal* construction.⁴² Finally

lowed by future *yiqtol* (Floss 1982:142) may mark a final (1982:103-104, 140, 154) or a cause clause, but is probably a result for rhetorical motivation (cf. 1982:193).

³⁹ The locative argument (Floss 1982:135) *bəpištē hāʕēš* 'in-flax-of the-wood' uses construct state for the attribute relation 'stalks of flax'.

⁴⁰ The detail does not prove a redactional addition of 7a-c to fill a narrative *Leerstelle* (Floss 1982:205 n.212), nor is it a doublet of 22d (1982:72).

⁴¹ Ugaritic *ʕal* may or may not signify 'as far as' (Soggin 1972:36-37; Butler 1983:26).

⁴² The *hāʕnāšīm* are not a military elite (Boling 1982:146), nor is the NP a redactional clarification from 16c (Floss 1986:117). For diachronic reasons Floss prefers an adversative relation (w_2) for "gleichordnend und konnektiv" (w_1) (1986:111-112).

wəhaššaʿar sāgārû (7b) reintroduces the textually/situationally accessible topic from 5a, but here as a 2nd argument. A postposed temporal adverbial clause (7c) is introduced by the rare complex subordinator *ʔaḥṛê kaʔāšer*.⁴³

The background unit explains that Rahab had hidden the spies (6a), the pursuers had left (7a) and the gate had been closed to preclude escape (7b). It is more difficult to clarify the clause relationship of *wəhēmmâ ʔerem yiškābûn* 'they did not yet lay/sleep' (8a) and how **the not-yet-laying/sleeping spies** relates to 1e.

Synchronic readings may offer some help.⁴⁴ It is, however, interesting that the computer-assisted syntactic description permits the continuity the flashback into 8a:

- (18) | ——— <202> 02,07.1 [w-] [h-ʔnšym] [rdpw] [ʔhryhm] [drk h-yrdn] [ʔ h-mʿbrwt]
 | ——— <200> 02,07.2 [w-] [h-šʿr] [sgrw]
 || ——— <12> 02,07.3 [ʔhry k-ʔšr] [yṣʔw] [h-rdpym] [ʔhryhm]
 | ——— <302> 02,08.1 [w-] [hnh]
 | ——— <110> 02,08.2 [ʔrm] [yškbwn]

If so, 6a is continued by 7a (02,07.1) with only person and number changes (code <202>) and by 7b (02,07.2), though the presence of a preposed object is not indicated by the Syn05 program (i.e., code <200> for completely identical clauses). The program also calculated a high score for a *wə*-pronoun following *qatal* (code <302>) and its combination with *yiqtol* (code <110>) in 8a. Only for 8b did the program suggest a discontinuity and a new start on level with 6a.

This novel proposal avoids 8a-b becoming background clauses for 9a (Floss 1986:56).⁴⁵ The *ʔerem* is then an adverb aspectually modifying the imperfective *yiqtol* verb in the sense of 'were not yet asleep', rather than a subordinator.⁴⁶ Moreover, the precore slot fronting of the pronoun

⁴³ Cf. "Konjunktionalsätze mit Präpositionen" (Br § 163b (154)). It may "emphasize the 'after' element" (Moran 1967:281 n.36), but it is not a diachronic ungrammaticality (Floss 1986:112-113 and n. 13).

⁴⁴ There may be a contrast to the busy wife (Butler 1983:31) or the futile pursuit, but it is not a back reference to 1e to mark a high-point by tension (Moran 1967:282).

⁴⁵ This is used as diachronic evidence for a past perfect flashback in 8a-b of Unit 2 similar to Unit 1 (6a-c) by Floss (1982:73-74, 78; 1986:39-40).

⁴⁶ Contrast conjunctive *ʔerem* in preposed time clauses (Gen 19:4) (Woudstra 1981:71) or postposed ones (Josh 3:1). For 'sleep', see Floss (1986:12-14).

wəhēm̄mā is used for contrastive focus (a ParFoc).⁴⁷

This grammatical solution can then explain why two *wə*-pronouns (8a-b) can occur after a number of *wə* + noun clauses. Pragmatically, 8a communicates that the messengers' goose chase did not totally save the day for the spies, who were unable to sleep in their dangerous hiding place on the roof.

3.3.4 Episode 3: Rahab asks for an Agreement (2:8b–14e)

Rahab is now forced to take decisive action both to rescue the men and to plead for her own life (McCarthy 1971b:172). In a new development in episode 3 she **initiates a dialogue** with the spies. She begs for her life in a proposal introduced by 9a. This triggers the response from the spies introduced by 14a.

Two sequences report that Rahab went up to the spies to talk to them.

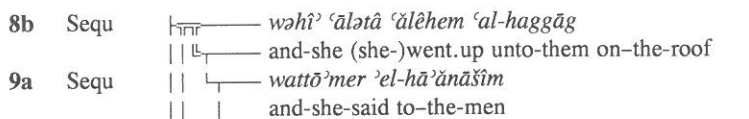


Figure 3.7 RST-relations: Rahab ascends to the Roof (2:8b–9a)

The *wə*-pronoun + *qatal* clause *wəhîʾ ʿālātā ʿălêhem ʿal-haggāg* 'she went up to them on the roof' (8b) continues the *wayyiqtol* clause of 4a (<327>):

- (19)  <327> 02,08.3 [w-] [hyʾ] [ʿlth] [ʿlyhm] [ʿl h-gg]
 |  <372> 02,09.1 [w-] [tʾmr] [ʿl h-ʾnšym]

The pronoun does not open a background comment as in 6a, but rather reactivates a textually accessible referent to mark a new unit.⁴⁸ It is combined with an *wayyiqtol* speech verb introduction in *wattōʾmer ʾel-hāʾănāšîm* 'and said to the men' (<372>, 9a).

⁴⁷ If 8a–b were two clauses combined for explicit antithesis (WO § 16.3.2d (295)) with preposing of both contrastive subjects (WO § 8.3b (129)), the so-called adversative *waw* would only mark the second clause, e.g., *hūʾ... wəʾattā* ... (Gen 3:15). A *pendens* construction in 8a emphasizing the locational reference of 8b (Floss 1986:32) is highly unlikely. The function may also be modal ability 'but they could not yet'.

⁴⁸ A boundary is marked by two prepositional phrases with *ʿal*, which are not appositional (Floss 1986:24). The active topic *ʿălêhem* 'to them' is goal argument for accomplishment, but *ʿal-haggāg* 'the roof' an inferable accessible setting adjunct.

In the direct quote of the proposal, Rahab first **confesses belief** in Yahweh's great acts and their effects on the Canaanite population in two joint nuclei, and the second is expanded by a restatement satellite (9b-e).

b	Just					yāda'tî kî-nātan yahwēh lākem 'et-hā'āreš
						I-know that-(he-)gave Yahweh to-you AM-the-land
c	Join					wākî-nāpālā 'ēmatkem 'ālênû
						and-that-(it-)fell your-fear on-us
d	Rest					wākî nāmōgû kol-yōšābē hā'āreš mippānēkem
						and-that was.dishearted all-inhabitans-of the-land
--	--					from-your-face

Figure 3.8 RST-relations: Rahab's Confession of War Effects (2:9b-d)

The quote opens with a cognitive state predicate *yāda'tî* 'I know' (9b). It is a matrix verb for three parallel core subordination complements with *kî* 'that' complementizers in *qatal* following another *qatal* (<522>):⁴⁹

(20)					<999>	02,09.2	[yd'ty]
					<522>	02,09.3	[ky] [ntn] [yhwh] [lkm] [t h-ʔrʃ]
					<522>	02,09.4	[w-ky] [nplh] [ʔymtkm] [ʔlynw]
					<522>	02,09.5	[w-ky] [nmgw] [kl yšby h-ʔrʃ] [m-pnykm]

The first (9b) introduces Yahweh (a NewTop, an actor which is always situationally accessible). Using *nātan* in the perfect of a resulting state in the future (WO § 30.3b (484)), he is portrayed as the guarantee of the conquest of the land.⁵⁰ A second complement (9c) with *wākî* 'and that'⁵¹ introduces a new 1st argument topic *'ēmā* 'terror'. This abstract actor is hardly proof of a redactional addition or an artificial parallellization with 9c (Floss 1986:128 n.43), because forces and impulses are often used as 1st arguments instigating processes (Dik 1989:101).⁵² Rahab then broadens the perspective to all Canaanites by the situational referent *'ālênû* 'over us'. The third complement clause (9d) is a climatic statement. Rahab drives home her point that the inhabitants are terror-stricken

⁴⁹ That *qatal* of *yāda'* is not negated as in 5c (Floss 1986:15), does not indicate a different layer. The verb may establish a covenantal relationship (Boling 1982:146).

⁵⁰ Floss (1986:15-17) suggests a connotation of designating asylum and Levitic cities, but it more likely refers to a victory won by a Divine Warrior (Boling 1982:147).

⁵¹ Hardly emphatic *kî* 'surely', despite LXX *gār* 'because' for reason (Butler 1983:26), and thus it gives no "Eindruck eines Nachtrags" (Floss 1982:74). Floss finds a clash between *Erfahrungswissen* and *Tatsachenfeststellung* (1986:121).

⁵² For metaphorical use, see Floss (1986:128 and n.44). The *nāpal* *'ēmā* *'al* has a 2nd argument of goal (1986:123-124 n.33) for accomplishment.

by fear and despairing from loss of courage.⁵³

The next segment (2:10), illustrated by Figure 3., states the evidence for the confession. Like 9b–d it has two nuclei, which recount the crossing of the Red Sea (10a) and the east Jordanian victories (10c), and a restatement (10d).

10a	Evid		⌞	<i>kî šāma'nû 'ēt 'āšer-hôbiš yahwēh 'et-mē yam-sûp</i>
--	--			<i>mippānêkem</i>
				for we-have-heard AM how-(he-)dried.out Yahweh AM-
--	--			waters-of Yam-Suf from-your-face
b	Circ		⌞	<i>bāšē'tkem mimmišrāyim</i>
				in-go.out-your of-Egypt
c	Join		⌞	<i>wa'āšer 'āšitem lišnē malkē hā'emōrî 'āšer bā'ēber</i>
--	--			<i>hayyardēn</i>
				and-how you-did to-two-of kings-of the-Amorite who
--	--			on-other.side-of the-Jordan
d	Rest		⌞	<i>lašihōn ūlā'ōg 'āšer heḥeramtem 'ōtām</i>
				to-Sihon and-to-Og who you-put.under.ban them

Figure 3.9 RST-relations: The Evidence of Salvation History (2:10a–d)

The evidence satellite is marked by a discourse connective *kî* 'for' to support the belief in Yahweh's victory (9b) and the fears it caused among the people (9c–d). A perception state predicate *šāma'nû* 'we have heard' again occurs in a *kî* + *qatal* clause after preceding *qatal* (<522>). The verb is also followed by complements as in the preceding:

- (21) | || ⌞<522> 02,10.1 [ky] [šm'nw]
 | ||| ⌞<12> 02,10.2 [t'šr] [hwbyš] [yhwh] [t' my ym swp] [m-pnykm]
 | ||| ⌞<55> 02,10.3 [b-š'tkm] [m-mšrym]
 | ||| ⌞<201> 02,10.4 [w-š'r] [šytm] [l-šny mlky h-š'mry]
 | ||| ⌞<17> 02,10.5 [š'r] [b-Br h-yrdn]
 | ||| ⌞<223> 02,10.6 [l-syhn w-l-š'wg]
 | ||| ⌞<12> 02,10.7 [š'r] [hḥrmtm] [wtm]

The matrix verb introduces two object complement clauses with *'ēt 'āšer* (10a) and *wa'āšer* (10c) + *qatal* without (<12>) or with conjunction (<201>).⁵⁴ The first is restricted by an infinitival temporal clause *bāšē'tkem mimmišrāyim* 'in-go.out-your from-Egypt' (<55>, 10b). The

⁵³ The verb *mûg* is used in *niphal* stem *nāmôg* for 'be dishearted'. A peripheral cause adjunct *mippānêkem* 'because of you' maintains the active addressee topic.

⁵⁴ Analyzed as a determined relative *'ēt 'āšer* 'the fact that (how)' (JM § 125g (445)) in a syndetic object clause (§ 157c (590)).

second has a phrase level restrictive relative clause *ʔāšer bəʿēber hayyardēn* 'who in-other.side-of the-Jordan'. A third complement is then introduced by a 3rd argument reduced clause fragment *ləsiḥōn ūləʿōg* 'to-Sihon and-to-Og' (10d) placed in apposition to *lišnê malkê ḥāʔēmōrî* 'to-three-of kings-of the-Amorites' (10c). It is a defective clause fragment omitting the preceding verb (*ʔāšer*) *ʿāšūtem* '(which) you did' (<223>). It has a non-restrictive relative clause *ʔāšer heḥēramtem ʔôtām* 'who you-pun.the.ban.on AM-them'.

In 2:11 a satellite states the effect of the evidence adduced. The non-volitional result of the rumors was that when they heard them (11a), they became afraid (11b-c) of the power of the universal God (11d).

11a	Circ		<i>wannišmaʿ</i> and-we-heard
b	NRes		<i>wayyimmas ləbābēnū</i> and-(it-)melted our-heart
c	Rest		<i>wəlōʔ-qāmā ʿôd rūaḥ bəʔiš mippənēkem</i> and-not-(it-)arose anymore spirit in-man from-your-face
d	VCau		<i>kî yahwēh ʔēlōhēkem ḥūʾ ʔēlōhîm baššamayim mimmaʿal</i> for Yahweh your-God he God in-the-heavens from-above
--	--		<i>wəʿal-hāʾāreš mittāḥat</i> and-on-the-earth from-under

Figure 3.10 RST-relations: The Discouragement (2:11a-d)

The result satellite opens with a repetition in a 1st plural inclusive on behalf of the Canaanite citizens. This achieves a boundary marking and maybe also a rhetorical emphasis. It is therefore not necessary to assume a diachronic tension between the effects in 11c-d and the synonymous content of 9d. Nor is *wannišmaʿ* a doublet of *šāmaʿnū* in 10a, which it continues (<372>);⁵⁵

- (22) | || | <372> 02,11.1 [w-] [nšmʿ]
 | || | <202> 02,11.2 [w-] [yms] [lbbnw]

The clause combining *wannišmaʿ wayyimmas ləbābēnū* 'we heard and our hearts melted' (11a-b) is structurally similar to *wayyiqtol* clause cosubordination, and the links are identical except for singular subject of 11b (<202>). However, a rhetorical analysis suggests that the initial core is

⁵⁵ It is not a redactional-theological *Numeruswechsel* (sing > plur) deduced from 9b (Floss 1986:34 n.43, 54, 58), but marks 11a-d as a subunit or "Abstufung in ihrer Gliederung" (1986:45).

adverbial, i.e., 'when we heard [it] our hearts melted'. This is only vaguely expressed in the syntax by the repetition of the verb *hear* (11a) and by the use of a more dynamic achievement verb *become afraid* (11b). But even the latter verb in *niphal* stem has a low salience, because it does not involve a controlling actor. It is therefore clearly marked as a satellite in contrast to the more nuclear accomplishment clause of 9c.

The second *wayyiqtol* clause is restated in 11c by a negated *qatal* clause *wəlō²-qāmā 'ôd rūaḥ bəʔiš mippānēkem* 'and no courage was stirred anymore in anyone because of you' (<327>):

(23) | || | <327> 02,11.3 [w-] [lʔ] [qmh] [ʿwd] [rwh] [b-ʔyš] [m-pnykm]

This restatement of the second of two clauses by a further clause continues the pattern from 9c-d and 10c-d. The negative clause is not a typical foreground clause, and therefore 11a-b are hardly "abhängige Zeitsätze zu 11c" (Floss 1986:32).⁵⁶

The *wayyiqtol* of 11b is followed by a final verbless *kî* clause (<507>, 11d):

(24) | || | <507> 02,11.4 [ky] [yhwh (ʔlhykm)]
| || | <100> 02,11.5 [hwʔ] [ʔlhy] [b-šmym] [m-mʔ /w- /ʔ h-ʔrš] [m-
tḥt]

It is a climatic confessional statement, rather than a misplaced cause for 11a-c (Floss 1986:126).⁵⁷ It reintroduces the divine name in a full nominal form *yahwēh ʔēlōhēkem* in the left-detached position of the verbless identification clause *hūʔ ʔēlōhîm* 'he is God'.⁵⁸ It functions as an emphatic cleft-focus, 'for it is Yahweh your God, who is God'. A heavy locational adjunct 'in heaven above and on the earth below' underlines Yahweh's universal nature (1986:128).

A new turn is made at the beginning of 12a. The confession (9b-11d) serves as a justification for Rahab to **plead for an oath** to guarantee survival (12a). As illustrated by Figure 3.11 below, the purpose is that the

⁵⁶ The *qûm* has a peripheral locative sense: not 'the spirit arising in somebody', but 'not standing in anybody' (Floss 1986:21, 29). 'Because of you' is not an argument (a 4. Sy for partitive) (1986:12, 21), but a peripheral cause adjunct, placed in the outer layer.

⁵⁷ Floss finds the "dogmatische Aussage" a "theologisch intendierte Begründung zu 11b.c" (1982:74), but tense difference does not prove its *Zusatzcharakter* (1986:126).

⁵⁸ The pronoun is not a copula (against Floss 1986:126).

- (26) | | | <523> 02,12.3 [ky] [ʿšyty] [ʿmkm] [ḥsd]
 | | | <323> 02,12.4 [w-] [ʿšytm] [gm] [ʾtm] [ʿm byt ʾby] [ḥsd]

The expression ʿāsā *ḥesed* 'show faithful love' is repeated as key word both in 12c and 14d.⁶¹ There follows three *wəqatal*'s in identical chaining forms (<200>, 12d–13b). They continue the address as Command (SS). They define the future scope of the *ḥesed* petition more explicitly:

- (27) | | | <200> 02,12.5 [w-] [nttm] [ly] [ʾwt ʾmt]
 | | | <200> 02,13.1 [w-] [ḥḥytm] [ʾt ʾby /w- /ʾt ʾmy /w- /ʾt ʾhy /w- /ʾt ʾḥwy /w- /ʾt kl]
 | | | <17> 02,13.2 [ʾšr] [lhm]
 | | | <200> 02,13.3 [w-] [ḥšltm] [ʾt npštynw] [m-mwt]

In the first exhortation, *ūnətattem lī ʾōt ʾəmet* 'and you shall give me a true sign' (12d), Rahab requests a sign to guarantee the future act of *ḥesed*.⁶² The second, *wəḥaḥāyitem* 'and you shall keep alive' (13a), is a request for the rescue of all individual members of Rahab's family (cf. 12c).⁶³ The last one, *wəḥiṣṣaltem* 'and you shall rescue' (13b), restates the granting of life to the family as rescue from death. It is yet another case of Rahab stating two points and restating the second (cf. 9c–d, 10c–d, 11b–c).⁶⁴ There is a contrast between the giving of a sign of the oath (12d) and its fulfillment in the family's later rescue (13a–b). It is syntactically marked by no less than five 2nd argument inferable accessible referents (SubTop) in 13a, and by plural anaphorical back reference to 13a in the possessive suffix *-ənū* 'our' of 13b.⁶⁵

subordination due to "Differenz in den Vb-Formationen (*x-qatal*, 12b und *w=qatal* in 12c–13b)." Past time or an abstract *ḥesed* (1986:59–60) cannot prove redaction.

⁶¹ The key word *ḥesed* (cf. 12c and 14d) has the sense of 'covenant-loyalty' or 'loving kindness' with a semantic kernel of responsible caring (Boling 1983:147).

⁶² The clause is omitted in the Greek version and may be superfluous (Soggin 1972:37), but may also be LXX haplography, and a pledge is natural, cf. Gen 38:17 (Gray 1986:65).

⁶³ *Qerē* יְהִינָּה 'my sisters' corresponds to 'brothers'. Greek πάντα τὸν οἶκόν μου 'all my house' may show MT haplography *ʾt byt ʾby* (Boling 1982:142; cf. Floss 1982:58). However, the LXX phrase does not suit a list of relatives (Butler 1983:26).

⁶⁴ The final *mimmāwet* is probably a Manner adjunct rather than a source argument (or 6. Sy) for *hiphil* of *nāṣal* (Floss 1986:20 and n.24).

⁶⁵ If so, 12c cannot be a doublet of 13a with "in der Sache keine Unterschied" (Floss 1982:72). The two clauses contrast in immediate and remote reference.

The spies' answer (14a-e) follows Rahab's petition. They grant Rahab both the requested immediate pledge by oath and survival in the future. Following Figure 3.12 below, the nucleus of the response is an oath (14b) sworn on condition of secrecy (14c). To this is attached a satellite which is a volitional result confirming the promise to do *hesed* (14d-e). Their pledge will result in rescue in the future when they conquer the city.

14a	Sequ		┌─── wayyō'marū lāh hā'ānāšim
			and-(they-)said to-her the-men
b	R		┌─── napšēnū tahtēkem lāmūt
			our-soul in-place-of-you to-die
c	Cond		┌─── 'im lō' taggîdū 'et-dābārēnū zeh
			if not you-tell AM-our-deeds these
d	Circ		wāhāyā bātēt-yahwēh lānū 'et-hā'āreš
			and-it-will-be in-give-of-Yahveh to-us AM-the-land
e	VRes		┌─── wə'āšînū 'immāk hesed we'emet
			and-we-shall.do with-you loyal.love and-truth

Figure 3.12 RST-relations: The Spies agree to the Oath (2:14a-e)

The oath formula *napšēnū tahtēkem lāmūt* (14b) uses the *lāmūt* phrase as a peripheral manner adjunct in the sense of "Our lives are in place of yours even to death!" (Butler 1983:25).⁶⁶ To this is attached a condition of secrecy in *'im lō' taggîdū 'et-dābārēnū zeh* 'if not you-tell our-deeds these'. It is a conditional *yiqtol* clause preceded by a verbless clause (<240>, 14c). The relatives of Rahab are included in the deal, as already implied by the plural *tahtēkem* of 14b (Floss 1982:21):⁶⁷

(28)		┌─── <202>	02,14.1	[w-]	[y'mrw]	[lh]	[h-ʔnšym]
		┌─── <999>	02,14.2	[npšnw]	[tḥtykm]		
		┌─── <64>	02,14.3	[l-mwt]			
		┌─── <240>	02,14.4	[ʔm]	[lʔ]	[tgydw]	[ʔt dbrnw zh]

The promise of merciful treatment at the pending conquest (14d) is introduced by an initial discourse marker *wāhāyā* 'and-it.shall.be' (<320>) for switch to future. It precedes the temporal adverbial clause

⁶⁶ Note that "[a]bsolute superlatives with a negative sense can be formed with 'dying'" (Judg 16:16) (WO § 14.5b(269)). Alternatively, *tahtēkem* is a circumstantial adjunct and *lāmūt* the predicate (Noth 1953:24; Floss 1986:21, 61).

⁶⁷ An original **taggîdî* (2fs) may have been changed due to confusion of *w* and *y* in later writing (Boling 1982:142), but plural is *lectio difficilior* (Butler 1983:27).

bəṭēt-yahwēh lānū ʾet-hāʾāreš with genitival *yahwēh* as 1st argument and infinitive of *nātan* ‘give’ (< 64>, 14d). It quotes Rahab’s initial statement of 9c for topicalization.⁶⁸ The *wəqatal* main clause after *wəhāyā* is apodosis (< 322>, 14e).⁶⁹ It reasserts the promise to do *ḥesed weʾēmet*, “a hendiadys for covenantal integrity” (Boling 1982:147). The spies in this final statement revert to a forceful personal address of Rahab alone by the singular *‘immāk* ‘with you’:⁷⁰

- (29) | └─<320> 02,14.5 [w-] [hyh]
 | └─<55> 02,14.6 [b-tt] [yhwh] [lnw] [ʔt h-ʾrʃ]
 | └─<322> 02,14.7 [w-] [ʿšynw] [ʿmk] [ḥsd w-ʾmt]

3.3.5 Episode 4: The Spies specify the Terms (2:15a–21d)

After this long exchange the story returns to the problem of the rescue of the restless spies (cf. 8a). The text states that they were led out of the window and then a dialogue follows—apparently while they swing dangerously from a rope. This illogical succession of events is often seen as diachronic evidence,⁷¹ but synchronic readings have found evidence for the literary design of “dischronologized” narrative (Boling 1982:148).⁷²

The rhetorical structure of **the rescue out of the window** (15a) can be read as an advance summary introducing the following exchange, but also as a circumstance. Details are given in background and elaboration satellites (15b–c).

15a	└─Circ		┌─┌─┌─ <i>wattōridēm baḥebel bəʿad haḥallôn</i>
			and-she-brought.down-them with-the-rope at the-window
b	Back		└─ <i>kî bêtāh baqîr haḥômâ</i>
			for her-house in-wall-of the-city.wall
c	Elab		└─ <i>ûbaḥômâ hîʾ yôšābet</i>
			and-in-the-city.wall she living

Figure 3.13 RST-relations: The Spies are let out the Window (2:15a–c)

⁶⁸ In contrast to this analysis of Yahweh as actor, Floss (1986:25, 29, 47) assumes a verbalized nominal clause with *hāyā* as copula in temporal function.

⁶⁹ It is not correct that it is subordinated to the adverb (WO § 22.2.6b (238)).

⁷⁰ Rahab’s responsibility for the family removes tension with 12c (Floss 1982:74).

⁷¹ V 15 is attached to the preceding oath as a tradition at variance with the red thread in 18 and 21 (Gray 1986:65). Floss (1982:78–79) removes v 17–21 with v 8–14 and suggests that v 15–16 of Unit 1 is continued by 22a–c and 23a–c.

⁷² Anticipation of v 20 is found in the initial statement of v 17 and in v 21 the cord is proleptically attached (Hertzberg 1965:20). Such “dischronologization” can mark relative importance in the story and stimulate attention (Martin 1969:186).

The initial *hiphil* form *wattôridēm* 'she brought them down' (15a) follows on the pronoun + *qatal* introducing the preceding dialogue exchange in 8b (<372>):⁷³

(30) $\text{⌋} \text{—} \text{⌋}$ <372> 02,15.1 [w-] [twrdm] [b-ḥbl] [b'd h-ḥlwn]

Structurally, this form is a foreground *wayyiqtol* with an affected suffixed theme argument.⁷⁴ To solve the problem of the logical sequence if they are rescued before the dialogue, the *wayyiqtol* could be interpreted as an inchoative 'began to bring them down' or a *futurum instans* 'she was about to let them down' (McCarthy 1971b:171). A past perfect sense is impossible for the *wayyiqtol* of 15a, but could make sense in 16a (Martin 1969:182).

A discourse-pragmatic approach will note its episode initial function. A new boundary is partially marked by the clause final setting adjunct *bə'ad haḥallôn* 'at the window' (Floss 1986:75–76 n. 12).⁷⁵ Rhetorically one could argue that it provides a situational background for the following speech in the sense of 'When she lowered them...' (15a) 'she said to them' (16a). The statement would anticipate the dialogue and execution as a preview or lead-in to the stylistic embellishment by reported speech.

At any rate, the setting function of 15a is supported by the following verbless reason clause *kî bêtāh baqîr haḥômâ* 'for her house [was] on the city wall' (<507>, 15b). It is background information commenting on the window frame.⁷⁶ This background satellite is even further elaborated by another near synonymous clause with *wə-* 'and' + participle *ûbaḥômâ hî' yôšābet* 'and inside the wall she lived' (<360>, 15c):

⁷³ The participants are not reintroduced, but are active from the preceding dialogue.

⁷⁴ A 3rd argument locative *baḥebel* 'by the rope', or instrument according to Floss (1982:126), marks accomplishment. The definite article is not anaphorical, but is used for a new topic "mit einem Seil" (1982:199). It is an inferable accessible entity occasioned by a schema of rescue by rope (cf. JM § 137m (511)), rather than situationally accessible (Br § 21b (18)).

⁷⁵ Floss adduces 1 Sam 19:12 and 2 Sam 6:15 as evidence for a dislocation argument of *yārad hipil* (1982:111 n. 39), but it is more likely a peripheral adjunct. It is determined as inferable accessible from the house (6a) (1982:118, 168).

⁷⁶ I.e., a schema. It is omitted in the Greek and Vulgate, and could be influenced by Joshua 6 (Boling 1983:148). But *baqîr haḥômâ* 'between the double walls' may refer to casemate walls with chambers for residence, or the area may have been a noted red light district (Bird 1989:130).

- (31) || ↳<507> 02,15.2 [ky] [byth] [b-qyr h-ḥwmh]
 || ↳<360> 02,15.3 [w-] [b-ḥwmh] [hyʔ] [ywsbt]

Here the active locative referent is placed in the precore slot to distinguish the position of the house from other more usual settings (a contrastive ParFoc). The writer intended to explain how escape was possible from her house. It was her private accommodations, not just her place of business. She could be around even at night without arousing suspicion.

Rahab's **proposal of a rescue plan** is preceded by a speech verb sequence. The nucleus of the speech has a motivation attached (16c). It is continued by a purpose satellite (16d) and a volitional result (16f).

16a	Sequ			↳	<i>wattōʾmer lāhem</i>
					and-(she-)said to-them
b	P			↳	<i>hāhārā lēkū</i>
					to-the-mountain you-go
c	Moti			↳	<i>pen-yipgāʾû bākem hārōdāpim</i>
					in.order.not-(they-)meet at-you the-pursuers
d	Purp			↳	<i>wənaḥbētem šāmmā šəlōšet yāmim</i>
					and-you-shall.hide there three days
e	Circ			↳	<i>ʿad šōb hārōdāpim</i>
					until return-of the-pursuers
f	VRes			↳	<i>wəʾaḥar tēlākū lōdarkakem</i>
					and-afterwards you-can.walk your-way

Figure 3.14 RST-relations: Rahab's Directions for Rescue (2:16a-f)

The initial imperative command *hāhārā lēkū* 'go to the hills' (16b) has a precore slot 2nd argument (cf. Floss 1982:154). It has unit-initial focus (a NewFoc), perhaps emphasizing the unexpected westward direction (Boling 1983:148).⁷⁷ A negated purpose clause (16c) with *pen* 'lest' and *yiqtol* of *pāgāʾ* then motivates the imperatival proposal (<813>).⁷⁸ The imperative is continued by *wənaḥbētem* 'and you shall hide yourself' (<323>, 16d) with the same subject (a *wəqatal* Command (SS)). Its adjuncts, the locative *šāmmā* 'there' and the temporal *šəlōšet yāmim* '(for)

⁷⁷ JM (§ 155s (585)) rejects any emphasis. Boling (1983:148) also finds an envelope construction with *hālak* 'go' framing two references to the pursuers. The determination of *hāhārā* is either a situational (Floss 1982:116) or an inferable accessible location.

⁷⁸ For goal argument (or 4. Sy "C lok") and the meaning "antreffen", "auf euch treffen", see Floss (1982:112 and 136). The pursuers are reintroduced from 7c. Floss can only establish an anaphorical relation to the imperative *rādāp* of 5d, because he assigns v 7 to a different layer (1982:166–167). His hypothesis spoils the coherence.

three days',⁷⁹ are modified by a reduced temporal infinitive clause *'ad šôb hārôdāpîm* 'until return-of the pursuers' (<70>, 16e).⁸⁰ The final clause (16f) then promises their rescue and return. Its connective *wə'aḥar* 'and afterwards' underlines the temporal succession for the future *x-yiqtol* form of *hālak* following a *wəqatal* (<312>). It probably has an additional modality sense of ability.⁸¹ The syntactic relations are then:

- (32) | ———— <200> 02,16.1 [w-] [t'mr] [lhm]
 || └─ <999> 02,16.2 [h-hrh] [lkw]
 || |└─ <813> 02,16.3 [pn] [ypg'w] [bkm] [h-rdpym]
 || └─ <323> 02,16.4 [w-] [nhbtm] [šmh] [šlšt ymym]
 || |└─ <70> 02,16.5 ['d šwb] [h-rdpym]
 || └─ <312> 02,16.6 [w-] [p'hr] [tlkw] [l-drkkm]

Despite this promising advice, the spies nevertheless take up a different issue in a counter-proposal ($\sim P$) and elaborate on **details of the agreement** (17b–20b). Diachronic studies often propose that the opening (17b) is a doublet of v 19–20, but that does not follow from its more juridical interests (Floss 1986:76) or from its unusually weighty expressions (Soggin 1972:42). Rather, the spies obviously have to settle or clarify an urgent matter before they can embark on her rescue plan.

Rhetorically, the first part of the speech opens with a summary announcement that the spies consider themselves blameless in the matter of the oath (17b). Before the nucleus of v 19 another preposed satellite stipulates the two steps Rahab is to take before the conquest of Jericho (18a–c). Even this is preceded by a circumstance satellite providing more information on the spatial and temporal situation (18a).

⁷⁹ Cf. direction (Floss 1982:111) and temporal adjunct "C temp" (1982:126).

⁸⁰ Contrast the temporal adjunct with "satzähnlichen Ergänzung" (Floss 1982:139), or "C temp" modifying adverbial argument (1982:196). The infinitive absolute *šôb* may be an "elegant substitute for a finite form" (Boling 1983:149), a variant of the construct (GK § 72q (207); JM § 80k (217)), or "falsch punktuert" (Br § 46c (48)). No pre-literary source argument (Floss 1982:111 n. 43, 199–200) has been lost.

⁸¹ Cf. imperfective modal 'could'/'should' (Floss 1982:141–142, 155), consequent relation and resultative (1982:194). The *lādarkakem* is manner rather than goal (1982:115).

17a	Sequ		wayyō'marū 'elēhā hā'anāšim
			and-(they-)said to-her the-men
b	Summ		nāqiyim 'anaḥnū miššəbu'ātēk hazzeh 'āšer hišba'tānū
			innocent we from-your-oath this which you-made.swear-us
18a	Circ		hinnēh 'anaḥnū bā'im bā'areš
			look we coming into-the-land
b	Back		'et-tiqwat ḥūt haššānī hazzeh tiqšərī baḥallōn 'āšer
--	--		hōradtēnū bō
			AM-cord-of thread the-scarlet this you-shall.tie in-the-
--	--		window which you-shall.have.brought.down-us in-it
c	Join		wə't-'ābīk wə't-'immēk wə't-'aḥayik wə't kol-bēt 'ābīk
--	--		ta'aspī 'ēlayik habbāytā
			and-AM-your-father and-AM-your-mother and-AM-your-
--	--		brothers and-AM all-house-of your-father you-shall.gather
--	--		to-you at.home

Figure 3.15 RST-relations: The Spies' Advice (2:17a-18c)

The speech opens with a focal lead sentence in syntactic isolation (17b).⁸² The *nāqī min* construction normally has a sense of 'free from' (20b). Here it is used for 'innocent with respect to' as a general claim to blamelessness.⁸³ It has a complex morphosyntax with a masculine deictic pronoun *hazzeh* 'this' in agreement with feminine *šəbu'ātēk*.⁸⁴ The latter has the subjective genitival suffix for agent 'this oath-of [CAUSED BY]-you' (cf. WO § 9.5.1b (143)). This sense is indicated by the defining restrictive relative clause *'āšer hišba'tānū* 'which you made us swear' (<12>):⁸⁵

- (33) | | | <202> 02,17.1 [w-] [y'mrw] [Plyh] [h-ʔnšym]
 | | | <999> 02,17.2 [nqym] [P'nḥnw] [m-šb'tk h-zh]
 | | | <12> 02,17.3 [ʔšr] [hšb'tnw]

The spies first spell out the measures to be taken by Rahab before the

⁸² It does not introduce the following *hinnēh*-clause (18a), and its speaker present contrasts with future reference (18b-c) (Floss 1986:134).

⁸³ The meaning 'free from' (Gen 24:41; Deut 24:5; Josh 2:20) is without *min* changed to 'innocent' (Exod 21:28; 23:7), but *nāqī min* can also be used for 'innocent with respect to', cf. Num 32:22, Gen 24:41, 2 Sam 3:28 and Judg 15:3 (HAL III:681; Floss 1986:81 n. 34).

⁸⁴ The deictic pronoun *hazzeh* has anaphoric reference to 14b-c (against Floss 1986:73 n. 6). It may be a scribal error or erroneous vocalization for *hazzōh* (1982:22 n. 62).

⁸⁵ An irregular 2nd fem. sing. vocalization (GK § 59h (167); Boling 1982:142).

conquest. The unit opens with *hinnēh ʔānaḥnû bāʔim bāʔāreṣ* ‘Look! we [are] coming into-the-land’ (18a).⁸⁶ A text deictic introducer is followed by pronoun, future participle and goal argument for accomplishment (cf. <100>).⁸⁷ Its rhetorical function of ‘when we arrive in the land’ is syntactically unmarked.⁸⁸

The participial circumstance satellite prepares for the following precore slot object + injunctive *yiqtol* (<116>) and an identical coordinated clause (<201>) in 18b–c (Floss 1986:88, 90):

- (34) || ———<100> 02,18.1 [hnh] [ʔnhnw] [bʔym] [b--ʔrʃ]
 ||| ———<116> 02,18.2 [ʔt tqwt ḥwt h-šny h-zh] [tqšry] [b-ḥlwn]
 ||| |<12> 02,18.3 [ʔšr] [hwrtdnw] [bw]
 ||| ———<201> 02,18.4 [w-] [ʔt ʔbyk /w- /ʔt ʔmk /w- /ʔt ʔhyk /w- /ʔt kl byt
 ʔbyk] [ʔspy] [ʔlyk] [h-byth]

Both command clauses have determined and individuated undergoers marked by *ʔet* (the first 2nd argument is a NewTop and the second a ResTop). The first, *tiqwat ḥuṭ haššānî hazzeh* ‘the thread of this scarlet cord’ (18b),⁸⁹ functions as an “Erkennungszeichen” for future fulfillment of the oath (1982:76 n. 52; 1986:106). It does not refer to a signal of attack (Soggin 1972:42), because Rahab ties the thread to the window long before the conquest of Jericho (21d). The predicate *qāšar* has a 3rd argument *baḥallôn* as a valence increaser, forming the accomplishment predicate “anbinden” instead of “binden” (Floss 1986:105, cf. 75 n. 10). This location is further defined by a restrictive relative clause with a future perfect *ʔāšer ḥôradtēnû bô* ‘which you-shall.have.brought.down-us in-it’ (McCarthy 1971b:171). The parallel clause (18c) has the predicate *ʔāsap* and goal argument *ʔelayik* for accomplishment, “jemanden in Sicherheit bringen” (Floss 1986:106), and peripheral locative *habbāytâ* ‘at home’.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ LXX refers to the outskirts of the city (Boling 1982:142; Butler 1983:27), but *bāʔāreṣ* is consistent with the conquest theme.

⁸⁷ Floss argues that nominalization changes a former argument (6. Sy [dislok-itiner]), but it is not a “nachrangiges” dislocation (1986:70 n. 3), because it is governed by participle in verbal function. Nor is it path (or “itinerativ”) (1986:80 n. 27).

⁸⁸ Contrast its analysis as a *casus pendens* (GK § 116w (376)) or “Hervorhebung” (Br § 164a (156)).

⁸⁹ The masculine demonstrative pronoun agrees with a feminine NP: “den Faden dieses Karmesins da” or “den Faden aus dem Karmesin, diesem da” (Floss 1986:105).

⁹⁰ It is not a second appositional goal (Floss 1986:78, 80). The locative adverb can be fronted without affecting the meaning of the predication, ‘At home you should ...’.

The spies then get to the nucleus of the counter-proposal as illustrated in Figure 3.16 below. They carefully explain **how the curses of the oath may apply** to Rahab's family (19a) or themselves (19c). The conditions are elaborated by additional details on the need for secrecy (20a-b).

19a	~ P					wəhāyā kōl 'āšer-yēšē' middaltê bêtēk haḥūšā dāmō
--	--					bārō'šō
--	--					and-it-shall.be everyone who-(he-)goes.out of-doors-of
--	--					your-house outside his-blood on-his-head
b	NRes					wa'ānaḥnū nāqiyim
						and-we free
c	Cont					wəkōl 'āšer yihyeh 'ittāk babbayit dāmō bārō'šenū
						and-everyone who (he-)will.be with-you in-the-house his-
--	--					blood on-our-head
d	Cond					'im-yād tihyeh-bō
						if-hand (it-)will.be-on-him
20a	└Cond					wə'im-tagḡdī 'et-dabārēnū zeh
						and-if-you-tell AM-our-deed this
b	Elab					wəhāyīnū nāqiyim miššabu'ātēk 'āšer hišba'tānū
						and-we-shall.be free from-your-oath which you-
--	--					made.swear-us

Figure 3.16 RST-relations: The Spies' Conditions (2:19a-20b)

The new segment is introduced by *wəhāyā* for future following on the future participle (<326>, 19a). It also marks a transition from command to juridicial exposition:⁹¹

- (35) || └──<326> 02,19.1 [w-] [hyh]
 || └──<100> 02,19.2 [kl]
 || └──<11> 02,19.3 [ʔšr] [ysʔ] [m-dlty bytk] [h-ḥwšh]
 || └──<200> 02,19.4 [dmw] [b-rʔšw]
 || └──<201> 02,19.5 [w-] [ʔnḥnw] [nqym]
 || └──<201> 02,19.6 [w-] [kl]
 || └──<11> 02,19.7 [ʔšr] [yhyh] [ʔtk] [b-byt]
 || └──<100> 02,19.8 [dmw] [b-rʔšnw]
 || └──<240> 02,19.9 [ʔm] [yd] [thyh] [bw]
 || └──<242> 02,20.1 [w-ʔm] [tgydy] [ʔt dbrnw zh]
 || └──<321> 02,20.2 [w-] [hyynw] [nqym] [m-šbʔtk]
 || └──<12> 02,20.3 [ʔšr] [hšbʔtnw]

The situational accessible referents are found in *bêt ʔabî* 12c (1986:77 n. 22).

⁹¹ Contrast Floss, who rejects "(strukturverändernder) Tempus-Marker" (1986:92 n. 68) in favor of a copula verbalizing a nominal clause for future + progress (1986:85).

The complex clause combining involves several embedded or “nichtstrukturalen” *ʔāšer*-clauses (Floss 1986:90), which can be clarified by the computer-assisted syntactic description in example ((35)). In the first complex clause (19a), the nuclear locative verbless clause *dāmô bārōʔšô* (<200>, 02,19.4) is preceded by a nominal head *kôl* ‘every’ (02,19.2). This left-detached position is modified by a relative clause *ʔāšer-yēšēʔ middaltê bêtêk haḥûṣâ* (<11>, 02,19.3).⁹² This pragmatic packaging changes a bi-clausal presentative construction into a focus construction to mark a contrast 19c (a ParFoc):

- (36) presentative: blood_{NewTop} [shall be] on the head of him_{NewFoc} who_{GivTop} leaves the doors of your house_{NewFoc}
 → contrastive: anybody_{ParFoc}, who_{GivTop} leaves the doors of your house_{NewFoc}, his_{GivTop} blood_{NewFoc} [shall be] on his head_{SubTop}

The following verbless clause *wāʔānaḥnû naḡiqiyîm* ‘and we are innocent’ (19b) indicates a sequential/logical relation by *wā-* ‘and (then)’.⁹³ The second parallel clause in 19c is similar to 19a except for the connective *wā-* (<201>). The sentences establish an antithetical relationship through leaving vs. staying and through the locative arguments. The second sentence is followed by a postposed conditional clause *ʔim-yād tiḥyeh-bô* ‘if a hand should come upon him’ (<240>, 19d).⁹⁴

A new, higher level unit is opened by yet another conditional *wāʔim-tagḡîdî ʔet-dābārēnû zeh* ‘but if you tell of this promise of ours’ (20a). Here the preposed conditional clause has a topical relation to all of the preceding (cf. 2.3.1). The best solution is, therefore, to let the connective *wā-* in front of *ʔim* link backwards to the clause with *wāḥāyâ* in 19a (<242>). It may be an adversative statement (Floss 1986:132) or, more likely, a rhetorical elaboration.⁹⁵ The noun *dābār*, ‘word’, ‘promise’ or ‘matter’, with the attributive deictic pronoun *zeh* ‘this’ does not refer to a new theme of attack by treason, but anaphorically to the stipulations of v

⁹² The *ʔāšer* plus future declarative *yiqtol* (Floss 1986:88, 90) is probably restrictive.

⁹³ For NS III.1.1 (NG det+Adj idet), see Floss (1986:85). It signifies a concrete casuistic case (1986:100), but *wā-* is hardly used for simultaneity (1986:91).

⁹⁴ The Greek version transposed this clause to the next verse, possibly to make the spies responsible and relieve them of any shadow of blame (Butler 1983:27).

⁹⁵ Floss considers it an isolated ‘syntaktische Nahtstelle’ (1986:133) and “Verschärfung der Bedingungen zu ungunsten der Adressatin” (1986:135), because 20a–d “wirken im jetzigen Zusammenhang nachhinkend” (1982:73).

19 (1986:133).⁹⁶ A final consequent *wəhāyînu nāqiyim miššabuʿātēk* (20b) marks the apodosis by *wə-* (<327>). Stylistically it may form an inclusio with 17b (Boling 1982:149), although *nāqî* here has the sense 'we shall be free from your oath'. The copular *hāyâ* is in *wə-qatal* form. It draws the conclusion from the spies' stipulations.

A final segment reports Rahab's response and execution of the proposal (21a-d) as shown in Figure 3.17.

21a	Sequ		————	<i>wattōʿmer</i>
				and-she-said
b	R		⌊	<i>kadibrêkem ken-hûʿ</i>
				as-your-words so-it
c	Sequ		————	<i>wattāšallāhēm wayyēlēkū</i>
				and-she-sent-them and-they-walked
d	Sequ		————	<i>wattiqšōr ʿet-tiqwat haššānî baḥallôn</i>
				and-she-tied AM-cord-of the-scarlet in-the-window

Figure 3.17 RST-relations: Rahab sends the Spies away (2:21a-d)

A short reply with *kadibrêkem* 'as-your-words' and *ken-hûʿ* 'so it' (21b) syntactically consists of two clause fragments of a comparative sentence:⁹⁷

- (37) | ———— <202> 02,21.1 [w-] [tʰmr]
 | | ⌊ <999> 02,21.2 [k-dbrykm]
 | | ⌊ <100> 02,21.3 [kn] [hwʿ]

The adverbial *ken* 'so' ([02,21.3]) is the predicate of a verbless clause. The comparative noun phrase *kadibrêkem* ([02,21.2]) forms a reduced verbal clause 'like your promise [was given]'.⁹⁸

The *wattōʿmer* 'and she said' (21a) is followed by a complex narrative chain which recounts how Rahab executed the spies' proposal for rescue:

⁹⁶ The article is omitted after NP + suffix (Br § 60b (59); WO 17.4.1a (310); JM § 138g (516)). Noth (1953:31) traces an original etiology for an agreement on treason. This is purely "Spekulation" (Floss 1982:75-76 and n. 49).

⁹⁷ Cf. Floss (1986:69, 88 n. 58). The modal meaning "Wie Ihr gesagt habt, so soll es sein" (Hertzberg 1965:18) or "It shall be as you say" (Miller and Tucker 1974:27) is unmarked in a verbless clause (Floss 1986:87). In the context it expresses a future act, "wie [es] nach euren Worten [ist] [b], so [soll] es sein. [c]" (1986:88).

⁹⁸ 21b consists of core constituents (*Satzpolen* of NS II) (Floss 1986:88), i.e., *kadibrêkem* is a predicate of a "um das 1.Sy getilgten, unvollständigen NS" (1986:86). The *kadibrêkem* is not a pre-clausal fronted phrase because the following core has the comparative adverbial *kēn*. A similar complex comparison sentence is found in Gen 44:10 (1986:86 n. 53; Boling 1982:149).

- (38) | ————<200> 02,21.4 [w-] [tšlh̄m]
 | | ————<202> 02,21.5 [w-] [ylkw]
 | | ————<200> 02,21.6 [w-] [tqšr] [ʔt tqwt h-šny] [b-ħlwn]

The first link (21c) is a core cosubordination. The highly foregrounded action verb and totally affected theme role of *wattəšalləḥēm* ‘and she sent them’ ([02,21.4]) is followed by a subject switch in *wayyēlēkū* ‘and they went’ ([02,21.5]). If it is used as an accomplishment linkage with the sense ‘she sent them away’, it can explain why Rahab remains the implied subject of the next clause cosubordination *wattiqšōr ʔet-tiqwat haššānī baḥallôn* ‘and she tied the scarlet cord to the window’ (21d). With this expedient gesture Rahab leaves the scene.

3.3.6 Episode 5: The Spies hide in the Mountains (2:22a–e)

The next series of *wayyiqtol*’s form a separate episode. It narrates how **the spies went into hiding in the mountains**. The chain is chopped up into two paragraphs by circumstance (22c) and antithesis (22e) relations.

22a	Sequ	————— wayyēlēkū wayyābōʾū hāhārā
		and-they-walked and-they-came to-the-mountain
b	Sequ	wayyēšəbū šām šəlōšet yāmīm
		and-they-sat there three days
c	Circ	ʾad-šəbū hārōdāpīm
		until (they-)returned the-pursuers
d	Elab	———— waybaqšū hārōdāpīm bəkol-hadderek
		and-(they-)searched the-pursuers in-all-the-way
e	Anti	———— wəlōʾ māšāʾū
		and-not they-found

Figure 3.18 RST-relations: The Spies hide in the Mountains (2:22a–e)

The unit consists mainly of identical *wayyiqtol*-clauses (<200>):

- (39) ————<202> 02,22.1 [w-] [ylkw]
 | ————<200> 02,22.2 [w-] [ybʾw] [h-hrh]
 | ————<200> 02,22.3 [w-] [yšbw] [šm] [šlšt ymym]
 | ————<727> 02,22.4 [ʾd] [šbw] [h-rdpym]
 | ————<200> 02,22.5 [w-] [ybqšw] [h-rdpym] [b-kl h-drk]
 | ————<327> 02,22.6 [w-] [lʾ] [mšʾw]

It is introduced in 22a by a core cosubordination of *wayyēlēkū* ([02,22,1]) and *wayyābōʾū hāhārā* ‘they went and came to the mountain’ ([02,22,2]). This complex core is tightly chained with the preceding paragraph. Yet it is still set off by a cross-referenced subject shift to the spies. The move-

ment verbs share the locative *hāhārā* 'to the mountain' as an argument referring to a situationally accessible goal (cf. 16b).⁹⁹ The action, subject and location shifts implicitly mark a discontinuity.¹⁰⁰ A further major demarcation feature is that it repeats the end of the former episode in 21c.

The next two clauses (22b–c) describe the spies' stay at this new location for three days. An anaphorical locative adverb *šām* 'there' is an argument of *yāšab* 'sit' or 'stay' in 22b.¹⁰¹ This clause contains a temporal adjunct *šəlōšet yāmīm* for further background description. This *wayyiqtol* clause is modified by a temporal clause with subordinator 'ad and *qatal* for future perfect 'until the pursuers would have returned' (<727>, 22c). It adds detail on the temporal setting of the previous predicate.

The last *wayyiqtol*-clause (22d) describes the pursuers' fruitless search while the spies sat tight in the mountains.¹⁰² It resumes a full nominal reference to *hārōdāpīm* 'the pursuers' (22d) as the explicit subject. Although mentioned already in 22c, they are mentioned again in order to mark a separate paragraph. The chain is finally broken by a *wə-x-qatal* clause 'but they did not find' (<327>, 22e) which rounds off the episode. One of its pragmatic effects may very well be to portray the frustrated expectations of the pursuers.

3.3.7 Closure: The Spies return to report (2:23a–24c)

The closure of the story narrates the return of the spies to report to Joshua. As illustrated by Figure 3.19, a series of sequences is followed by a final restatement summarizing the thematic content. This quote consists of two joints.

⁹⁹ Therefore *hālak* does not presuppose a deleted obligatory direction (against Floss 1982:103 n. 15, 109 n. 35).

¹⁰⁰ It is both resumption and the beginning of a new chain (Floss 1982:148 and n. 159).

¹⁰¹ Cf. locative adverb as 5. Sy (Floss 1982:136, cf. 198).

¹⁰² The *bāqāš* in *piel* has deleted 2nd argument (Floss 1982:112 n.46, 165–166). Without the affected goal the clause is changed into a durative-descriptive activity. The goal adjunct *bəkol-hadderek* reinforces this by circumstantial manner or locative (Floss 1982:115–116, 138 n. 135, 198). Possibly it is an ironic play on 16f to hint that they searched the road that the men were to use later.

23a	Sequ	└─ wayyāšûbû šanê hā'ānāšîm wayyērādû mēhāhār
--	--	and-(they-)-returned two-of the-men and-they-went.down
--	--	from-the-mountain
b	Sequ	wayya'abrû wayyābō'û 'el-yāhōšua' bin-nûn
--	--	and-they-passed and-they-came to-Joshua ben-Nun
c	Sequ	wayšappārû-lô 'et kol-hammōšā'ôṭ 'ôṭām
--	--	and-they-told-to-him AM all-that-had.happened them
24a	Rest	└─ wayyō'marû 'el-yāhōšua'
--	--	and-they-said to-Joshua
b	C	└─ kî-nātan yahwēh bayādēnû 'et-kol-hā'āreš
--	--	certainly-(he-)has.given Yahweh in-our-hand AM-all-the-
--	--	land
c	Join	└─ wəgam-nāmōgû kol-yōšabê hā'āreš mippānēnû
--	--	and-also-(they-)were.dishearted all-inhabitants-of the-land
--	--	from-our-face

Figure 3.19 RST-relations: The Spies return to Joshua (2:23a–24c)

Identical wayyiqtol-chaining continues from 22a (<200>):

- (40) └─<200> 02,23.1 [w-] [yšbw] [šny h-ʾnšym]
 └─<200> 02,23.2 [w-] [yrdw] [m-h-hr]
 └─<200> 02,23.3 [w-] [y'brw]
 └─<200> 02,23.4 [w-] [yb'w] [ʾl yhwš'c (bn nwn)]
 └─<200> 02,23.5 [w-] [ysprw] [lw] [ʾt kl]
 | └─<10> 02,23.6 [h-] [mš'wt] [ʾwtm]

The initial construction (23a) is a complex clause combining *wayyāšûbû šanê hā'ānāšîm* 'and the two men returned' ([02,23.1]) and *wayyērādû mēhāhār* 'and they descended from the mountain' ([02,23.2]). It marks a new boundary by reintroduction of the textually accessible determined form *šanê hā'ānāšîm*. Floss (1982:110) argues that a locative has been deleted in the first link ([02,23.1]), because one must descend *mēhāhār* before one can return. If, however, a core cosubordination is assumed in accordance with the theory of layered clause combining, it explains why a source argument *mēhāhār* occurs in the second core ([02,23.2]). Also, the verb *šûb* 'return' does not convey initial summary, as this would render the following action clauses largely redundant. Rather it belongs to a subgroup of the verb *šûb* which specifies "[m]otion in the opposite direction, but ultimate destination unstated, uncertain or unimportant" (Holladay 1958:64).¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The complement meaning of *šûb* '(do) again' is difficult, but an ingressive sense of 'they started on their way back' is a possible alternative.

The chain continues with another core cosubordination formed by *‘ābar* ‘pass through’ and *bō* ‘come’ for the accomplishment sense of ‘pass through all the way to’ (23b). Again the first core need not specify the goal argument *ʔel-yəḥōšuaʕ bin-nūn* ([02,23.4]), which it shares with the second link of the complex core.¹⁰⁴ The final action clause narrates the spies’ return to Joshua to report on *kol-hammōšəʔōt ʔōtām* ‘all that happened to them’ (23c).¹⁰⁵ All events of the story are here evoked by a summarizing inferable accessible entity *kol* (a SubTop) which is restricted by a participle clause with relative particle *ha-* (< 10>).

The **repetition of this report** in 24a–c is often interpreted as a later editor’s hand.¹⁰⁶ Rhetorically, the direct quote elaborates on a specific point for emphasis and the speech verb *ʔāmar* is necessary to mark the shift from narrative (23c) to direct speech (24a).¹⁰⁷ Both clauses quote the initial statements of Rahab’s confession (9b–d). The story ends in a climatic direct speech with a summarizing statement.

- (41) ———— <200> 02,24.1 [w-] [yʔmrw] [ʔl yhwšʕ]
 <999> 02,24.2 [ky] [ntn] [yhwh] [b-ydnw] [ʔt kl h-ʔrʕ]
 <422> 02,24.3 [w-gm] [nmgw] [kl yšby h-ʔrʕ] [m-pnynw]

The speech opens with a *kî* in the clause adverbial sense of ‘surely’ (24b).¹⁰⁸ The present perfect *x-qatal* clause with *nātan* promotes the 3rd argument *bəyādēnū* to the front of the textually accessible 2nd argument *ʔet-kol-hāʔāreš* for focus by dative shifting. It is conjoined with a second *qatal* clause with the expanding focus marker *gam* ‘also’ (<422>, 24c).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Contrast Floss (1982:117). That *‘ābar* means ‘pass a river’ with deletion of locative Jordan is less likely (1982:110; Webb 1987:226 n. 44).

¹⁰⁵ Floss thinks that 23c “steht außerhalb des in 1a ausgelösten und in 23c [here 23b] an sein Ende gekommene Bewegungsablaufs” (1982:113), and *kol* is “nichtssagend” (1982:196) without “konkreten Ergebnisse der Auskundschaftung” (1982:171–172).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Floss (1982:79–81; 1986:130).

¹⁰⁷ It does not interfere with the *Zeitsufenstruktur* of 23c as a posterior and sequential event (Floss 1986:140, 142). Lexical synonymy marks rhetorical restatement, and 24a has the same agent marked by cross-reference (cf. Floss 1986:138), or continuity.

¹⁰⁸ If *kî* was used as a complementizer of a ‘that’-clause dependent on *ʔāmar*, the 1pl would refer to the spies alone. As a subordinator is out of the question, *kî* must be used for *Steigerung* (Floss 1986:136).

¹⁰⁹ The *min* governing a suffix for 1st person plural is a cause adjunct ‘because of us’, rather than an adjunct of limitation ‘with respect to us’ (Floss 1986:140).

3.4 Topicality, Dialogue and Theme Structure

The analysis of rhetorical and syntactic relations in Joshua 2 has traced grammatical devices of intraclausal packaging and interclausal combining. This can help us to understand the themes of the discourse. It is now possible to study referential coherence on the intraclausal level of topicality (3.4.1), stylistic elaboration in dialogue on the paragraph level (3.4.2) and the central ideas in the thematic macrostructure on the discourse level (3.4.3).

All these aspects are pragmatic issues bearing on the content of the story. A presentation of sequential coherence by means of verb and clause sequencing would be equally revealing. Some of these details have already emerged through the analysis of relational coherence. Further aspects are better treated in a discussion of verb-sequencing for all of Joshua (5.3).

3.4.1 Interclausal Referential Coherence

An earlier study of reference in Joshua 2 by Floss (1982:202) used Greimas' analysis actants to set out how three actors of Unit 1 represent an 'S-actant' with an 'adjuvant' and an 'opponent'. In the following we will apply our discourse-pragmatic theory of coherence (2.3.2).

Floss also included linguistic analyses of reference but only in a "crude" diachronic extension of the continuity hypothesis (cf. 2.3.2).¹ He was unable to reach beyond the interchange of proper names with pronouns and could only conclude that pronouns cluster in 5d-16f.² He transformed the otherwise natural expectation of referential mechanisms into a diachronic conclusion. This approach and its diachronic off-shots are invalidated by the newer linguistic theory of referential coherence, which take all the diverse functions of human language in actual use into account.

The universal rule that zero-pronominalization marks an **active** referent until a noun or proper noun deactivates the current referent and introduces a new, previously inactive referent also holds true for Joshua 2. A current referent is successively referred to in clausal cosubordination structures with zero-pronominalization. The canonical form is found in

¹ Floss' (1982:115-116) *Wortdeixis* consists mainly of cataphoric and anaphoric reference within a reconstructed text and of reference to entities outside the text.

² Floss (1982:106-107) used the concentration of personal names (in his 1a, 1c, 1e, 1g, 2a, 2b, 3a) and place names (in his 1c, 1e, 2a, 3a) as proof of a distributional discrepancy from different diachronic stages of the story (1982:164-167, 169-170).

wattiqqah hāʾiššā ʾet-šanē hāʾānāšim wattiṣpānō (4a) followed by *wattōʾmer* (4b, cf. 23a–b). In these cases the clause chainings have actor—actor coreference. Undergoer—actor coreference is also possible. The *šanayim-ʾānāšim* ‘two men’ (1a) is introduced as a new indetermined undergoer topic, addressed in direct speech and then cross-referenced as implicit actor of *wayyēlakū wayyābōʾū* (1c). The *wayyiškābū*-form (1e) shows that as long as the nominal is coreferent on the nuclear partner node, zero-pronominalization can be used despite an intervening different gender subject (1d). This also applies after an intervening core cosubordination of different gender in the second core link (21c–d).

Full nominal forms are regularly used to introduce **new inactive** referents (NewTop). These referents are used at text boundaries for topic shift. Usually these topics have an indetermined form as in the case of *šanayim-ʾānāšim* (1a) and *ʾiššā zōnā* ‘woman prostitute’ (1c). New indetermined referents can also introduce story-level known referents as new entities in the speech situation on the event-level. A case in point is the report to the king (2b) of the arrival of some *ʾānāšim*, which are new in the pragmatic dialogue situation, but known in the discourse (1a).³

New inactive referents may also be introduced in determined form.⁴ The new determined referent *melek yārīhō* ‘king of Jericho’ (2a) is an inferable accessible topic from the schema of Canaanite cities. Proper names (which are inherently determined) may mark both the beginning of paragraphs and their end (de Regt 1991–1992:156). Thus the proper name *yāhōšuaʿ-bin-nūn* (1a) is used in a full modified form as a boundary marker in the discourse opening. Towards the end of the story he is again referred to in this form as the locative argument *ʾel-yāhōšuaʿ bin-nūn* (23b).⁵

A major problem in all languages is how to decide on the activation state of determined nominals. The referent *melek yārīhō* (3a) is active from the preceding nuclear node (2a). The full form therefore most likely marks a narrative boundary. For the same reason, the proper noun *rāhāb*, already introduced in 1d, is again used as addressee in 3a. A similar boundary marking device is found in 23a, where the full nominal form *šanē hāʾānāšim* ‘the two men’ reoccurs. These cases are then **textually accessible** referents (ResTop) at boundary regions.

³ Coreference with *ʾānāšim* of 1a (against Floss 1982:117) should not be blurred by textual correction (cj *hannaʾarim* (1c) and *hāʾir* for *hāʾareš* (2b) (1982:79, 116).

⁴ In Joshua 2 the boundaries are indicated by 1st argument actor (1a, 3a, 23a), receiver (2a), pronoun (8b), or zero (15a, 22a).

⁵ Cf. appositional phrase for identification both in 1a and 23b (Floss 1982:129).

In other cases a determined nominal is used for activation of a textually accessible referent within the episode. The full form *ʔet-šənê hāʔănāšîm* in 4a reactivates an antecedent way back in 1a (a ResTop), and only then reverts to regular pronominal object suffixes (6a, 6b, 7a, 7c). Another discourse-based reactivation occurs in 21c–22b, where the major participants, Rahab and the spies, are referred to by zero-pronominalization. The textually accessible local participants, *hārōdāpîm* 'the pursuers' (22c–d), are subsequently reactivated first in an adverbial clause and then in an action clause. Their less prominent status obviously requires more coding material.⁶

Other definite nouns are used as **inferable accessible** referents (SubTop). A new locative argument *haggāgâ* 'to the roof' (6a) is determined as a culturally inferable entity in the schema of a *bêt-ʔiššâ zônâ* (1d). The *bêt ʔābî* (the extended family) in 12c is an inferable accessible cultural term, rather than determined *ex eventu* from Josh 6:25a (Floss 1986:60). A resumption of the term spells out its sub-components for added precision (13a; ResTop). In 2:15 a whole range of inferable terms are used: *baḥebel* determined from a schema of rescuing by rope and *haḥallôn* from a house schema, and in 15b *baqîr haḥômâ* from a city schema.

Finally, determined nominal forms can be used for **situationally accessible** referents.⁷ A term like *hāʔāreš* in the directive for the spies (1b) is salient in the situation of the pending conquest as well as textually accessible as a major topic right from the beginning of the book (1:3ff). Other cases of accessible geographical terms are the *wəʔet-yarîhō* (1b; SubTop) and the *ʔet-mê yam-sûp* (10a) and *hāhārâ* (16b; cf. 22a, 23a; NewFoc). In 18b *ʔet-tiqwat ḥîṭ haššānî hazzeh* is pointed out in the situation by the demonstrative pronoun *hazzeh* as either brought by the men or found at the place. It is then referred to a second time as a textually accessible referent in the slightly reduced form *ʔet-tiqwat haššānî* (21d). Another situationally determined reference occurs in 3b where *hāʔănāšîm* is determined both as head of a relative construction and as situationally known to the addressee—in effect a portmanteau function.

Situational accessibility may also account for a special case with *hāʔănāšîm* in 7a. Previously the noun has been used as a standard term for

⁶ These data from referential coherence does not support the rule set up by de Regt that "the minor participant is not referred to nominally if the major participant is not also" (1991–1992:159).

⁷ Cf. intrinsically definite nouns like person and place names and unique appellatives like God and certain cosmological terms (WO § 13.4b (239–240)).

the two spies in Rahab's speech, but here the noun is applied to the implicit speakers of the king's message in 3a who are addressed in 4c, 5b, and 5c. The syntax disambiguates this novel use of the noun both by a collocation with the verbal root *rādap* 'pursue' (cf. 5d) and by referring to them a second time as *hārōdāpīm* (7c; a SubTop). The competing referents, the two anonymous spies, are here consistently referred to by 3mp zero pronoun (6a, b), and even by a pronoun bounded to the same suffixed preposition *ʾaḥārēhem* 'after them' (7c). Furthermore, on the story level they have up to now been referred to by the modified nominal form *šānē hāʾānāšīm* (1a, 4a).

A more peculiar type of reference is found in Rahab's way of referring to *hāʾānāšīm* in her speech to the king's messengers. First, she uses the term as a situationally accessible term (4c; a ResTop) and then pronominalizes it (4d; a GivTop). Her second use of the term may be dictated by the need for syntactical disambiguation (5b). However, there is no referential or syntactic reason for her use of the full form in 5c, which she could very well have pronominalized, just as in 5d-e. It appears that Rahab uses *hāʾānāšīm* in 5c to distance herself from the spies by a contemptuous reference (cf. 'attitude' in 2.3.2).

Other types of reference are more difficult to assess, because they may be motivated by stylistics. One obvious case is an active referent in full nominal form *hāʾiššā* in 4a (a GivTop). It is coreferent with the prepositional addressee Rahab of the parallel node (3a).⁸ Most likely this is intended as a stylistic play on a woman contra men who are to be helped. Alternatively, it is used for her female role as official or prostitute (1d).

The referentially redundant unbound **personal pronoun** is used sparingly in Hebrew, and generally placed clause-initially as subject (Richter 1980:212). Hebrew, like Polish, can have an overt pronoun for a known participant at the beginning of a new episode (Flashner 1987:143). In 8b this is possible because Rahab is a discourse topic within the episode, but the same overt pronoun can also be used to open a background digression (1987:144-145) as in 6a. The form *wahēmmā ʾerem yiškābūn* (8a) on the other hand is a locally contrastive focus (a ParFoc in a list comparison).⁹ A stressed pronoun like *ʾattem* preceded by a modifying particle *gam* 'also you' (12c, cf. 24c) expresses expanding focus.¹⁰

⁸ The NP *hāʾiššā* can not introduce a new entity (against Floss 1982:118-119).

⁹ Cf. selective-exclusive force and contrast (WO § 16.3.3c (297-298)), which may (Gen 42:8) or may not (2 Chron 6:2; Gen 31:6) be present with pronouns (de Regt 1991-1992:165).

¹⁰ Contrast addressee emphasis (Floss (1986:8 n. 5).

3.4.2 Dialogue Structure

Beyond the pragmatic functions of intraclausal constituents, a broader thematic area emerges on the paragraph-level in dialogue elaborations of the story line (cf. 2.4.1). These conversational units are very prominent in the organization of Joshua 2. A look at the superstructure reveals that the central part consists of dialogue and all, except one of the units (episode 5), have at least one direct quote.¹¹

The first direct quote in 1b functions as "a deliberately suggestive lead sentence" (Bird 1989:127).¹² This stage opening is counter-balanced by a final direct quote in the closure at 24b-c. Together they form an **outer frame of quotes**, in which the latter almost functions as the response of the spies to the proposal of Joshua as in 7:2-3. A **inner frame of quotes** is found in the unfolding of the story and at the end of the dialogues. The dramatically shortened report to the king (2b) is balanced by Rahab's acceptance of the spies' terms (21b). This pair of simple quotes frame the body of the story and its three major dialogue exchanges.

Dialogue 1 is concerned with the initial rescue of the spies. Its force is highlighted in 2:3 by the stylistic trick of eliminating the senders to emphasize the royal authority behind the order. The peril calls for the strong verbal defense of Rahab (4c-5e). As set out in the rhetorical analysis of the response in (3.3.3), Rahab in 4c admits the inescapable fact of the spies' presence, but then explains the problem away by narrating how they departed (5b). This problem is solved by the suggested solution in the nucleus (5d) that the messengers could catch the spies if they pursued them right away.

Dialogue 2 is a regular speech exchange and the episode contains nothing but this simple conversation.¹³ Its length, prominent position and central ideology makes it a thematic climax in the story. Some or all of Rahab's confession (v 9-11) is usually considered an attempt by a deuteronomistic editor to transform a popular narrative into a theology of conquest.¹⁴ However, the content fits well into the narrative world, pro-

¹¹ A structure based on a sevenfold use of the speech verb form *y/tô'mer(û)* (v 4, 9, 14, 16, 17, 21, 24) (McCarthy 1971b:171) is less helpful, because it does not include the speech verb forms of v 1 and 2, nor does it mark off v 3.

¹² Even if "Joshua's instructions are pared to the minimum" (Boling 1982:144), the use of a direct quote suggests that the narrator had an interest in military reconnaissance (cf. also Josh 7:2).

¹³ The only action is found in the speech verb formulas in 9a and 14a which introduces the exchange with proposal (9b-13) and response (14b-e).

¹⁴ Deuteronomistic phraseology is pointed out in *hôbîš* (10b) and *šânê malkê hâ'emôri* (10d). Floss suggests "in 9d, 10 dieselbe redigierende Hand zu sehen, die

vided that Pentateuchal phraseology has influenced an Israelite writer's presentation of the speech (Woudstra 1981:71, 73).¹⁵ Furthermore, a synchronic scholar suggests that its unity can be established by a concentric chiasm around 10b, "a center section (D) recounting YHWH's deeds east of the Jordan" (Hauch 1991:297):

- A I know: Yahweh has given land
- B dread fallen on us
- C inhabitants melt in fear
- D For we have heard: Red Sea and two Amorite kings
- C' We heard: hearts melted
- B' no courage left
- A' Yahweh is God in heaven and earth

Rhetorical and syntactic relations indicate that this alleged aesthetic center is not the most central point in the pragmatic strategy. The nucleus is the request for an oath in 12a. Rahab motivates this request by her rescue of the spies (12b) in order to get a sign immediately (12d) and at the future conquest have herself and her family rescued (13a-b). The justification for this request consists of her knowledge of Yahweh's gift of the land (9c) and of the fears of her fellow countrymen (9d-e). The evidence for this conviction are the rumors of the Red Sea and East Jordanian events (10a-d). They made the Canaanites fear the power of this omnipotent God (11a-d). The text emphasizes Yahweh's predictable initiative which induced her to cling to an oath and motivated her to petition the spies for merciful treatment.

Dialogue 3 is also structured as a speech exchange, but includes three quotes and a measure of turn-taking.¹⁶ It repeats some of dialogue 2 and functions as its direct continuation. Often an unconditional oath (v 14) is assumed to contradict a conditional one (v 19). However, a conditional stipulation fits perfectly into the universe of the discourse, and the need

24a-c ergänzte und den Lexemaustausch von 'ṯr zu 'arš in 2b, 3c und 9c vornahm" (1986:130).

¹⁵ Cf. also Rose's argument, that "[o]hne diese 'Zusätze' bleibt die Funktion von Jos 2 innerhalb der Komposition ... denkbar dürftig; erst unter Einbeziehung der "Zusätze" führt die Kundschafter-Geschichte in die 'Glaubensentscheidung' sowohl bei Rahab (2,9ff) als auch bei Israel (2,24)" (1981:146). However, his literary comparison with an early Danite conquest is less convincing (1981:147-152).

¹⁶ Speech verbs in 16a and again 17a introduce a proposal by Rahab (16b-f), but it is followed by a counter-proposal of the spies (17b-20b).

for secrecy is stipulated already in the spies' initial answer (14c).¹⁷ The spies clarify the broader juridical aspects of the pledged agreement by specifying under what conditions they might be legally relieved of personal accountability.¹⁸ A programmatic lead clause asserts their legal innocence in giving the oath (17b). They argue the limits of their responsibility right to the end where an elaboration (20b) preceded by a condition (20a) defines how they could be freed from an otherwise binding oath. This emphatically repeats the condition stated previously (14c) and frames the nucleus of their stipulation that only those staying inside the house will be spared (19c). The length, complexity and repetitiousness of the spies' counter-proposal marks dialogue 3 as a didactic resolution following the climatic dialogue 2.

So far the speech verb clauses used as **dialogue introducers** have tacitly been set aside, because they run counter to the elementary rules of referential coherence. After 4a, Rahab is referred to by pronoun (6a, 8b) or zero-pronominalization (16a, 21a) on the story line. This also holds for the spies who are referred to by object suffixes (6a etc, 15a, and 21c), pronominal forms (8a and 8b), and cross-referencing (22a etc). However, in the quote formulae, the referential devices are enlarged and subtle patterns emerge. Particularly the full nominal *'el-hā'ānāšîm* in 9a and the repetition of *'el-yāhōšua'* in 24a is unnecessary for reference.¹⁹

If Longacre's seminal proposal on discourse introducers is applied to Joshua 2, several interesting features emerge. Joshua 2 contains the introducers shown below in Table 3.2. The opening quote in 1a **identifies** both participants (formula Sp:PN + Add:N). In 2a, the Sp:Ø + Add:N is perhaps chosen to promote the royal speaker, but it also serves to introduce him. The Sp:Ø + Add:Ø in 21a is a compliance to end further discussion. Dialogue 1 is initiated by a Sp:N + Add:PN in 3a which demarcates both a speech exchange and episode boundary.²⁰ The continuing utterance of 4a-b with [Sp:N] + Add:Ø then marks a demotion of the addressee as a sequel to the swift action of *wattiqqaḥ hā'isšā* (4a). This pattern

¹⁷ Floss speculates that the addition of 14c-d changed an unconditional agreement "nachträglich zu einem bedingten Versprechen" (1986:92).

¹⁸ For an irony to shift the burden of proof from Rahab's past acts to her future time, see Butler (1983:31). Floss remarks that the prolepsis in 17b intends to show that the spies "in jedem Fall unschuldig sind, ganz gleich, unter welchen Umständen und Bedingungen sie das Land erobern werden" (Floss 1986:135 n. 52).

¹⁹ Floss assumes that *'āmar* after *sāpar* of Unit 1 must have "eine gegenüber 23d [here 23c] andere und neue Intention verfolgt" (1986:137).

²⁰ De Regt (1991-1992:157) rejects that dialogue introductions always will use proper names, but it is not clear that this refutes further pragmatic functions.

underpins the finality intended by Rahab in her defense. Or, as an $\emptyset + \emptyset$ pattern, it may mark her deceptive civility.

Formula	Sp	Add	Unit	Function
wayyišlah yəhōšua' ... 'ānāšim ... lē'mōr (1a:Sta)	PN	N	SQ:P	Identification
wayyē'amar ləmelek yərihō lē'mōr (2a:Ep1)	$\emptyset$	N	SQ:C	Identification
wayyišlah melek ... 'el-rāhāb lē'mōr (3a:D1)	N	PN	IU:P	Identification
wattiqqah hā'iššā 'et-šənē hā'ānāšim ... wattō'mer (4a-b)	[N]	$\emptyset$	CU:R	Finality
wəhi' 'ālētā 'ālēhem ... wattō'mer 'el-hā'ānāšim (8b-9a:D2)	[pr]	N	IU:P	Addr-centered
wayyō'mərū lāh hā'ānāšim (14a)	N	pr	CU:R	Decisiveness
wattō'mer lāhem (16a:D3)	$\emptyset$	pr	IU:P	Neutral
wayyō'mərū 'elēhā hā'ānāšim (17a)	N	pr	CU:~P	Decisiveness
wattō'mer (21a)	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	SQ:R	Compliance
wayyō'mərū 'el-yəhōšua' (24a:Clo)	$\emptyset$	N	SQ:C	Addr-centered

Table 3.2 Dialogue Introducers in Joshua 2

The really remarkable case is dialogue 2 where the referential marking after 8b is completely superfluous. The formula [Sp:pr] + Add:N of 9a shows an **addressee-centeredness** that is well in line with Rahab's fervent petition to a superior for the rescue of herself and her family (cf. Longacre 1989a:182-183). The Add:pr + Sp:N in the response of the spies in 14a with explicit *hā'ānāšim* signals the spies' **decisive declaration** of their commitment to take the oath despite the prohibition against Canaanite treaty-making. The Sp: $\emptyset$ + Add:pr of 16a in dialogue 3 can be viewed as a neutral continuation opening a new round of dialogue exchange. That Rahab honors their oath by contributing to their final rescue need not be singled out in any special way. The spies, however, make a very ardent attempt to gain control over the outcome of the dialogue. They redirect the conversation to the specific terms of the oath by a counter-proposal. Their decisiveness not only has to save their lives, but also their innocence. All this is reflected in the Add:pr + Sp:N formula of 17a.

Finally, the repetition of the confession in the closure has Sp: $\emptyset$ + Add:N in 24a. This is clearly referentially redundant after the resumption and tracking of Joshua in 23b-c.²¹ As an addressee-centered speech to a

²¹ The unmodified proper name form *yəhōšua'* shows its anaphorical relation to the active referent reintroduced by the full name modified in 23b and traced by a suffixed pronominal in 23c, and thus does not support a redactor's addition of v 24 (Floss 1982:73; 1986:137).

superior, the Sp:Ø + Add:N may reflect the social gap between a general and his spies (cf. a possible deference in 2a as well as 9a). However, because of the **thematic relevance** of the quote it would match very well with an attempt to persuade the addressee of the most central piece of their information.

In conclusion, a discourse-pragmatic analysis of dialogue functions in combination with dialogue introducers is both a referential must and a grammatical gain. Direct quotes are integrated in their narrational surroundings as pragmatic elaborations of thematic importance.²²

3.4.3 Discourse Topic

The preceding analysis paves the way for a final summation of the overall thematic macrostructure based both upon referential coherence (3.4.1) and dialogue elaboration (3.4.2). It is now possible to draw the contours of a thematic macrostructure of Joshua 2 on the basis of episode structure and narrative strategy (2.4.1), coherence devices (2.3.2) and interclausal relations (2.4.2-3).

The plot in Joshua 2 is clearly focused on Rahab's unconditional allegiance with the spies and her daring leap of faith at the risk of her life. But this poses the problem of how their endangering and rescue relates to the intelligence mission and how the oath fits into the wider conquest theme and the book at large.

One way to solve this problem is to argue with action sequences. Culley (1984:30-31) has set out the compositional interrelationships between three narrative sequences of **spying, rescue and request**:

1. A task is assigned and carried to completion
2. A rescue follows in two stages:
 - 1) The men are hidden, the pursuers are sent off on a wild goose chase
 - 2) The men are let out of the window, stay in the hills and return safely
3. A request is granted. This reward for a good deed has two elements
 - 1) a promise to save (given immediately)
 - 2) the future fulfillment (at the capture of Jericho)

There is no direct connection between the task and the rescue, because the latter is just framed by the former. But the request depends on the res-

²² In contrast, Longacre assumes a special sort of dialogue type featuring a so-called *expanded quotation formula* which may include two or three preparatory clauses (1989a:160). My analysis indicates that Sp:Ø + Add:N formula may have a broader significance than assumed by Longacre.

cue and also points forward to a continuation in Joshua 6.²³ Culley formalizes a homogeneous story line as follows:

RESCUE: good deed → appeal → RESPONSE: reward

Culley's action analysis clarifies the coherence of the event blocks, but it is not tied into the grammatical marking of discourse structure. A discourse-pragmatic approach expanded by Rhetorical Structure Theory can trace nuclear text elements, linguistic expressions of discourse topic(s) and writer-intended condensing and detailing.

The topics of the dialogues include the diversion of the king's men (dialogue 1), a request for an oath of survival justified by a Yahweh directed conquest (dialogue 2), as well as a proposal for the final rescue of the spies and the particular terms for an oath of future survival (dialogue 3). While the first dialogue concerns the spies and the second centers on the conquest, the third unites the spies' situation with the conquest theme. The spy theme encapsulates the conquest theme of survival for Rahab. The conquest is the most nuclear element in the confession (v 9-11) and is reiterated in the final report (24b-c).

The direct quote of 24b-c concludes that Rahab's way of justifying her petition was the main conquest-related information gathered in the intelligence operation. The content of the confession and the petition for survival (v 9-13) provided the spies with information on the psychological impact of the divine wars.²⁴ It also prepared for the successful outcome and particular measures to be taken at the conquest of Jericho. Rahab's confession therefore shifts the perspective from the spies in peril to the successful conquest (Culley 1984:33). The relational analysis of coherence shows how the divine victory and its accompanying fear is carefully marked in the grammar as reiterated double-points with a restatement of the second.

The central role of the conquest theme is already indicated by the spies' commission. The second object *wəʔet-yəriḥô* 'and especially Jericho' (1b) is singled out to emphasize the role of Jericho in the ensuing campaign (Gray 1986:63). Together with the preceding *ʔet-hāʔāreš*, it signals from

²³ Rahab's request could imply "a veiled threat" (Culley 1984:30) if the spies' refusal of the terms meant that Rahab would not let them go, but probably a reward is intended (12b-c). Furthermore, "[s]elf-interest alone cannot explain her commitment," but "[e]ither faith or discernment, or both, is required to explain such unproved loyalty." She is "a good harlot, a righteous outcast" (Bird 1989:131).

²⁴ "Rahab was their only informant, but she had told them all that they needed to know. The young men had stumbled onto the truth" (Boling 1982:149).

the beginning that the following events prepare both for the capture of Jericho and for the conquest of the land (Culley 1984:34).²⁵ The endangering of the land is also mentioned in 2b and repeated in 3d as an important historical presupposition of the story (Boling 1982:145). Spying is explicitly marked by *māraggālīm ḥereš* (1a) and the recapitulation of *ḥāpar* 'spy' in v 2-3 "so that there will be no misunderstanding the nature of their mission west of the Jordan" (Boling 1982:143).²⁶

The thematic macrostructure can be summarized through a listing of the rhetorical relations within the nuclear nodes (cf. relations summarized in Figure 3.20). The story naturally consists of sequential relations, especially in the outer frame. But the higher and most central nodes are elaborated by dialogue. The central relations are formed by a solution-hood schema (dialogue 1) which builds up to a more central justify schema (dialogue 2), and in turn is enlarged upon by summary and elaboration schemas (dialogue 3). The theme is therefore expressed by sequential relations centering on a justification and its restatement in the closure. This macrostructure is summed up in Table 3.3.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
2:1	Stage	task assigned	Circumstance
2:2	ep1	spies endangered	Sequence
2:3-8a	Ep2	dialogue 1: explanation	Solution
2:8b-14	Ep3	dialogue 2: confession	Justification
2:15-21	Ep4	dialogue 3: terms	Elaboration
2:22	Ep5	rescue	Sequence
2:23-24	Closure	report	Restatement

Table 3.3 The Macrostructure of Joshua 2

²⁵ It does not stress that Rahab lived there (contra Boling 1982:144), although the three references to Jericho in 2:1-3 tie the story closely with Joshua 6.

²⁶ The term *ḥāpar* 'spy' is associated with divine war in Deut 1:22. The element of fear may also have the connotation of an eagle searching prey as in Job 39:29 (McCarthy 1971a:228). He argues that it is used in a predeuteronomistic sense as part of the original story (1971a:229), cf. also Floss (1982:164 n. 173, 171 n. 176, 210 n. 215).

1a	└─Circ	┌─┐	wayyišlah yəhōšua ^c -bin-nūn ...
1b	P	┌─┐	<i>ləkū rə'ū 'et-hā'āreš wə'et-yərīhō</i>
1c	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyēləkū wayyābō'ū bêt-'iššā zônā
2a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyē'amar ləmelek yərīhō lē'mōr
2b	C	┌─┐	<i>hinneh 'anāšim bā'ū ...</i>
3a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyišlah melek yərīhō 'el-rāhāb lē'mōr
3b	P	┌─┐	<i>hōšī'ī hā'ānāšim ...</i>
4a	Sequ	┌─┐	wattiqqah hā'iššā 'et-šənē hā'ānāšim ...
4b	Sequ	┌─┐	wattō'mer
5b	└─Solu	┌─┐	<i>wəhā'ānāšim yāšā'ū</i>
5d	R	┌─┐	<i>ridpū mahēr 'ahārēhem</i>
6a	Back	┌─┐	wəhī' he'ēlātam haggāgā
7a	Sequ	┌─┐	wəhā'ānāšim rādəpū 'ahārēhem ...
7b	Sequ	┌─┐	wəhašša'ar sāgārū
8a	Cont	┌─┐	wəhēm mā terem yiškābūn
8b	Sequ	┌─┐	wəhī' 'ālōtā 'alēhem 'al-haggāg
9a	Sequ	┌─┐	wattō'mer 'el-hā'ānāšim
9b	└─Just	┌─┐	<i>yāda'ū kī-nātan yahwēh lākem 'et-hā'āreš</i>
9c	Join	┌─┐	<i>wəki-nāpələ 'ematkem 'alēnū</i>
10a	Evid	┌─┐	<i>kī šama'nū 'et 'āšer-hōbīš yahwēh</i>
11b	NRes	┌─┐	<i>wayyimmas ləbābēnū</i>
11d	VCau	┌─┐	<i>kī yahwēh 'ēlōhēkem hū' 'ēlōhīm ...</i>
12a	P	┌─┐	<i>wə'attā hiššābā'ū-nā' lī bəyahwēh</i>
14a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyō'mərū lāh hā'ānāšim
14b	R	┌─┐	<i>napšēnū tahtēkem lāmūt</i>
14e	VRes	┌─┐	<i>wə'āšīnū 'immāk ḥesed we'emet</i>
15a	└─Circ	┌─┐	wattōridēm baḥebel bə'ad haḥallōn
16a	Sequ	┌─┐	wattō'mer lāhem
16b	P	┌─┐	<i>hāhārā ləkū</i>
16d	Purp	┌─┐	<i>wənahbētem šāmmā šəlōšet yāmīm</i>
16f	VRes	┌─┐	<i>wə'aḥar tēləkū lədarkəkem</i>
17a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyō'mərū 'ēlēhā hā'ānāšim
17b	└─Summ	┌─┐	<i>nəqiyyim 'anaḥnū miššəbu'ātək ...</i>
18b	└─Back	┌─┐	<i>'et-tiqwat hūt haššānī hazzeh tiqšarī ...</i>
18c	Join	┌─┐	<i>wə'et-'ābīk ... ta'aspī 'ēlayik habbāytā</i>
19a	~ P	┌─┐	<i>wəhāyā kōl 'āšer-yēšē' ... dāmō bərō'šō</i>
20a	└─Cond	┌─┐	<i>wə'im-taggdī 'et-dəbārēnū zeh</i>
20b	Elab	┌─┐	<i>wəhāyīnū nəqiyyim miššəbu'ātək ...</i>
21a	Sequ	┌─┐	wattō'mer
21b	R	┌─┐	<i>kədibrēkem ken-hū'</i>
21c	Sequ	┌─┐	wattəšalləhēm wayyēləkū
22a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyēləkū wayyābō'ū hāhārā
23a	Sequ	┌─┐	wayyāšubū šənē hā'ānāšim wayyērədū ...
24a	Rest	┌─┐	wayyō'mərū 'el-yəhōšua ^c
24b	C	┌─┐	<i>kī-nātan yahwēh bəyādēnū 'et-kol-hā'āreš</i>
24c	Join	┌─┐	<i>wəgam-nāmōgū kol-yōšəbē hā'āreš ...</i>

Figure 3.20 The Nuclear Nodes in the Macrostructure of Joshua 2

(indented clauses in italics are direct speech)

3.5 Summary and Conclusions: The grammatical Test

A comprehensive discourse-pragmatic analysis grounded in a viable functional grammar shows that diachronic solutions can not be demonstrated by linguistic evidence. To the contrary, literary close-readings often provide simple and natural solutions that can be proved by rhetorical and syntactic relations, and at times explain points that are less clearly or barely at all marked in the syntax. It is also clear that a structuralist-functional grammar far outreaches the diachronic-structural grammar of Richter as handled by Floss.

When a functional discourse-pragmatic analysis is compared with a **computer-assisted description** of syntactic relations, the limitations of the latter are apparent. Syntactic relations are indispensable at the lower intra- and interclausal level, but cannot code higher level discourse features. The syntactic programs do not sufficiently demarcate the unit markings that evolve from the rhetorical relations and the macrostructure. Thus the pertinent boundary codes are:

(1)	└─┐	02,01.1	[w-] [yšlh] [yhwš ^c (bn nwn)] [mn h-šty]m [šnym ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<203> 02,01.6	[w-] [ylkw]
	└─┐	<200> 02,02.1	[w-] [yʔmr] [l-mlk yryhw]
	└─┐	<200> 02,03.1	[w-] [yšlh] [mlk yryhw] [ʔl rḥb]
	└─┐	<200> 02,04.1	[w-] [tqh] [h-ʔšh] [ʔt šny h-ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<327> 02,06.1	[w-] [hyʔ] [hʔtm] [h-ggh]
	└─┐	<302> 02,08.1	[w-] [hnh]
	└─┐	<110> 02,08.2	[ʔrm] [yškbnw]
	└─┐	<327> 02,08.3	[w-] [hyʔ] [ʔth] [ʔlyhm] [ʔl h-gg]
	└─┐	<372> 02,09.1	[w-] [ʔmr] [ʔl h-ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<202> 02,14.1	[w-] [yʔmrw] [lh] [h-ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<372> 02,15.1	[w-] [twrdm] [b--ḥbl] [bʔd h-ḥlwn]
	└─┐	<200> 02,16.1	[w-] [ʔmr] [lhm]
	└─┐	<202> 02,17.1	[w-] [yʔmrw] [ʔlyh] [h-ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<202> 02,21.1	[w-] [ʔmr]
	└─┐	<200> 02,21.4	[w-] [tšlhm]
	└─┐	<200> 02,21.6	[w-] [tqšr] [ʔt tqwt h-šny] [b--ḥlwn]
	└─┐	<202> 02,22.1	[w-] [ylkw]
	└─┐	<200> 02,22.5	[w-] [ybqšw] [h-rdpym] [b-kl h-drk]
	└─┐	<200> 02,23.1	[w-] [yšbw] [šny h-ʔnšym]
	└─┐	<200> 02,23.5	[w-] [ysprw] [lw] [ʔt kl]
	└─┐	<200> 02,24.1	[w-] [yʔmrw] [ʔl yhwš ^c]

This shows that a shift of number (<203>) sometimes marks an episode

boundary (02,23.1; also 02,02.1 although the passive is not accounted for), but not always (02,01.6). Identical verb forms (<200>) are used episode-internally (02,04.3), but can also occur across episode boundaries (02,03.1). Finally, the *wə*-pronoun + *qatal* after *wayyiqtol* (<327> 02,06.1) and the identical one (<200>) in 02,08.2 can not be distinguished for foreground or background functions. This is due to the complexity of language. It suggests that syntax must be checked and reassessed against a flexible framework such as a functional discourse grammar which can incorporate pragmatic goals and textual functions into its account of syntactic features.

A **discourse interpretation** based on a computer-assisted syntactic description can yield far-reaching results. Joshua's decision to send the spies ties neatly into the discourse universe of the conquest. It is told as a natural decision taken by a general not yet informed on the future nature of the conquest of Jericho (Woudstra 1981:68). The spies act and speak on the assumption that the city will be conquered by military force and Rahab reminds them of the prior conquest of East Jordan. The spy story has no hint of a lack of faith by Joshua or the spies, and God supports their mission in providential ways. There is no answer to how the oath can ultimately be justified, but the story clearly stresses that "Rahab made a *moral* decision" to request an agreement, and it illustrates the "grand principle" of "obedience and submission of faith" (Campbell 1972:244). The story stands out as a negotiated exception to the policy of extermination of Canaanite population groups.

A broader reading of the story may suggest that the crossing of the Sea and the defeat of Sihon and Og (2:10) previews the two major themes ahead, the crossing of the Jordan (Joshua 3-4) and the conquest of the Western Territory (Joshua 6 and onwards).¹ Even the spies' rescue may serve as a proleptic case of the future success of the conquest.² But this can only be answered in a study of the discourse-pragmatic features of the continuing discourse to follow (ch. 4).

¹ This may explain why these two kings are the only ones mentioned by name until the Canaanite League is founded (Boling 1982:147).

² The Rahab story then becomes "a *temporal* preview of the significance of the Israelite occupation" (Polzin 1980:88) similar to the ideological preview in Judges 2:6-3:6 (1980:89). The spies' rest, however, does not hint at "the deepest truth of the Conquest ahead: the people so passive, contributing so little" (Moran 1967:284), because the point is that they did not rest at all (8a).

Chapter 4 Conquering the Pragmatics of Discourse: The Jordan, Jericho and Ai Stories in Joshua 3–8

Only a short story like Joshua 2 can be presented comprehensively from intraclausal grammar to discourse-pragmatic organization. But even this kind of presentation is inconclusive, if similar themes and linguistic devices are not traced for larger stretches of discourse.

This chapter investigates a more extensive chunk of narrative following on the spy story. After the mission of the spies, other stories follow from the Jordan-Jericho area until Joshua 6. This area is not left before the Gibeon campaign in Joshua 10 and then not for good: Gilgal remains the camp site for some time (9:6, 10:6, 7, 9, and 14:6). The treaty made with Gibeon in Joshua 9 clearly prepares for the following regional wars and thus opens a new unit in the story of conquest.

The stories on Jordan, Jericho and Ai in Joshua 3–8 form a more closely related larger stretch. From Shittim (2:1, 3:1) the Israelites cross the Jordan into the promised land and reach the camp site at Gilgal (4:19). There, they celebrate the arrival in the land in ceremonial action (5:2–12). At this point, the discourse slides into the conquest of Jericho (5:13) as anticipated in Joshua 2 and elsewhere (3:16; 4:19; 5:10). But the campaign does not immediately continue into mainland Canaan (Joshua 9–11). It abruptly detours to Mount Ebal at Shechem (8:30–35) and then reverts to the Gibeonite interlude at Gilgal (9:6).

The following will discuss the shape of the two minor units on the events at Gilgal (5:1–12) and Mount Ebal (8:30–35) and their function within the total structure of Joshua 3–8. The main objective is to attack the pragmatic functions at story level and the structure of the larger discourse. After Israel crosses the Jordan (Joshua 3–4), reconnoiters and conquers Jericho (Joshua 6), a second surveillance mission leads to the complications of defeat and detection before Ai is also won (Joshua 7–8).

These discourses unfold an extended stretch of contiguous but diverse story-telling. Joshua 3–8 presents an ideal battle ground for an intermediate-level analysis of how constituents, coherence and content are expressed by linguistic devices.

4.1 Readings of Joshua 3-8 and Gilgal and Ebal

The events at Jordan, Jericho and Ai in Joshua 3-8 are interspersed with the celebrations at Gilgal (5:2-12) and Mount Ebal (8:30-35). This calls for an explanation of their role within the larger story. Both these units, as well as the initial crossing of Jordan, raise the question of whether military operations really are the central discourse theme. It is surprising that the first real battle account occurs as late as Joshua 8.

Earlier diachronic readings of the text rarely addressed such holistic challenges (Wilcoxon 1968:50-51). Two current proposals are exceptions to this. The first looks for a **liturgical-historical unity** in a whole series of ritual activities covering seven-day periods of ark procession in Joshua 1-6 (1968:54-57, 60-64).¹ The redactor stylized heterogeneous material into a basic cultic plot: from an inauguration of a leader at Shittim to circumambulations at Jericho (1968:59). The second interpretation assumes a **literary-redactional unity** due to intertextual parallels between Joshua 3-8 and Exodus 12-17 (Ottosson 1984:87-95; 1991:76-80). Beyond an explicit quote of Exod 3:5 in Josh 5:15, the crossing of a river and circumcision are prominent themes in Exodus 14 and 12-13.² A parallel apostasy, complaining and war against Amalek at Rephidim (Exod 17:8-16) not only extends to the raised sword at Ai (Josh 8:18) but also to the subsequent construction of the altar on Mount Ebal (8:30-35).³ These intertextual parallels can be summarized as follows (1984:94-95):

Exodus 12-14	Passover	Joshua 3-6	Jordan crossing
	Sea of Reeds crossing		Passover
	Egyptian destruction (14:28)		Jericho destruction
Exodus 15-17	Massah-Meribah defeat	Joshua 7-8	Achan defeat
	Rephidim victory		Ai victory
	Moses' rod and altar		Joshua's sword and altar

In contrast to a *sub*-textual or *inter*-textual approach, a discourse grammar will look for linguistic *intra*-textual marking of structure and theme. In the discourse structure of Joshua 3-8 two important occurrences of

¹ According to Wilcoxon Joshua 1-6 is a "continuous and interconnected narrative" (1968:47), because an anticipated crossing and conquest (Joshua 1-2) is only complete by chapter 6, while Joshua 7-11 has "relatively self-contained episodes."

² Circumcision and Passover respond to the stipulations of Exod 13:5 and the divine commander is parallel to Exod 23:20ff (Ottosson 1984:90; cf. Hauch 1991:114-120).

³ The position of Josh 8:30-35 reflects "an ideological and literary typology of structure" (Ottosson 1984:92), and part of a historically inconceivable, *dtr* "textbook example" of curse and blessing (1984:93).

wayhî kišmōaʿ kol-malkê ... '[and-it-was] just.when-hear all-kings-of ...' (5:1a-b; 9:1a) function as **discourse markers**. The first occurrence is continued by a reference to the terror-stricken feelings of the Canaanites in *wayyimmas ləbābām* 'and-(it-)melted their-heart' (5:1b), while the second continues with their active resistance in *wayyitqabbəšû* 'and-they-gathered' (9:2a). As the second discourse introducer prepares for the following conquest discourse, so also the first one (5:1a) is introductory and strikes the theme of the Book of Joshua.⁴ It is remarkable that the Gilgal and Ebal units in 5:2-12 and 8:30-35 are at the beginning and end of a Jericho and Ai section delimited by *wayhî kišmōaʿ* clauses.

The introductory unit narrates the **circumcision and Passover celebration at Gilgal** (5:2-12) instead of an order to attack (Boling 1982:187). It is introduced by a general time phrase *bāʿet hahîʾ* 'at that time' (5:2a). The exact time is marked almost to the date in the context (4:19; 5:10b), so here the temporal reference is deliberately generalized. After the discourse introductory statement on the loss of Canaanite courage after the Jordan miracle (1c), the effect is that tranquility rules and gives the Israelites an opportunity for preparation of activities in the land.⁵

First Yahweh orders Joshua to make flint knives and *wəšûb mōl* ... *šēnît* 'again circumcise ... a second time' the *bənê-yiśrāʾēl* (2c=1c),⁶ and the circumcision is executed immediately (3a-b). The use of *šûb* in the divine instruction then occasions an expansive narratorial explanation—an "explanatory digression" (Boling 1982:189). This background information is opened by a cleft-focus with cataphoric pronoun + relative clause in *wəzeh haddābār ʾāšer-māl yəhōšuaʿ* 'and this is the reason why Joshua circumcised' (4a). It is elaborated in a long paragraph attached in apposition. It opens with *kol-hāʿām hayyōšēʾ mimmišrayim* 'all-the-people the-going.out from-Egypt' (4b) which is even further modified by *hazzəkārīm* 'the males' and *kōl ʾanšê hammilḥāmā* 'all the warriors'. This very com-

⁴ The summary in 5:1 is a flashback (or a tail-head linkage) which draws a broader book-related lesson on Canaanite demoralization on line with 2:24. The land is theirs even "[b]efore Israel has fought a single battle" (Butler 1983:51).

⁵ So "the kings are still in a state of shock" (Boling 1982:188). Koorevaar (1990:170-171) argues that 5:2-12 closes Joshua 1-4 with peaceful enjoyment of the goods of Canaan, while 5:13 introduces strife and conquest. He does not consider the marking of 5:1. But 5:2-12 centers on the land and prepares ritually for conquest. Moreover, the circumcision actually caused them more pain than their strolling round Jericho.

⁶ The divergent LXX^B reading καθίσας 'sit' for כָּשׁ is probably an attempt at *Glättung* (Otto 1973:56 n. 1), rather than proof of an Egyptian custom (Hertzberg 1965:32 and n. 1) or redactional activity (Soggin 1972:68-69).

plex precore slot contrasts the former deceased generation with the present one (two ParFoc; 4b-5a vs. 5b).⁷ A further *kî*-clause explains that those who went out of Egypt were circumcised (5a). The other contrasted focus *wakol-hā'ām hayyillōdīm bammidbār badderek* 'but all the people who were born in the desert en route' (5b) is described as the uncircumcised.

But the narrator in v 6 even restates it in a further satellite.

6a	Rest		└─< 204 >	05,06.1	[ky] [ʔrbʻym šnh] [hlkw] [bny yšrʾl] [b--mδbr]
--	--				
b	Circ		└─< 70 >	05,06.2	[ʻd tm] [kl h-gwy (ʔnšy h-mlh̄mh)]
	Rel		└─< 10 >	05,06.3	[h-] [yšʻym] [m-mšrym]
c	VCau		└─< 12 >	05,06.4	[ʔšr] [lʔ] [šmʻw] [b-qwl yhw] [h]
d	VRes		└─< 12 >	05,06.5	[ʔšr] [nšbʻ] [yhw] [lhm]
	CoCo		└─< 45 >	05,06.6	[l-blty hrʻwtm] [ʔt h-ʔrš]
	Rel		└─< 12 >	05,06.7	[ʔšr] [nšbʻ] [yhw] [l-ʔbwtm]
	CoCo		└─< 64 >	05,06.8	[l-tt] [lnw]
	App		└─< 223 >	05,06.9	[ʔrš zbt hlb w-dbš]

Figure 4.1 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in Josh 5:6

The *kol-haggōy ʔanšē hammilḥāmā* 'all the nation, the men of war' (6b) first had to die.⁸ This generation is characterized by several modifying clauses. A first *ʔāšer* clause after a participle (6c, cf. 2:3), *ʔāšer lō-šāmāʻū* 'because they did not listen' (05,06.4), specifies a volitional cause (cf. Soggin 1972:69). Their disobedience was the reason for their many years of wandering in the desert and for their death. The next *ʔāšer* clause (6d), *ʔāšer nišbaʻ yahwēh lāhem* 'so that Yahweh swore them' (05,06.5), specifies Yahweh's volitional reaction on their disobedience. It links an infinitival core clause *lābilti harʔōtām* 'not to show them' (05,06.6) to the verb of swearing. The *ʔet-hāʔāreš* 'the land' of this clause even has its own restrictive relative clause with a core coordination *ʔāšer nišbaʻ*

⁷ Diachronic scholars often remove parts of v 4-7. Noth (1953:39) finds the oldest *Zusatz* in v 5 (later expanded by 4, 6, 7), because it explains v 3, not v 4. But *kî* (5a) may mean 'through of course' (Soggin 1972:69). The circumcision (v 3) is explained *both* by the former generation's death (v 4) *and* their own uncircumcision (v 5), and linguistically 4a continues into v 5 (Otto 1973:58). He finds other doublets (v 7b : 5b; v 6 : v 4). Auld (1979:9) removes v 4b-5a with LXX.

⁸ The contrast between *gōy* (6a) and *ʻām* (5b) has been explained as ironic—the people became a nation (Boling 1982:172, 189) or pejorative (Otto 1973:59) and has been used for source criticism (1973:59; Butler 1983:59). But *ʻām* (5b) is also negative and does not explain 3:17 and 4:1. Otto admits that *ʻām* in 10:13 is not used pejoratively.

yahwēh laʿābôtām lātet lānū ‘which Yahweh swore to their fathers to give us’ (05,06.7–8). Finally the ʿet-hāʿāreš (05,06.6) is modified by an appositional phrase ʿereš zābat ḥālāb ūdābāš ‘a land flowing of honey and milk’ (05,06.9).

It is remarkable that the main rhetorical point of this long explanation is embedded deeply within the sentence 6d. Yahweh did not admit the former generation to the land he swore laʿābôtām ‘to their fathers’ to give lānū ‘to us’. This first plural inclusive form embraces the present generation of listeners. After the *kî*-paragraph in 6a a new contrast in 7a then states that wəʿet-bānēhem hēqīm taḥtām ʾōtām māl yəhōšuaʿ ‘but-AM-their-children [which] he-raised in-their-place them circumcised Joshua’ (7a). This left-detached position (a ResTop) reintroduces the desert generation’s children, and two *kî* satellites repeat: they were uncircumcised (7b, a non-volitional cause) because they were not circumcised (7c, a restatement).

The episode then reverts to simple narration. A new sub-episode introduced by wayhî (8a) contains a flashback to the circumcision and combines v 3–8 through “wiederaufnehmende Verknüpfung” (Otto 1973:59) —though this is not proof of redaction. A wayyiqtol (8b) describes how the Israelites had to wait until they recovered from surgery. Yahweh then explains that it has significance as a removal of the reproach of Egypt. There is a wordplay between ‘Today I have gallōtî (‘rolled away’) the reproach’ (9b) and the place name gilgāl (9c).⁹ The final wayyiqtol (9c) is summarizing (WO § 33.2.1d (550–551)).

A third sub-episode is very well set off by the three bā- adjuncts bāʿarbāʿā ʿāsār yôm laḥōdeš bāʿereb bāʿarbôt yārīḥō ‘on the 14th day of the month, in the evening, on the plains of Jericho’ (10b).¹⁰ They celebrated the Passover. On the next day they ate unleavened bread from the produce of the land (11a; cf. Exod 12:15–20; Lev 23:6–8) and the manna ceased (12a). This enjoyment of a new form of life in the land is restated a couple of times (12c–d) as a real climax (Butler 1983:56) and as “tangible sign of divine providence (Exod 16)” (Soggin 1972:75).

⁹ The etymological wordplay (Butler 1983:59) may possibly explain the abnormal omission of definite article in contrast to 4:19, 20; 5:10 (cf. Bochim in Judg 2:5 and Boling 1982:190). It is often considered an etiology (1982:190; Noth 1953:25) and is assumed to refer to the social disgrace of Egypt (Hertzberg 1965:33; Butler 1983:59; Gray 1986:76). As uncircumcision is a reproach (Gen 34:15), it may mean “the disgrace (dating from) of Egypt” (JM § 129g (467)), i.e., following afterwards.

¹⁰ Soggin (1972:73–75) to the contrary finds two place names superfluous. He removes Gilgal from 10a to prove both a festival outside the sanctuary and transhumance.

The unit thus contains three small episodal moments with one very long explanation of the circumcision. The whole episode is structured to celebrate a new start and shows how a new mass-circumcision prepared for a Passover celebration that initiated life in the land.¹¹

The concluding unit, the **ceremonial reading of the law at Mount Ebal** (8:30-35), is also a generalized past event (cf. 5:2a). It is marked by story initial circumstance in *ʔāz yibneh ʔahōšuaʕ mizbēaḥ layahwēh ʔēlōhē yiśrāʔēl bəhar ʕēbāl* 'At that time Joshua built an altar for Yahweh, the God of Israel, on Mount Ebal' (8:30a).¹² The writer's positive attitude toward the act is marked by an evaluation satellite referring to the prior command of Yahweh (31a). An appositional sentence preposes the background information that Moses' directions (31b) were followed in the construction of the altar: *mizbaḥ ʔābānīm šālēmôt ʔāšer lōʔ-hēnîp ʕālēhen barzel* '[it was] an altar of unhewn stones, which had not been reworked by a tool' (31c).

The action is narrated with zero-subject shifts. First they (the Israelites) made the sacrifices (31d-e). Then 'he' (Joshua as GivTop and main agent in the parallel node 30a) wrote a copy of the law of Moses (32a). Meanwhile all Israel stood on either side of the ark towards Garizim or Ebal, but facing the priests who blessed the people as Moses had originally stipulated (33a-b). Finally 'he' (again Joshua) read the blessings and the curses according to Moses' law and left nothing out (v 34-35).

The law and Moses themes resume Joshua 1 and apparently mark a major point for all the intervening stories (Boling 1982:249). It reminds the people of the obedience required by Joshua (1:7-9). The first transgression in the land required that they performed the curse and blessing ceremony of Deuteronomy 11 and 27 (Ottosson 1984:92).¹³

¹¹ Soggin suggests that *dtr* turned adult circumcision into a decision of loyalty, but it originally dealt with "families living far from the great cultic centers" (1972:71). Boling observes that the Abrahamic infant circumcision is not nullified by a special group-rite and "one-time exception to normative Israelite practice" (1982:189).

¹² In LXX^B it is placed after 9:1-2, and both are in effect concurrent (Boling 1982:246). The *ʔāz yiqtol* functions on episode level (10:12, 33) and discourse level (22:1; cf. Exod 15:1).

¹³ Joshua 7-8 is only theologically complete by 8:30-35, and ends "the first major division of the book as a whole" (Butler 1983:79).

4.2 The Crossing of Jordan in Joshua 3-4

Joshua 3-4 narrates how the Israelites crossed the Jordan while the waters stopped miraculously (3:15-17) and how stones were taken from the Jordan to commemorate the event (4:1-9). The waters then returned just as miraculously (4:18) and the people camped at Gilgal.

The story of the crossing has gained a reputation as a "Rätsel der Erzählung" (Vogt 1965:127), especially because of a suspicious set of twelve stones in 4:9.¹ Yet they are just the most visible signs of repetitive selection and instruction of twelve men (3:12; 4:4-5/4:1b-3), stone erection (4:9/4:20) and explanation (4:6-7/4:21-24) (Otto 1973:25-26):

crossing preparations	(1:10,11); 3:2-4	3:1, 5, 9ff
crossing of Jordan	3:17*; 4:8, 11abα	4:10*, 11bβ
setting up of 12 stones	3:12; 4:4-7, 9	4:1b, 2, 3, 8, 20-24

It has nevertheless been argued that "the whole narrative, in spite of some blunt edges, is a well knit account, logically constructed, and utterly free of contradictions and inconsistencies" (Saydon 1950:207). The following will show to what extent a discourse-pragmatic grammar can support this verdict and possibly even remove a dozen stumbling stones from the path of any modern reader crossing the Jordan.

4.2.1 Readings

Diachronic research has been preoccupied with unraveling of parallel versions ever since early source criticism suggested that a Gilgal stone account was duplicated by a Jordan stone account in 4:9 with traces in 3:12 and 4:4-7 (Wellhausen 1899:119). But despite considerable diachronic efforts for a century, it can still be argued that "der endgültige Kommentar dazu noch nicht geschrieben sei" (Vogt 1965:125).

A source critical solution was rejected by Noth (1953:31) because the disappearance of the waters of Jordan is only related once. Instead, a successive **redactional expansion** explains how twelve stones in Gilgal (4:3, 8, 20) were put up in remembrance of the crossing of Jordan (3:15, 16) (1953:25). These Gilgal stones had a more primitive oral variant in

¹ "Das Stück macht in seiner vorliegenden Gestalt literarisch einen ungewöhnlich komplizierten Eindruck" (Noth 1953:31), "immer wieder stösst der Leser darin auf Wiederholungen, Widersprüche, Zwischenbemerkungen und Unterbrechungen" (Vogt 1965:125). "No reading of the narrative can overlook duplications and chronological contradictions" (Butler 1983:41), and it "is a notorious complex of repetitions, overlappings, parentheses and variant traditions" (Gray 1986:66).

twelve Jordan stones set up in the river bed (4:9) (1953:27). The collector arranged the traditions into two parts by transpositions (1953:31), and his reference to the ark (3:11, 13) occasioned dtr and post-dtr additions.² Dus (1960) refined this view into five successive layers.³ Langlamet (1969) headed the score by no less than six independent cult traditions, which a deuteronomistic editor combined into a scenic structure.⁴

Despite Noth's obvious point that the waters disappear only once, scholars have not been deterred from sorting the story into **parallel sources**. It is split into a war narrative and a cultic procession with two versions of its second part and addition of 3:15b and all of 4:15-19 (Vogt 1965:128-137). Or, the redactor inserted 3:17b β , 4:1a, 15-18a and used a dtr source B for addition, expansion or deletion in an older Gilgal source A (Otto 1973:44-45, 49-52). Alternatively, an early catechesis on the ark cutting the waters before the people was combined with a cultic confession to a divine guidance across the river by the priests carrying the ark, and dtr added 3:1a, 7, 4:10ab, 12-14, 24, 5:1 (Butler 1983:42-44):

Vogt	War	3:1, 7, 14a, 16, 4:10b, 12-14
	Cultic A	3:2-6, 8-11, 13, 14b, 15
Otto	Cultic B/B'	3:12, 17, 4:4-7, 9-10a / 4:1b-3, 8, 11, 20-24
	Source A	3:1, 5, 9-12, 4:4-7, 9, 10a α b, 11b β , 5:1
	Source B	3:2-4b β γ , 6-8, 13ab β , 14-17ab α , 4:1b-3, 8, 11ab α , (12), 13ab β , 14, 18b, 19*, 20-24
Butler	catechesis	3:2-4, 6, 9, (10?), 11-14, 16b; 4:4-7, 11
	confession	3:1b, (5?), 7aA, 8-10, 15-16aA, 17; 4:1-3, 8, 15-22

The newer **redactional theories** reduce this complexity considerably. One version of the deuteronomistic double redaction theory suggests that a liturgical collection of four segments was only slightly edited by dtr₁

² Additions comprise priests as ark-carriers, officers (3:2), Joshua's fame (3:7, 4:14), conquest themes (3:10) and Transjordanian tribes (4:12) (Noth 1953:33-39).

³ Dus (1960:121-130) posited a Jordan (3:1b, 7a, 8*, 9a, 11*, 12; 4:8a; 4-5*; 3:13a, 14*, 15-16a, 17*; 4:9*, 11*, 18b) and a Gilgal (4:1b-3*, 8*, 10*, 20-24*) etiology. The collector exchanged the elders for Joshua (3:1a, 7, 9, 16b; 4:1, 8, 9, 20). Dtr supplied priests (3:8, 13, 15a β , 17; 4:9, 10), ark (3:6) and explanations (4:6-7). A priestly editor made transpositions (4:4-5, 9 from 3:12).

⁴ Langlamet's (1969:39-43, 123-135) fragments were a Shittim-Gilgal narrative (3:1, 5, 14a, 16; 4:19), an ark narrative (3:9-11, 13*, 15a; 4:7*, 10b), an Israelite Gilgal version (4:2*, 3*, 8*), a Joshua version (4:4-5, 20), a Jordan stone etiology (4:9*), and two Gilgal catecheses (4:6-7, 21-24). The additions were from dtr (3:6, 8, 12, 13*, 14b, 15b, 17; 4:1, 2*, 9*, 10*, 11*, 15-18, 21*), DtrH (3:2-3*, 7, 17*; 4:11b-12, 14) or priestly editors (3:3*, 4*; 4:13).

and dtr_2 .⁵ In another version almost everything is skillful literary commentary by the author of dtr_2 to interpret the conquest as a gift of the promised land.⁶ This is close to the theory of a single deuteronomistic authorship which posits a crossing account (3:2-3, 4b, 6-7, 9-11, 13a, 14-16; 4:11-14) embellished by priestly matters.⁷

Bluntly speaking, both source and redaction criticism offer an unusually rich array of choices to suit anyone's taste. The **criteria** for diachronic readings diverge considerably, and most solutions have recourse to transpositions, suppressions, *e silentio* arguments, and the like. The story is "in vielen Stücken zerschnitten und nach eigenem Befinden neu angeordnet" (Vogt 1965:126).⁸

A modern literary critic understandably objects to the "unintelligibility of typical commentaries" (Polzin 1980:91) and is critical of their "inattention to the highly complex nature of the *literary* interconnections that make up its unity" (1980:94).⁹ Even the assumption that the story "ist sicher keine glatte Erzählung" (Vogt 1965:126) has been questioned:

The consistency and coherence of the account are evident from an analysis of its grammar, style, and organization. Disjunction is normal, and consecution is confined to the pattern of command of obedience. Prolepsis and resumption are typical of the logical arrangement (Peckham 1984:423).

The interesting question is then, whether a functional discourse grammar can solve some of the complexity and support the unity of the story by an analysis of constituents, coherence and content.

⁵ Boling (1982:179-181) suggests that two segments (3:1-16 and 4:10-14) celebrating the entry in the land were split by insertion of an ancient etiology (3:17-4:8). The dtr_2 compiler combined them by adding 4:9 and edited the fourth segment (4:15-18).

⁶ Peckham (1984:418) suggests that dtr_1 only compiled a tiny conquest narrative with a speech by Joshua followed by the crossing of a ford (3:5, 10b, 16b).

⁷ So Van Seters (1990:4 and 5 n. 10). Dtr used an Assyrian campaign theme of overcoming physical dangers in crossing rivers (1990:6-7). Or, older P-material was used in 3:1a, 4, 5 and Exodus motives in Joshua 4 (Ottosson 1991:54-56).

⁸ Noth, Keller, Dus, Vogt, and Langlamet left "zahlreiche Unebenheiten und Widersprüche im Text unaufgelöst" (Otto 1973:100) "ohne vorgängige literarkritischen Untersuchung" (1973:113). Noth did not manage to combine his "three separate and conflicting theories" (Peckham 1984:414) of $DtrH$, source criticism (1984:415) and "the completely anomalous theory of historical aetiology" (1984:418).

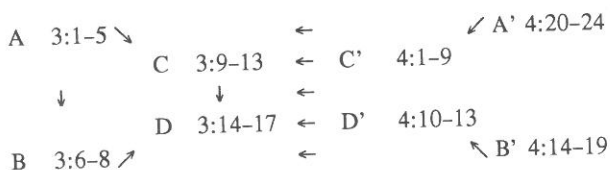
⁹ Yet, Hawk suggests that mingling of geography and chronology creates "a sense of dislocation" (1991:97) and "fragmentation beneath the surface" (1991:98).

4.2.2 Episode Structure

It is a common assumption that Joshua 3-4 consists of "a series of episodes which ... lack any original internal unity of any kind" (Soggin 1972:50).¹⁰ Modern readings also diverge on whether the unit extends only to 3:17 or to 4:24 or 5:1. The ancient manuscripts, the Codices of Cairo (C), Aleppo (A) and Leningradiensis (L), illustrate this problem of demarcation. Compare the statistic data of Koorevaar (1990:167) (the number of interpreters proposing readings 1-3 are in square brackets []).

C	3:1-8	3:9-4:1a;	4:1b-14,	4:15-5:1
A	2:1-3:4, 5-8	—	—	4:15-24
L	2:1-3:8	—	—	4:15-5:8
LXX ^B	3:1, 2-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-13, 14-17a, 3:17b-4:3, 4:4-10, 11-13, 14, 15-24			
Reading I:	3:1-4:24 [46]; 2: 3:1-5:1 [29] 3: 3:1-17 [22], 4:1-24 [19]			

Nevertheless Peckham traced an ingenious literary plan. The story consists of two parts which are connected by near verbatim repetition of 3:17b-c in the immediately following 4:1a. The first part is elaborated in the second. Both parts are divided into four paragraphs that are "interpreted in both parts, and almost everything is repeated and explained at least twice" (1984:418). Within each paragraph a topic is introduced and then interrupted by another in a system of enclosure, and its syntax "begins consecutively and ends disjunctively" (1984:419). He suggested the following interdependencies and intricate grouping (slightly simplified):



A discourse-pragmatic analysis of boundary marking offers an alternative to this structuring. The **opening of a new discourse** is clearly marked off by *wayyaškēm yāhōšua' babbōqer* 'and-(he-)got.busy Joshua in-the-morning' (3:1a).¹¹ The repetition of the proper name is not referen-

¹⁰ Often episode demarcations collapse several days of preparation into an unwieldy introductory part (3:1-13). Polzin (1980:95) extends his episode 1 even larger into 3:1-17, and his episode 3 (4:9-14) is doubtful. Saydon (1950:197) divides into 3:1-13, 3:14-16, 3:17, and fails to subdivide Joshua 4. Boling (1982:184) proposes a new unrelated section for 4:19-5:12.

¹¹ A figurative expression "to use the shoulder" was applied to pack animals and took

tially necessary after Joshua has been mentioned twice in 2:23–24, nor is it confined to story-initial position (6:12a, 15a; 7:16a; 8:10a). The story-initial staging function is strengthened by the following extended clause *wayyis'û mēhasšīṭīm wayyābō'û 'ad-hayyardēn hû' wəkol-banē yisrā'el* 'and they went away from Shittim to get to Jordan, he along with all the Israelites' (1b). This core cosubordination shares the source ('from Shittim') and direction ('to Jordan') arguments to mark a new locale for the discourse (cf. also 2:1d). A compound subject *hû' wəkol-banē yisrā'el* in right-detached position then broadens the agent reference to include all the Israelites after the restricted participant focus of Joshua 2. The cosubordination can explain why the first verb shifts to plural and the syntax is not "a bit awkward" (Butler 1983:39).¹²

The stage of 3:1 is further specified by *miqṣēh šəlōšet yāmīm* in 3:2 as a situation reached at the end of three days. This time indication picks up the story line from 1:10–11 where Joshua told the officers to have the people prepare provisions for the crossing of Jordan.¹³ A resumptive flashback therefore carefully establishes a **unifying chronology** throughout the early chapters of Joshua. A three day-period (1:11; 2:16, 22; 3:2) refer to facets of the preparations.¹⁴

Day	Ref	Event
1	1:11	Officers told people to provide provision
1–2	2	spies sent, hide, and go to mountains
2	3:1	Joshua moves to Jordan
3	3:2	crossing begins with sanctification (3:5), spies return to Joshua
4	4:19	crossing on the 10th of Nisan
5–7	5:10	circumcision, and Passover 3 days later on 14th of Nisan

The time reference in 3:2a opens the first episode by *wayhî* followed by a temporal expression. Similar *wayhî* constructions are also used as

on the meaning "break up camp early in the morning" (WO § 27.4b (444)), or possibly "to act persistently, diligently" (Boling 1982:158–159).

¹² The first verb *wayyis'û* (1b) is not assimilated to a following plural verb and subject (Boling 1982:156). Langlamet (1969:44–45) believes the MT subject is a gloss.

¹³ They do not march from Shittim to Jordan only to be "plötzlich noch am Ausgangspunkt und beginnt den March erst drei Tage später" (Vogt 1965:125; cf. Saydon 1950:197, Hertzberg 1965:25–26, Otto 1973:27, and Butler 1983:41). The determination of *hasšōṭərīm* 'the officers' is culturally shared frame information from 1:10, but here both textually and situationally accessible (a ResTop).

¹⁴ For two seven-day periods in Joshua 1–6, see Wilcoxon (1968:60–64) and Boling (1982:190). Then *šəlōšet yāmīm* refers only to parts of the first and third day. The extra day after the purification (3:5) makes extra room for the spies' hiding (2:22).

boundary markers in the openings of episode 3 (3:14), 4 (4:1) and 5 (4:11). A further time expression is found in 4:19 where the summarizing content of 4:19-24 suggests that a closure rounds off the story.

A more subtle type of demarcation occurs in *wayyômer yâhôšuaʿ ʿel-hakkôhânîm lēʾmôr* 'and-he-said Joshua to-the-priests saying' in 3:6a. A preceding command with a temporal adverb *māhâr* 'tomorrow' (5c) is executed on the following day (7b). The boundary is marked syntactically by the reintroduction of both Joshua and the priests, but probably also by the quote formula *lēʾmôr* 'saying' before direct speech. A similar boundary can be posited for *wayyômer yahwêh ʿel-yâhôšuaʿ lēʾmôr* 'and-he-said Yahweh to-Joshua saying' in 4:15a. The preceding *bayyôm hahûʾ giddal yahwêh ʿet-yâhôšuaʿ* 'On this day Yahweh made Joshua great' (4:14a) rounds off a segment on the East Jordan tribes (4:12-13; cf. 1:12-15) by yet another theme from Joshua 1 (cf. 1:16-18 and Butler 1983:50).

Both 3:6a and 4:15a are then markers of episode boundaries opened with *wayyômer*, double resumed nominal referents and *lēʾmôr* as boundary marker.¹⁵ This understanding of *lēʾmôr* as unit-marker has proved useful in Joshua, but should now be compared with Miller's discourse-pragmatic characterization of *lēʾmôr* frames as "marking features that are not prototypically dialogic" (1994:225).¹⁶

The boundary markers consists of the following set:

- (1) *wayhî miqšêh šalôšet yāmîm* and-it-was from-end-of three days (3:2a)
wayyômer yâhôšuaʿ ʿel-hakkôhânîm lēʾmôr and-(he-)said Joshua to-the-priests saying (3:6a)
wayhî binsôaʿ hâʿam mēʾohôlēhem and-it-was when-march the-people from-their-tents (3:14a)
wayhî kaʾăšer-tammû kol-haggôy laʾăbôr ʿet-hayyardên and-it-was when-(they-)completed all-the-nation to-cross AM-the-Jordan' (4:1a)
wayhî kaʾăšer-tam kol-hâʿam laʾăbôr and-it-was when-(it-)completed all-the-people to-cross (4:11a)
wayyômer yahwêh ʿel-yâhôšuaʿ lēʾmôr and-he-said Yahweh to-Joshua (4:15a)
wəhâʿam ʿâlû min-hayyardên beʾăšôr lahôdeš hâriʾšôn and-the-people (they-)went.up from-the-Jordan in-tenth for-the-month the-first (4:19a)

¹⁵ The *lēʾmôr* is used regularly to mark embedded speech (3:8a; 4:3a, 6a, 21b, 22a). It is used at episode boundaries in episode 1 (3:3a), 2 (6a), 4 (4:1b), and 6 (15a). There is, however, no apparent explanation for its use before a peak in *waysaw yâhôšuaʿ ʿel-hakkôhânîm lēʾmôr* (4:17) or before a conclusion in *wayyômer ʿel-banê yiśrâʾel lēʾmôr* (4:21).

¹⁶ Miller correctly interprets *lēʾmôr* as a "grammaticalized complementizer introducing the complement of direct speech" (1994:209). It can be used in responses that are "not salient in the conversation" (1994:221), reworded (1994:226-227) and "out of

Some of the episode **endings** are also marked by notable syntactic constructions. Before the introductory *wayhî ka'ăšer-tammû* in 4:1, the preceding episode ends with a time adverbial clause *'ad 'ăšer-tammû kol-haggôy la'ăbôr 'et-hayyardên* 'until-(they-)completed all-the-nation to-cross AM-the-Jordan' in 3:17c. Together they form a tail-head linkage type with a new episode resuming the preceding ending. A similar boundary marker in 4:11 is preceded by the continuation *wayyiqtol's waymahârû hă'am wayya'ăbôrû* 'and-(they-)hurried the-people and-they-crossed' (4:10d).¹⁷ They are semantically descriptive and past perfect. They are functionally similar to the specification of the temporal circumstance in 3:17c and the *wayyiqtol* found in 4:18d.¹⁸

In conclusion, the grammatical evidence for episode boundaries indicate the following units: March to Jordan (3:1, stage), Preparatory crossing orders (3:2-5, Ep1), Orders for crossing (3:6-13, Ep2), Crossing into water (3:14-17, Ep3 (peak)), Orders for stone collection (4:1-10, Ep4 (Inter-peak)), Crossing in front of people (4:11-14, Ep5), Crossing out of water (4:15-1, Ep6 (peak')) and Arrival at Gilgal (4:19-24, closure).

4.2.3 Coherence and Style Structure

The problem of internal consistency is even more significant than the problem of demarcation, because it provides the only criterion for source criticism (Butler 1983:41).

One way to argue for the unity of the story is to trace a temporal thread, or "chain of representative events" (Polzin 1980:95). Eleven **event sequences** may show how real events are represented as narrative events and where the temporal shifts are found (1980:95-96).¹⁹ Polzin

temporal order" (1994:228).

¹⁷ 4:10 hardly opens a new section by means of "repetitive resumption" (Boling 1982:175), since a new episode opens with *wayhî* in 11a. It is in logical contrast to the still standing priests and is thus a parenthetical remark (Saydon 1950:203; JM § 159f (602)). This verbal hendiadys (Boling 1982:175) is a predicate subordination.

¹⁸ Other endings are adverbial clauses like *terem ya'ăbôrû* 'before they crossed' (3:1d) or *ka'ăšer yārə'u* 'like they feared' (4:14c), or simply a resumption of the story line by *wayyiqtol* after direct speech (episodes 1 (3:5), 2 (3:13) and closure (4:24)).

¹⁹ Polzin's (1980:95) sequences are: Journey from Shittim to Jordan (event 1), procession to the river bank (event 2), the priests enter the river (event 3), the waters pile up (event 4), the people enter the river (event 5), the priests stop in the middle of the river (event 6), the people cross over (event 7), Joshua has twelve stones set up at Gilgal (event 8), Joshua has twelve more stones set up in Jordan (event 9), the priest come up of Jordan (event 10), the waters of Jordan return to their place (event 11).

finds a coherent temporal succession throughout 3:1-4:8 except for 3:12, which anticipates the central event of 4:1-8. There follows "a literary foreshadowing" of 4:15-18 in 4:11, where an incident is recounted from two different points of view: 4:15-24 replays 4:1-8 from "different spatial and psychological perspectives" (Polzin 1980:97). A temporal shift in 4:12 retraces events from a former episode (1980:97). In this way, the stone setting and the priests receive special emphasis.

Ep.	Extent	Theme	Event
1	3	Israel crosses (3:1, 17)	1-7
2	4:1-8	stones are set up	8
3	4:9-14	Israel enters river (4:12), priests go out (4:11)	5-10
4	4:15-18	priests go out of the river	10-11
5	4:19-5:1	twelve stones are set up in Gilgal	8

A discourse grammar will explore continuity and discontinuity on the actual expression level. After the preparatory speeches of the first two episodes (3:2-13), the story reverts to narration at the beginning of episode 3 in 3:14 as illustrated in Figure 4.2 below. Here **the miraculous disappearance of the water** is marked by an unusual grammar.²⁰ Several temporal clauses (14a-15a) culminate in a slow motion portrayal of the waters stopping (16a), just as the feet of the priests touch the water (15b), but after a comment on the flooded Jordan (15c).

After the infinitival episode introduction (14a), *wāhakkōhānīm nōśāʔē hāʔārōn habbārūt lipnē hāʔām* (14b) notes that the priests were in front of the procession as commanded (3b). This descriptive verbless clause with *wā-* ([14.4]: <304>) is a circumstance satellite to a following temporal infinitive clause. It precedes the story line action in 15b with a passive verb *niṭbālū* 'were dipped' preceded by *wā-* ([15.2]: <324>). This *wā-x-qatal* construction promotes the theme argument *wāraglê* 'and the feet' to the precore slot for reactivation from 3:13a.²¹ It also demotes the agent status of the priests, so that a situation rather than an action is described.²² Another *wā-x-qatal* construction follows in *wāhayyardēn mālēʔ* 'al-kol-gədōtāyw 'and the Jordan "filled" over its banks' (15c). But

²⁰ The syntax of v 14-16 is "overloaded" (Butler 1983:39), "heavy" (Soggin 1972:48) or "expansive" (Boling 1982:168), but still forms a "zusammenhängendes" and "geschlossenes Satzgebilde" (Otto 1973:33, 112).

²¹ Inclusio with 3:8 (Boling 1982:168) is less likely, nor is it an ending.

²² I am using 'situation' as Dik (1989:98) does.

now it is a parenthetical concession satellite. It delays the climax and heightens the miracle by commenting on the incompatible situation that the Jordan was until now in brutal force (Butler 1983:48).²³

14a	DM	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 200 >	03,14.1	[w-] [yhy]
	┐Circ	┐┐ < 55 >	03,14.2	[b-ns ^c] [h- ^c m] [m- ^h lyhm]
	CoCs	┐┐ < 64 >	03,14.3	[l- ^c br] [t ^c h-yrdn]
14b	Circ	┐┐ < 307 >	03,14.4	[w-] [h-khny (nš ^y h- ^h rwn h-bryt)] [l-pny h- ^c m]
--	--			
15a	┐Circ	┐┐ < 62 >	03,15.1	[w-] [k-bw ³] [nš ^y h- ^h rwn] [d ^c h-yrdn]
15b	Sequ	┐┐┐┐ < 327 >	03,15.2	[w-] [rgly h-khny (nš ^y h- ^h rwn)] [ntblw] [b-qsh h-mym]
--	--			
15c	Conc	┐┐┐┐ < 322 >	03,15.3	[w-] [h-yrdn] [ml ³] [t ^c kl gdwtyw] [kl ymy qsyrl]
--	--			
16a	Sequ	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 203 >	03,16.1	[w-] [y ^c mdw] [h-mym]
	Rel	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 10 >	03,16.2	[h-] [yrdym] [m-l-m ^c h]
16b	Rest	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 127 >	03,16.3	[qmw] [nd ³ h] [hrh ^c q m ³ d] [b- ^h dm (h- ^c yr)]
--	--			
	Rel	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 17 >	03,16.4	[š ^r] [m-šd šrtm]
16c	Cj	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 201 >	03,16.5	[w-]
	Rel	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 10 >	03,16.6	[h-] [yrdym] [t ^c ym h- ^c rbh (ym h-mlh)]
	Cont	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 222 >	03,16.7	[tmw]
	PrSu	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 200 >	03,16.8	[nkrtw]
16d	VRes	┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 204 >	03,16.9	[w-] [h- ^c m] [b ^c rw] [ngd yryhw]
17a	Sequ	┐┐┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 200 >	03,17.1	[w-] [y ^c mdw] [h-khny (nš ^y h- ^h rwn bryt yhw)] [b- ^h rbh] [b-tw ^c h-yrdn]
--	--			
--	--			[hkn]
17b	VRes	┐┐┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 367 >	03,17.2	[w-] [kl yš ^r l] [b ^c rym] [b- ^h rbh]
17c	Circ	┐┐┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 12 >	03,17.3	[d ^c š ^r] [tmw] [kl h-gwy]
	PrSu	┐┐┐┐┐┐┐┐ < 64 >	03,17.4	[l- ^c br] [t ^c h-yrdn]

Figure 4.2 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 3:14-17

It is only after this prolonged introduction that the story line *wayyiqtol* form occurs. It describes the plot climax in *wayya^camdû hammayim* 'the waters stopped' (16a) in fulfillment of 13b. However, the semantic content is still not agentive, nor is the event more dynamic than the *wā-x-qatal* construction used for the dipping of the priest's feet (15b).²⁴ After

²³ An editor did not place two sources "einfach nebeneinander ... ohne sie syntaktisch zu verbinden" (Vogt 1965:134). No apodosis is missing after 15a and should be restored from 13aδ. He suggests that it was substituted by 15b, and "könnte an das Ende von 4,7a derselben Quelle geraten sein, denn dort stehen überzählig und auszuschneiden gerade die Worte *nkr^ctû mē hayyardēn*, die in 15aδ fehlen" (1965:134-135).

²⁴ It is thus only partly true that "tradition has tried to locate the miracle quite exactly in 3:16" (Butler 1983:48), because the priest's feet are just as much foregrounded.

this event, the story even stops completely. The preceding *wayyiqtol* is only restated in the satellite *qāmû nēd-ʾehād harhēq mēʾōd* 'it stood like a wall very far away' (16b) with clause-initial *qatal* ([16.3]: <127>). This restatement (16a-b) is combined with 16c to contrast the upstream waters ([16.2-3]) with the downstream ones ([16.5-6]) which *tammû nikrātû* 'completed cutting up' (16c). This predicate subordination marks complete aspect.

The interchange between *wayyiqtol* (16a) and *wə-x-qatal* (15b) also continues after the stopping of the waters. In 16d a precore slot *wəhāʿām* is followed by *ʿābārû* to describe that, as a result of the miraculous situation, they crossed in the region of Jericho, far away from the damming point.²⁵ A new paragraph then opens with another story line verb, but again it only narrates that now also the priests stopped when they got to the middle of the Jordan. This effect is achieved by means of a repetition of the *wayyaʿamdû* form (17a = 16a).²⁶ The participle *ʿōbārîm* 'crossing' pictures the continuous, flowing motion of the people crossing the river.²⁷

18a	DM					<200>	04,18.1	[w-] [yhy]
	└Circ					<62>	04,18.2	[b-ʔwt] [h-khny (nšʔy ʔrwn bryt yhwh)] [m-twkw h-yrdn]
18b	Sequ					<127>	04,18.3	[ntqw] [kpwt rgly h-khny] [ʔl h-ḥrbh]
18c	Sequ					<202>	04,18.4	[w-] [yšbw] [my h-yrdn] [l-mqwmm]
18d	NRes					<200>	04,18.5	[w-] [ylkw] [k-tmwl šlšwm] [ʔl kl gdwtwyw]

Figure 4.3 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 4:18

This "miraculous" grammar twists the action into descriptive events. It is also used at **the return of the waters** in episode 6 (4:18). The structural similarities between these miracles are apparent:

Joshua 3: descent

when people departed, ark in front (14)
when carriers of ark came to Jordan (15a)
feet were dipped in waters (15b)
—Jordan went over banks (15c)—
waters stopped (16a)

Joshua 4: ascent

[dialogue and execution (4:15-17)]
when priests went up of Jordan (18a)
foot soles slipped on dry (18b)²⁸
Jordan returned to its place (18c)
went over banks as earlier (18d)

²⁵ The clause does not mark "the end of a literary unit" (Boling 1982:170).

²⁶ If translated 'stopped' it implies that they had moved on, and the people pass by the ark (contrast Saydon 1950:200). The infinitive absolute *hākēn* should not be changed into *kēn* and given a demonstrative sense 'dasselbst' (Noth 1953:28) or 'here' (Soggin 1972:49). The sense is '(stop) to a complete halt'.

²⁷ Otto (1973:34) finds a secondary addition in 3:17-4:1a. Boling interprets *gōy* as

The syntax of 3:14–17 and 4:18 gives descriptive force to a miraculous situation. It is a dramatic pause of the sort that occurs at peak climaxes. All dialogue is faded out and action is described by turbulent predicate functions.²⁹

A similarly turbulent grammar reoccurs **at the end of episode 4** after a new round of dialogue in 4:1–7. After *wayyaʿšû-kên bânê-yîsrâʿêl* ‘and so the Israelites did’ (8a) there follows a zero-pronominal clause *wayyîšʿû šātê-ʿesrêh ʾābānîm mittôk hayyardên* ‘and-(they)-lifted twelve stones’ (8c) which appears to make all the Israelites subjects of the stone collection. However, for discourse semantic reasons, it must be a departure from the usual pronominalization rules. The twelve men elected are the implied actors. The wording of the execution clauses following *wayyîšʿû* in 4:8d–f is identical with the order given to the twelve (4:3).³⁰

This leads up to the major interpretative *crux* of the story in 4:9:

- (2) *ûšātê ʿesrêh ʾābānîm hēqîm yāhōšuaʿ bātôk hayyardên taḥat*
and-12 (-) stones (he)-rose Joshua in-middle-of the-Jordan beneath
maššab raglê hakkôhānîm nōšāʿê ʾārôn habbārît (4:9a)
resting.place-of feet-of the-priests carriers-of the-ark-of the-covenant
wayyihyû šām ʿad hayyôm hazzeh (9b)
and-(they)-were there until the-day (the-)this

This extra set of twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan is surprising. God had not previously ordered Joshua to duplicate the stone setting. Joshua set them up himself, even if he by now most likely was on the western bank with the people, and the place *taḥat maššab raglê hakkôhānîm* was earlier used only in reference to the other set of twelve stones (3b).³¹ Furthermore, a second set of stones plays no role later on in

“the concept of the entry of *the entire nation*” (1982:172). The apposition ‘men of war’ in 5:6a may support a reference to the secular people in contrast to priests.

²⁸ Cf. “die Füße der Priester sich losgerissen hatten hin auf das Trockene” (Vogt 1965:146).

²⁹ It is parallel to the Flood Story where the primary and secondary story lines at the peak (Gen 7:18–24) are restructured (Longacre 1979a).

³⁰ Otto resolves the zero pronominalization by linking *wayyîšʿû* directly with 3b of the same source in contrast to a different source in 5c, and here finds “der entscheidende Hinweis für die Annahme dreier Quellen in Jos 3f” (1973:38 n. 2). The zero-pronominalized plural *lāqəḥû* (4:20a) also supports an intentional plural ambiguity with Israel acting through the twelve representatives.

³¹ Cf. Vogt (1965:138). It is hard to see how *maššab raglê* in 3a can contain a separate command to set up other stones in their footsteps, anticipating 4:9 (Peckham 1984:422).

the story or in history. It is unclear why the narrator insists on their presence there forever, but never says so of the more visual and noteworthy set of stones in Gilgal (Ottosson 1991:55).

The extra set of stones has been explained in various ways. If they are removed as an interpolation, the story runs more smoothly (Saydon 1950:203). But why would a later scribe want to add them in the first place? A historical solution may explain the stones as a platform for the priests carrying the ark. But how would they work? Can *hēqīm* be used for laying a platform? Why were they not put up before the priests arrived, and why is the expression used already of the other stones in 4:3b?³² A literary interpretation reads them as a narrator's hint at the possibility of interpreting the Mosaic law, so "Joshua fulfilled every command of the LORD—and then some" (Polzin 1980:109). But how will we prove this improvisation to be the writer's intention?

It may be worth noting that in comparison with the twelve Gilgal stones, the stones of 4:9 has "ganz den Anschein, dass immer von denselben Steinen die Rede ist" (Vogt 1965:125).³³ An identification of the two sets would require a precore slot in *wə-x-hēqīm* construction for background comment.³⁴ Its fronted object was then detached from its locative modifier, which remained in its postverbal structural position because of its heavy load. The sense 'and Joshua had erected (the) [_{PCS-moved} twelve stones] in the middle of the Jordan below the place where the feet of the priests, the carriers of the ark, were standing' could be achieved by a very unusual discontinuous O₁-V-S-O₂ construction. The indeterminateness of *šatēm 'esrēh 'ābānīm* would also have to be explained.³⁵

The grammatical identification would presuppose a very turbulent grammar. Yet, the discourse context seems to favor it. The paragraph 4:9 appears to continue the repetitive execution style initiated in 4:8. The fol-

³² Boling (1982:174) suggests that the editor could not intend an invisible monumental stone heap. But "a practical stone platform ... makes excellent sense as a subject of didactic interest here" (1982:175). The Greek variant 'twelve other stones' was dropped by haplography from MT (1982:158).

³³ Vogt (1965:140) does not identify the two sets, but uses their similarity to prove that version B and B' were parallel and a younger account replaced an older one.

³⁴ Past perfect is "suggested by the disjunctive syntax" (Boling 1982:174).

³⁵ Indetermination can be caused by "Ausgleichung" to the forms of 4:3b and 8c (Vogt 1965:136 n. 3), or the article is left out to avoid *Kakophonie* before *'ayin* (GK § 126z (429)). Otto (1973:38-39 n. 3, 103) rejects this because each of his sources need a set of stones, but a continuity in 4:8-9 would place two sets in source B.

8a	Summ		< 202 >	04,08.1	[w-] [y ^ʕ ʃw] [kn] [bny y ^ʃ r ^l]
8b	Eval		< 12 >	04,08.2	[k- ^ʔ ʃr] [ʃwh] [yhw ^ʕ ʃ]
8c	Sequ		< 200 >	04,08.3	[w-] [y ^ʃ ʃw] [ʃty ^ʕ ʃrh ^ʔ bnym] [m-tw ^k h-yrdn]
--	--				
8d	Eval		< 12 >	04,08.4	[k- ^ʔ ʃr] [dbr] [yhw ^h] [ʔ ^l yhw ^ʕ ʃ]
	<i>App</i>		< 223 >	04,08.5	[l-msp ^r ʃt ^y bny y ^ʃ r ^l]
8e	Sequ		< 200 >	04,08.6	[w-] [y ^ʕ b ^r w ^m] [ʕ ^m m] [ʔ ^l h-m ^l w ⁿ]
8f	Sequ		< 200 >	04,08.7	[w-] [y ⁿ h ^w m] [ʃm]
9a	Summ		< 327 >	04,09.1	[w-] [ʃt ^y m ^ʕ ʃrh ^ʔ bnym] [h ^q y ^m] [yhw ^ʕ ʃ]
--	--				[b-tw ^k h-yrdn] [t ^h t mʃb rg ^l y h-k ⁿ nym
--	--				(n ^ʕ ʔ ^y ^r wn h-bryt)]
9b	Elab		< 372 >	04,09.2	[w-] [y ^h y ^w] [ʃm] [ʕ ^d h-y ^w m h-z ^h]

Figure 4.4 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 4:8–9

A singular erection of an under-water memorial may of course have occurred. However, if the grammar is reinterpreted as suggested, no new information is added in 4:9a. It only underscores that ultimately Joshua was responsible for erecting the stones in Gilgal. This solution avoids the problem of having a single reference to a completely new topic.³⁸ Moreover, the end of the episode in 4:10 clearly continues with further repetitive summary commenting on how the priests were still standing in the river (participle *ʕōmādīm* in 10a) where they had stopped (*wayyiqtol* in 3:17a). The crossing of the people is also mentioned again (4:10d=3:17b).

The new episode opened in 4:11a curiously narrates that *wayyaʿābōr ʾārôn-yahwēh wəhakkōhānīm lipnē hāʿām* ‘the ark of Yahweh and the priests crossed in front of the people’ (11b).³⁹ It seems contradictory that

³⁶ After *wavviqtol* the *wavvihyû* (9b) is present continuous (WO § 33.3.1c (556)).

³⁷ The *wə'ēt šatēm 'esrēh hā'ābānīm hā'ēlleh 'āšer lāqəḥū min-hayyardēn* (20a) is preposed for background, not a redactional disjunction (Boling 1982:186).

³⁸ Contrast the scarlet cord in 2:18 and 21 and the rope in 2:15a. A brand new set of stones would violate the rule that "Biblical Hebrew is extremely circumspect in the identification of new participants (especially minor ones)" (Longacre 1989a:31).

³⁹ A singular verb can be used before a complex subject if the first of the two subjects is singular (GK § 146f (490)).

the ark and priests should now cross ahead, when the people had clearly all crossed long before and when the ascent of the priests is only relayed later.⁴⁰ As the *wayyaʿābōr* continues the temporal circumstance in the episode opening (11a), the action must have followed the people's crossing. The *lipnê hāʿām* can not have its most frequent locative sense of 'walk in the presence of somebody' (cf. 4:12a), but must be a manner argument in the sense of 'cross in(to) the sight of somebody'.⁴¹ If so, **the priests start moving across again**, while Israel stands ashore looking. The story plays subtly on a second sense of *ʿābar* by quoting the initial order to the priests to *šəʾû ʾet-ʾārôn habbārūt wəʿibrû lipnê hāʿām* 'lift up the ark of covenant and bring it in front of the people' (3:6b), which they did (3:6c, 14b). But now they do it again in this spectacular second sense.

The following clauses revert to strong stylistic repetition. Another *wayyaʿabrû* is used in 4:12a for **the two and a half tribes** crossing ahead of the people in the past perfect with reference to their earlier crossing (3:16b).⁴² A third clause with *ʿābar* repeats this information in an *x-qatal* construction (4:13a). Finally, another *x-qatal* clause (14a) comments that Joshua was made great in fulfillment of the promise of 3:7 (cf. 4:10). The story then jumps to the second miracle, and winds down in its summarizing closure.

In conclusion, the coherence of Joshua 3-4 is shaped stylistically by two major miraculous high points in 3:14-17 and 4:18, and by a zone of grammatical repetition in 4:9-10 and 4:11-15.

4.2.4 Dialogue and Theme Structure

Once the episodes and their internal coherence have been plotted, it is possible to trace the themes elaborated in the dialogue structure. Polzin has observed how God commands Joshua to command the people so that "his command can be seen as the fulfillment of God's command" (1980:

⁴⁰ The priests could not have overtaken the people on shore to march ahead to the camp, nor should one invent a circumstantial clause for the phrase *wəhakkōhānīm lipnê hāʿām* (Saydon 1950:204), because it splits the ark from the priest. The LXX exchanged the priests for stones.

⁴¹ Cf. Vogt (1965:139). JM (§ 118k and n. 1 (393)) finds a *wayyiqtol* without succession, but also mentions Rashi's view on crossing "in full view of the people." Saydon (1950:205) resorts to a scribal insertion to harmonize with 3:6 or anticipation of 4:15-18 (1950:206-207).

⁴² The repetition may underscore their obedience (Peckham 1984:422). They went along as required by Moses (Numb 32:20-21, 27) (Ottosson 1991:41-42, 56).

104). Prescriptive, predictive or prefigurative statements are involved in repetitive "anticipation/confirmation" structures "as the working out of an *antiphonal pattern*" (1980:105).

Discourse-pragmatics adds another dimension by paying attention to the use of highly marked **dialogue introducers** (cf. 2.4.1). Most formulas introduce simple quotes and just mention the speaker and addressee for a number of proposals (3:3a, 5b, 6a, 7a, 8a; 4:1b, 3a, 15a, 17a). However, in 3:10a Joshua is introduced a second time in order to mark the finality of his order. Joshua here talks about the twelve stone pickers, and when he later on orders them to proceed with this task, the same finality reoccurs (4:5a). There are some peculiar addressee-centered introductions in the final explanation (21a and 22a). As it elaborates on available information, it may very well indicate the urgency of his persuasion and its thematic importance (cf. 2:24a). See the evidence in Table 4.1.

Formula	Sp	AddUnit	Function
wayyô'mer yəhōšua' 'el-bənē yiśrā'ēl (3:9a)	PN	N SQ:P	Identification
wayyô'mer yəhōšua' (10a)	PN	Ø SQ:P	Finality
wayyô'mer lāhem yəhōšua' (4:5a)	PN	Ø SQ:P	Finality
wayyô'mer 'el-bənē yiśrā'ēl lē'mōr (21a)	Ø	N SQ:C	Addr-centered
'āšer yiś'ālūn bənēkem māhār			
'et-'ābōtām lē'mōr (21b)	N	N Emb:Q	Identification
wəhōda'tem 'et-bənēkem lē'mōr (22a)	Ø	N Emb:A	Addr-centered

Table 4.1 Special Dialogue Introducers in Joshua 3-4

The significance of the quotes is also clear from the thematic content and the flow of the story. The staging of the story prepares the reader for the miraculous events to come. A final temporal clause *terem ya'ābōrū* 'before they-crossed' (3:1d) marks the theme of pending crossing and uses *'ābar* as key word for the first of 22 times (Hertzberg 1965:24).⁴³

The crossing theme is unfolded in the dialogue structure of the first two episodes. The first speech in episode 1, the **preparatory orders for the crossing** (3:2-5), reports the officers' instruction of the people. It has a gap, because Joshua's previous order is not mentioned. They just continue to act as in 1:10. Conventional Hebrew story-telling apparently

⁴³ Note the use of *'ābar* for 'moved throughout' (3:2a), 'pass' (4d, 14a, 16d, etc), 'proceed' (6b), 'take them across' (4:1a, 3c), 'move out' (5b, 7c), and 'cross in front' (11b) (cf. Boling 1982:159, 172). For past time reference of *yiqtol* with particle, see WO (§ 31.6c (514); 38.7a (643)).

allows for action without express orders by the chief of staff.⁴⁴

The officers' complex instruction is illustrated in Figure 4.5 below. A future time frame is marked by the opening infinitival *kir^oôtakem* 'when-see-yours' [03,03.3]. It governs two new topics introduced in a culturally or situationally accessible determined form. The *ʔārôn* 'ark' is modified by 'covenant of Yahweh your God'. It is then coordinated with a second determined complex object *hakkōhānīm haləwīyyim* 'the Levite-priests' without the individuating undergoer marker *ʔet* ([03,03.3-4]). This noun phrase is modified by a participial clause *nōšəʔīm ʔôto* ([03,03.5], an asyndetic verbless clause following another verbless clause fragment (<100>)). Its grammatical position is not "quite secondary" (Butler 1983:45), but rather forms an introduction and purpose construction 'who are going to carry it' similar to the participle in 2:1a. The pronominal *ʔôto* marks a higher status for the ark than for the Levitical priests. The following *wə* + pronoun, *wəʔattem tisʕû mimməqômakem* 'and you shall move from your place' (3:3c), opens the main clause.⁴⁵ It is restricted by a core cosubordination of *wahālaktem ʔahārāyw* ([03,03.7]) in the sense of 'begin to walk after it'.

3b	┐Circ		┐< 62>	03,03.3	[k-rʔwtkm] [ʔt ʔrwn bryt yhw (ʔlhykm)
	NP				/w- /h-khny m h-lwym]
	CoCo		┐< 100>	03,03.4	[nšʔym] [ʔtw]
3c	P		┐┐< 999>	03,03.5	[w-] [ʔtm] [tsʕw] [m-mqwmkm]
	CoCs		┐< 321>	03,03.6	[w-] [hlktm] [ʔhryw]
4a	Inte		┐┐< 111>	03,04.1	[ʔk] [rhwq] [yhyh] [bynykm /w-
--	--				/bynw] [k-ʔlpym ʔmh] [b--mdh]
4b	Elab		┐┐< 111>	03,04.2	[ʔl] [tqrwb] [ʔlyw]
4c	Purp		┐┐< 11>	03,04.3	[lmʕn ʔšr] [tdʕw] [ʔt h-drk]
	Rel		┐┐< 11>	03,04.4	[ʔšr] [tlkw] [bh]
4d	Moti		┐┐< 521>	03,04.5	[ky] [ʔ] [ʔbrtm] [b--drk] [m-tmw]
--	--				šlšwm]

Figure 4.5 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 3:3b-4d

The continuation into 3:4 is less clear. Initially their path is specified as a distance of 2000 *ʔammā* from the ark (4a [04.1]). The pronominal reference of *ûbênô* 'and between it' (*ketiv*) resumes the ark of 3b.⁴⁶ This

⁴⁴ This is the opposite of 2:3, where the order is crucial for the plot. Here the effect may be to show that commands are just carried out (Butler 1983:44). The direct quote of one of the officers yields a more vivid scene (Boling 1982:159).

⁴⁵ The pronoun does not avoid grammatical sequence (Peckham 1984:421), but is used for psychological focus or disambiguation (cf. WO § 16.3.2d, e (294-297)). The *wə* marks apodosis (Br § 163c (155)) in contrast to the non-ambiguous sequence in 8c.

⁴⁶ *ʔak* is a restrictive clausal adverb for clarification (instruction) or highlighting (WO

clause is asyndetically elaborated by vetitive *ʾal* + *yiqtol* jussive, which is restricted by a *lāmaʿan* purpose satellite (4c).⁴⁷ The distance to be kept is then explained by *ʿābartem badderek* 'walked on the way' (4d). It probably motivates them to participate in the miraculous walk through the Jordan with the ark ahead at a distance.⁴⁸

A second speech by Joshua (3:5) orders the people to purify themselves. He motivates them by a promise of divine wonders the next day. Joshua's order may have been given before the officers returned (Saydon 1950:197-198). Or it may even have been carried around by the officers, but is then singled out for climatic through a direct speech (cf. 2:24).

Episode 2 narrates the **orders to cross** given the next day (3:6-13). First Joshua orders the priests to go in front of the people. This is obeyed in fulfillment of the distance to be kept to the ark (3:6=3b-c, 4a). Yahweh addresses Joshua himself and first promises to make him known for his divine assistance just like Moses (3:7).⁴⁹ This will be fulfilled when he orders the priests to stop or stand in the Jordan for the miracle (3:8). The abrupt ending of 8c prepares them to expect a miraculous experience (Saydon 1950:199).⁵⁰

Joshua then summons all the Israelites to listen to the words of Yahweh (3:9). He promises them that *bəzōʾt* 'by this' they will know or experience (Boling 1982:164) two things: that a living God exists (10b) and that God will expel the Canaanites (10c). The cataphoric dummy pronoun *bəzōʾt* (WO § 6.6d (110)) prepares for an elaboration in a future participle clause with *hinnēh* 'look' + *ʿōbēr lipnēkem* 'it-will.walk in-front-of-you' (11a).⁵¹ The crossing of the ark in front of the people is therefore

§ 39.3.5d (670)). The verbless clause is specified by an injunctive *be*-verb *yihyeh*. Ottosson (1991:54) explains the distance with Num 35:5, but a context of grasslands is not as convincing as a sabbath day's journey (Boling 1982:163).

⁴⁷ If 4b is an elaboration of 4a and it is modified by 4c, there is no need for Otto's (1973:27) proposal to remove 4a-b and connect 4c directly with *wahālaktem* (3c).

⁴⁸ A liturgical procession (Boling 1982:162) would not interrupt the narrative (Saydon 1950:197). The *hālak badderek* is hardly a metaphor for obedience to Yahweh (Peckham 1984:428 and n. 28), as they had obeyed previously.

⁴⁹ The verb of *ʾāšer yēdāʾūn* (7c) has an *-ūn* ending, "[a]n archaic 'energetic' form which retains its emphatic force" (Boling 1982:164). It may have a resultative force (1982:153), but is more likely final (Br § 161 bα (153); JM § 168f (635); Soggin 1972:48).

⁵⁰ LXX reads *wəʿattā* 'and you' (8a) as *wəʿattā* 'and now' (cf. 12a). The pronoun is contrastive (Andersen 1974:151) for "emphasis" (Boling 1982:164), a ResTop.

⁵¹ Langlamet (1969:111) interprets 11a as apodosis on the basis of Exod 7:17, but it is more likely future presentative (Otto 1973:118). 10c is not apodosis (Butler 1983:39).

intended as a sign of God's active presence and activity in the future. This gives new significance to the initial order to follow the ark (3:3-4) and to be purified (3:5). The divine presence is expressed in the phrase structure of 11a where the ark is modified as the Lord of all the earth:⁵²

- (3) [hnh] [ʔrwn h-bryt (ʔdwn kl h-ʔrs)] [ʔbr] [l-pnykm] [b--yrdn] ([03,11.1])

Joshua then takes a new turn in the dialogue to prepare for both the miracle of 3:14-17 and for the stone setting of 4:1-10. First, he admonishes the people to take (=elect) twelve men for each tribe in an imperatival *wəʕattā* sentence (12a).⁵³ Then he predicts the miracle in a future *wəḥāyā* sentence with a complex grammar (13a-d). If *mē hayyardēn yikkārētūn* 'the waters of the Jordan will be cut' ([13.2]) is the main clause, then *hammayim* 'the waters' is an elliptic noun phrase clause fragment presupposing the main clause verb. It is modified by the restrictive relative clause *hayyōrādīm milmāʕlā* 'which descends from above' ([13.4-5]). The *wəyiqtol*-clause *wəyaʕamdū nēd ʔehād* 'it will stand as one wall' ([13.6]) is a future promise continuing the main clause ([13.2]).⁵⁴

13a	DM		└─<323>	03,13.1	[w-] [hyh]
	└─Circ		└─<62>	03,13.2	[k-nwh] [kpwt rgly h-khny (nšʔy ʔrwn yhw)] [ʔdwn kl h-ʔrs)] [b-my h-yrdn]
--	--				
--	--				
13b	Sequ		└─<112>	03,13.3	[my h-yrdn] [ykrtwn]
13c	Elab		└─<100>	03,13.4	[h-mym]
	Rel		└─<10>	03,13.5	[h-] [yrdym] [m-l-mʕlh]
13d	NRes		└─<480>	03,13.6	[w-] [yʕmdw] [nd ʔhd]

Figure 4.6 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 3:13

Dialogue returns in the **orders for the stone collection** in episode 4 (4:1-10). This part is initiated by Yahweh's order to Joshua (4:1b=3:7a). The story stays in a climatic mode by placing a divine speech in the middle of the events. It functions as an interlude during the crossing which prolongs the suspense for the duration of the miracle.

⁵² It identifies symbol and divinity, and is supported by *ʕābarū lipnē yahwēh* (4:13a), but often removed (Langlamet 1969:46-47; Gray 1986:70; contrast Soggin 1972:59).

⁵³ A gloss or a transposition from 4:7/8 can not be accounted for (Saydon 1950:199), but neither are the twelve men called to witness the gradual drying out of the waters.

⁵⁴ Contrast "The water coming from upstream will stand up in one heap" (Boling 1982:154) which disregards the clause boundary in *wəyaʕamdū* (13c).

Joshua now tells the Israelites to elect the twelve men (4:2a) as anticipated in 3:12a.⁵⁵ They are to order these twelve men (4:3a-b) just as Joshua had ordered the priests (3:8a). The twelve men's collection of the stones is expressed by *šə'û* 'lift up' which has earlier been used for the priests' carrying of the ark (3:6b).⁵⁶ The close connection between the priests and the twelve men's stone collection is brought out by the overloaded specification of the exact point of stone collection in the phrase structure of 4:3b:⁵⁷

- (4) [š'w] [lkm] [m-zh] [m-twkw h-yrdn] [m-mšb rgly h-khny] [hkyn] [šty] 'šrh
'bny] ([04,03.3])

Nevertheless, it is Joshua himself who executes the order, acting on behalf of the people. Joshua calls the twelve (4:4a=3:9a-b) and then tells them (4:5a=3:10a) to pass over in front of the ark and take up the stones (4:5b-c).⁵⁸ From this point onwards, the men collect the stones and the ark slowly proceeds (episode 5) until the marvel of the returning waters at the end of episode 6. This episode is introduced by a command by Yahweh to Joshua to **order the priests to go out of the Jordan** (4:15a-16a=3:7a + 8a), and it is executed promptly by Joshua (4:17).

Towards the end of the story these thematic commands give way to dialogue of central thematic significance. Twice in **two embedded instructions**, Joshua teaches the people how to explain events to their children. The first occurs in an address to the twelve men in the presence of all the people in episode 4 (4:6-7), the second in a devotional at the night camp in the closure (4:21-24). Both concern the twelve stones to be carried to Gilgal (4:20) as an *'ôl bəqirbəkem* 'a sign among you' (4:6a). They are not so much a later catechism as an instructional question and answer form—"a truly didactic (dialogical) one" (Boling 1982:174).

⁵⁵ Boling (1982:157) removes plural with LXX as dittography of *lāk[em] min* and then changes in 2a and 3a, but MT is *lectio difficilior* (Butler 1983:40).

⁵⁶ The infinitive construct *hākīn* is interpreted as adverbial use of infinitive absolute as in 3:17a by Boling (1982:172) and Vogt (1965:136 n. 7), but corrected to "ein Aufstellen" by Noth (1953:30; cf. Soggin 1972:49). It may very well be a predicate coordination. Note also the word play with *hēkīn* 'appoint' in 4a (Boling 1982:173).

⁵⁷ Polzin (1980:99) infers that there is a contradiction between Joshua being ashore (4:1) but issuing orders for the twelve in a midstream position. However, *mizzeḥ* (v 3) does not mean 'from here' but 'from that (place)', i.e., where the priests stopped.

⁵⁸ Peckham (1984:422) observes how the execution of a command of Yahweh (4:1-3, 8-9) encloses a separate command by Joshua and its execution (4:4-7). This explains why 4:4 is not a narrator's insertion (Otto 1973:118). For textual conjectures, see Soggin (1972:49) and Boling (1982:157).

These dialogue exchanges have a similar structure as illustrated by Table 4.2 below. The temporal adverbial clauses *kî/ʔāšer yišʔālūn* 'when they ask' only differ in their subordinators.⁵⁹ A further difference is that *lākem* 'to you' (6c) contextualizes the dialogue into the actual crossing of the Jordan and the task of the twelve and only implicitly includes the situationally accessible Israelites in the reference. In contrast, the second speech is phrased as a more generalized rule through the opposition between 'your sons' and 'their fathers', i.e., themselves. It also uses the special lexeme *wāhōdaʿtem* 'inform' or even 'teach' (Psalm 90:12).

	Speech to twelve		Speech to people	
Circumstance	6b	<i>kî-yišʔālūn bənēkem</i>	21b	<i>ʔāšer yišʔālūn bənēkem</i>
Question	6c	<i>māhār lēʾmōr mā hāʾābānīm hāʾelleh lākem</i>	21c	<i>māhār ʾet-ʾābōtām lēʾmōr mā hāʾābānīm hāʾelleh</i>
Main clause	7a	<i>waʾāmartem lāhem</i>	22a	<i>wāhōdaʿtem ʾet-bənēkem lēʾmōr</i>
Answer	7b-e	Waters were cut	22b-24b	You crossed on dry ground

Table 4.2 Parallels between Instructions in 4:6-7 and 21-24

The fathers' answers are more varied in syntax and content. The first answer focuses on the ark.

7a	Sequ		└─<321>	04,07.1	[w-] [ʔmrtm] [lhm]
7b	A		└─<999>	04,07.2	[ʔšr] [nkrtw] [mymy h-yrdn] [m-pny ʾrwn bryt ywh]
--	--				
7c	└Circ		└─<142>	04,07.3	[b-ʾbrw] [b--yrdn]
7d	Rest		└─<204>	04,07.4	[nkrtw] [my h-yrdn]
7e	VRes		└─<202>	04,07.5	[w-] [hyw] [h-ʾbny h-ʾlh] [l-zkrwn] [l-bny yšrʾl] [ʿd ʿwlm]
--	--				

Figure 4.7 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in the answer of 4:7

The opening *ʔāšer* (7b) is best interpreted as the complementizer *that* in an elliptic clause fragment presupposing the question as an object complement (Otto 1973:43), i.e., '(these stones mean) that ...' It is restated in a clause with a preposed circumstance satellite (7c-d).⁶⁰ It is difficult to

⁵⁹ The *ʔāšer* (21b) is hardly conditional (Br § 164d (157)), since it is parallel to 6b.

⁶⁰ Such repetitions are not uncommon in West Semitic (Soggin 1972:50), and need not be removed as dittography (Boling 1982:157).

The second answer is shown in Figure 4.8 below. It focuses on the miracle after the crossing. It expands into a more generalized and didactic structure. A locative adjunct *bayyabbāšā* 'on-the-dry.ground' is placed in the precore slot (a NewFoc at unit opening). The temporal clause introduced by *ʔāšer* 'when' (23a) therefore has to follow the main clause. The addressed Israelites now experience a drying of the ground *ʿad-ʿobrākem* 'until you had crossed' (23b). They are compared with their fathers who previously experienced it *ʿad-ʿobrēnû* 'until we had passed' (23d). It refers to Joshua and the few remaining of his own generation.

22b	<i>A</i>		< 999 >	04,22.3	[b-ˈybʃh] [ˈɕr] [yʂrʲ] [ʔt h-yrdn h-zh]
23a	<i>Circ</i>		< 12 >	04,23.1	[ʔʂr] [hwbyʃ] [yhwh (ʔlhykm)] [ʔt my h-yrdn] [m-pnykm]
--	--				
23b	<i>Circ</i>		< 70 >	04,23.2	[ˈd ˈbrkm]
23c	<i>Back</i>		< 12 >	04,23.3	[k-ˈʂr] [ˈʃh] [yhwh (ʔlhykm)] [l-ym swp]
--	--				
	<i>Rel</i>		< 12 >	04,23.4	[ʔʂr] [hwbyʃ] [m-pnynw]
23d	<i>Circ</i>		< 142 >	04,23.5	[ˈd lˈbrnw]
24a	<i>Purp</i>		< 65 >	04,24.1	[lmˈn dˈt] [kl ˈmy h-ˈrʂ] [ʔt yd yhwh]
	<i>CoSu</i>		< 504 >	04,24.2	[ky] [hʂqh] [hyˈʔ]
24b	<i>Purp</i>		< 824 >	04,24.3	[lmˈn] [yrˈtm] [ʔt yhwh (ʔlhykm)] [kl h- ymym]
--	--				

Figure 4.8 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in the Answer of 4:22b–24b

The second purpose clause draws the lesson in terms of their own fear or reverence. The *lāmaʿan yārāʾtem*⁶¹ 'in order that you fear' (4:24b) is

⁶¹ MT *qatal yārā'tem* can be supported by 1 Kings 15:9 (Boling 1982:187). The alternative is to emend to an infinitive construct (Vogt 1965:137 n. 1).

anticipated by their experience of a living God (3:10b). Yahweh's promise to magnify Joshua (3:7b) is a further aspect of *yārā'ēm*. The narrator emphasizes this in episode 5, which reports how the East Jordan tribes headed the march across Jordan (4:12a) as Moses had told them to do (12b). Joshua was also obedient as Moses had told him to be (10a-b). Therefore Yahweh magnified him (14a), and the people feared him (*wayyir'û ʔōtô* (14b)) just as they had feared Moses (14c). All this fulfills the best wishes of the East Jordan tribes in 1:17. The new and obedient leader leads the people across the sea (Exodus 14-15) and sets up his commemorative stones as a witness to salvation (Exodus 24).

4.2.5 Summary and Conclusions

Joshua 3-4 is a wonderful story—in every sense of the word. A discourse grammar can explain its rich array of stylistic, rhetorical and grammatical devices. It can disclose a unified structure, a clear sequel of events and a strong conquest thematicity. It assists in readings of the narrative in its original (Saydon 1950) or fianl (Peckham 1984) shape.

The discourse-pragmatic analysis has uncovered the peak climax of the priests' crossing into the river in episode 3 (3:14-17) and the peak resolution of their crossing out again in episode 6 (4:15-18). Perhaps it can suggest a new solution to the turbulent inter-peak feature of stone picking at the end of episode 4 (4:9). The front-position of the ark and its rich symbolism, the miracles and the commemoration by the stones all witness to the deeds of Yahweh (3:6) through Joshua (3:7; 4:14).

A rhetorical structure analysis can summarize the holistic structure of the story through the most important satellites. The action in the peaks are sequence relations, while the initial commands are motivations, and there is an interpretation satellite after the stone picking.

Extent	Constituent	Theme	Superstructure	RST-relations
3:1	Stage	March to Jordan	Exposition	Circ
3:2-5	Ep1	Preparatory orders	Inciting Incident	Moti
3:6-13	Ep2	Crossing orders	Mounting tension	Moti
3:14-17	Ep3	Descent	Climax	Sequ
4:1-10	Ep4	Stone orders	Inter-peak tension	Sequ
4:11-14	Ep5	Crossing lead	Lessening tension	Inte
4:15-18	Ep6	Ascent	Resolution	Sequ
4:19-24	Closure	Arrival Gilgal	Conclusion	Summ

Table 4.3 Macrostructure of Joshua 3-4

4.3 The Conquest of Jericho in Joshua 5:13–6:26

The second story in Joshua 6 narrates how the Israelites conquered Jericho. God instructed them to march around the city once a day for six days and on the seventh day seven times. At that point, the walls of the city would collapse (6:2–5). As in the miraculous crossing of the Jordan, several preparatory instructions are given (6:6–10) before the story line resumes to recount the circumambulations, the collapse and the application of the ban (6:11–15, 20, 21, 23–25).

Due to the story's peculiar literary features, it has been characterized as one of "den wohl schwierigsten der erzählenden Literatur des AT" (Otto 1973:63). Since this could be claimed for the preceding story, we may expect that its problems can be solved along similar lines.

4.3.1 Readings

The unity of the story is greatly impeded by its repeated marching orders and trumpeting. The marching orders refer to men of war (6:3), armed men (7, 9, 13) and a rear guard (9, 13), not to mention the religious personnel. It can be difficult to reconcile a statement that seven priests were to blast the collapse of the city walls at the end of the seventh day (6:4–5, 16a, 20b), with the statement that the people were to crush the walls by a loud war cry (6:10, 16b). Apparently a rear guard went trumpeting behind the priests every day (6:8–9, 13). The problems accumulate at the climax of 6:20 which repeats twice the trumpeting and the war cry as the moment for the collapse of the walls. The city seems to have been destroyed twice (v 21 and 24).

Diachronic solutions have varied over the years. Because the archaeological evidence is inconclusive, literary digging in the story has been accredited the major role (Bartlett 1982:107).¹ Wellhausen (1899:121–122) based his **source critical** division of the story on the repetitions in v 20 and was later followed closely by Dus (1960:108). Noth (1953:21–22, 40–43) instead used form and redaction criticism to trace an independent **etiologial** story which was told to explain the presence of a ruined city (v 5, 20). Elements related to the Rahab (v 17b, 22, 23, 25a)

¹ Kenyon (1957:256–263) concluded that there is no unequivocal archaeological evidence for a LB city, although this has been disputed (Wood 1990). Her suggestion that the MB fortifications were reused is difficult to sustain (Ussishkin 1989) and does not convince diachronic scholars (Weippert and Weippert 1976:111–112). Integration of both types of evidence seems to call for an early date (cf. Waltke 1990:198–200 and Bimson 1978:52–53, 115–145).

and Achan stories (v 17a, 19, 21, 24b) as well as the ending (v 27) were attributed to the collector. Wilcoxon's **cultic** explanation assumes that three versions of the circumambulation merged "as legitimate alternative forms of the ritual based on the fall of Jericho" (1968:53).²

Today there is a tendency to propose an original single (Van Seters 1990:5 n. 11) or double redaction (Peckham 1984:427 n. 23),³ although two sources are also maintained (Otto 1973:80), cf. their original layers:

Van Seters	5:13-15; 6:1-3, 4a, 5, 6a, 7, 10-11, 14-16ab, 20b, 21, 24a, 26-27
Peckham	6:2, 16b, 20a ^a b ^b , 22, 23a ^a , 25a ^a b
Otto A	1-3a, 7ab ^a , 10a ^a b ^a γ ^b , 11, 14-15a, 16b-20a ^a b ^a γ ^b , 21-25
B	4ab ^a b ^a , 5a ^a b ^a -6, 7b ^a b ^a , 12-13*, 15b ^a b ^a *, 16a, 20a ^a γ ^a δ ^a b ^a β ^a , 27

However, Schwienhorst (1986:23-28) wants to unravel no less than seven successive redactions of an original layer:

<i>Grundschrift</i>	1aαb-2a*, 3aα* 5*	14aα*	20b
<i>Jehowistisch</i> redaction	3* 4aβ-γ	11-12a 14aα-15aα*	
DtrH	1aβ, 2aγ*	6a 7aβ 10 12b 16aαb*-17a	20aα 21a 27
DtrP			21b 24a 26
DtrN			17b 25
Priestly redaction		7aαb	18 22-23aαb
Chronistic redaction	2b 4b		16aβ 19 20aβ 23aβ 24b
Qumranic additions	4aα 5aα*	6b 8-9 10aβ	13 15aβ*b

This latter excessive splitting of even parts of phrases, allegedly supported by the grammar, cries out for a new discourse-pragmatic evaluation of the linguistic evidence. Furthermore, from a literary perspective Culley (1984:35) traced a single action sequence controlled by the tension between a divine announcement and its fulfillment. Inconsistencies amount to no more than slight tensions in detail. The following will show how a grammar of episode demarcation, coherence and thematicity may support the unity of the story even beyond Culley's position.

² Neither source criticism nor supplementary redaction explains these elaborations "unless there were continuing cultic reasons" (Wilcoxon 1968:50 n. 15). The cultic interpretation is supported by Hertzberg (1965:44-45), Dus (1960:119-120), and Soggin (1972:83). Butler (1983:68) traces a pre-Israelite popular war narrative which was transformed into a priestly-cultic version. Ottosson (1984:90-91) argues that both the liturgical procession and the ban belong to earlier priestly tradition from Gilgal.

³ Peckham's (1984:427) dtr₁ conquest narrative has Joshua quote the Sinai covenant (Deut 3:10b etc) and then begin battle with the promise to Moses (6:2; cf. 8:1).

4.3.2 Episode Structure

It is not easy to determine the beginning and end of the Jericho story. Both the ancient manuscripts and the modern readings illustrate this problem. None of the ancient witnesses read all of Joshua 6 as an independent unit, in contrast to the majority of modern interpreters (the 66 interpreters with Reading 1). A large minority considers Josh 5:13–6:27 a self-contained unit, or at least finds the beginning of the conquest of Jericho in 5:13 (the 31 interpreters of Reading 2). This is clear from the statistic data of Koorevaar (1990:171, 173):

A, L	5:9–6:11	6:12–25
C	5:13–6:11	6:12–25
LXX ^B	5:13, 14, 15; 6:1, 2–5, 6–11	6:12–14, 15–25, 26, 27–7:1
Reading 1	5:1(2)–15 [34] / 5:13–15 [31]	6:1–27(7:1) [68]
Reading 2	5:13–6:(26)27 [20] / 5:13–6:5 [10]	6:6–27(7:1) [11]

The problem of the **beginning** of the story concerns the status of the unit opened in 5:13. Joshua meets the divine captain of the army in the vicinity of Jericho and is ordered to take off his sandals because he stands on holy ground (v 13–15). As this situation is usually preliminary to further divine communication, the segment is frequently isolated as an independent and incomplete fragment of unknown Canaanite origin legitimizing a holy place (Noth 1953:23, 39–40).⁴ However, the message of the divine captain may be contained in the ensuing words of Yahweh in 6:2–5.⁵ The initial order (5:15b–c) then prepares for the solemn announcement of the take-over of Jericho. A digression mentions the reaction of the city of Jericho in 6:1. It could indicate a new unit, and thus support the independence of 5:13–15.⁶ Yet, the same locale *bîrîhō* ‘at Jericho’

⁴ It could be the report of Joshua’s call to parallel him with Moses (Miller and Tucker 1974:49–50), but it is not a case of a divine test to show that Joshua obeyed (Butler 1983:57). Nor is it likely that an ominous “vignette” deliberately leaves out the promise (Haw 1991:23–24), or that “the book of Joshua, like the commander of Yahweh’s army, is an enigma” (1991:24).

⁵ So Möhlenbrink (1938:263–264) and Rose (1981:55–64). The appearance of the commander is comparable to divine assurances before the battle in Assyrian annals (Van Seters 1990:10).

⁶ Early critical study understood the reference to Jericho as “eine Theophanie welche die Heiligkeit der Bama von Gilgal inauguriert” (Wellhausen 1899:120). Later critics assumed either that the story “haftete ... ursprünglich am Bereich des nunmehr zerstörten Jericho” (Noth 1953:23), or that Joshua made a pilgrimage to the local sanctuary within the city (Soggin 1972:77), or that Jericho was part of some sort of “Heiligtumsbereich” of Gilgal (Hertzberg 1965:36), or that it referred to Shiloh (Möhlenbrink 1938:264).

(5:13, cf. 6:2) is maintained throughout. There is no temporal shift or new story line in 6:1.⁷

The opening of a new unit in 5:13 can be supported by discourse-pragmatic considerations. The temporal adverbial clause *wayhî bihyôt yəhōšuaʿ bîrîḥô* '(and-it-was in-be-of Joshua=) when Joshua was in Jericho' (5:13a) reintroduces the main character of the conquest story and sets a new frame of space and time. The presentation of a divine warrior ready to fight functions as an exposition in the narrator's strategy. This stage constituent extends only until 13b. The next clause, *wayyēlek yəhōšuaʿ ʔēlāyw* 'and Joshua went to him' (13d), reintroduces Joshua by explicit proper noun (a ResTop). This **first major episode** continues until the end of the divine announcement in 6:5. Elements like the revelation of the commander's astonishing identity, the closed city of Jericho and the divine instruction are appropriate for an inciting incident.

The continuation by *wayyiqrāʾ yəhōšuaʿ bin-nūn ʔel-hakkōhānīm* 'and-(he-)called Joshua ben-Nun to-the-priests' (6:6a) sets off a new unit by reintroducing Joshua and by referring to the priests in determined form. The verb may open a new discourse (22:1), but does not always do so (4:4 and 9:22). The extended proper noun form Joshua ben Nun may also open a new discourse, but need not do so (cf. 2:1 (in section 3.3.1) and 3:1a (in section 4.2.2)).⁸ Therefore the grammatical form does not prove that 6:6-27 is an independent new unit separated from an initial divine initiative (Koorevaar 1990:172-173).

The execution of divine instructions follows directly in 6a. It opens **episode 2** which is the mounting tension in the narratorial strategy. The extent of this episode depends on the interpretation of a number of discontinuities. A *wayhî* (8a) marks a minor sub-unit describing the march (v 8-9). In 10a a new sub-unit is marked by means of a *wə-x-qatal* with precore slot object *wəʔet-hāʿām* (a ResTop from 7a).⁹ This unit is further delimited by the quote formula *lēʾmōr*, which introduces Joshua's order to the people not to shout until explicitly told to. A final unit is demarcated by a reference to the ark (11a) and the first encircling of the city. These

⁷ The phrase 'in Jericho' probably refers to the city state area, which they had reached on its eastern border at Gilgal by 4:13 and 19 (Koorevaar (1990:171-172 n. 5). Furthermore, 6:1 is "a parenthetical statement within the conversation because it does not even contain a finite verb" (Van Seters 1990:10).

⁸ Schwienhorst (1986:36-37) suggests that the full name should occur in v 2, and believes that such expressions are deuteronomistic (1986:87). However, its occurrence would have been more appropriate in 5:13.

⁹ Schwienhorst (1986:88 n. 11 and 92) finds dtr evidence in this construction.

unit markers break the episode down into a series of paragraphs that attain a status of embedded sub-episodes (v 6–7, 8–9, 10 and 11).

The next major grammatical marking occurs in *wayyaškēm yəhōšuaʿ babbōqer* ‘and-(he-)rose Joshua in-the-morning’ (6:12a). All ancient versions mark a boundary at this point. This **episode 3** is marked by an explicit reintroduction of the main character and a temporal shift to the following day.¹⁰

A similar pattern reoccurs in the next new unit. **Episode 4** elaborates the grammatical introducer into *wayhî bayyôm haššəbʿî wayyaškimû kaʿālôt haššaḥar* ‘On the seventh day they started early in the morning, just when the sun arose’ (15a–b).¹¹ It continues with the *wayyiqtol*-form *wayyāsōbbû* ‘they encircled’ (15c) which here functions in a more general descriptive and explanatory context. The manner adjunct *kammišpāt haz-zeh* ‘this law’ or ‘the same way’ refers back to the situation on the first (v 11) and following days (13–14b, 14c).¹² A concession satellite with restrictive *raq* ‘only’ (15d) fronts the time adjunct *bayyôm hahû* ‘on this day’ (as RestrFoc) before the core clause ‘encircled the city seven times’. The focus function marks a paraphrasing dramatic pause.¹³ The episode on the seventh day is singled out for special temporal emphasis.

Finally the crisp description of the collapse of the walls is singled out as a culmination in the development of the story. It is marked by the introductory construction *wayhî kišmōaʿ hāʿām ʔet-qôl haššôpār* ‘Then, when the people heard the shofar’ (20c). This event is apparently told as a separate **episode 5**.

After the narration of the take-over of the city, 6:22–25 forms a separate **episode 6**. It is introduced by a *wə-x-qatal* construction and narrates the details of how Rahab and her family were spared. It gives additional background information for the spy story of Joshua 2.

Joshua now solemnly curses Jericho (6:26). The grammar of 26a delimits this **closure** by an explicit resumption of *yəhōšuaʿ*, a temporal

¹⁰ It is not clear why 6:12–14 is “disruptive” and therefore more original (Butler 1983:69). The marker is similar to 8:10a.

¹¹ Because of the reoccurrence of the boundary marker *wayyaškimû* (cf. 3:1a) from 6:12a, Otto posits a doublet and divides them between source A (15a) and B (12a).

¹² Schwienhorst (1986:34) wants to restrict the anaphorical reference to v 13 solely, but the next days are explicitly told to follow the same pattern in 14c, so there is no apparent discontinuity.

¹³ “Hintergrundinformation” in a “Nebentempus” is not “stilistisch auffällig, da mit den vorangehenden Sätzen (V. 15a) der Höhepunkt der Erzählung eingeleitet wird” (Schwienhorst 1986:34). But the rhetorical underlining seems exactly to be the intended effect rather than a diachronic clue.

bā'ēt hahî? 'at this time' and a quote formula *lē'mōr* at unit boundary. This closure is built around a temporal phrase similar to 4:19, but is considerably shorter. The direct address to the reader implied by Joshua's curse is also well-suited as a conclusion (Schwienhorst 1986:35).¹⁴ The two *wayhî* clauses following in 6:27 do not continue the curse, but are markers of a new discourse unit as in 5:1.

In conclusion, the boundary markings indicate the following constituent structure: An appearance at Jericho (5:13a-b, stage), Orders and encircling day 1 (6:6-11, Ep2), Encircling day 2-6 (6:12-14, Ep3), Orders and execution day 7 (6:15-20b, Ep4), The miraculous collapse of the walls (6:20c-21, Ep5), The sparing of Rahab (6:22-25, Ep6), The curse on Jericho (6:26, closure).

4.3.3 Coherence and Style Structure

The next issue is whether the story is just "crowded with digressions, parenthetical comments, repetitions, and expansive variations on details of the action" (Wilcoxon 1968:48) or whether the discourse and its constituent units are internally more coherent than is usually recognized. A discourse grammar will analyze the grammatical shaping of the story line and the stylistic twisting in zones of peak-marking. It must especially heed Butler's challenge for the study of Joshua 6, that there is a "pressing need for renewed study of Hebrew word order in relationship to syntactical meaning" (1983:65).

The stage of the story (5:13a-b) opens with an abrupt description that creates maximal interest from the very beginning. A new participant is introduced in a core cosubordination for accomplishment in *wayyiššā' ēnāyw wayyar* 'he-lifted his-eyes and-he-saw' (13a). It is followed by a core subordinated clause introduced by *wāhinnēh* 'and look!' adding dramatic quality to the apparition of 'a man standing'. He is characterized further by a locative verbless clause with *wā-* as 'who in his hand had a drawn sword' (13b). This staging vision is descriptive only and reports the perception of a situation.

The inciting incident of episode 1 (5:13d-6:5) narrates Joshua's **interrogation** of the mysterious figure.¹⁵ A quick speech exchange gets the

¹⁴ The use of an explicit subject in a closure is normal and does not create "einer gewissen logischen Spannung" (Schwienhorst 1986:36). It does not signal a resumption of the story, but rather marks its final unit.

¹⁵ The story may both emphasize his bravery in facing a possible foe and his lack of discernment (Boling 1982:197).

story on the move. When Joshua has had his sandals drawn off (v 15), he is ready for the solemn communication of the divine message (6:2–5).

This is preceded by an impressive string of participles in 6:1.

6:1a	Back	└──┐└──┐└──┐	06,01.1	[w-]	[yryhw]	[sgrt]
	PrCo		06,01.2	[w-]	[msgrt]	[m-pny bny ysr'l]
b	Rest		06,01.3	[ʔyn ywsʔ]		
	CoCo		06,01.4	[w-]	[ʔyn bʔ]	

Figure 4.9 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:1

In *wîrîhō sōgeret ûmāsuggeret* 'and-Jericho closing and-closed' (1a), the second coordinated passive participle ([06,01.2]: <306>) is closely connected through repetition of the same verbal root.¹⁶ This predicate coordination is restated by a set of polar participles (1b) again describing the effects of the defensive measures taken by the inhabitants of Jericho. All four participles provide descriptive background information that increases the need for direct divine intervention. The note on the closed city resumes the textually accessible situation that the gates were closed because of Israelite espionage (2:5–7).

In episode 2 (6:6–11) the orders, departure and return on the first day are unfolded. In execution of the divine instructions, **Joshua summons the priests** and orders them to carry the ark and have seven priests carry horns before it (v 6). They tell the people to walk around the city (v 7), and they start doing so (v 8–9). It is hardly contradictory that Joshua talks twice to the people in v 7 and 10,¹⁷ nor that v 8–9 turns into a participial syntax (Schwienhorst 1986:33). This style conveys an impressive glimpse of a slow process of formation of ranks. It breaks this prolonged process into smaller units.¹⁸

The story line opens with *wayyiqtol* forms at the beginning of the execution (6a and 7a). The *wayyōʾmārû/-mer ʔel-hāʿām* in 7a can be read as plural *ketiv* 'and they said to the people' or as singular *qere* 'he said'. The plural reading would imply that the priests issued the order to the

¹⁶ This "cliché, used for emphasis" (Boling 1982:205) may be translated "shut tight up" (1982:200) or "was totally sealed off" (Butler 1983:64).

¹⁷ The repetition of Joshua's order in v. 10 is not due to a secondary addition of v 8–9 (Otto 1973:79 n. 1), but because a new order is now issued, and told within a separate minor episode unit.

¹⁸ *Literarkritik* overlooks stylistic variation when it uncovers logical tensions between priests carrying horns before the ark or passing before Yahweh (6d/8b), or between armed men before ark instead of priests (6d/7c; 7c/9a) (Schwienhorst 1986:32).

people. It would follow the pattern of the officers' execution of a non-explicit order by Joshua in 3:2-4. The Massoretes' singular reading is perhaps more likely because 8a, in back-reference notes, that Joshua had given the orders to the people.¹⁹

The forming of the **processional train** is portrayed in v 8-9.

8a	DM	└─┐ < 200 >	06,08.1	[w-] [yhy]
	Back	< 62 >	06,08.2	[k-ʔmr] [yhwšʕ] [ʔl h-ʕm]
b	PCS	└─┐ < 327 >	06,08.3	[w-] [šbʕh h-khny]
	Rel	< 100 >	06,08.4	[nšʔym] [šbʕh šwprwt h-ywblym] [l-pny yhwh]
--	--			
	Sequ	└─┐ < 222 >	06,08.5	[ʕbrw]
	CoCs	< 201 >	06,08.6	[w-] [tqʕw] [b-šwprwt]
c	Sequ	└─┐ < 362 >	06,08.7	[w-] [ʔrwn bryt yhwh] [hlk] [ʔhryhm]
9a	Sequ	└─┐ < 200 >	06,09.1	[w-] [h-ʔlws] [hlk] [l-pny h-khny]
--	--			[tqʕw h-šwprwt]
b	Sequ	< 200 >	06,09.2	[w-] [h-mʔsp] [hlk] [ʔhry h-ʔrwn]
c	Elab	└─┐ < 152 >	06,09.3	[hlwk]
	PrSu	└─┐ < 201 >	06,09.4	[w-] [tqwʕ] [b-šwprwt]

Figure 4.10 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:8-9

The march is set apart by an introductory *wayhî keʔēmōr yəhōšuaʕ ʔel-hāʕām* 'Then, just when Joshua had spoken to the people' (8a) and is followed by *wəšibʕā hakkōhānīm nōšəʔim ... ʕābərū* 'seven priests carrying [horns] ... passed' (8b). It is true that a *wayhî ke* + infinitive construct followed by a *wə-x-qatal* is rare (Schwienhorst 1986:33 and n. 11), but a similar clause combining is used for the description of the priests' departure from the bank of Jordan (3:15a-b). The *wə-x-qatal* construction has a *wəṭāqəʕū* ([06,08.8]) in a core cosubordination with the sense 'passed by blowing'.²⁰ The ark is 'walking after them' (8c). The *heḫālūs* 'armed men' are in front of both according to the Massoretes' *qere*-form *hakkōhānīm tōqəʕē haššōpārōt* 'the priests who blew the horns' (9a).²¹

After the ark, and thus after all others, walk *haməʔassēp*, usually rendered 'the rear guard' (9b). This group has not previously been men-

¹⁹ So Otto (1973:78 n. 2) and Schwienhorst (1986:24 n. 2). However, even if the priests issued the order (plural), they would still have been told to do so by Joshua.

²⁰ The code <201> (identical except for *wə*-) [06,08.6] indicates that the implied subject is the priests, and the reference is therefore hardly ambiguous (Butler 1983:66).

²¹ The consonantal text (9a) has *tāqəʕū* (an asyndetic attributive clause with plural *qatal*), but the *qatal* form usually has prepositional object with *bə*- 'in' (4c, 8b, 9c, 13a, 16a, 20b). A participle is therefore more likely (Schwienhorst 1986:25 n. 3).

tioned by Yahweh or Joshua. Possibly the lexeme *ʾāsap* 'gather' is used in a broader sense for 'the remainder' or 'the tail'. Joshua had told the people to pass around the city (7b), but had only singled one group out (the *ḥālûš*) to walk in front (7c). The report of the actual march could then be referring to the position of the rest of the people by *haməʾassēp*. They formed a group of followers.

The implied subject of the two infinitive absolutes *hālôk wəṭāqôʿ baššôpārôt* 'while they walked and blew the horns' (9b) is even more difficult to pin down. It might imply that the 'remainder' would march trumpeting (i.e. an infinitive absolute immediately preceded by a participle, a code <156>). But that would contradict all other statements in the story to the contrary. Moreover, the clause may connect backwards beyond the participial descriptions and modify the initial *wə-x-qatal*-clause in 8b (cf. code <152> in [06,09.3]).

The elaboration satellite (9c) then describes the seven trumpeting priests. This interpretation is supported by 13a where *hōlākîm* 'walking' is followed immediately by *hālôk wəṭāqôʿ baššôpārôt* 'continuously blowing in the horns' in reference to the priests. A similar elaboration reoccurs in 13d, but this time it is expressed by participial *hōlēk* (*ketiv*) or infinitive absolute *hālôk* (*qere*) before the *wəṭāqôʿ* form.²² This horn blowing was ordered in the divine command (4b), but not conveyed to the priests in 6b, which only concerned the carrying of the ark and the horn blowers' position in relation to the ark (contrast Schwienhorst 1986:34).

After this descriptive glimpse of the slowly forming marching ranks and a further order (v 10), the events finally starts to move. Joshua lets the ark **encircle the city** a single time and they all return to camp. Joshua is the implicit causative agent of *wayyassēb ... haqqēp* 'he took (the ark) around ... encircling' (11a; a GivTop from 10a).²³ The subject shift to cross-referenced plural in *wayyābōʾū hammaḥāneh* 'they went to the camp' (11b) and *wayyālīnū bammaḥāneh* 'they slept in the camp' (11c) reintroduces the people (cf. 7a, 8–9 and 10a) as the implicit major

²² The participle of *hlk* + infinitive absolute in 13d probably has the same function as two successive infinitive absolutes (9b, 13a). The *qatal* plural form *wəṭāqôʿū* in 13a is retained as diachronic evidence by Dus (1960:110), but otherwise mostly changed into an infinitive absolute similar to *hālôk* (JM § 119v (403) and Otto (1973:73 n. 1)).

²³ Cf. "to go round (first affected object) the city (second affected object) in a circuit (inf. abs, § 123 r) once (internal object, § 125 t)" (JM § 125 n.1 (452)). Schwienhorst (1986:25 n. 4) argues that *hiphil* should have object *ʾet* and repoints *sābāb* as *qal*. He compares with *ʾabar* in 3:11 and 4:11 and *hālak* in 6:8. But even if there is an idiom like 'the ark moves around', one can not seriously believe that it contradicts 12b, where the priests carry the ark—the ark is not known to be auto mobile!

participants. In 11b and 11c *maḥāneh* is repeated for grammatical and pragmatic reasons, and it is hardly proof of a collector's insistence on Gilgal as the locale (Butler 1983:71).²⁴ All the orders are carried out and they return to base.

The circumambulations on **the second to sixth day** are unfolded in episode 3. The marching order pictured for the first day is followed for the second day (6:12b-14b) and then specified by back reference for all other days (14c).²⁵

Episode 4 singles out the seven times encircling on **the seventh day** by its initial circumstance satellite (v 15). A peculiar repetitious grammar first refers several times to the exact moment and to the appropriate procedure adhered to in strict observance of the divine order.

Then *wayhî* is repeated a second time in 16a. With great rhetorical effect it tells that on the seventh round the priests blew the horns (*qatal-x*). The precise force of *tāqā'û* 'blew' here depends on its back reference to *biṁšōk baqeren hayyōbēl* '[just] when they draw (a long sound) in the horn', i.e., 'make an alarm signal' (5a).²⁶ Then, at exactly this dramatic and terse climax, the story is suspended. The flashback repeats what Joshua must have told them earlier: shout, apply the ban, but save Rahab. This speech (v 16a-19) may very well have been delivered before the start of the march earlier that day, but is placed here to mark a climax with immediacy and heightened suspense. The clause *wayyō'mer yāhōšua'* 'Joshua said' (16b) would be a peak-marking twisting of a *wayyiqtol*-form into the sense of a past perfect *wā-x-qatal*. All this indicates that 15a opens a grammatical peak.²⁷

After that—while the reader is listening to Joshua's orders and with the blasting trumpets in his ears—the story line resumes with *wayyāra' hā'ām* 'the people shouted (the war cry)' (20a). The *hā'ām* 'the people' (a

²⁴ The verb *bō'* 'come' (11b) requires locative *hammaḥāneh* as argument for an achievement, while *lūn* 'spend the night' (11c) uses the locative as an outer setting peripheral to close the scene. The unmodified form *hammaḥāneh* (11b, 11c, 14b) is used in the encircling itinerary, while the modified *maḥāneh yišrā'el* (18d, 23c) occurs in contexts that are loaded with historical-theological meaning.

²⁵ There is no convincing reasons for removal of v 12-13 (Otto 1973:73) or v 11-13aαβ (Dus 1960:110). The zero subject *wayyāsōbbû* 'they moved' in 14a is just stylistic variation of 11a (contrast Schwienhorst 1986:33).

²⁶ Noth assumes it is secondary because of a "mangelhafte syntaktische Eingliederung" (1953:40), but does not give reasons for this opinion.

²⁷ Contrast Otto's (1973:75-76) use of 15a and 16a as evidence of a "literarische Nahtstelle" because he rejects the seven-day schema and wants to see all the expressions as doublets of a single state of affairs.

GivTop) is repeated as explicit subject from 16b to mark a new paragraph on the execution of the command of 16c. It is continued by *wayyitqə'û baššōpārôt* 'and-they-blew the-horns' (20b). This clause cosubordination with zero subject must refer to the main participants, the horn blowing priests, who were reintroduced into the discourse in 16a. But on the pragmatic level it violates the usual rule of story telling that first things told come first in time. As the signal evidentially preceded the shouting of the people, the *wayyiqtol*-form has a peak-marking non-sequential force. This is conceivable because the horn blowing continued during the shouting. To obtain this dramatic effect, the narrator avoided the use of the more usual *wə-x-qatal*-form for simultaneity (cf. 2:5a-b). Episode 4 thus impresses the culminating drama upon the reader. The story reaches a suspenseful climax with a high tuning pitch of blasting trumpets and shouting warriors.

At this point, just when the story has settled down into explanatory direct discourse and ear-splitting alarm, the story suddenly speeds up into a new peak unit. The **miraculous collapse of the walls** is singled out in a terse episode 5 (6:20c-21). All dialogue fades out and instead we have vivid drama. Instead of the double miracle of Joshua 3-4 we find a single towering miraculous wonder.²⁸

20a	Sequ	——— < 200 >	06,20.1	[w-] [yr'] [h-ʿm]
b	Sequ	——— < 203 >	06,20.2	[w-] [ytq'w] [b--šprwt]
c	DM	——— < 200 >	06,20.3	[w-] [yhy]
	Circ	——— < 62 >	06,20.4	[k-šm'] [h-ʿm] [ʔt qwl h-šwpr]
d	Sequ	——— < 203 >	06,20.5	[w-] [yry'w] [h-ʿm] [trw'h gdwlh]
e	Sequ	——— < 203 >	06,20.6	[w-] [tpl] [h-ħwmh] [tḥtyh]
f	Sequ	——— < 200 >	06,20.7	[w-] [y'l] [h-ʿm] [h-ʿyrh] [ʔyš] [ngdw]
g	Sequ	——— < 202 >	06,20.8	[w-] [ylkdw] [ʔt h-ʿyr]
21a	Sequ	——— < 200 >	06,21.1	[w-] [yḥrymw] [ʔt kl]
	Rel	——— < 17 >	06,21.2	[ʔšr] [b--ʿyr]
	PP	——— < 223 >	06,21.3	[m-ʔyš w-ʿd ʔšh] [m-n'ʿr w-ʿd zqn /w- /ʿd šwr w-šh w-ħmw] [l-py ḥrb]
--	--			

Figure 4.11 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:20-21

After the initial *wayhî*, the episode repeats the singular *wayyāraʿ hāʿām* (20a) in a plural *wayyār'û hāʿām tərûʿā gədôlâ* 'the people shouted in loud shouting' (20d). This is followed by the collapse of the walls and the

²⁸ "The great and colossal event that is the climax of the story, the fall of the walls of Jericho, is reported in one very brief and unadorned statement (v. 20b)" (Wilcoxon 1968:49).

climbing, capture and crushing of Jericho (20e–21a). The city is rhetorically repeated in three successive narrative clauses as a locally important participant (20f, 20g, 21a). The city-walls (20e) are mentioned as both a situationally and a textually accessible referent. The episode culminates in *wayyahărîmû ʔet-kol-ʔăšer bāʕîr ... ləpî-ḥāreb* ‘and they laid ban on all that was in the city ... by the edge of the sword’ (21a). This terminal clause has an internal complex apposition *mēʔîš wəʕad-ʔîššâ minnaʕar wəʕad-zāqēn wəʕad šôr wāšeh waḥāmôr* ‘from man to woman, from young to old, and to cattle, sheep and donkeys’.²⁹

This episode releases the tension built up in the preceding episode. It is the resolution of the story. A discourse grammar solves the apparent problem of how the people can shout and then blow, and after that hear the blast and then shout again.³⁰ These repetitive statements are distributed over separate episodes marked by turbulent grammar. The apparent conflict stems from overlooking a skillfully marked boundary between 20a–b and 20c.

The final episode 6 (6:22–25) backtracks the story to tell how **Rahab was spared**. There is a forward progress in the plot. In 21a “wird alles, was in der Stadt ist, *gebannt*”, while in 24a “wird alles, was in ihr ist, *verbrannt*” as aptly expressed by Schwienhorst (1986:35). The story by 22a harks back to a point just before the killing of the populace (21a) and mentions the sole exception.

The two spies (22a, cf. 2:1a) were told by Joshua to bring Rahab and her family out. The execution uses a paraphrasing *wəʔēt kol-mišpəḥôtêhā hōšîʔû* ‘and-all-her-family they-brought.out’ (23c, a SubTop). This second clause with *yāšāʔ* has a precore slot chiasitic object in repetition of the former clause. It is not superfluous, because it continues into a tight core subordination linkage in *wayyannîḥûm miḥûš ləmaḥănēh yišrāʔēl* ‘and-they-placed-them outside at-the-camp-of Israel’. The locative *miḥûš* is used as a valency increaser in the accomplishment sense ‘bring outside’. The locative adjunct *ləmaḥănēh* ‘to the camp’ specifies a peripheral setting.³¹ The next paragraph then narrates the completion of the ban by

²⁹ The instrument adjunct *ləpî-ḥāreb* ‘with the mouth of the sword’ is hardly too far removed from its *Bezugsverbum* (Schwienhorst 1986:35). The alleged “Stilbruch” of two successive asyndetical merisms followed by *wəʕad šôr wāšeh waḥāmôr* ‘and to cattle, sheep and donkeys’ (1986:35 n. 18) is just a case of a backgrounding of a heavy and complex object phrase into a RDP-construction.

³⁰ Diachronic practice usually dates plural forms later (Dus 1960:108 and Otto 1973:67–70). Schwienhorst (1986:35) admits that a *constructio ad sensum* for the people in 20c is syntactically possible, but rejects it for stylistic reasons.

³¹ Therefore *miḥûš ləmaḥănēh* does not indicate Rahab’s seclusion from Israel in the

wəhāʿir šārəpū bāʿēš 'and-the-city they-burned by-fire' (24a, a ResTop).

A final summary paragraph uses the same device in *wəʿet-rāhāb hazzônā ... hehēyā yəhōšuaʿ* 'and-AM-Rahab the-harlot ... (he-)let.live Joshua' (25a, also ResTop). This summary makes Joshua ultimately responsible, but the command to let her live (17c) also involves the sparing of her life during the operation.³² The story then closes on a direct quote of the oath (v 26).

4.3.4 Dialogue and Theme Structure

The thematic unity of the story can be established in part by action sequences of instruction and obedience. Culley (1984:36) shows how an initial instruction is repeated in abbreviated form one or several times, and then performed with further modifications:

	Instruction	Repeated	Executed
Walk around:	God to Joshua (3-4)	Joshua to people (7)	walked (8-9)
No shouting:	Joshua to people (10)	shout (16b)	shouted (20)
The ban:	Joshua to people (17a)	devote spoil (18-19)	ban applied (21)
Save Rahab:	Joshua to spies (22)	spare Rahab (22)	Rahab spared (23-25)

These action sequences illustrate the importance of instructions in the story. This is clear from the **dialogue introducers** in Table 4.4

Formula	Sp	AddUnit	Function
wayyēlek [PN, pr] wayyōʿmer lô (5:13e)	[PN]	pr	IU:Q Decisiveness
wayyōʿmer (14a)	Ø	Ø	CU:A Stalemate
wayyipōl yəhōšuaʿ ... wayyōʿmer lô (14e-f)	[PN]	pr	CU:Q Addr-centered
wayyōʿmer šar-šəbāʾ yəhūwēh ʾel-yəhōšuaʿ (15a)	N	PN	CU:A Tension
wayyōʿmer yəhūwēh ʾel-yəhōšuaʿ (6:2a)	PN	PN	RU:P Tension
wayyiqrāʾ yəhōšuaʿ ... ʾel-hakkōhānīm wayyōʿmer ʾālēm (6a-b)	[PN]	pr	SQ:P Identification
wayyōʿmər(ū) ʾel-hāʿām (7a)	Ø	N	SQ:P Identification
wəʿet-hāʿām šiwwā yəhōšuaʿ lēʾmōr (10a)	N	PN	SQ:P Tension
ʾomri ʾālēm (10e)	Ø	pr	Emb:P Addr-centered
wayyōʿmer yəhōšuaʿ ʾel-hāʿām (16b)	PN	N	SQ:P Identification
wəlišnayim hāʾānāšīm ... ʾāmar yəhōšuaʿ (22a)	N	PN	SQ:P Identification
wayyašbaʿ yəhōšuaʿ bāʿet hahīʾ lēʾmōr (26a)	PN	Ø	SQ:C Finality

Table 4.4 Dialogue Introducers in Joshua 6

sense that she was placed 'outside of the camp'. Neither does it warrant that *bəqereb yišrāʾēl* (25b) "überschreitet den Horizont des in den VV. 1-25 Erzählten. Vom Erzählablauf wäre zu erwarten gewesen "mitten in Jericho" (Schwienhorst 1986:36).

³² It is *petitio principii*, when Schwienhorst (1986:37) wants to find a contrast in this.

A discourse grammar can unfold the grammatical structure of speeches. Episode 1 (5:13d-5) is enlivened by dialogue between general Joshua and the divine captain. This inciting incident is distinguished by highly marked quote introductions in marked contrast to the proposals in simple quotes which dominate all the rest of the story. Its culmination in the divine speech of 6:2-5 is central to the whole story.

In the speech exchange in episode 1, Joshua with decisiveness interrogates the other person on his identity. The stranger rejects the terms of the dialogue (Sp:Ø + Add:Ø). This stalemate brings Joshua to address the captain as his superior in an addressee-centered formula (14f). Then the formula *wayyô'mer šar-šabā' yahwēh 'el-yāhōšua'* (15a) with nominal speaker and proper noun addressee marks the divine commander's tension loaded request for Joshua's submission. The reoccurrence of this pattern in *wayyô'mer yahwēh 'el-yāhōšua'* (6:2a) and its highlighting of the continuation of his speech may mark the tension inherent in theophanies.*

5:14b A		└<999>	05,14.2	[P]
c Just		└<500>	05,14.3	[ky] [ʔny] [šr šb' yhw]
d Elab		└<120>	05,14.4	[ʔh] [b'ty]

Figure 4.12 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 5:14b-d

Especially the **answer in 14b-d** is somewhat surprising. The "man" initially answers "No" or "Neither one" in order to turn down Joshua's alternative between his own or the enemy's forces.³³ This rejection of a yes-no answer is supported by a justify satellite in a verbless *kî*-clause (<500>). He identifies himself as something quite different, a divine commander of the army of Yahweh. The following asyndetic *qatal*-clause (<120>) is a closely connected elaboration satellite. Van Seters (1990:10) correctly rejects that the 'attâ 'now' is incomplete, because it does not open a new turn in the argument.³⁴ Rather, the adverb reflects the immediacy of the situation. Joshua then pays homage to 'my lord' (14g) and takes off his sandals in preparation for a divine revelation.³⁵

³³ Soggin (1972:77) can not defend affirmative 'Indeed' after a yes-no question. It is a disjunctive (JM § 161e (610-611)) or polar question (WO § 40.3b (684-685)).

³⁴ However, Van Seters' (1990:10) proposal of an inversion in 14b-c ("Neither, but I (as) captain of the host of Yahweh, have now come") is not correct. It would require that both pronoun 'ānî, subject complement *šar-šabā'-yahwēh* and adverb 'attâ were fronted. But 14c is a verbless identification clause, and only 'attâ of 14d is fronted. It is not a breathless response (Boling 1982:198), but a decisive one.

³⁵ He may simply follow court etiquette (Noth 1953:39). But the situation reveals that "the angel is not a being distinct from Yahweh, but in a sense is one of his hypostases" (Soggin 1972:78).

6:2b	DM		└< 999 >	06,02.2	[r'h]
	└Enab		└< 123 >	06,02.3	[ntty] [b-ydk] [ʔt yryhʷ /w- /ʔt mlkh (gbwry h-hyl)]
--	--				
3a	P		└< 323 >	06,03.1	[w-] [sbtm] [ʔt h-ʕyr] [kl ʔnšy h- mlh̄mh]
--	--				
	PrCo		└< 152 >	06,03.2	[hqyp] [ʔt h-ʕyr] [pʕm ʔht]
b	Elab		└< 112 >	06,03.3	[kh] [tʕšh] [ššt ymym]
4a	Purp		└< 311 >	06,04.1	[w-] [šbʕh khnym] [yšʔw] [šbʕh šwprwt h-ywblym] [l-pny h-ʔrwn]
--	--				
b	Purp		└< 311 >	06,04.2	[w-] [b--ywm h-šbyʕy] [tsbw] [ʔt h-ʕyr] [šbʕ pʕmym]
--	--				
c	Elab		└< 311 >	06,04.3	[w-] [h-khny] [ytqʕw] [b--šwprwt]
5a	DM		└< 321 >	06,05.1	[w-] [hyh]
b	└Circ		└< 55 >	06,05.2	[b-mšk] [b-qrn h-ywbl]
	Rest		└< 62 >	06,05.3	[b-šmʕkm] [ʔt qwl h-šwpr]
c	Purp		└< 112 >	06,05.4	[yryʕw] [kl h-ʕm] [trwʕh gdwlh]
d	VRes		└< 321 >	06,05.5	[w-] [nplh] [hwm̄t h-ʕyr] [t̄tyh]
e	Purp		└< 321 >	06,05.6	[w-] [ʔw] [h-ʕm] [Pyš] [ngdw]

Figure 4.13 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:2b-5

The implications and goal of the meeting is revealed in full when we reach **the divine quote** in 6:2a, illustrated in Figure 4.13. Initially Yahweh guarantees the final take-over of the city in the perfective future of resolve *nātattī bəyādākā* 'I-will.give_{PFV} in-your-hand' (2b).³⁶ Joshua later repeats this central point in his exhortation before the capture which opens with *nātan yāhwēh lākem* (16d). Here the initial promise functions as an enablement satellite for the nucleus which follows in the proposal *wəsabbōtem ʔet-hāʕīr* 'and-you-shall.encircle the city' (3a). This order (a *wəqatal* Command (SS) in reference to the addressee) is modified by an asyndetic infinitive absolute *haqqēp ʔet-hāʕīr paʕam ʔehāt* 'by enclosing the city once' (<152>). This predicate coordination shares the subject *kōl-ʔanšē hammilḥāmā* 'all-men-of the-war' with the preceding core. The performance of encircling for six days is elaborated by injunctive *kōh taʕāšeh* 'so you_{SG}-shall.do' (3b), which makes an unusual shift to singular

³⁶ Or a performative "Übereignungsformel" (Schwienhorst 1986:42 n. 3). The *gibbôrê heḥayil* 'mighty warriors' (2b) is a peculiar asyndetic apposition to Jericho and its king. It may be a marginal gloss on *ʔanšē hammilḥāmā* (3a) (Noth 1953:34). The MT text presumes a situationally accessible reference within a frame of a royal city which naturally has armed forces. The king is also mentioned, although he has no role in the story (Schwienhorst 1986:38).

address.³⁷ Other third person plural injunctives then specify that during the six days seven priests are to carry shofar horns before the ark (4a), that on the seventh day everybody is to encircle the city seven times (4b) and only then the priests are to blow (4b).

A *wəhāyā* (5a) discourse marker for future marks the punch-line of the speech. two adverbial infinitive constructs topicalize back referencing information. The *bimšōk bəqeren hayyōbēl* 'in-draw in-horn-of the-yobel', i.e., when they blast a long tune in the yobel-horn (5a), carefully defines the force of the last exhortation. The special blowing of the shofars on the seventh day (4c) is to be a special signal (5a). The adverbial *bəšom'ākem ʔet-qôl haššōpār* 'in-hear-yours AM-sound-of the-shofar' (5b) restates the situation prevailing just before they are to shout by *tərūʿā gədôlā* 'shout great', i.e., 'loudly' (5c).³⁸ A *wəqatal* follows with a different subject to specify the result that 'then the walls will fall' (5d; discussed in example (21) in 2.3.3). A same subject as the main addressee adds the order that 'the people shall ascend' into the city *ʔiš negdô* 'each opposite it', i.e., from their position in front of the collapsed walls (5e).

The divine speech introduces most of the important referents and therefore bears on the problem of **referential coherence**. In 4a *šibʿā kōhānīm* 'seven priests' are introduced (as NewTop) and they are referred to by the determined nominal form *hakkōhānīm* in 4c (as ResTop).³⁹ They are also introduced with indetermined form in the instruction to the priests (6c) and from then on referred to as textually accessible in determined form (8b, 13a). Their horns are introduced in 4a (as NewFoc), but here in the determined form *šibʿā šōpārôt hayyōbəlīm* 'seven shofars-of the-yobel', while they are introduced with the indetermined form in the

³⁷ Otto (1973:77) explains the singular as a trace of a different source (version B). However, just as in Deuteronomy, such shifts between singular and plural "often within a single verse ... only rarely corresponds with tensions in the text over content. For this reason it can largely be ignored in exegesis" (Rendtorff 1986:151). The shifts from imperative or *wəqatal* to injunctive used by Schwienhorst (1986:32-33) for text splitting [e.g., 2a, 2b, 3b, 5a (sg)/3a, 4a, 4b, 5b (pl); 6c (2pl imp)/6d (3pl juss); 7b (imp 2pl)/7c (3sg juss); 10b (2pl)/10c (3pl)] can hardly provide the basis for an adequate theory on verb sequencing.

³⁸ The *qere kəšom'ākem* would add rhetorical immediacy: 'just when you hear the sound'. Diachronic research splits 5a-b into two doublet horns (Otto 1973:70 n. 4), and usually singular *bimšōk* (5a) is considered the original (Noth 1953:41; Dus 1960:109), and it is the only one retained by the LXX. A diachronically secondary plural (5b) was influenced by v 20 (Dus 108 n. 6). However, Schwienhorst (1986:32) correctly points out that 2mp suffix fits better in the context.

³⁹ Note the vague verdict that this is "nicht sicher als semantische Kohärenzstörung" (Schwienhorst 1986:32).

instruction (6d). The determined form of 4a may be a situationally accessible reference, and then the indetermination of 6d would be similar to the introduction of the priests in 5c. They are resumed by a determined plural *baššôpārôt* (4c) or singular form (5b), but also by a more general synonym *qeren* (5a). The situationally accessible ark is referred to variously as *ʔet-ʔārôn habbārît* (6c), *lipnê ʔārôn yahwēh* (6d, 7c) and *waʔārôn bārît yahwēh* (8c). The same goes for the interchange between *bānê yiśrāʔēl* (1a) and *hāʿām* (7a, 10a).⁴⁰

The initial divine command is executed in several **rounds of instruction**. Joshua orders the priests to carry the ark and seven of them to carry horns (6c-d). This adheres to the commands of 4a. Then the people are ordered to pass around the city (7b) as instructed in 3a. A special group of the armed forces, the *heḥālūš*, are to walk in front as stipulated by the operational rule that the East Jordanian tribes were to head the conquest (1:12-18; 4:12-13).

6:10a	Sequ		< 327 >	06,10.1	[w-] [ʔt h-ʿm] [šwh] [yhwsʿ]
	QF		< 64 >	06,10.2	[l-ʔmr]
b	P		< 999 >	06,10.3	[ʔ] [tryʿw]
c	Rest		< 201 >	06,10.4	[w-] [ʔ] [tšmyʿw] [ʔt qwlkm]
d	Rest		< 202 >	06,10.5	[w-] [ʔ] [yšʔ] [m-pykm] [dbr] [ʿd ywm]
e	Circ		< 50 >	06,10.6	[ʔmry] [ʔlykm]
f	P		< 999 >	06,10.7	[hryʿw]
g	Purp		< 321 >	06,10.8	[w-] [hryʿtm]

Figure 4.14 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:10

The **last instruction** by Joshua to the people (10a) specifies the negative implications of the instruction on a special blasting on the seventh day (4b-c). The order is emphasized by multiple restatements (Don't shout! Don't let a sound be heard from you! Don't speak! (10b-d)) and by embedded quote (until I say: "Shout!" Then you shout! (10e-g)).

The next speech in 16b-19 contains the positive consequences of the marching commands: on the seventh round, the people are now to shout (16b) and the city will be theirs (16d). This is followed by detailed **instruction for the ban**. This speech is part of the stylistic peak-twisting of the story line, and adds to the special flavor of the climax. It specifies the rules for the only known strict enactment of total *herem* destruction.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Contrast Schwienhorst (1986:32) who apparently assumes that any redactional layer can know of only one word for a given entity.

⁴¹ Diachronic scholars find in v 17-19 a "Verschränkung der verschiedenen Überlieferungen durch den 'Sammler'" (Noth 1953:40), which is "durchaus

The relations in v 17 are very complex. The *wəqatal*-form is here used as a Result (SS). The 'be'-verb *wəhāyātā* is added to a verbless classification clause *hā'ir hērem* 'so-(it-)will.be the-city ban' (17a). A similar verbless clause and resultative *wəhāyītā* is found in Deut 7:26. One option is then to assume that the subject is further specified in a right-detached position by *hî' wəkol-ʔāšer-bah* 'it and-all-which-in-it' ([06,17.2-3]) and followed by *ləyahwēh* 'for-Yahweh' ([06,17.4]) as a benefactive adjunct (cf. 1:2b). Another option, the one chosen in Wit_{Syn} as shown in Figure 4.15, is to assume that the subject ([06,17.2]) is the initial constituent of a possessive verbless clause (17b). Its sense would be 'It and all which is in it [is (=will belong)] to Yahweh'.

6:17a VRes	⊥ < 323 >	06,17.1	[w-] [hyth] [h-ʿyr] [hrm]
b NP	⊥ < 302 >	06,17.2	[hyʔ /w- /kl]
Rel	⊥ < 17 >	06,17.3	[ʔšr] [bh]
Rest	⊥ < 223 >	06,17.4	[l-yhwh]
c PCS	⊥ < 100 >	06,17.5	[rq] [rḥb (h-zwnh)]
Conc	⊥ < 110 >	06,17.6	[thyh] [hyʔ /w- /kl]
Rel	⊥ < 17 >	06,17.7	[ʔšr] [ʔth] [b--byt]
d Just	⊥ < 520 >	06,17.8	[ky] [hḥbʔth] [ʔt h-mlʔkym]
Rel	⊥ < 12 >	06,17.9	[ʔšr] [šlḥnw]

Figure 4.15 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 6:17

The complex subject is also found in the following *hî' wəkol-ʔāšer ʔittah babbayit* 'she and all which is in her house (or her family)' ([06,17.6-7], 17c). This clause has an injunctive *yiqtol* with the precore slot subject 'the prostitute Rahab' (as a RestrFoc marked by *raq* 'only'). The function of the right-detached position is to guarantee that everybody in Rahab's family is included among those to be saved.

A following *wəraq* clause (18a) adds a new restriction on a higher textual level. It is an additional evaluation attached as a satellite to the whole preceding segment (16c-17d). A new paragraph is also marked by precore slot *ʔattem* 'you' in front of the imperative *šimrû* 'take heed' (a NewFoc for boundary marking).⁴² It is followed by *pen-tahārimû* 'in

unangebracht" (Hertzberg 1965:42), because "in *dieser* Länge unterbricht die Rede den Ablauf der Erzählung" (Schwienhorst 1986:36). Only Otto (1973:69) retains the speech as a unity. The *herem* is either a very late theological appendix because it creates doublets in v 17-19, 21 (Butler 1983:67), or a very early rigorous Gilgal praxis (Ottosson 1991:61-66).

⁴² Contrast Schwienhorst (1986:34): the first *raq* (17b) is attributive "*nur* Rahab," but the second restricts the predicate as adverbial "*hütet euch bloß*." He concludes: "Der Anschluß mit *wəraq* läßt einen literarisch sekundären Nachtrag vermuten"

order that you do not incur the ban' (18b), which creates an exquisite word play on the ban of 17a.⁴³ This warning emphasizes that the *herem* is not only a policy (v 17), but also may become a pitfall (v 18).

In the last episode, there is a short quote of Joshua's order to the spies (22b-c). It may emphasize that Joshua took full responsibility for his spies' arrangements. More remarkable is his quoted curse in the closure (26b-d). It is introduced by a *hiphil wayyašbaʿ* 'and-he-let-swear' (26a) which can indicate its finality as an accomplishment verb. The quote itself has a word order of predicate (*ʔārūr* 'cursed (be)' + patient subject (*hāʔiš* 'the man') + agent (*lipnê yahwēh* 'by Yahweh') (26b)). A following non-restrictive relative clause *ʔāšer yāqūm ūbānā ʔet-hāʕir hazzōʔt ʔet-yārîḥō* 'who raises and builds up this city, Jericho' restricts the undergoer *hāʔiš*.⁴⁴ The strong emphasis on 'AM-the-city, AM-Jericho' is unnecessary for referential purposes. It is clearly a situationally accessible referent and has a deictic force. The appositions may mark the speaker's contemptuous attitude to the ruined stone heap. By a derogatory reference, Joshua condones the full *herem* measures.

The short curse in the closure is thus a befitting conclusion to the story of Yahweh's miraculous and total destruction of Jericho. Joshua obediently responds to the awe-inspiring events.⁴⁵ Furthermore, just as the closure of 4:19-24 told of Joshua's instruction for future teaching, the present closure contains his warning on future violations of the ban. The Achan story will show how serious the ban on Jericho was.

4.3.5 Summary and Conclusions

The story of the conquest of Jericho is a story about a divine command (v 1-5), executed promptly by the leader (v 6ff) (Butler 1983:70). The divine instructions for the ritual conquest of the city were followed to the letter. The seventh round on the seventh day is highly focused on the command by Joshua (16b-19) and on the miraculous collapse of the walls in the resolution (20c-21a).

The principal announcement of the story, 'Look, I will give in your

⁴³ The stylistic play should not be emended to *tahāmîdû* 'covet' (Otto 1973:67 n. 1). Schwienhorst (1986:26 n. 6) supports MT by *lāqah* in Deut 7:25 and Josh 7:21.

⁴⁴ The *ʔāšer* is detached from its antecedent—a reference to Yahweh is meaningless (Schwienhorst 1986:36). This is natural in non-restrictive relative clauses.

⁴⁵ It is less clear that Joshua's curse functions like the additional set of stones to sanction an "exceptional interpretation of what is under the ban" (Polzin 1980:114).

hand Jericho and its king' (6:2b), reiterates the conclusion of the spy story in 2:24. Yahweh is the active major participant who initiates and foretells the action and this "central role of Yahweh creates a sense of inevitability" (Culley 1984:36). Joshua and the people obey passively, and no battle action is required.

The nuclear thematic statement of the story is that everything should be dedicated to Yahweh (17b). This climatic speech contains several anaphoric and cataphoric story linkages (Polzin 1980:114 and Culley 1984:36). The *herem* has an exception in the case of Rahab and her family (17b-c), whose lives were spared as sworn by the spies. The warning against violating the ban prepares for the following story of Ai. This is made very explicit by 18e which uses the rare verb *wa'akartem* 'cause trouble' in anticipation of 7:25.

We can now summarize all elements in the structure of Joshua 5:13-6:26, and attach the central rhetorical relations. Relations center around the sequences of circumambulations. Motivation satellites dominate both in the speeches of God and Joshua. Finally, the elaboration of the story by the account of the treatment of Rahab is also a prominent feature of the story. The nuclear element is the execution of total *herem* destruction:

Extent	Constituent	Theme	Superstructure	RST-relations
5:13a-c	Stage	Commander	Introduction	Circ
5:13d-6:5	ep1	Divine command	Inciting Incident	Moti
6:6-11	Ep2	Execution day 1	Mounting tension	Moti
6:12-14	Ep3	Execution day 2-6	Unfolding	Sequ
6:15-20b	Ep4	Execution day 7	Climax	Moti
6:20c-21	Ep5	Miracle	Resolution	Sequ
6:22-25	Ep6	Rahab	Lessening tension	Elab
6:26	Closure	Curse on Jericho	Conclusion	Summ

Table 4.5 Macrostructure of Joshua 6

4.4 The Complication at Ai in Joshua 6:27-8:29

The third major story in Joshua 7-8 narrates the first regular battle of a Canaanite city. The next operation was not performed as a sacral procession and involved logistics rather than a miracle.

An initial reconnaissance by Israelite intelligence found that Ai was easy prey, but this advice was confounded in a humiliating defeat (7:2-5). God instructed Joshua to make a second attempt by ambushing the city (8:1-2). The army advanced, but retreated when the enemy attacked. Meanwhile the ambush captured the city.

The disastrous failure in the first attempt called for a complicated procedure to discover a violator of the ban (7:6-26). Only when the culprit was wiped out, could the Israelites wipe out the city. This complexity has lead many scholars to view Joshua 7 as an independent unit with its own theme (Culley 1984:37).

Therefore the story of the conquest of Ai is not just interesting because of its "plethora of topographical and tactical details" (Zevit 1983:23) or its "narrative mastery" (Butler 1983:82).¹ The story is also a remarkable case of how intertwined sub-stories can merge into one. This challenges discourse-pragmatic analysis with a whole new set of problems for grammatical analysis of units, coherence and theme.

4.4.1 Readings

The modern story of research on Ai has been much influenced by archaeology, but excavation has so far failed to produce tangible evidence.² When scholars started to dig into the literary history of Ai they found that it "weit komplizierter ist, als es den Anschein hat" (Noth 1953:47), and scholars formed far reaching views on multiple layers which were really not much more tangible.³

¹ Butler refers to the irony that when Israel forsakes its God "she cannot even conquer The Ruin, with its few inhabitants" (1983:82). Moreover, the name of God is cut off from the earth (7:9) because of the slight loss of 36 soldiers (7:5).

² Excavations at et-Tell did not produce any evidence for 2300-1100 BC. Therefore the account either does not give a historically correct picture of events during the conquest (Weippert 1971:141-142 and Zevit 1983:23), or Ai should be located somewhere else (Bimson 1978:215-225), or its conquest dated later (Callaway 1968:16-19 and Mazar 1992:331-332). It could be the camp site of nearby Bethel (Albright 1939:16-17), but the story presumes the killing of the king of Ai (Woudstra 1981:122 n. 13), and the geographical references to Ai are too strong (Miller and Tucker 1974:69).

³ The original layer in Rösel's (1975:161-162) stratigraphy consists only of 7:2-5a,

To begin with, there is a number of apparent **tensions** in the story. The reference to ambushes of different sizes in 8:3 and 12 is hard to reconcile, but is just the most glaring example of alleged doublets:⁴

number of ambush troops 30000 vs. 5000	8:3	8:12
setting of ambush	9	12
the ambush/its "heel" west of the city	9b	13a
Joshua slept (<i>wayyālen</i>)/went(<i>wayyēlek</i>)	9c	13b
encamping at Ai	12	13
burning of Ai	19	28

The Greek translation (LXX) avoids the discrepancy in the number of men in ambush. Auld accepts this version as better and earlier, suggesting that at some later stage "a complicated account of the capture of Ai was produced, perhaps in an attempt to do justice to conflicting information" (1979:5). This astonishing assumption he finds supported by "a pedantic concern" to locate the camp and Joshua in the Hebrew text (MT) of 8:9 and 13.

A more important problem is that the concluding formula 'they rose a big pile of stones over him until this day' (8:29) is duplicated by a similar formula in 7:26. Diachronic scholars have attached great significance to them as **etiologies** which divide Joshua 7-8 into two traditions with "von Hause aus völlig voneinander geschiedene Elemente" (Noth 1953:43):⁵

Achan story	7:1, 5b-26
The campaign against Ai	7:2-5a, 8:1-29

In the case of Ai, etiological narrative was even considered "auf archäologischen Wege *ad oculos* demonstriert" (Alt [1936] 1953:185). Archaeology was seen as final proof that the stories were invented to explain a pile of stones over a burial (Noth 1953:43) or remains of a destroyed city ruin (1953:47). Because archaeology seemed to disprove their historical value, a "Rückschluß" on all other etiologies in Joshua 1-6 was not only "erlaubt, sondern geboten" (1953:21).

8:10-12, 13b. After this point he is unable to prove which doublets are the oldest.

⁴ Cf. Miller and Tucker (1974:68). Zevit concluded that 8:12-13 is part of another "parallel narrative variant" (1983:24), and Noth (1953:49-50) accepted the literary unity of all the story except for the doublet in 8:12-13. Culley found that "smaller tensions ... only create a kind of blurring" (1984:41).

⁵ Noth (1953:43) attaches 7:5b-9 to the Achan story due to back reference in 7:10, but Butler (1983:81; cf. Zevit 1983:33 n. 3, 5) attached it to the Ai story, because the battle at Bethel in Judg 20:18-48 also includes a lamentation (20:23, 26-27).

Other scholars do not accept the axioms and implications of this etiological research. It is doubtful that the naming of a place is the primary focus or the departure for the tradition.⁶ In 7:26 the story culminates in two 'until this day' statements which are fused (Childs 1963:285 and n. 18). The one explaining 'ēmeq 'ākôr 'Valley of Achor' is in a "genuine" form, but it names the valley rather than the heap of stones, and burning is more central to the story (7:15) than stoning (Long 1968:25-26). It is also difficult to understand how a word like 'ākar 'trouble' with its negative connotations could have generated a story told by the family of Achan or the tribe of Judah (Butler 1983:81-82).⁷ Similar problems are raised by the two "etiologies" concluding the victory at Ai. A story of a defeat followed by a divinely instructed victory does not prove the primacy of an etiology on a dead king, but perhaps the name of the city. Yet none of these formulas relate to the battle strategies which are the central content of the story.

The etiological issue is not the only one in modern studies. Especially for the Achan story, **form-criticism** has claimed that "[e]ach of its component narratives contains its own form and its own tradition" (Butler 1983:79):

7:1	theological introduction
7:2-5	self-confident attack and defeat at Ai
7:6-12	national lamentation
7:13-26	public trial
8:1-2	salvation oracle
8:3-23	obedient battle against Ai
8:24-29	destruction of Ai

The story of the battle at Ai may be more amenable to a **literary-redactional** approach. Due to the distribution of references to Ai, Boling (1982:236) splits Joshua 8 evenly between dtr₁ (8:1-3 (3x), 12-19 (5x), and 26-29 (3x)) and dtr₂ (8:3-11 (6x) and 20-25 (6x)). The first was a continuous narrative, the second a preview of the civil war of Judges.⁸

⁶ Cf. Childs (1963:285; 1974:392-393). The formulas are rhetorical devices, if they are outside the plot, multifarious or on remote phenomena (Van Dyk 1990:26-27).

⁷ Noth (1953:43-44) localized Achan material at the northern frontier of Judah, but Ai was Benjaminite (1953:47). If it was a Benjaminite etiology from a Gilgal sanctuary (Hertzberg 1965:50; Soggin 1972:98), it would violate the criterion of *Haftpunkt*, because the valley lies in Judah (15:7).

⁸ In Joshua 7 Boling finds "a tendentious use of the etiological principle" (1982:230). The original story told that Achan stole from the rations. The interpretation of dtr₁ betrays a "tendentious 'legalistic' rationalization for a most serious tactical blunder on Joshua's part."

Readings of the story Ai have so far been preoccupied with etiological conclusions and the complications in the details of ambush. The issue is now whether a discourse grammar can make victories in the battle of Ai by its analysis of boundaries, coherence and theme.

4.4.2 Episode Structure

A form-critic has concluded that the story's "structure ... is clear and interesting" (Butler 1983:79). Can this structure also be tracked independently of that method, and how does the story fare from a holistic and linguistic perspective?

Both the beginning of the story and the internal divisions raise a number of questions. All Hebrew manuscripts posit two parts within Joshua 8, but Joshua 7 as a single unit beginning with 6:26. The Greek version marks a boundary at 6:27 and then subdivides into several minor units. However, no ancient witness suggests an opening in 7:1, in contrast to virtually all modern readings. Most scholars read Joshua 7-8 as two stories (Reading 1), but a large minority assume a single unit for 7:1-8:29 (Reading 2). Note the statistics calculated by Koorevaar (1990:174):

C A L	6:26-7:26;	8:1-17, 18-29
LXX ^B	6:27-7:1; 7:2-5, 6-9, 10-15, 16-18, 19, 20-26;	8:1-2, 3-17, 18-29
Reading 1	7:1-26 [56] / 8:1-29 [47]	
Reading 2	7:1-8:29 [33]	

The **beginning of the story** is a highly controversial issue. Often 6:27 is considered a concluding formula and 7:1 an opening transition (Butler 1983:79).⁹ But Schwienhorst (1986:89) correctly points out that 6:27a is similar to the discourse markers of 9:1, 10:1 and 11:1, and the Jericho story ends in the closure of 6:26. If a new exposition begins with 6:27, the stage refers back to Yahweh's assistance of Joshua which had dawned on the Canaanite population. The first clause-initial *wayhî 'et* 'was with' (27a) uses the actor and undergoer arguments to reintroduce Yahweh and Joshua (as ResTop). The same form of the *hāyâ* verb reoccurs in the second clause, but with the undergoer 1st argument *šom'ô* 'his rumor' (27b) the verb means 'happen to, get to', and hence 'spread'. None of these predicates are used completely as the discourse marker *wayhî* (cf. 5:1a), but both accumulate circumstantial information at the opening of a story.

⁹ Only one commentator has 6:27-7:26a as a unit (Koorevaar 1990:135 n. 2).

The bright background of Yahweh's help and Joshua's fame is set in sharp contrast by the situation in 7:1. The general statement that *wayyim'ālū bānē-yīsrā'ēl mā'al bahērem* 'the Israelites committed a transgression against the ban' (7:1a) is "an effective opening which arrests attention" (Boling 1982:220). This unfaithfulness is explained by the more specific actions *wayyiqqah 'ākān ... min-hahērem* 'Achan ... had taken from the ban(ned goods)' (1b) and *wayyihar-ʔap yahwēh bibnē yīsrā'ēl* 'and the wrath of Yahweh had kindled against Israel' (1c).

In this way the *wayhi*-forms of 6:27 open a rudimentary story with *wayyiqtol*-continuation forms. An advance announcement of Achan's theft (1b) and Yahweh's anger (1c) are actions which explain how all Israel was influenced (1a).¹⁰ Their explanatory function is indicated by repetition of *hērem* (1b) and *bibnē yīsrā'ēl* (1c) from 1a. This also explains the expansive reference to his lineage as 'the son of Karmi, the son of Zabdi, the son of Zerah, from the tribe of Judah'.

The story proper begins with **episode 1** in 2a. It uses the same unit-marking expression *wayyishlah yəhōšua'* 'Joshua sent' as in 2:1a. Here the proper name is not modified by 'ben Nun', nor is *ʔānāšim* 'men' postposed for introduction of major participants, or the locative *mîrîhō hā'ay* 'from Jericho to Ai' promoted.¹¹ The clause structure resembles an episode opening like 2:3a with *lēmōr* as boundary marker.¹²

A number of explicit subjects demarcate separate units within the subsequent narrative. The execution of Joshua's order and the spies' report is marked off by a resumption of *hā'ānāšim* (2b) and by the reintroduction of Joshua (3a). The battle description reintroduces *kišlōšet ʔālāpîm ʔiś* 'about 3000 men' (4a). It also promotes adjuncts for source *min-hā'ām* 'from the people' and direction *šāmmā* 'over there' to postverbal position.

These units can be analyzed as separate paragraphs, but their boundary marking and different locations even suggest a function on episode level.

¹⁰ Alfrink suggests an inclusive *way*- instead of an explicative, and translates "und so nahm unter anderen Achan von dem gebannten Gute" (1951:116). But it depends too much on his interpretation. Achan's transgression is seen as an advance comment to the reader (Culley 1986:38).

¹¹ The setting adjunct is placed in the peripheral layer at the end of the clause and Ai is modified by a non-restrictive relative clause *ʔāšer ʿim-bêt ʔāwen miqqedem lābêt-ʔēl* 'which is at Beth Aven east of Beth El'. Ai occurs five times in rapid succession and twenty-two times in chapter 8 for rhetorical reasons (Boling 1982:222). Ai does not mean 'The Ruin' because its ʿ (*ayin*) was pronounced as ġ (*gayin*) (Zevit 1983:32 and 33-34 n. 13). T

¹² If 2a is a regular episode opening, no diachronic implications follow from "the rather abrupt transition to the Ai battle in 7:2" (Butler 1983:81).

Most likely, they form an **initial embedded story on the defeat at Ai** divided into three condensed sub-episodes: the command to spy (2a-c), the execution of the mission and subsequent report (2d-3f), the defeat (4a-5c) and a closure (5d). In the narrative strategy, the embedded story functions as the inciting incident for the whole discourse.

After the defeat at Ai, a new boundary is marked by a reintroduction of Joshua (6a). The following verb, *wayyippōl* 'he fell', has an unmarked new focus *ʾārōn yahwēh* 'the ark of Yahweh' and a duration adjunct *hāʿereb* 'until the evening' (6b).¹³ The scope of the subject is then widened by means of a right-detached position of *hūʾ wəziqnē yiśrāʾēl* 'he and the elders of Israel'. This construction often occurs at a boundary (cf. 3:1b), and here it opens **episode 2** of the story. A new paragraph initiates a speech exchange between Joshua (7a) and the other main character, Yahweh (10a).

Yahweh's instructions (10b-15c) are executed in the next episode. It opens with an introductory *wayyaškēm yəhōšuaʿ* 'and Joshua arose' and a new time setting *babbōqer* 'in the morning' (16a=3:1a; 6:12b).¹⁴ This boundary is again followed by a speech exchange between Joshua (7:19a) and Achan (20a) and by the subsequent recovery of the stolen goods. Achan's exposure culminates in his execution (24a-26a). It is strongly set off by a reintroduction of Achan with all his belongings (24a).¹⁵ A final closure sums up that Yahweh's wrath had receded (26b-c=1c).

In the overall design of the story, these episodes on the conviction of Achan form a **second embedded story** (7:6-26). The two embedded episodes comprise the following elements:

Episode 1 (7:2-5) The defeat at Ai	2a-c	Emb ep1: order to spy
	2d-3f	Emb ep2: execution and report
	4a-5c	Emb ep3: defeat
	5d	Closure: discouragement
Episode 2 (7:6-25) Conviction of Achan	6-15	Emb ep1: Yahweh's instruction
	16-23	Emb ep2: Exposure of Achan
	24-26a	Emb ep3: Execution of Achan
	26b-c	Closure: Yahweh's satisfaction

¹³ Boling translates "fell face down on the ground ... and stayed that way" (1982:216) and explains *wayyippōl* as "inchoative and continuous" (1982:223).

¹⁴ Cf. temporal shift *lāmāḥār* 'tomorrow' (13c) and *babbōqer* (14a) and participant shift *yiśrāʾēl lišbāṭāyw* 'Israel according to each individual tribe' (16b).

¹⁵ A separate locational verbless clause *wəkol-yiśrāʾēl ʾimmō* 'and-all-Israel with-him' (24b) extends the actor reference to include all the Israelites. They are the implicit zero-subject referents of *wayyaʿālū ʾōtām* 'they-brought.up them' (24c).

Joshua 8 resumes the **main story about the victory at Ai** after the embedding. It opens with a short episode that replaces the very different advice of the spies in 7:2-5. This episode functions as a new inciting incident, but is only marked by a bare *wayyômer yahwêh 'el-yâhôšua'* 'and Yahweh said to Joshua'. In the total structure of the story, it forms a condensed **episode 3**. All of Josh 7:2-26 + 8:1-2 could even be considered an overriding complex inciting incident for the battle of Joshua 8.

The next unit, **episode 4**, opens with a verb of movement *wayyâqom* 'and-(he-)rose' and a reintroduction of the explicit subject *yâhôšua' wâkol-ʿam hammilḥamâ* 'Joshua and all the army' (3a). It prepares for the subsequent action and a new locale by the core cosubordination *laʿâlôt hâʿây* 'to-go.up to-Ai'.¹⁶ The specific action narrates on the preparations by *wayyibḥar yâhôšua'* 'and Joshua choose' (3b) and reintroduces the ambush party as object from the prior divine speech. The preparations are executed in a short paragraph introduced by the core cosubordination *wayyišlāḥēm yâhôšua' wayyēlakû* 'Joshua sent them over' (9a).

The following unit, **episode 5**, reverts to a description of the situation at the camp and is marked by *wayyālen yâhôšua'* 'Joshua spent the night' (9c). It has the same general time frame *ballaylâ hahû* 'this very same night', but introduces a different group through *bâtôk hâʿām* 'among the people'.¹⁷ It is continued by another episode-initial *wayyaškēm yâhôšua' babbôqer* 'and Joshua arose in the morning' (10a; cf. 7:16a) and then reports the march to Ai with the army the next day.

A new **episode 6** opens with *wayyēlek yâhôšua' ballaylâ hahû bâtôk hâʿemeq* 'and Joshua went that night down into the valley' (13b). Joshua advances on Ai under the cover of darkness to simulate an attack the following morning and now takes personal responsibility for scouting (Boling 1982:239). He guides them to the calculated place of encounter.¹⁸

¹⁶ 3a is then a proleptic statement by *wayyiqtol*. If the clause has an ingressive force 'Joshua prepared to go up to Ai', it would continue smoothly into the following *wayyibḥar yâhôšua'* 'and Joshua choose'.

¹⁷ Noth corrects the *hâʿām* to *hâʿemeq* with 8:13, i.e., "Joshua aber verbrachte diese Nacht inmitten 'der Ebene'" (1953:44). Soggin (1972:95) notes that "we are never told that Joshua was in the habit of sleeping anywhere other than in the midst of the people." But if it refers to the Plain of Achor, its sense is different from the valley of Ai in v 13 (Hertzberg 1965:58). Joshua is then placed among his people in contrast to the ambush.

¹⁸ The *lammôʿed* (14c) probably means "a suitable place" (Woudstra 1981:140). It refers to the place that a counter-attack from Ai would reach. The predetermined place had to be on the east side of the valley to allow for the ambush. Other translations are 'assembled troops' or a place name (Zevit 1983:34 n. 16) or an established signal (Boling 1982:239-240).

The victory is initiated by a *wayyômer yahwêh 'el-yəhôšua'* (18a=1a) in the middle of the battle description. This reversal of fortunes probably opens a new **episode 7**.¹⁹ Moreover, the signal to ambush with the javelin (v 18), the signal of smoke from Ai (v 19-20), the counter-attacks by the main army (v 21) and by the ambush (v 22), and the capture of the king of Ai (v 23) are all distinct paragraphs chopping up the victory into smaller moments. They could be considered minor sub-episodes, but their close temporal simultaneity, same general localization, and similar participants argue against it. I suggest that it resolves the tension of the plot (a Peak').

Following this, a new boundary is marked by *wayhî kəkallôt yisrā'êl lahārôg* 'Then, when Israel had finished to kill' (24a). The construction is similar to 14a which occurs early in episode 6 and elsewhere in initial position (4:1a; 10:20; etc). Besides the flashback, there is also a shift to a new location within the city proper. The following short account only completes the picture of the victory. This **episode 8** is a post-peak lessening of tension in the narrative strategy.

It is less clear how far this episode extends. There is another *wayhî* in 25a, but in this case it is only used as a copula specifying a verbless clause. However, it has a remarkable general time indication *bayyôm hahû'* 'on this day' similar to the endings of the stories of Jordan (4:19) and Jericho (6:26). It also shifts the participant focus from Israel to Joshua and the location is the defeat at the city gate of Ai. Nevertheless, in WITSyn v 25-27 are represented as a continuation of episode 8 and it is interpreted as a summary satellite.

If so, the **closure** begins with Joshua's burning of Ai (28a). V 28-29 then reports a final act of Joshua similar to 4:21 and 6:26, and v 29 contains a general temporal conclusion for the story.

In conclusion, the constituent structure consists of the following elements: The theft of Achan (6:27-7:1, stage), The defeat at Ai (7:2-5, Ep1), The conviction of Achan (7:6-25, Ep2), Yahweh's instruction for battle (8:1-2, Ep3), Departure of ambush (8:3-9b, Ep4), Departure of main army (8:9c-13a, Ep5), Apparent defeat (8:13b-17, Ep6), The victory at Ai (8:18-23, Ep7), The capture of Ai (8:24-27, Ep8), The execution of the king (8:28-29, closure).

¹⁹ Both occurrences of the speech verb lack the *lê'môr* quote formula.

4.4.3 Coherence and Style Structure

The combination of three stories and their intricate embedding in the episode structure of the Ai story will inevitably result in a complicated story line. It has a deep impact on the marking of coherence and style.

The **defeat at Ai** (7:2-5) opens as a spy story, just as Joshua 2.²⁰ A direct quote presents the goal of the new spy mission. It has a shared object in the core cosubordination *ʿālū wəraggālū ʿet-hāʾāreš* 'go up to spy on the land' (2c). The spies, again called *hāʾānāšīm* 'the men' (2d) in allusion to Joshua 2, promptly execute their task and swiftly return to report to Joshua (3a-b). It is then remarkable, that their report in contrast to 2:24 does not refer to a divinely assured victory. They just recommend that Israel should not be too much concerned with the insignificant task of taking Ai.

At this point, the episode is "accelerating the flow of the narrative" (Woudstra 1981:122-123), culminating in *wayyiqtol*-chaining.

7:4a	Sequ	└──┐ <200>	07,04.1	[w-] [yʿlw] [mn h-ʿm] [šmh] [k-šlšt ʿlpym ʿyš]
--	--			
b	Sequ	└┐ <200>	07,04.2	[w-] [ynsw] [l-pny ʿnšy h-ʿy]
5a	Sequ	└──┐ <200>	07,05.1	[w-] [ykw] [mhm] [ʿnšy h-ʿy] [k-šlšym w-ššh ʿyš]
--	--			
b	Sequ	└┐ <200>	07,05.2	[w-] [yrdpwm] [l-pny h-šʿr] [ʿd h- šbrym]
--	--			
c	Sequ	└┐ <200>	07,05.3	[w-] [ykw] [b--mwrđ]
d	NRes	└──┐ <202>	07,05.4	[w-] [yms] [lbb h-ʿm]
	PrSu	└┐ <200>	07,05.5	[w-] [yhy] [l-mym]

Figure 4.16 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 7:4-5

The initial statement that about 3000 men went over to Ai (4a) is followed directly by the fatal reversal of fortunes in *wayyānūsū lipnē ʿanšē hāʿāy* 'they fled before the men of Ai' (4b). The irony here is that they came to be beaten—and from the divine perspective that was indeed the idea. The narration on the horrible deaths of 36 soldiers highlights this in a precore slot source adjunct *mēhem* 'from them' (5a) in front of the subject. The next two clauses explain in detail how they were pursued from the gate towards *haššəbārīm* 'the ravines' (5b)²¹ and slaughtered on the *môrād* 'the

²⁰ The 'spy-report' form adduced by Wagner (1964:261-262) is only represented by the elements of sending and commission of spies (2a-c), execution of mission (2d), and return and report (3a-f). The spies are unnamed, and there is no divine assurance.

²¹ So Soggin (1972:99), or "either 'quarries' or 'cliff-faces'" (Gray 1986:87). Zevit (1983:31) suggests a reference to ruined city walls, but his interpretation takes too much for granted. The preposition *lə-* in *wayyirdapūm lipnē haššaʿar* 'pursued them in

descent' (5c). The return of the defeated army is not told. The story jumps to the rueful conclusion that Israel suffered the same fate as the Canaanites when *wayyimmas lābab-hā'am wayhī lāmāyim* 'the people's heart (=courage) melted and turned into water' (5d; cf. 2:11b; 5:1c). It had a tremendous effect, despite the small number killed, because it was their first battle that proved unsuccessful (Woudstra 1981:123).

The people's depression leads directly into Joshua's expression of grief before the ark (6a–c) and God's answer to that (10a).²² God gives specific instructions for **the detection of the culprit** by lot (v 13–15). The dire stipulation is that *yīšsārēp bā'ēš 'ōtō wə'et-kol-āšer-lō* 'he-shall.be. burned by-fire, him and-AM-all-which-to-him' (15a; cf. example (8) in 2.2.1).

The instruction is executed in v 16–18. First, Joshua brought forward (*wayyaqrēb* (16b)) the tribes, and Judah was 'taken' or 'selected' (*wayyillākēd* (16c)). The next step narrows down the choice among *mišpaḥōt* (cj)²³ *yəhūdā* 'families-of Judah' or 'Judah's clans' (17a). He 'selected' (*wayyilkōd*) the Zerahite clan (17b)—perhaps an implicit pragmatic shift of subject to Yahweh himself, if not a scribal error.²⁴ Then the *mišpaḥat hazzarhī laggābārīm* 'the-family-of the-Zerahite for-the-men (i.e., man by man individually)' stepped forward (17c). Finally Achan, himself the father of a family, is taken (17d). The *mišpaḥat hazzarhī* consists of households headed by the eldest living ancestor (Alfrink 1951:124). Here grandfather Zabdi is singled out as the head of a family (*bēt 'āb*) and then his grandson Achan is selected among his extended family, represented man by man.

This description seems to be a deliberate linguistic variation of the steps from the preceding instruction of God:

front of the gate (5b) could be understood as an Ugaritic *lā-* 'from', or else the *mēm* is a haplography (**wayyirdapūm [mil]lipnē*). The reference to the gates indicates a strategically fatal, head-on attack (Boling 1982:223).

²² 5d anticipates 6a, and without this "we have no answer to what happened to Israel and Ai, after the problem of the violated ban is mentioned" (Koorevaar 1990:175; my translation). Joshua 8 need not continue the defeat directly (Noth 1953:49), nor must a salvation oracle follow directly on the liturgy of 7:9 (Butler 1983:80).

²³ For plural *mišpaḥōt* (17a), see Alfrink (1951:124) and Noth (1953:42).

²⁴ Noth (1953:40, 42) conjectures the "unpersönliche Passivkonstruktion mit Akkusativobjekt," i.e., the marked passive undergoer subject, in 17b from 15a. It is a natural referential expectation that Joshua is subject, not only "grammatically possible" (Boling 1982:227). A divine subject would be a pragmatic inference.

- (1) 14b *haššēbeṭ ʾāšer-yilkādennû yahwēh yiqrab lammišpāhôt* tribe → clan
 14c *wəhammišpāhâ* — -ennâ — *tiqrab labbâtîm* clan → ext. family
 14d *wəhabbayit* — -ennû — *yiqrab laggabārîm* ext. fam. → man
 15a *hannilkād baḥērem* ‘the one caught because of ban’

The stylistic variation in v 16–18 no doubt “serves to highlight the crime” (Woudstra 1981:128).²⁵ The triple use of *mišpāhâ* for the clan (17a, 17b and 17c) also highlights a family context. So does the repetition of Achan’s full family relationship (cf. 1b).

The story continues with a call for a **confession** from Achan (v 19). He admits the guilt, theft and hiding (v 20–21). He is made to acknowledge his theft as a sacral sin (Hertzberg 1965:54). His response is perhaps quoted to underline that he was guilty, or that his confession came much too late.²⁶ Stylistic underlining also explains why Achan with great care refers to the goods and the hiding, and why the goods are mentioned again when the messengers recover them (v 22–23).²⁷ It highlights the value of the Babylonian rope, the 200 shekel of silver and the 50 shekel heavy gold bar (21a, 21d–e, 22b–c, 24a). Moreover, the seriousness of the crime and the correction of the wrongdoing is in focus when they are later ‘spread out before Yahweh’ (23c) and thus properly returned to the treasury (6:18–19). It may also hint at the psychology of desire—he coveted the goods and could then not resist taking them (21b–c).

Yet neither personal gain, nor attraction or atonement, can fully explain why the hiding place is underlined when the messengers *wayyārūšû hāʾohēlâ*²⁸ ‘ran to the tent’ (22b) and *wəhinnēh ʾəmûnâ bāʾohōlō* ‘and look! it was hidden in his tent’ (22c). The spotlight on the tent probably involves his family—though hardly in some odd sense of being “implicated by contagion (probably literal)” (Boling 1982:228).

²⁵ The *bayit* ‘household’ of 14c–d is identical with *bēt ʾāb* in 18a (Boling 1982:226). Lemche (1985:260) interprets the language as evidence of a loose terminology which breaks down the social classes of the extended family (*bēt ʾābî*)-clan-people scheme. It represents a secondary and fictive “pervasive OT mania” (1985:264) for systematization of kinship terms shared with the priestly writer of Numbers 26 and the Deuteronomists in Joshua 7 (1985:262, 267).

²⁶ His prior silence speaks volumes about a futile attempt to remain hidden. Either he had hoped to avoid detection, or he had not yet faced his guilt.

²⁷ It is not correct that from v 22 onwards “the story moves swiftly to its dramatic conclusion” (Woudstra 1981:130). If anything, it stops at the 2.25 kg silver and the 0.571 kg gold (Boling 1982:227). The repetition by direct speech hints at an intentional stylistic embellishment.

²⁸ Double determinative (Soggin 1972:94) may represent a mixture of two readings similar to article and suffix in *hāʾohōlî* (21d) (JM § 140c (520); WO § 13.6b (249)).

Rather, they would have known and were therefore accessory to the fact, incriminated by their silence.

At any rate, the reference to the family abode anticipates the astonishing procedure when the sentence is carried out (v 24-25). The Israelites took Achan's sons and daughters (24a)—his wife must be excluded as either gone or not guilty. A quick sequence of sequential verbs then report that they *wayyirgāmū* 'ōtô 'stoned him' (25d), *wayyišrāpū* 'ōtām 'burned them' (25e), *wayyisqālū* 'ōtām 'threw stones on them' (25f), and *wayyāqīmū* 'ālāyw gal-'ābānīm gādōl 'raised upon him a great pile of stones' (26a).²⁹ The final note on the monumental witness to the fate of Achan marks the terminal point of this event chain.³⁰

The final closure of 26b opens with a singular *wayyiqtol*-form (07,26.2, code <202>). This *wayyāšob*-clause tells of Yahweh (a ResTop) that he finally **turned from his anger** (26b, cf. 1c). An interpretation satellite follows in 'al-kēn 'therefore' + *qatal* followed by *wayyiqtol* (code <627>, 26c). It reminds the reader of the meaning thus attained by the present Valley of Achor or 'Devastation Valley' (Boling 1982:228).

7:26a Sequ		└─<200>	07,26.1	[w-] [yqymw] [ʔlyw] [gl ʔbny m gdwl]
-- --				[ʔd h-ywm h-zh]
b Sequ		└─<202>	07,26.2	[w-] [yšb] [yhwh] [m-hrwn ʔpw]
c Inte		└─<627>	07,26.3	[ʔ kn] [qrʔ] [šm h-mqwm h-hwʔ] [ʔmq
-- --				ʔkwr] [ʔd h-ywm h-zh]

Figure 4.17 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 7:26

After the removal of Achan and the ban, the story turns into **its third phase**. Joshua is instructed to bring all warriors up to the battle (8:2b) and to place an ambush behind the city (2d).

²⁹ Achan is first stoned to death separately as a public act performed by all Israel "to make an example of him" (Woudstra 1981:130). Then his sons and daughters, and probably also the stoned dead Achan, were burned (25e; 15a). The final stone-throwing (25f) is then not intended to kill, but to cover the cremated bodies with a memorial pile (1981:131). Soggin (1972:94) only allows for *sāqal* as original.

³⁰ A slight discontinuity is marked by the shift from plural to singular 'ālāyw 'upon him' (26a). Moreover, the time adjunct 'ad hayyôm hazzeh must here be translated 'as is the case today' (Childs 1963:283). It belongs to a non-etymological group with *wayyiqtol* instead of frequentative *qatal* which "serves as a witness to the extension in time of the phenomenon rather than indicating its causality" (1963:283-284). It is not a pure etiology, and the incident of v 25 and 26b "[a]t best can only express a minor theme in the story" (Long 1968:25-26). But it is not necessarily a scribal addition (Boling 1982:220) or an incongruous explanation (1982:228).

First the dispatch of **the ambush** is narrated (8:3-9). Because the position of the ambush is referred to again in v 12, their departure in v 3-9 has been read as "a proleptic description" (Woudstra 1981:137) of events that only took place when the whole army had marched to Ai (10b-c).³¹ But it is more likely that the ambush was sent ahead one day beforehand and sat tight and lay in wait (9a-b) while Joshua spent the night among the people *ballaylâ hahû* 'this very night' (9c).³²

The next morning **the main army** marches up to Ai headed by Joshua and the elders (10a-b). A circumstantial *wə-x-qatal* clause with precore slot *wəkol-hā'ām hammilhāmā* 'and-all-the-people-of the-war' identifies this group more precisely by a restrictive relative clause *ʔāšer ʔittō* 'who [were] with him' (11a). It contrasts them with the ambush group which had been chosen and sent earlier (cf. *wayyibhar* (3b) and *wayyišlāhēm* (3c, 9a)). Now the army is mustered (*wayyipqōd* (10b)) and march up (*ʕālū* (11a)). They approach the city (11b), camp north of Ai (11c), but do not dispatch any ambush party.

We are finally told that *wayyiqqah kaḥmēšet ʔālāpīm ʔiš wayyāšem ʔōtām ʔōrēb* 'he took about 5000 men and placed them as an ambush' (12a). It must be a summarizing recapitulation with a past perfect force 'he had taken'.³³ Its zero-subject reference is best explained if 12a directly continues the *wayyiqtol* form *wayyaʕal hū* 'and he went up (sc. Joshua)' (10c; cf. code <200> for 08.12.1). The summarizing function is also supported by its resemblance with the following *wayyāšimū hā'ām ʔet-kol-hammahāneh ʔāšer miššəpôn lāʕir* '(they-)placed the-people AM-all-the-camp which [was] north-of for-the-city' (13a). This can only be a flashback, because they had already camped there (11c). Therefore the parallel placing of the 5000 men in 12a is also a flashback. The information is even repeated a third time in *wəʔet-ʕāqēbō mīyyām lāʕir* 'and-AM-its-heel [was] west-of for-the-city' (13a).

In 4:12-13 *wayyiqtol*-clauses recapitulate the execution of a divine order for the East Jordanian tribes (1:12ff; 3:16-17). Now an important

³¹ That Joshua sent them away (9a) is "a general summary statement of the execution of the command" (Young [1964] 1985:165), preceding the "detailed account" in v 10-11.

³² It would be difficult for an ambush to remain hidden a whole day and night (Woudstra 1981:137). But it would be far more difficult for them to hide if they arrived later on with the army, as intelligence at Ai would watch out for the army's movements in the east, but would hardly bother with the west, where allied Bethel lay.

³³ So Boling (1982:239) and Goslinga (1986:85). It is "a parenthesis in which the author does not carry the story further but rather summarizes the steps taken by Joshua and reviews the position of his army" (1986:187).

divine instruction (8:2d, 3-9) is again recapitulated in *wayyiqtol*-repetitions. All narrational devices of coherence point to the stationing of an ambush of 5,000 men—or possibly only 30—the previous night.³⁴

8:10c Sequ		└─┐ < 200 >	08,10.3	[w-] [y ^q l] [hw ² /w- /zqny yšr ² l] [l-pny h- ⁶ m] [h- ⁶ y]
11a PCS		└─┐ < 327 >	08,11.1	[w-] [kl h- ⁶ m h-mlh ⁶ mh]
Rel		└─┐ < 17 >	08,11.2	[ʔšr] [ʔtw]
Elab		└─┐ < 222 >	08,11.3	[ʔw] ...
12a Back		└─┐ < 200 >	08,12.1	[w-] [yqh] [k-ħmšt ʔlpym ʔyš]
CoCs		└─┐ < 200 >	08,12.2	[w-] [yšm] [ʔwtm] [ʔrb] [byn byt_ ʔl w- byn h- ⁶ y] [m-ym l-- ⁶ yr]
13a Summ		└─┐ < 202 >	08,13.1	[w-] [yšymw] [h- ⁶ m] [ʔt kl h-mhnh]
Rel		└─┐ < 17 >	08,13.2	[ʔšr] [m-špwn l-- ⁶ yr]
Elab		└─┐ < 307 >	08,13.3	[w-] [ʔt ʔqbw] [m-ym l-- ⁶ yr]

Figure 4.18 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 8:10c-11a, 12-13

The attack and **flight** is narrated in 8:13b-17. The next night Joshua moves from the hills opposite Ai (cf. 11d) and marches down into the valley (13b). Joshua had already briefed the ambush party about the feat (4b-8), and the battle plan is now carried out. It is a climax marked by extensive repetition of the direct speech to the ambush. Here “the narrative suddenly accelerates and comes to a dramatic description of the main action” (Woudstra 1981:140). This peak also has a *wayhî kirʔôt* ‘and-it-was as-see’ (14a; cf. 4:18a and 6:16b and partly 3:14a, 15a). Almost every tiny step of the pursuit is repeated to accumulate details into a whole picture. The flashback culminates towards the end in v 16-17 (repetitions translated in *italic*):

- (2) All the people in the city shouted to pursue them (16a)
and they pursued Joshua (16b), cut loose from the city (16c)
 and nobody were left in Bethel and Ai who did not *march out after Israel* (17a)
and they left the city open (17b), *and pursued Israel* (17c)

³⁴ The figure 30,000 in 3b is probably a scribal error for the more accurate figure of 5,000 in 12a (Woudstra 1981:137 and Goslinga 1986:86). Noth (1953:50) and Butler (1983:84) reject all the figures of the story as inaccurate. Hertzberg (1965:58) reduces 30,000 to 30, but Gray (1986:92) to 3,000. Both Hertzberg (1965:56) and Gray (1986:87) then in 7:3 increase the 36 to 300. Boling (1982:222-223) uses Mendenhall's intriguing ideas to suggest that *kəʔalpayim* (7:3d) with emphatic *k* means “exactly three contingents”. An *ʔlp* contingent at the size of 15, 20 or 30 soldiers each then incurred losses at 80, 60 or 40 per cent. He reduces the ambush of *šəlōšim ʔelep ʔš gibbôrê haḥayil* (8:3b) to “thirty, a man from each contingent (the burly warriors)” (1982:231), and insist that 30 contingents of altogether 300 is impossible in

The climax is suddenly interrupted by a direct speech. The fortunes of battle are reversed as Yahweh now commands Joshua to give a **signal** to the ambush (18a-c). This divine instruction appears late in the narrative just as the order to pick the stones at Jordan (4:1-3) and the command to shout the battle cry at Jericho (6:16). The reorientation of the story here marks a peak which initiates the resolution of the story.

Joshua immediately raised his javelin (18d).³⁵ **The ambush** party then moved in and set fires in the city as reported in five quick sequential *wayyiqtol*-forms (19b, d-e). A new *wayyiqtol* clause winds down the story to a sudden halt—‘the men of Ai’ (20a; a ResTop) turned *wayyir’û wəhinnēh ‘ālā ‘āšan hā’ir haššamaymā wəlō’-hāyā bāhem yādayim lānūs hēnnā wāhēnnā* ‘and they saw and look! smoke from city went up towards heaven and they had no courage to run here or there’ (20b-c). The narrator drops us into their emotions, portraying their horrifying vision and their terror-stricken psychology—they freeze mentally before the reader’s eyes. At this emotional climax they experience a new fright—the fleeing army turns against the pursuers (20d).

A new paragraph opens with precore slot *wīhōšua’ wəkol-yiśrā’ēl rā’û* ‘when Joshua and all Israel had seen’ (21a; a ResTop). It backtracks the story and narrates the events from the perspective of the Israelite **main army**. Core subordinations report how they had seen *kī-lākad hā’ōrēb ‘et-hā’ir* ‘that the ambush had taken the city’ (21a=19d) and *wəki’ālā ‘āšan hā’ir* ‘and that smoke went up from the city’ (21b=19e, 20b).³⁶

Again the story shifts, now marked by initial *wə’ēlleh* in the clause ‘and these came out from the city to meet them’ (22a). The dramatic implication is that this pronoun refers to the ambush kindling fires in the city (19e). Another dramatic shortening follows in the zero subject reference to the soldiers of Ai in the clause *wayyihyū ləyiśrā’ēl battāwek* ‘and-they-were for-Israel in-the-middle’ (22b). This reference is successful because the men of Ai are the main participants (a D-Top) of the episode initiated

the difficult terrain (1982:237). The *kaḥāmēšet ‘ālāpīm* יָשׁ “five contingents” (8:12a) explain the ambush of 3b as “an elite group formed into five contingents” (1982:239).

³⁵ Or *kīdōn* ‘sicklesword’ (Boling 1982:240). The gesture underlines that Yahweh was the conqueror and has similarities with the staff of Moses (Hertzberg 1965:59). It may have served as a gesture of doom (Woudstra 1981:141), but is still a signal. If the curved sword was invisible among the valleys, it may have signalled a smoke sign, or a manned observation post was placed on a hill on watch.

³⁶ The second embedded clause is a defective coordinated core subordination.

in 20a. They were caught in a **pincer movement**: *ʔelleh mizzeh* 'these from-this' (08,22.4) and *wəʔelleh mizzeh* 'and-these from-that' (08,22.5). The whole sentence runs: 'they came in between Israel, those on this side and those on that side'.³⁷ A final dramatic shortening occurs in *wayyakkû ʔôtiām* 'they killed them' (22c), where the antecedent reference of the zero subject is not determinable.³⁸ This goes on continuously *ʿad-biltî hišʔir-lô šāriḏ ûpālîṭ* 'until-not he-left-to-it refugee and-survivor' (22d; cf. 11:8).³⁹

8:22a	Sequ		└┐ < 204 >	08,22.1	[w-] [ʔlh] [yʂʔw] [mn h-ʕyr]
	CoSu		< 64 >	08,22.2	[l-qʔtm]
b	NRes		└ < 372 >	08,22.3	[w-] [yhyw] [l-yšʔl] [b--twk]
	NP		< 100 >	08,22.4	[ʔlh] [m-zh]
	NP		< 201 >	08,22.5	[w-] [ʔlh] [m-zh]
c	Sequ		└ < 200 >	08,22.6	[w-] [ykw] [ʔwtm]
d	Circ		└ < 127 >	08,22.7	[ʔd blty] [hšʔyr] [lw] [šryd w-plyt]

Figure 4.19 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 8:22

The only exception to the killing is mentioned in a short paragraph with precore slot. It reintroduces **the king of Ai** and tells us that they caught him alive (23a) and brought him to Joshua (23b). The short episode on **the capture of Ai** in v 24 informs that the Israelites returned to Ai to strike it with the sword (24d). It summarizes that the casualties of Ai amounted to 12000 men (25a), and that Joshua's javelin was stretched out until everybody from Ai had been exterminated (26a-b). The sole exception to the ban was the sparing of cattle and booty (27a, cf. 2c).

The **closure** summarizes in more general terms than v 24 that the city was burned after it had been plundered.⁴⁰ This is interpreted as a reduction of Ai to an eternal ruin (28b; cf. 6:26). Joshua judged the captured

³⁷ two coordinated polar noun phrases specify *lāyišrāʔēl* in apposition. They are less likely two verbless locational clauses, i.e., 'these were on this side and those others on the other side'.

³⁸ The subject may refer to the double *ʔelleh* of 22b and would include the killings by the main army (21c). Or, it refers to the principal actors *wəʔelleh* of 22a and 22b (the ambush) and would mean 'and they also began/continued to kill them' (22c).

³⁹ JM (§ 54c n. 3 (162)) interprets *hišʔir* as infinitive construct *hiqtil* rather than 3rd person perfect, but Boling (1982:235) retains the form as an idiom. The subject is either Yahweh or Israel.

⁴⁰ This of course differs from the fires lit by the ambush during the battle (19e). If it is "gefliessenlich unterschieden von den abschließenden völlige 'Einäschern'" (Noth 1953:50), then why assume that "[g]leichwohl handelt es sich vielleicht um die Varianten eines und desselben wahrscheinlich ätiologischen ... Überlieferungen"?

king of Ai (23a-c) and hanged him on a pole at Ai. The verb *tālā* 'he hanged' (29a) plays on *tēl-ōlām* 'eternal ruin' (28b). At sunset he ordered his men to take down the king's body (29a-e). He erected a monumental witness similar to the one at the end of the Achan story (29f=7:26a).

4.4.4 Dialogue and Theme Structure

A story with two embedded discourses will naturally have a very complex thematic structure. Its network of interconnected themes can be explained in part by action sequences, but we can also expect that a discourse-pragmatic analysis of dialogues will give significant results.

Culley (1984:37-38) finds an intertwining of two **action sequences** in Joshua 7. Achan's sin must be punished and its effects on Israel must be dealt with. The hidden crime had to be exposed and punished while the failure to capture Ai called for a solution to a problem: Israel had unintentionally acted faithlessly. Both action sequences unite in one story.⁴¹ Joshua 8 is governed by the announcement of Yahweh's gift and its fulfillment (1984:39). But Yahweh also instructs them to set up an ambush to entrap the enemy. The ambush evolves into an independent deception sequence, but it is still placed within the announcement and puts human tricks under the controlling force of Yahweh (1984:40).⁴² Joshua 7-8 thus forms two double sequences:

<i>Joshua 7</i> : Achan' sin (1 act.seq.)	Israel's problem (2 act.seq.)
↓ prohibition (6:17-19), transgression (7:1)	↓
↓ exposure:Yahweh response (7:11), Achan selection (18), confession (20)	↓
↓ punishment	↓ solution
<i>Joshua 8</i> : Divine announcement (1 act.seq.)	Human deception (2 act.seq.)
↓ booty exempted (8:2c), ambush suggested (2d)	↓
↓ divine fulfillment (8:17)	↓ human tricks (8:3ff)

⁴¹ The problem of Israel's unfaithful action is also solved by the Achan sequence, and thus "two intertwined sequences give two views of the series of events" (Culley 1984:38). In this way "[t]he main events of the story have double functions, in that they work in both sequences in different ways to move each sequence to its conclusion" (1984:39).

⁴² Both modes of action are intertwined, because Yahweh gives the instructions and even intervenes to signal the start of the ambush (v 18). There is a certain tension in the juxtaposition of divine and human points of view, because a trick would only be needed if the enemy was powerful. Yet Yahweh is announced to have everything under control. Culley maintains that the juxtaposition only "produce[s] a kind of shimmering effect, moving the reader back and forth between two perspectives" (1984:40).

Accordingly, the story line is entirely homogeneous. The crime of Achan affects the people, because they fail to capture Ai, but do not know why. Once the problem has been removed, they can continue to conquer Ai under divine instruction.

A discourse grammar will explore the thematic structure through the dialogues and their elaboration of the story line. The anchoring of quoted discourse in the story is significant, as is clear from the list of **dialogue introducers** shown in Table 4.6. Most of the formula within the story of the defeat (7:2-5) and the victory (Joshua 8) are normal introductions to dialogue or simple quotes. In contrast, Joshua's question (7:7-9) is a decisive emotional outburst and Yahweh's answer (7:10-15) a tension-loaded turn-taking. Achan's confession (7:20-21) shows complete submission. Joshua's final sentence on Achan is a decisive verdict (7:25a-c).

Formula	Sp	AddUnit	Function
[PN, NP] + wayyō'mer 'ālêhem lē'mōr (7:2b)	Ø	pr IU:P	Identification
[PN] + wayyō'marû 'ēlāyw (3b)	Ø	pr RU:R	Neutral
wayyō'mer yəhōšua' (7a)	PN	Ø IU:Q	Decisiveness
wayyō'mer yahwēh 'el-yəhōšua' (10a)	PN	PN RU:A	Confrontation
wə'āmartā (13b)	Ø	Ø Emb:P	Finality
kōh 'amar yahwēh (13d)	PN	Ø Emb:C	Finality
wayyō'mer yəhōšua' 'el-'ākān (19a)	PN	PN IU:P	Identification
wayya'an (PN, PN) wayyō'mar (20a)	Ø	Ø RU:R	Compliance
wayyō'mer yəhōšua' (25a)	PN	Ø SQ:C	Decisiveness
wayyō'mer yahwēh 'el-yəhōšua' (8:1a)	PN	PN SQ:P	Identification
PN, NP + waysaw 'ōtām lē'mōr (4a)	[PN	PN] SQ:P	Identification
yō'marû (6c)	Ø	Ø Emb:C	Neutral
wayyō'mer yahwēh 'el-yəhōšua' (18a)	PN	PN SQ:P	Identification

Table 4.6 Dialogue Introducers in Joshua 7-8

Just as in 3:2-13 and 5:13-6:10, the extensive direct speech material in the early part of the story is important for the overall theme. The first major dialogue exchange between the beaten and worried general Joshua and his angered God covers much of the second embedded story. **Joshua's question** (7:7b-9d) is a desperate cry.⁴³ It opens with the complaining question *lāmā hē'ābartā ha'ābîr 'et-hā'am hazzeh 'et-hayyardēn* 'why did you really let this people cross the Jordan?'—just to destroy it in the hands of the enemy (7b). This is contrasted with a potential

⁴³ Butler (1983:80) suggests that a national lament has been subverted. A petition based on God's saving deeds is structured into a hopeless complaint devoid of trust, or "something of a harangue" (Boling 1982:224).

Yahweh's answer in 10b-15c has been read as a divine lawsuit,⁴⁵ but the relational structure appears to be different.

7:10b	┌─Solu			< 999 >	07,10.2	[qm] [lk]
c	Rest			< 100 >	07,10.3	[lmh zh] [ʔth] [npl] [ʔl pnyk]
11a	Just..			< 123 >	07,11.1	[hʔ] [yʔsʔl]
12a	NRes			< 312 >	07,12.1	[w-] [lʔ] [yklw] [bny yʔsʔl]
	<i>CoSu</i>			< 64 >	07,12.2	[l-qwm] [l-pny ʔbyhym]
b	Rest			< 111 >	07,12.3	[ʔrp] [ypnw] [l-pny ʔbyhym]
c	Inte			< 521 >	07,12.4	[ky] [hyw] [l-ħrm]
d	VRes			< 113 >	07,12.5	[lʔ] [ʔwsyp]
	<i>CoSu</i>			< 64 >	07,12.6	[l-hyw] [ʔmk]
e	Cond			< 241 >	07,12.7	[ʔm] [lʔ] [tʃmydw] [h-ħrm] [m-qrbkm]

Figure 4.20 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 7:10b-c, 11a, 12a-e

The order to get up and stop lamenting is supported by a justify satellite *ḥāṭāʾ yisrāʾēl* ‘Israel has sinned’ (11a). God’s knowledge of the real problem entitles him to require a totally different response from Joshua. This is elaborated in a series of *wəgam*-clauses (11b–f) specifying the nature of the transgressions.⁴⁶ The non-volitional result of this is expressed by the core subordination of (in)ability *wəlōʾ yūkālū bənē yisrāʾēl lāqūm lipnē ʾōyābēhem* ‘so that Israel can not hold stand against their enemies’ (12a).

⁴⁴ "Here at the climax of his complaint Joshua means to hit where it will hurt the most. And it brings a response" (Boling 1982:224). The appeal to the reputation of God is apt "in the face of a real crisis" (Culley 1984:39), but takes on a secondary ironic sense because the reader knows the problem "concerns Israel rather than Yahweh."

⁴⁵ According to Butler (1983:80) a divine lawsuit replaced an oracle of salvation. In a lawsuit pattern v 11 becomes an accusation of sin, 12a-b a proof by the losses in the battle, and 12c the legal decision.

⁴⁶ The remarkable use of five successive clauses containing *wagam* + verb may achieve a climatic effect (Hertzberg 1965 and Woudstra 1981:126 n. 33). These peculiar "trans-sentence inclusive phrases" (Andersen 1974:155-156) are peculiar cases of clausal cosubordinations. A theft violating the first commandment is of course a breach of the covenant (against Boling 1982:225).

This is restated (12b) and then interpreted by *kî hâyû lāhērem* 'because they-were to-ban' (12c).⁴⁷ The sin (11a-f) therefore has the volitional result that God will not be with them any more (12d). This potential threat is the motivation for Joshua's new task. The direct second person plural address '*immākem* 'with you' (contrast 6:27a) should be interpreted against this background. The initial part of Yahweh's answer (v 10-12) ties the Ai defeat and the Achan crime closely together.⁴⁸

The continuation of the speech of Yahweh reverts to the beginning of the solutionhood satellite (10b) by *qūm qaddēš 'et-hā'ām* 'Get.up purify AM-the-people' (13a).⁴⁹ In terms of rhetorical structure, it initiates the nucleus which answers the problem stated in the solutionhood satellite from v 10 onwards. The **procedure for cleansing** of the people by the discovery of the culprit is highlighted in a double embedding of Yahweh's speech for persuasive force: you tell the people to prepare purification for tomorrow (13b-c) because Yahweh says the following (13d, a motivation). The embedded comment (13e-g) repeats and summarizes Yahweh's words to Joshua (13e=12c, 13f=12a, 13g=12e).⁵⁰

The main line of the proposal (13c) is resumed in 14a after the embedded divine comment. A command sequence is opened by *wāniqrabtem* 'you shall approach' (14a), which has connotations of a holy assembly at the sanctuary (cf. Exod 22:7). A *wahāyā* paragraph then predicts that an individual will be singled out (14b-d). A second *wahāyā* paragraph orders them to burn this culprit with all his belongings (15a). This rather excessive measure is reinforced climactically by a coordinated *kî*-motivation: *'ābar 'et-bārît yahwēh* 'he has transgressed the covenant of Yahweh' (15b) and its restatement *'āsā nābālā bāyisrā'ēl* 'he has com-

⁴⁷ I.e., they "have become banned" (Butler 1983:80) or "become an accursed thing" (Woudstra 1981:118). It is less of a taboo or mana contamination than a guilt due to a transgression (1981:126 n. 34). In so far as Achan robbed the nation of purity and holiness, it involves a "corporate solidarity" (1981:120), but "Achan is singled out as the perpetrator of the sinful act" (1981:121). He is not a scape-goat (Alfrink 1951:122), but the ritual purity of the people is at stake (Miller and Tucker 1984:62).

⁴⁸ Butler (1983:80) instead suggests that the direct address of 12a opens an oracle of a cultic prophet on how to remove the sin, and v 10-12 is a redactional link (1983:81). Others locate the link in v 5b-9 (Hertzberg 1965:52) or v 5b-11 (Gray 1986:86).

⁴⁹ Boling translates *qum qaddēš* as a verbal hendiadys "Get on with the preparation" (1982:225) like 1:2b, but unlike 7:10b. They are predicate subordinations, and it is not clear that they have "a periodizing effect" (1982:224)—whatever that means.

⁵⁰ It reinforces "the need for complete purity among God's people as a prerequisite for covenant fellowship" (Woudstra 1981:126), and that unlike 3:5, Joshua had to purify them again because something went wrong (Boling 1982:225).

mitted a sacrilege in Israel' (15c).⁵¹

After Achan has been chosen by lot, Joshua entreats him to **confess his sin** by the words *bənî šîm-nā' kābôd lāyahwēh 'ēlōhē yisrā'ēl* 'My son, please give glory to Yahweh the God of Israel' (19b). The goal of the lot casting procedure is explained in the elaboration satellite *ten-lô tôdâ* 'make a confession to him' (19c).⁵² He is to tell everything (19d) and not keep anything back (19e). The repetitions in this direct quote not only convict Achan for his failed attempt to hide the crime, but also impress the seriousness of the crime on the audience. The episode ends with Joshua's **final verdict** on Achan. It is a stylistic play on the meaning of his name:

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>meh 'ākartānū</i> | How could you trouble us? (25b) |
| | <i>ya'korkā yāhwēh bayyôm hazzeh</i> | May Yahweh trouble you! (25c) |

God's subsequent **instructions** for a new attack on Ai and his promise of success initiates a decisive turn of events. The initial exhortation *'al-tîrā' wə'al-tēhāt* 'Don't be afraid and don't be terrified!' (8:1b-c) repeats the same encouragement given after Moses' death (1:9d-e). It is a new start after distress and failure. God instructs him to take the whole army (1d; contrast 7:3c-d) and get going.

1f	LDP		└└└<131>	08,01.7	[r'h]
	Enab		└<123>	08,01.8	[ntty] [b-ydk] [ʔt mlk h-ʕy /w- /ʔt ʕmw /w- /ʔt ʕyrw /w- /ʔt ʔrsw]
--	--				
2a	Purp		└└<323>	08,02.1	[w-] [ʕsy] [l-ʕy w-l-mlkh]
b	Back		└<12>	08,02.2	[k-ʕr] [ʕsy] [l-yryhw w-l-mlkh]
c	Conc		└<112>	08,02.3	[rq] [šllh /w- /bhmth] [tbzw] [lkm]
d	Purp		└└└<200>	08,02.4	[šym] [lk] [ʔrb] [l-ʕyr] [m-ʕryh]

Figure 4.21 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 8:1f-2d

The final part of the speech is crucial for the story. The attention arresting particle *rə'ēh* 'See!' introduces a future perfective of resolve *nātattî bəyādakā* 'I will give in your hand' (1b; cf. 1:2b; 2:24b; 6:2b). The promise prepares the ground for the following main line form (2a; *wəqatal* Command (SS)) to do the same to Ai as was done to Jericho.

⁵¹ For the translation, see Butler (1983:75).

⁵² So Woudstra (1981:128). Alternatively, *tôdâ* has the more common sense '(give) thanks'. The lot does therefore not determine guilt without interrogation, but evokes a confession of guilt (Boling 1982:226).

However, the application of the ban is restricted after the discomfiting fall of Achan, and they are allowed to plunder spoils and cattle. A new and climatic imperative closes the divine instruction with an order to set up the ambush. The ensuing events would prove God to be a far better tactician, and indeed a better conspirator, than the Israelite spies (7:3).

This speech serves the same function as the divine instruction given before the conquest of Jericho. The divine commander, the closed city and the instruction (5:13–6:5) provide an intertextual parallel in reversed order. There, a positive encounter was followed by the negative background information on the state of Jericho before the speech. Here, a disastrous negative encounter with the enemy is followed by a positive removal of the crime forming the background for a very similar divine speech. This opposition shapes the force of the messages: Joshua 6 is encouragement in the face of fears—Joshua 8 an encouragement in the face of failure.

From this point on the battle unfolds according to divine design. The remaining minor direct speeches have stylistic functions. Joshua's preparations for the ambush-plan are probably quoted as direct speech (8:4–8) in order to show his expedient and obedient execution of divine orders. The command to stretch out the javelin not only serves as a climatic marker at the height of the drama, but also reinforces the divine gift (18c=1e).

4.4.5 Summary and Conclusions

The story of Ai describes complications during the conquest and belongs very well within the broader discourse context in Joshua 2–8. The false start in Joshua 7, followed by the grand ruse at Ai in Joshua 8, is a major **military feat** before the campaigns in Joshua 10–11.

The constituent structure shows significant parallels to the preceding stories. The careful preparations before the battle resembles Joshua 3 (Woudstra 1981:136), but also Joshua 6. Just as in the conquest of Jericho, the ritual-like selection process in Joshua 7, with its inexorable movement from tribe to individual, gives the story a “sense of inevitability and orderliness” (Culley 1984:39).

The thematic contribution of the story is unique in the context. Only at Ai was the wrath of Yahweh kindled against the people, in contrast to the sad pattern of Judges (Boling 1982:221). Defeat and disobedience is narrated at such length to prohibit any false hopes. The Jericho victory is **no guarantee of success**. Before Ai could be taken, Achan's sin had to be

discovered and punished and Israel had to discover the reason for failure. When God's demands for loyalty are violated, Israel receives a setback.⁵³ Joshua is also partly responsible, because he sent the spies and followed their advice (Culley 1984:39).⁵⁴ But *post festum* he turns to Yahweh (7:6-9) and follows his advice on the ban (7:13-15) and the battle (8:1-2). Like Moses, he is an intercessor in 7:6-9 (Boling 1982:224) and a commander in 8:18. The tension between individual guilt and corporate responsibility is left in the story as an eternal-clausal coordinated-paradox (7:1a/b-c).

The story of the complications at Ai is also a complicated literary puzzle. The **story plot** develops from the tension created by the anger of God (7:1) over self-confident prediction of victory (7:3), defeat (7:4-5), and lamentation (7:6-9) and continues with the discovery of the reasons for the ban (7:13) to its removal (7:26). It then moves on from divine instruction for battle (8:1-2), onto ruse (8:3-21) and onto victory (8:22-29). A single story line thus unites the disparate events.

The story also shows a strong **literary parallelism**:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 6:27 | Yahweh with Joshua: fame in Canaan |
| 7:1 | Israel against Yahweh: Achan's crime, Yahweh's anger with Israel |
| | <i>Yahweh's anger against Israel</i> (7:1c) |
| A | 7:2-3 Spies suggest measures against Ai |
| B | 7:4-5 Defeat at Ai shows anger of Yahweh |
| | <i>Achan's crime against ban</i> (7:1b) |
| C | 7:6-15 Anger explained by crime against ban |
| D | 7:16-23 Disclosure and confession of the culprit Achan |
| E | 7:24-26 Execution of Achan |
| | <i>Yahweh's assistance to Joshua against Ai</i> (6:27a-b) |
| A' | 8:1-2 Yahweh's instructions on ambush and restrictions on ban |
| B' | 8:3-24 Victory at Ai by ambush |
| E' | 8:25-30 Execution of king of Ai |

The stylistic structure shows how the themes of the stage (6:27-7:1) are expounded in reverse order (anger—crime—assistance). The disclosure of Achan's crimes (C—D—E) intervenes between preparations, combat and

⁵³ See Miller and Tucker (1974:61) and Woudstra (1981:119). There is "a direct correlation between Israel's military success and her compliance with divine dictates" (Zevit 1983:23). Yet he removes divine instruction and obedience to find "an uncontentious, realistic story ... that contrasts starkly with the grand, mythopoeic presentation of the battle of Jericho" (1983:23).

⁵⁴ Joshua is not explicitly criticized that he failed to consult the divine will before a battle (Boling 1982:221 and Woudstra 1981:122). He is involved being a part of Israel (7:1); but his fame is presupposed (6:27) and his repentance genuine (7:6).

executions (A—B—E). This compositional linking is also found in other connecting motifs such as the real and apparent flights of the Israelites (7:4-5/8:6-7, 15-16) (Miller and Tucker 1974:67) and the two double witnesses to present day circumstances at the end of each of the stories (7:26a, 26c; 8:28b, 29c).

Finally, the thematic macrostructure can be clarified through its major **rhetorical relations**. Narrative battle sequences build up to the climax and resolution of the victory. The conviction of Achan is a non-volitional cause and the divine speech and the speech of Joshua are motivations.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	Superstructure	RST-relataions
6:27-7:1	Stage	Crime	Introduction	Circ 
7:2-5	Ep1	Defeat	Inciting Incident	Sequ 
7:6-25	Ep2	Execution Achan	Mounting tension	NRes 
8:1-2	Ep3	Victory-promise	(unfolding)	Moti 
8:3-9b	Ep4	Ambush-departure	(unfolding)	Moti 
8:9c-13a	Ep5	Army-departure	Inciting Incident	Sequ 
8:13b-17	Ep6	Pseudo-defeat	Climax	Sequ 
8:18-23	Ep7	Victory	Resolution	Sequ 
8:24-27	Ep8	Capture	Lessening tension	Sequ 
8:28-29	Closure	Burning, execution	Conclusion	Summ 

Table 4.7 Macrostructure of Joshua 7-8

4.5 Summary and Conclusions: Joshua 3-8

A discourse-pragmatic approach to Joshua 3-8 can reveal the structure of the three major stories by examining the marking of episode structure, internal grammatical coherence and thematic role of dialogues.

The stories have several features in common. They share their short stages, long instructions, double peaks and time closures.

	Jordan	Jericho	Ai
stage	3:1	5:13	6:27-7:1
instruction	3:2-5, 6-13	6:2, 6-10	7:3, 6-15
peaks	3:14-17; 4:18	6:16-20b, 20c-21	8:13b-16, 17-24
time closure	4:19-24	6:26	8:28-29

Table 4.8 Macrostructure Parallels in Joshua 3-8

But the stories also display differences in their plots and thematic macrostructure. The stage and inciting incident of the Jordan story has a peculiar flashback (3:1, 2-5) to integrate the embedded story of spying on Jericho. Its two miraculous peaks are separated by a very tense inter-peak episode (4:1-10). Both the stage and inciting incident of the Jericho story are very strongly marked by the appearance of the divine commander and his encouraging message (5:13-6:5). What follows is simply obedience to commands. The stage of the story of Ai has a thematic preview and is then further varied by the embedding of the stories on the defeat at Ai (7:2-5) and the exposure of Achan (7:6-25).

All stories refer to the ark (3:2-17; 4:11-18; 6:6-15; 7:6). The stories on Jericho and Ai are internally linked by the warning against the *herem* in 6:18 and 7:25 and by its enactment in both stories, even if the latter in its second part introduces a more lenient practice. Jericho is tied to the Jordan through the seven day sequences, the Gilgal location and 'ābar 'cross' descriptions (3:1 etc; 6:7 etc) that give way to 'ālā 'ascend' descriptions (e.g. 4:18; 6:5; 7:2, 24; 8:10, 20).

The stories of Jericho and Ai are enveloped within the two minor introductory and concluding stories after the first discourse marker (5:1) and before the second (9:1). They indicate that the original ceremonial holiness (3:5-13; 5:9, 15; 6; 7:15) was restored (8:30-35) before the great battle of Canaan (9-11).

So, the pragmatics of discourse can be conquered through careful analysis of text and grammar.

Chapter 5 Mopping Up the Operation: Structure, Grammar and Themes

The preceding investigations at interclausal level (Joshua 2) and story level (Joshua 3–8) have shown the interdependence of grammar and discourse. Both levels were shown to interact with the wider discourse context and the external pragmatic universe of communication. Now we must look at aspects of a book-length analysis of constituents, coherence and content.

A complete analysis of a linguistic entity like the Book of Joshua can achieve significant results for all textual and linguistic levels. Proposals on the book's composition and themes can be mapped out (5.1). Composition and content can then be traced through a discourse-pragmatic analysis of constituent structure (5.2) and thematic macrostructure (5.4). Above all, our computer-assisted syntactic description of the grammatical distributions in the book helps us to gather more data for the functional-structuralist grammar and to investigate the functions of all clause sequences (5.3). At this operational center of our grammar of Joshua, we can clarify problems of clause-division, intraclausal-linkage, verb sequencing and pragmatic clause packaging.

This strategy honors van der Merwe's fundamental criticism of prior grammars. He argued that in previous research on the function of word order the "arguments were not based on the detailed analysis of a specific corpus of texts" (1991:129). His own study was to "be verified by means of the verbal sentences in the book of Joshua." In this functional discourse grammar it will be argued that we need a discourse-pragmatic perspective, and that rhetorical analysis and especially computer-assisted description promise new conquests on more solid ground.

5.1 Readings

Recent holistic readings of the Book of Joshua have solved the compositional structure of the work in various ways. These contributions illustrate the issues which a modern grammar must take into account in its linguistic explanation of structure and themes.

Most compositional solutions assume that the book of Joshua divides into a conquest part in Joshua 1–12 and a distribution part from Joshua 13 onwards. Yet the division of its parts is still a matter of debate. A new **literary-redactional study** of Davidic ideology proposes that the conquest narrative of Joshua 2–12 was edited into a larger unit by a deuteronomistic frame in Joshua 1 and 13 (Ottosson 1991:14). This larger unit was placed before older distribution material from Shiloh in Joshua 14–19, and was followed by deuteronomistic material in Joshua 20–21 (1991:27–28). Joshua 22–24 closes the book by covenant themes gradually emerging from its chiasmic composition and bearing on the ideal unity of the Davidic state (1991:14–15). The **canonical approach** discovers an intentional shaping of the book in a *heilsgeschichtliche* pattern (Childs 1979).¹

The new **synchronic readings** sometimes emphasize the liturgical nature of the composition. Polzin (1980:92–93) finds an oscillation between liturgical and mundane worlds throughout the book:

- 1 introductory statement of theme
- 2 the understanding and interpretation of the theme
- 3:1–5:1 stylized liturgy of initial stage of occupation
- 5:2–23:16 shifts ⊥ordinary worlds (7–8; 9–12)
- ⊥ritually stylized worlds (6:1–27; 8:30–35; 13–21).
- 24:1–28 liturgical covenant making
- 24:29–34 conclusion

Other readings focus on the compositional role of the conquest theme. The book of Joshua may be pervaded by a double structure of divine conquests and heroic feats (Coats 1987:24). This could be indicated by a chiasmic exposition for the conquest theme in Joshua 1–5 (1987:16–20):²

¹ Childs (1979:244–252) discovers the pattern in the crossing (4:23–24), in a Moses typology (1:1, 3:5, 4:10, 5:13, 7:6–9, 23:1), and in the normative role of the law.

² Coats (1987:20–21) notes that Joshua is a new Moses in A and A' and this is central in the book. But Joshua 2 does not fit, and the chiasm is unbalanced: 5:10–12 is not parallel to crossing nor the summary (5:1) to circumcision.

A	Commission to Joshua	1:1-18
		[2:1-24 displaced/extraneous element]
B	Entry into the land	3:1-4:24 ritual, conquest theme (fear)
C	Exposition for conquest	5:1
C'	Circumcision etiology	5:2-9
B'	transition to the conquest	5:10-12
A'	Commission to Joshua	5:13-15

Another proposal suggests that six links were inserted in a non-militaristic redaction of Joshua 1-11. They joined three thematic blocks on Canaanite responses to God's intervention (Stone 1991:28-31):

	Conquest exposition	Effecting conquest	Canaanite response
Blocks:	1-5	6-8	9-11
Links:	2:9-11	5:1	9:1-2 (9:3-4a, 10:1-5, 11:1-5)

The redactional framing of Joshua 3-4, 6-8 and 9-11 would then contrast Rahab with the Canaanite kings (1991:32). The editor treated the campaigns as defensive reactions to Canaanite aggression (1991:33).³

The semiotist Ascaso (1986:269) proposed that both Joshua 10 and 11 develop by 5 similar *Sätze* forming a sequence of rumors—attack by a coalition—counter-attack by Joshua—defeat of kings—occupation of land. In contrast, Joshua himself under divine guidance takes the initiative in Joshua 2-8. Both blocks are therefore paradigmatic pairs (1986:270):

Conquests	Linkage-episode	Campaigns
A Jericho (2-6)	Gibeon (9)	B Southern (10)
A' Ai (7-8)		B' Northern (11)

Ascaso's interests were largely redactional.⁴ He relegated the main stories to the position of secondary *Nebenepisoden*.⁵

³ The book becomes a gigantic metaphor for a religious life free from territorial violence. It "is about uncompromising obedience to Yahweh's law understood as a normative text" (Stone 1991:36). Ascaso (1986:267) also argues that the Israelites only has strategical initiative in the central campaign (Joshua 6-8). Yet read as a whole in a reader-oriented criticism focusing on justice (Habel 1991:77-78). All of Joshua "exposes a militant ideology for Israel's dispossession of the Canaanites" (1991:89).

⁴ Deuteronomistic speeches of God (1:1-6.(7.(8f))) and Joshua (23:1-2,14-15) frame anticipatory (1:10-18) and retrospective (11; 12; 21:43) summaries. They are thus just filters for the "Kernerzählung" in Joshua 2-11 (Ascaso 1986:262-263).

⁵ They are connected on a secondary syntactic "axis" (2:1a-b, 23-24a; 6:1, 20b-21, 24, 27; 7:2a^{ab}, 3a^a, 4a^a; 8:19a^b, 24b^b, 28a) (Ascaso 1986:271-276). In the deep struc-

Such readings illustrate some of the ways to investigate the compositional structure of Joshua. Prior research has now been reviewed in an exemplary fashion in the dissertation of Koorevaar (1990). His treatment of the structure and themes of Joshua also allows him to draft the contours of a **structural theology**. Koorevaar (1990:108–113) elicits the theme from compositional patterns emerging in the literary structure. Four major units are framed by divine initiatives and conclusions:

Divine initiatives	a. 1:1–9	Joshua must cross the Jordan with Israel
	b. 5:13–6:5	Joshua must capture Jericho with Israel
	c. 13:1–7	Joshua must divide Canaan among the Israelites
	d. 20:1–6	The Israelites must designate cities of refuge
Closings after execution	a. 5:1–12	Circumcision and Passover at Gilgal
	b. 11:16–12:24	Synopsis of the conquests
	c. 19:49–51	Closing of the division and Joshua's inheritance
	d. 21:43–45	General conclusion
	e. 24:29–33	Joshua's death and burial

These units express the central themes through key words (1990:117):

I. 1:1–5:12 <i>'ābar</i> 'cross'	II. 5:13–12:24 <i>lāqah</i> 'take'
III. 13:1–21:45 <i>hālaq</i> 'divide'	IV. 22:1–24:33 <i>'ābad</i> 'serve'

Phonological and chiasmic patterns emerge among the pairs of the frame and those of the center (1990:219–220). He summarizes the message of the book in the formula that they cross to serve and conquer to distribute.

A functional discourse grammar will investigate how constituents, coherence and content is marked by linguistic cues on discourse level. In contrast to Koorevaar's analysis, it will not trace abstract thematic patterns, but it will seek linguistic evidence to establish or refute a specific reading.

With regard to the evaluation of prevalent readings we can benefit from another aspect of Koorevaar's investigation. He performed a useful **statistical analysis of ancient and modern readings of Joshua** to establish the proper structural reading (Koorevaar 1990:123–157). Table 5.1 below lists which units received the highest frequency score among former proposals on the demarcation of Joshua (1990:160). Koorevaar's own demarcation is also listed together with its statistical frequency in relation

ture Jericho and Ai are coordinated as "zufällige Elemente" (1986:278).

to these interpreters (1990:210–211). A final column lists the units that will emerge from the discourse-pragmatic analysis of constituent structure.

Most frequent	no.	%	Koorevaar	%	Discourse-pragmatic
1 1:1–18	68	54.8%	1 1:1–9	36.3%	1 1:1–9
			2 1:10–18	25.8%	2 1:10–18
2 2:1–24(3:1)	108	87.1%	3 2:1–24	= %	3 2:1–24
3 3:1(2)–4:24(5:1)	77	62.1%	4 3:1–4:24	= %	4 3:1–4:24
4 5:1(2)–15	45	36.3%	5 5:1–12	29.0%	5 5:1–12
5 6:1–27(7:1)	68	54.8%	6 5:13–6:5	8.1%	6 5:13–6:26
			7 6:6–27	8.9%	
			8 7:1–8:29	26.6%	7 6:27–8:29
6 (6:27)7:1–26(26a)	58	46.8%			
7 (7:26b)8:1–29	48	38.7%			
8 8:30–35(9:2)	87	70.2%	9 8:30–35	= %	8 8:30–35
9 9:1(3)–27	102	82.3%	10 9:1–27	= %	9 9:1–27
10 10:1–43	77	62.1%	11 10:1–43	= %	10 10:1–43
11 11:1–23	46	37.1%	12 11:1–15	50.8%	11 11:1–15
12 12:1–24	69	55.6%	13 11:16–12:24	28.2%	12 11:16–23
					13 12:1–24
					14 13:1–7a
13 13:1–(6)7	46	37.1%	14 13:1–7	= %	15 13:7b–14:5
14 13:(7)8–33	43	34.7%	15 13:8–33	= %	
15 14:1–15	39	31.5%	16 14:1–5	23.4%	
			17 14:6–15	20.2%	16 14:6–15
16 15:1–63	53	42.7%	18 15:1–17:18	1.6%	17 15:1–63
17 16:1–17:18	65	52.4%			18 16:1–10
					19 17:1–13
					20 17:14–18
18 18:1(2)–19:(48)51	45	36.3%	19 18:1–10	28.2%	21 18:1–10
			20 18:11–19:48	2.4%	22 18:11–19:49a
			21 19:49–51	28.2%	23 19:49b–51
19 (19:51b)20:1–9	91	73.4%	22 20:1–6	= %	24 20:1–9
20 21:1–(40)(42)45	91	73.4%	23 20:7–21:42	= %	25 21:1–42
			24 21:43–45	24.2%	26 21:43–45
21 (21:43)22:1–34	82	66.1%	25 22:1–34	= %	27 22:1–8
					28 22:9–34
22 23:1(2)–16	92	74.2%	26 23:1–16	= %	29 23:1–16
23 24:1(2)–(27)28	64	51.6%	27 24:1–28	= %	30 24:1–28
24 24:(28)29–33	62	50.0%	28 24:29–31	= %	31 24:29–31

Table 5.1 Agreement of Unit Segmentation among Interpreters of Joshua

The first group of figures lists the highest numbers for a specific proposal among 124 published demarcations and its statistical percentage. The next group lists Koorevaar's segmentation and its percentage of cover in relation to the sample; = %: same as most frequent. The last group of two columns lists my proposal).

5.2 Discourse Organization

The procedures and results from the investigation of Joshua 2–8 can now be applied for a discourse-pragmatic probing into the structure of the whole Book of Joshua.

The stories on Jordan, Jericho and Ai are part of a longer segment on the conquest in Joshua 1–12. An initial divine order to proceed with the conquest in Joshua 1 is brought to successful completion in Joshua 9–12. However, the opening part of the book is best discussed together with its closing as part of the overall framework (5.2.1) before a separate discussion of the completion of the conquest (5.2.2). It will then be argued that the second part of the book divides into the distribution discourses of Joshua 13–22 (5.2.3) and the covenant discourse of Joshua 23–24 (5.2.4). The discussion will proceed from the holistic structure shown in Table 5.2. We shall argue that this explains the macrostructure of Joshua best.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
1:1–9	Disc. & Supra-Stage	Command	Circ
1:10–12:24	Disc. Episode 1	Conquest	Sequ
13:1–21:45	Disc. Episode 2	Distribution	Sequ
23:1–24:28	Disc. Episode 3	Covenant	Sequ
24:29–33	Disc. Clos	Comment	Summ

Table 5.2 Macrostructure of Joshua

5.2.1 The Structure of Joshua 1 and 24:29–34

The Book of Joshua opens with a **divine command** (1:1–9). This central thematic element is preceded only by a single story line verb, a *wayyōmer* ‘he said’ in *wayyiqtol*-form (1:1b). An absolute beginning is carefully marked in several other ways. The discourse marker *wayhî* introduces the book.⁶ It is followed by a temporal adverbial clause with preposition *ʾahărê* ‘after’ and infinitival *môt* ‘die’ followed by genitive + apposition *mōšeh ʿebed yahwēh* ‘Moses, the servant of Yahweh’ (1:1a). Yahweh is referred to again as agent of the main line speech verb (1b). This clause has the full proper noun *yəhōšuaʿ bin-nūn* with appositional *māšārēt mōšeh* ‘servant of Moses’ before a unit-initial *lēʾmōr*. In this way

⁶ It is discussed by JM (§ 118c n. 2 (390)) and WO (§ 33.2.4b (554)).

participants.

This introduction is balanced by a **narrator's comment** (24:29–33) on the death and burial of Joshua and Eleazer and even the reburial of Joseph. The conclusion again uses the discourse marker *wayhî*, but now in front of the heavy temporal adjunct *ʔaḥrê haddābārīm hāʔelleh* 'after these events' (29a). Joshua is also reintroduced by *yāhōšuaʿ bin-nūn ʿebed yāhwēh* in order to mark a high-level discourse unit.⁷

The opening divine speech (1:2–9) is executed immediately through Joshua's **mobilization directives** (1:10–18). The new unit is marked by a resumption of *yāhōšuaʿ* (ResTop) after *wayšaw* and an introduction of *ʔet-šōṭārê hāʿām* 'the officers of the people' (NewTop) as well as unit-initial *lēʾmōr* (10a). Joshua orders the officers to have the people prepare provisions. To motivate them they must announce the crossing of Jordan within three days. This first sub-episode (1:10–11) is cut off without a recounting of the execution and only partially resumed by a related continuation in 3:2. Instead a new sub-episode (1:12–15) is introduced by a marked *wā*-PCS (NewTop) referring to the East Jordanian Tribes (12a). The unit opening also resumes the topic *yāhōšuaʿ* and has a further *lēʾmōr*. The verb *ʔamar* 'say' indicates that orders to the personnel are now replaced by urgent motivation through the promises of Moses (13b–c). Directions are given for the way they are to help the rest of the people to conquer and settle the western parts (14a–15d). Their encouraging response (16a–18b) is even marked off as yet another new sub-episode by repeating *yāhōšuaʿ* and *lēʾmōr* (16a), if not a choral response (Miller 1994:222).

After this self-contained discourse, a new order on military reconnaissance develops into the independent and embedded spy story of Joshua 2. It serves as an elaboration of the preparations.

All the proposals and the responses in word and deed are part of a chain of mobilization directives continuing into the implicit and explicit directives of Joshua 3–4. The dialogues and the embedded story therefore form a higher level discourse segment on preparations for the crossing and its execution.⁸ They recount the **call-to-arms**, which functions as the first episode in the discourse on the conquest illustrated in Table 5.3 (1:10–4:24 [SUPRA-EP 1.1]; my term for an episode section embedded within the whole discourse of Joshua, and embedding individual stories).

⁷ Otherwise the full modified nominal form is unexplained, because Joshua is both prominent and known throughout the immediately preceding discourses.

⁸ The unit 1:10–18 is clearly set off from the stage (1:1–9) by Joshua's reaction to Gods initiative (Koorevaar 1990:163–164) and by his actions (1:10a, 2:1a, 3:1a).

within the whole discourse of Joshua, and embedding individual stories).

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations	
1:10–18	Ep1	Mobilization:		
10–11	Sub-Ep1	Officer-address	Sequence	└─┘
13–15	Sub-Ep2	East Jordan address	Sequence	└─┘
16–18	Sub-Ep3	East Jordan response	Sequence	└─┘
2:1–24	Ep2	Spying	Elaboration	└─┘
3:1–4:24	Ep3	Crossing	Sequence	└─┘

Table 5.3 Macrostructure of Joshua 1:10–4:24

5.2.2 The Completion of the Conquest in Joshua 9–12

After the conquest episode on the complications (5:1–8:35 [SUPRA-EP 1.2]), a third major episode narrates the campaigns in **Joshua 9–12**.

In contrast to 5:1, the **discourse marker** is continued by zero object reference in *wayhî kišmōaʿ kol-hammālākîm ...* ‘and-it-was as-hear all-the-kings Ø’ (9:1a). It does not specify what caused the Canaanites to unite and resist. But the main clause *wayyitqabbāšû yaḥdāw ləhillāḥēm ʿim-yəhōšuaʿ wəʿim-yiśrāʾēl peh ʾeḥād* ‘they gathered to wage war with Joshua and with Israel unanimously’ (2a)⁹ singles Joshua out as the main character among the Israelites. This resembles the introductory statement in 6:27. In this way there is a back reference both to the set-back and victory at Ai and to the miraculous victory at Jericho.

The introduction to a story on **the treaty with the Gibeonites** (9:3–27) is marked by *wəyōšābê gibʿôn* ‘the inhabitants of Gibeon’ (3a; a NewTop). It is also stated that they heard of Joshua’s deeds at Jericho and Ai.¹⁰ A thematic advance summary, *wayyaʿāšû gam-hēmmâ bəʿormâ* ‘and they also acted in ruse’ (4a), introduces the theme in the same way as 7:1 and comments that the Israelite ricks at Ai taught them their cunning (cf. Younger 1990:377–378 n. 6). This stage also includes their departure with worn-out provisions (4b–5d), but its ending is more difficult to pin-

⁹ The *peh ʾeḥād* ‘one mouth’ may be interpreted as an accusative of manner that may “end up taking on an adverbial value” (JM § 126d (456–457)). It is probably an adverbial complement in predicate coordination.

¹⁰ This repetition has been interpreted as the “Drehachse ... wo die Anekdoten und Scharmützel von Jericho und Ai und die allgemeinen Operationen des Südens und Nordens ineinandergreifen” (Ascaso 1986:268). But this function is performed by v 1–2 rather than v 3–4. The introduction to the Gibeon story only elaborates the general introduction. For historical parallels, see Younger (1990:200 and 310 n. 10).

point. In 6a–b a new location is specified by *ʔel-yəhōšuaʕ* (a ResTop continued by a GivTop *ʔēlāyw* ‘to him’ in 6b) and *wəʔel-ʔiš yisrāʔēl* ‘and to the men of Israel’ (a NewTop). Yet both these entities as well as their initial proposal to make a treaty (6c–d) may still be part of the stage, because there is no explicit subject before 7a. A long stage thus captures all the ingredients of the tricky Gibeonite move.

The first episode then opens with the subject *ʔiš yisrāʔēl* (7a; a ResTop) and the otherwise superfluous renaming of the delegates of Gibeon as ‘the Hivites’ (SubTop). This episode focuses on the way that various Israelite parties respond to the subversive attack. The ‘men’ first doubt their provenance in a counter-question (7b–c). In a turn-taking counter-comment the Gibeonites offer themselves to Joshua as servants or vassals (8b),¹¹ but he just fights back and continues to interrogate them on their identity (8d–e). At last they deliver their grand speech of persuasion by which they effectively trap the Israelites (9b–13c). The men eat the evidence without inquiring of Yahweh (14a–b). Joshua supports their decision and makes a treaty of peace guaranteeing their survival (15a–b). The religious authorities (*nāšîʔê hāʕēdā* ‘the leaders of the congregation’) enact it with their solemn oath (15c).

The exposure and indictment of the Gibeonites is carefully marked as a dramatic peak (9:16–21).¹² A *wayhî* is followed both by an adjunct and a temporal adverbial clause, and the main verb has zero subject and a generalized double complement.¹³ The Israelites’ travel to Gibeon on the third day is then repeated for rhetorical effect (17a). The story line is delayed by information on the names of their cities (17b) and an elaboration tells that the Israelites did not attack them because of the oath (18a). At this point, the drama of the peak breaks loose in the congregation’s revolt against their leaders.¹⁴ The leaders can not touch them because of the solemnly sworn treaty and so suggest: *zōʔt nāʕāseh lāhem wəhahāyēh ʔōtām wəlōʔ-yihyeh ʕālēnū qešep* ‘This is what we will do with them, so that it will keep them alive and the (divine) wrath not come over us’ (19d–20a). Therefore they say *ʔālēhem* ‘to them’ (21a → 19d, 20a): *yihyû*

¹¹ It has “reversal of common syntax” (Hawk 1991:83), a PCS for focus and appeal.

¹² Koorevaar (1990:178) divides the story into just 9:3–16 and 9:17–27.

¹³ ‘Then, three days later [PCS], after they had made treaty with them (16a), they [Ø] heard that they [pronoun] were close to it [reference open] (16b) and in/among it [PCS: reference open] they [pronoun] were living (16c, cf. 2:15b–c). The *ʔēlāyw* ‘to it’ (9:16b) with *ûbəqirbō* ‘among it’ presumes the situationally accessible Israel.

¹⁴ The irony is that murmuring (cf. Exod 15–17; Num 14–17) follows immediately after a great victory (Younger 1990:378–379 n. 10; cf. Butler 1983:104).

'they shall live' (21b)—or be spared from massacre (Hawk 1991:85). The episode closes with the statement that they became woodcutters and water-carriers as proposed by the *nāšî'im* (21c-d).

A new episode is now marked off by the reintroduction of *yāhōšua'* (ResTop) and by the quote introductory verbs *wayyiqrā* and *waydabbēr* + *lē'mōr* in 22a. Joshua sternly rebukes the Gibeonites for lying and curses them, condemning them to perpetual servanthood as woodcutters and water-carriers (23a-b). This action explains the situation reached already in the prior episode (21c).¹⁵ The Gibeonites explain and accept their fate (24a-25c). Joshua now rescues them from the Israelites (26a-c → 18a).

The closure ends with the common expression *bayyôm hahû* + deed of Joshua (27a-b). The structure of the **Gibeon treaty** is illustrated by Table 5.4.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
9:3-6	Stage	Gibeon's ruse	Circumstance
9:7-14	Ep1	Isr. interrogation & treaty	Sequence
9:15-21	Ep2 (Climax)	Leader's sentence	Sequence
9:22-26	Ep3	Joshua's interrogation	Elaboration
9:27	Clos	Gibeon's servanthood	Volit. result

Table 5.4 Macrostructure of Joshua 9

The next major unit opens with an extensive recapitulation which tells what the king of Jerusalem heard (10:1a). A following zero-subject main clause shifts to plural in reference to the Canaanites' fears in general (2a). Complex elaboration satellites explain the fear as caused by the surrender of a strong city (2b-d).

Episode 1 consists of a discourse on **the attack on Gibeon** (10:3-6). The opening *wayyišlah* clause with *lē'mōr* (10:3a; cf. 2:1a) repeats the reference to the Jerusalem king and his appeal to four other kings to form a coalition. A sub-episode 2 mentions the siege on Gibeon by these five kings of the Southern coalition (5a-c; a ResTop from 3a). A final *wayyišlahû* sub-episode with *lē'mōr* (6a) then mentions Gibeon's desperate

¹⁵ Hawk (1991:87) fails to see this and concludes that Joshua transformed the leaders' decision and integrated them in the cult—he "stands with the cursed ... against those who would adhere to Yahweh's commands and exterminate them" (1991:88).

appeal for help from their Israelite treaty partners.¹⁶ These short sub-episodes together form an embedded discourse. It functions as the inciting incident within the larger story on the Southern Campaign.

Episode 2 opens with a dramatic account of the **miraculous victory at Gibeon** (10:7–15). A marked unit opening in 7a repeats *yəhōšuaʿ*, promotes *min-haggilgāl* (cf. 2:1a) and specifies the subject in a right-detached position: *hūʾ wəkol-ʿam hammilḥāmā ʿimmō wəkol gibbôrê heḥāyil* ‘he and-all-people-of the-war with-him and-all warriors-of the-strength’ (10:7a). Following the march, a *wayyōʾmer yəhweh ʾel-yəhōšuaʿ* (8a) introduces a promise of divine assistance (cf. 6:2–5; 8:1–2). Joshua was probably told so before the departure, and the speech event is therefore out of sequence. Then the story jumps ahead by repetitions emphasizing the tremendous victory. Joshua makes a surprise attack (9a–b) and Yahweh throws them into a panic (10a). The next clause, the *wayyakkēm* ‘and-(he-)hit-them’ (10b), has zero subject and must depend on the major participant Joshua for its reference. He pursued them (10c) and defeated them until Azeqah and Makkedah (10d).

The role of Yahweh as the Confounder of the enemy is repeated and explained by a climatic *wayhî* followed by a temporal adverbial clause ‘while they were fleeing before the Israelites’ (11a). It continues into a locational freeze of the story in *hēm bəmərad bêt-ḥôrôn* ‘they were on the slope at Beth Horon’ (11b, cf. 3:14–15). At this point disaster breaks loose: *wəyəhweh hišlik ʿālêhem ʾābānîm gədōlôt* ‘and Yahweh threw big stones on them’ (11c). So the hail was responsible for more deaths than the Israelite killings.¹⁷

More is still to come. Joshua at this very day, in the presence of Israel, orders Yahweh (12a): *šemeš bəgibʿôn dôm wəyārēaḥ bəʿēmeq ʾayyālôn* ‘Sun! stand still in Gibeon, and Moon! in the Valley of Ayyalon!’ (12d–e). The celestial bodies then stopped (13a–b, 13e) exactly as written in the book of the Righteous (13d).¹⁸ The narrator furthermore remarks that never ever had Yahweh obeyed a man’s voice when he fought for Israel.

¹⁶ Their appeal plays on the Jerusalem king’s language (6b–e → 4a–c). Note also *wayyišlah* (3a)—*wayyaʿālū* (5a)—*wayyišlḥū* (6a)—*wayyaʿal* (7a).

¹⁷ Comparative is expressed by *wayyāmūtū* ‘and-(they-)died’ + *rabbîm* ‘many’ followed by relative *ʾāšer* + resumptive *mētū* in a subject clause ((JM § 157a (589); cf. 141h n.2 (523)). The second clause has “independent relative” (WO § 19.1d (331)), i.e., *mēʾāšer* ‘than those who’. The Hittite storm god also ‘hurled his meteor’ and Sargon had assistance from ‘the stone of heaven’ (Younger 1990:208–211).

¹⁸ The article is left out in vocative *šemeš* and *yārēaḥ* (12d–e). The zero article of *wəyārēaḥ ʿāmād* (13b) may be archaic or lofty prose, but hardly “as if the definite article is prefixed to the entire phrase” (JM § 137h n. 1 (508)). V 12–14 is often con-

The episode closes with the enigmatic information that *wayyāšob yəhōšuaʿ wəkol-yiśrāʾēl ʿimmō ʾel-hammaḥāneh haggilgālā* ‘and Joshua and all Israel with him returned to Gilgal’ (15a). This is repeated again in the discourse closure of 43a, and Joshua apparently remained in the camp at Makkedah with his people (21a and 28a). As the whole structure of 10:11–15 resembles the peculiar style of the peak in 3:14–17, it is conceivable that 15a is a peculiar marking of the end of a climax.¹⁹

A reintroduction of *ḥāmēšet hammālākîm hāʾēlleh* (16a; ResTop) from episode 1 (5a) opens a new episode about the **execution of the five kings** who fled and hid in a cave at Makkedah (10:16–27). This episode again forms an embedded discourse. The stage is continued by an inciting incident introduced by *wayyuggad lihōšuaʿ* ‘and it was reported to Joshua’ and unit-initial *lēʾmōr* (17a; cf. 2:2a). Joshua orders the cave to be sealed and the pursuit to be continued (18b–19e).

Three further sub-episodes are marked by *wayhî* + infinitive adverbial clauses.²⁰ The first episode with *kəkallōt yəhōšuaʿ* ‘as soon as finish Joshua’ (20a) narrates the army’s pursuit and return to the cave. The second with *kəhōšpām* ‘as soon as bring out theirs’ (24a) several times repeats Joshua’s order to tread on the kings’ necks in contempt before their execution. A third and final time indication *wayhî ləʿēt bōʾ haššemeš* ‘at the time of sunset’ (27a) has constructions resembling the closure of 8:29. This expansiveness may indicate a peak²¹ for resolution.

A new episode opens with *wəʾet-maqqēdā lākad yəhōšuaʿ bayyôm hahûʾ* ‘and Makkedah Joshua took on that day’ (28a). It is anterior to the preceding events on the same day which lasted until sunset.²¹ This *wə-x-qatal* flashback introduces a long **report on the southern campaign** (10:28–43) against Libnah (29a), Lakish and allied Gezer (31a), Eglon (34a), Hebron (36a), and Debir (38a). At the end, the results of the

sidered an inserted poetic fragment (Auld 1979:13; Boling 1982:282; Butler 1983:113), but Near Eastern parallels support a figurative sense of visibility of sun and moon in a single day (Younger 1990:211–220).

¹⁹ The problem is often solved by a deletion based on LXX (Auld 1979:5, 13; Butler 1983:110). It could be a resumptive repetition to bring the reader back to the beginning of a simultaneous scene (Younger 1990:381 n. 23). Discourse grammar can show that peaks often round off a depicted situation and the continuation backtracks the story (4:1ff; 6:22ff; 9:22ff). It supports Koorevaar’s view that “in narrative technique the climax is as a rule underlined by a concluding formula” (1990:179 n. 1; my translation).

²⁰ Cf. open field battle in ancient conquest accounts (Younger 1990:220–22).

²¹ The episode explains what Joshua (20a)—or at least the people (21a)—was doing earlier in the afternoon.

southern campaign are summed up in a closure (10:40–42). It opens with a summarizing *wayyakkeh yāhōšuaʿ* ‘and Joshua hit’ (40a; JM § 118i (392)) and ends with the return of the people to the base at Gilgal. This closure includes the battle at Gibeon and the executions at Makkedah because the mountain region and the defeated kings are mentioned (40a). A divine victory was won in a single stroke (42a–b).

The narrative on the southern campaign is told in embedded discourses similar to the story of Ai, except for the early occurrence of the double peaks and the long report at the end. It jumps to the drama of the miraculous climax and then gradually fades away into a resolution and a lessening tension in the post-peak list of victories. Discourse grammar can explain how a single unit can mark two boundaries in 10:16 and 28 due to embedding.²² The total structure of **the southern campaign** is illustrated in Table 5.5.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
10:1–2	Stage	Southern fear	Circumstance
10:3–6	Ep1	Southern king's attack	Sequence
10:7–15	Ep2 (Clim)	Battle at Gibeon	Sequence
10:16–27	Ep3 (Resol)	Southern king's execution	Elaboration
10:28–39	Ep4	Southern campaigning report	Sequence
10:40–42	Clos	Southern summary	Volit. result

Table 5.5 Macrostructure of Joshua 10

The next unit on **the northern campaign** (11:1–15) reverts to the *wayhî kišmōaʿ* and *wayyišlah* constructions (1a–3a; cf. 10:1–4).²³ Episode 1 again tells of the enemy's attack (4a–5b). A brief episode 2 reports Yahweh's encouraging exhortation (6b–e; cf. 10:8b–d), and this time in its proper relative time frame. Episode 3 is a more detailed account of the victory over the untied forces of the North at Misrephoth-maim (7a–9d). The final episode 4 (10a–11d) recounts the destruction of Hazor in the language of the southern campaign (10a; cf. 10:38a). Other northern victories are summarized in a lengthy closure (12a–15d, cf. 10:40–42).²⁴

²² In support of its unity Koorevaar (1990:180) notes that three of the five kings (10:3) have their cities taken in 10:31–32, 34 and 36. Younger argues that if the two “expansions” (1990:207), the peaks, are set aside, the story adheres to “an iterative code both in a general manner and in a dense form” (1990:204). The miracles are “integral parts” in Ancient Near Eastern contexts (1990:220).

²³ Because the object is omitted in 11:1a, Ascaso assumes that “Ursache und Wirkung is nur auf syntaktischer Ebene vorhanden” (1986:268).

²⁴ Butler (1983:123) suggests that 11:16 is parallel to 10:40–43 and therefore con-

The grammar of these campaign reports differ somewhat from the grammar of narrative story-telling, as is clear from the list in example (1) (object phrases are in normal style, the two complicated constructions in bold italic):

- (1) 10:30 wayyittēn yahwēh gam-ʾōtāh_{Obj} bayad yiśrāʾēl wəʾet-malkāh_{RDP-Obj} *
wayyakkehā lāpī-herēb wəʾet-kol-hannepeš ʾāšer-bāh_{RDP-Obj} * lōʾ-hišʾir bāh
šārīd * wayyaʿas ləmalakāh * kaʾāšer ʿāsā ləmelek yarihō
- 10:32 wayyakkehā lāpī-herēb wəʾet-kol-hannepeš ʾāšer-bah_{RDP-Obj} * kəkōl ʾāšer-
ʿāsā ləlibnā
- 10:33 wayyakkēhū yāhōšuaʿ wəʾet-ʿammō_{RDP-Obj} * ʿad-bilti hišʾir-lō šārīd
- 10:35 wayyilkādūhā bayyōm hahūʾ wayyakkūhā-lāpī-herēb wəʾet kol-hannepeš
ʾāšer-bāh_{RDP-Obj} * bayyōm hahūʾ_{PCS-Temp} heḥērīm * kəkōl ʾāšer-ʿāsā ləlākīš
- 10:37 wayyilkādūhā wayyakkūhā-lāpī-herēb wəʾet-malkāh wəʾet-kol-ʿārēhā wəʾet-
kol-hannepeš ʾāšer-bāh_{RDP-Obj} * lōʾ-hišʾir šārīd * kəkōl ʾāšer-ʿāsā ləʿeglōn *
wayyahārēm ʾōtah wəʾet-kol-hannepeš ʾāšer-bāh_{Obj}
- 10:39 wayyilkadah wəʾet-malkah wəʾet-kol-ʿārēhā_{Obj} * wayyakkūm lāpī-herēb *
wayyahārīmū ʾet-kol-nepeš ʾāšer-bah_{Obj} * lōʾ hišʾir šārīd
- 10:40 wayyakkeh yāhōšuaʿ ʾet-kol-hāʾareš ..._{Obj} * lōʾ hišʾir šārīd * wəʾet
kol-hannāšāmā_{PCS-Obj} heḥērīm
- 10:41 wayyakkēm yāhōšuaʿ miqqādēš barnēaʿ wəʿad ...
- 11:8 wayyittānēm yahwēh bayad-yiśrāʾēl * wayyakkūm
- 11:8 wayyakkūm * ʿad-bilti hišʾir-lāhem šārīd
- 11:11 wayyakkū ʾet-kol-hannepeš ʾāšer-bāh_{Obj} lāpī-herēb_{Temp} * haḥārēm *
lōʾ nōtar kol-nāšāmā * wəʾet-hāšōr_{PCS-Obj} šārap bāʾēš
- 11:12 wəʾet-kol-ʿārē hammələkīm-hāʾēlleh wəʾet-kol-malkēhem_{PCS-Obj} lākad
yāhōšuaʿ * wayyakkēm lāpī-herēb * heḥērīm ʾōtām_{Obj} * kaʾāšer šiwwā mōšeh
ʿebed yahwēh
- 11:17 wəʾet kol-malkēhem_{PCS-Obj} lākad * wayyakkēm * waymītēm

The list shows how a clause like wayyakkēm lāpī-herēb 'he hit them by the mouth of the sword' (11:12b) is usually followed by further expressions on the application of the ban. An asyndetic elaboration by heḥērīm ʾōtām 'he applied the ban to them' (11:12c) may or may not be followed by lōʾ hišʾir šārīd 'he left no remnant' (10:39d; cf. 8:22d).

These constructions are often varied in subtle ways. An RDP-object is supplied after pronominal object and adjunct as in wayyakkehā_{suf-Obj} lāpī-

cludes 11:1–15. But 11:16 refers to all prior campaigns, while 10:40 and 11:15 are similar conclusions (Koorevaar 1990:181). Hawk (1991:44–46) finds a contradiction of the total ban in exceptions surrounded by notes of obedience in 11:13–14, but it does not violate the new policy since the battle at Ai (8:1–2).

*hereb*_{PP-Manner} *wəʔet-kol-hannepeš ʔăšer-bāh*_{RDP} 'and he hit it by the mouth of the sword together with all the souls that were in it' (10:30b).²⁵ The RDP-explanation is required when a new adverbial clause follows (10:33c), or when *lōʔ-hišʔir* is followed by a comparative clause (10:37c). By analogy the *wəʔet kol-hannāšāmā* of 10:40c is then a PCS object of *heḥērim*, and the infinitive absolute form *haḥārēm* in 11:11b is a one-member clause. The *bayyôm hahûʔ* 'on that day' (11:35c) is presumably a fronted temporal phrase (PCS).

After the two campaign reports follows a final higher-level discourse unit on the **remaining task** (11:16–23). It is opened by a recapitulative *wayyiqqah ʔəhōšuaʕ ʔet-kol-hāʔareš hazzōʔt* 'and Joshua took all this land' (16a). This is repeated almost verbatim at the end (23a).²⁶ The reference to the conquered area includes all the territory of Canaan, and not just the northern area (Koorevaar 1990:182). The only new event is Joshua's disposal of the Anakites (21a), but even this is told as a general piece of information. It is therefore an expository discourse which functions as a rhetorical summary. It is the closure of the episode on the **completion of the conquest** (9:1–11:23 [SUPRA-EP 1.3]) shown in Table 5.6.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations	
9:1–2	DM	Canaanite unity		
9:3–27	Stage	Gibeonite ruse	Circumstance	┌┐
10:1–43	Ep1	Southern Campaign	Sequence	┌┐┐
11:1–15	Ep2	Northern Campaign	Sequence	┌┐┐
11:16–23	Clos	Remaining task	Summary	┌┐┐

Table 5.6 Macrostructure of Joshua 9–11

In this way, the overall structure of **Joshua 9–11** is marked by three back-referential reports of rumors (9:3a; 10:1; 11:1a).²⁷ The initial dis-

²⁵ The RDP object is not an LDP-phrase for the following *lōʔ-hišʔir bah* because its preposition + suffix 'in it' has the same reference as the object suffix *-hā*, and does not qualify for resumptive pronoun.

²⁶ Cf. Koorevaar (1990:181–182). Because of this repetition one could analyze 11:15–22 as a third supra-episode without *wayhî kišmōaʕ*, but the explanatory nature of most of 11:15–23 makes this less probable. Hawk finds "material which challenges the organizing pattern" (1991:51) in a bipartite national and regional statement (v 16–17, 21) which is contested (v 18–19, 22), but then reasserted (1991:48–51). But language surely has the capacity to express concessions without deconstructing the central statements, and closures often have such explanatory features (8:27a; cf. 6:24a).

²⁷ They form partial resolutions in the central (9:3), southern (10:1) and northern (11:1) areas (Younger 1990:197; cf. also Koorevaar 1990:177–178).

course marker (9:1-2) anticipates the Southern League's political moves in Joshua 10. The Gibeon story serves as a stage for the later nation-wide conquests and Joshua 11 only repeats the event structure of Joshua 10. This holistic structure is quite similar to Joshua 5-8. The Gibeon incident parallels the ritual enactments (5:2-12) preceding the battle at Jericho and Ai. The southern and the northern campaigns have a position similar to Jericho and Ai (Joshua 6-8). The tripartite structure of Joshua 10 resembles the structure of the Ai story with divine commands (10:8; 8:1-2) and conclusions (10:27; 8:29).

The discourse from now on gradually shifts to a different text type as it moves towards and passes a major transition in the book. The conquest discourse ends in a **list of conquered kings** (12:1-24). It is divided into two parallel units by extensive cleft-focus constructions *wə'ēlleh malkê hā'āreš ʔāšer hikkû/hikkâ* (*yəhōšuaʿ û*) *bənê yiśrāʾēl* 'and-these kings-of the-land which slay_{pl/sg} (Joshua and) the Israelites' (12:1a/7a).

The eastern half of the list (12:1-6) mentions the victory over the two kings, Sihon and Og, and the capture of their land in a long appositional elaboration span (2a-5b). The grammar is twisted in a subtle way, because both the defeat of a king and the settlement of his areas are in view. It plays on two senses of the surface form *mōšēl* as 'ruler' (2a) and 'is ruling' (4a).²⁸ The first segment gives a nominal list of a king's territory (king of X, ruler of Y). The second gives a predicative enumeration of how a king rules over territories (territory of Y, was ruled by king X). Both aspects, territory and rule, are then summarized in the sentence *mōšeh ... ûbənê yiśrāʾēl hikkûm wayyittānāh mōšeh ... yəruššā* 'Moses ... and the Israelites hit *them* and Moses gave *it* ... as an inheritance' (6a-b).

The western half of the list (12:7a-24) deliberately resumes the end of the preceding. It opens with *wayyittānah yəhōšuaʿ ləšibîê yiśrāʾēl yəruššā kamaḥlāqōtām* 'and Joshua gave it to the tribes of Israel as a possession according to their portion' (7b). It also lists territory (8a), peoples (8b) and defeated kings (9a-24a).

The two closely related parts in Joshua 12 form a single unit and do not

²⁸ First Sihon of Heshbon is mentioned as *mōšēl mē'ārōʿēr* 'the ruler [of a territory] from Aroer' (2a), the Arnon Valley, Gilead (2b) and the lower Jordan Valley (3a). Then king Og of Bashan is mentioned in a rhetorical Joint marked solely by *ûgəbûl ʔog* 'and the territory of Og ...' (4a) and modified by two coordinated participles *ḥayyôšēb bə'aštārôt ûbə'edre'i* 'who sat (or reigned) in' and *ûmōšēl bəḥar ḥermôn* 'and who ruled over' (5a). The problem of *ûgəbûl ʔog* 'and-territory-of Og' (4a) in a list of kings (1a) should not be solved by emending a *lectio difficilior* (Butler 1983:133).

encompass 11:16–12:24 as claimed by Koorevaar (1990:112, 182–183).²⁹ The double-list is a higher-level closure for all the conquest episode and anticipates the distribution of the land (cf. already 1:2–5 and 11:23). The total structure of **the story of the conquest** in Josh 1:10–12:24 is shown in Table 5.7.

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
1:1–9	SUPRA-STAGE 1	Divine order	Circumstance
1:10–4:24	SUPRA-EP 1.1	Coordination	Sequence
5:1–8:35	SUPRA-EP 1.2	Complications	Sequence
9:1–11:23	SUPRA-EP 1.3	Completion	Sequence
12:1–24	SUPRA-CLOS 1	Conclusion	Summary

Table 5.7 Macrostructure of Joshua 1–12

5.2.3 The Distribution of the Land in Joshua 13–21

The next discourse unit marks a major break in the book by a shift to the perspective of the old age of Joshua. The initial circumstance satellite with *wîhōšuaʿ zāqēn bāʾ bayyāmîm* ‘and-Joshua was.old he-had.come in-the-days’ (13:1a; cf. 23:1) is even repeated in the following **divine instruction** (1c–7a).³⁰ The speech has a prominent position similar to Joshua 1. It shifts the thematic focus towards the distribution (7a) as the stage for the second part of the book.

The transition from the divine speech is a major grammatical problem. With *ʿimmô hārʾûbēnî wəhaggādî lāqəḥû naḥlātām ʾāšer nātan lāhem mōšeh* ‘with-it the-rubenite and-the-gadite (they-)received their-inheritance which (he-)gave to-them Moses’ (8a), the divine speech has clearly given way to descriptive listing. But the reference of the suffix in *ʿimmô* and the disappearance of the half tribe of Manasseh is enigmatic. The best solution is to restrict the end of the divine command to *wəʿattā ḥallēq ʾet-hāʾāreš hazzōʾt bənaḥlā lətišʿat haššəbāʾîm* ‘And now, you divide this

²⁹ The parallel between 11:23a and 12:7b (Koorevaar 1990:183) is weaker than the parallels within Joshua 12. A South-North vs. North-South order in 11:16–17 and 12:7–8 is a weak literary parallel, and 12:1–6 is not a chiasmic center. Younger support the integrity of Joshua 12 and notes similar Near Eastern summaries (1990:230–232), but he restricts it as an epilogue for Joshua 9–12 (1990:197–198). However, it includes Jericho and Ai (12:9) and refers to the East Jordan setting of Joshua 1–2.

³⁰ The two *qatal* verbs are connected in “a semantic parallel” (Koopmans 1988:93 n. 24). We classify the rare linkage as a predicate coordination for ‘become very old’.

land as an inheritance³¹ to the nine tribes' (7a). The loose term 'nine tribes' would resemble the 'seven tribes' at another major border in 18:2a and the 'nine portions' implied in 18:5a. As a separate noun phrase, *waḥšî haššēbeḥ hamānaššeh* 'and-half-of the-tribe-of the-Manasseh' (7b), could function as a unit-introductory *As for* construction (an LDP for a SubTop derived from the nine tribes). It would be followed by a fronted resumptive pronoun in *ʿimmô* 'along with it' (8a; a PCS). This fairly simple grammatical solution explains why *ʿimmô* may not after all be "a forced reference to the half tribe in the east" (Auld 1980:59).³²

This discourse unit first reviews the East Jordan inheritance (13:7b-33c) previously allotted by Moses. It begins with a list of conquered and distributed towns (9a-12b). Then it imparts background information on two points: Israel failed to settle certain towns (13a-b) and Moses excluded the Levites from allotment (14a-c).³³ Afterwards follows the allotments of Ruben (15a-23b), Gad (24a-28a) and the half tribe of Manasseh (29a-31a).³⁴

The following segment previews the West Jordan inheritances (14:1-5). After a cleft-focus *wəʿelleh ʾāšer* 'and-those [are those] which' (1a), it continues in language similar to 13:7b-8c:³⁵

- (2) *nāḥālû bənê-yisrāʾel bəʿereṣ kənāʿan* (1a) *ʾāšer niḥālû ʾôtām ʾelʾāzār hakkōhēn*
 inherited the I. the land of Canaan which let inherit them Eleazer the priest
wihōšuaʿ bin-nūn wəroʾšē ʾābôt hammaṭṭôt libnê yisrāʾel (1b) *bəgōral naḥālātām*
 and Joshua and the paternal heads of the tribes of I. by lot as their inheritance

Yet, the discourse immediately reverts to a reiteration of Moses' allotments for the two and half tribes (3a) but none for the Levites (3b). It even elaborates by further repetition on the split tribe (4a) and on the

³¹ The *bənaḥālâ* has *beth essentiae* for predicative of object (JM § 133c (487)). I classify it as a marked complement in core subordination.

³² It refutes that dtr broke off 13:7 "quite crudely" (Ottosson 1991:111; my translation). A clumsy editor can not explain all the problems (Butler 1983:155), but neither would a subtle referential shift (Koorevaar 1991:186) indicate unity of East and West.

³³ Cf. also 13:32a-33c. This information concludes both the general description (7b-14c) and the lists (15a-33c). The *kaʾāšer dibber-lô* 'just as he (Moses) had told it (the Levite tribe)' (14c; cf. 33c) refers to Num 18:20 (Koorevaar 1990:187 and n. 2; cf. also Ottosson 1991:110).

³⁴ Comprehensiveness and inclusion of further victories (13:21-22) need not mark fragmentation (Hawk 1991:101). It underlines the Mosaic model for the operation.

³⁵ The bi-clausal construction introduces a dummy pronoun *wəʿelleh* (NewFoc) and resumes it by *ʾôtām* (GivTop) before NewTop. The *naḥālātām* (14:2a) in 13:8 is placed in front of *nātan lāhem mōšeh* and the second *ʾāšer* is a conjunctive *kaʾāšer*.

giving of only cities to the Levites (4b-c).³⁶

The west Jordan preview (14:1-5) anticipates the following distribution just as 11:23 and 13:7 has done. The opening in 1-2a has full proper name reintroduction of *wîhôšuaʿ bin-nûn* and other authorities, and it leads up to the less fully specified new opening in 14:6. However, its structure is more similar to the preceding Mosaic distributions. The two east and west Jordan units are combined **previews of the distribution** (13:7b-14:5) and together elaborate the stage (13:1-7a).³⁷ The coordination of Mosaic and Joshuan distributions is a mirror-image of the closure of the conquest discourse in Joshua 12 in syntax and discourse organization.

A major new unit is then marked by *wayyiggəšû bənê-yəhûdâ ʿel-yəhôšuaʿ baggilgāl* with movement verb 'they approached', introduction of 'the Judahites' (NewTop), reintroduction of Joshua (ResTop) and setting adjunct 'in Gilgal' (14:6a). It is a circumstance satellite for a major higher-level discourse unit and not just simply an introduction (Koorevaar 1990:189).³⁸

The first story narrates **Caleb's request for Hebron** (14:6b-15). The proper name *kālēb ben-yəpunneh haqqənizzî* is introduced as an important Judahite representative (a SubTop) rather than as a complete foreigner (Ottoosson 1991:121). This *wayyôʿmer* clause refers to Joshua by *ʿēlāyw* (a GivTop). Caleb argues that he remains loyal and physically fit to conquer the land promised by Yahweh through Moses (6a-12e). Joshua in response blesses him and promises him Hebron as his rightful reward (13a-b). This unit ends with a recurring of the boundary marker *wəhāʾāreṣ šāqəṭā mimmiḥāmā* 'the land had rest from the war' (15c; cf. 11:23d).³⁹ The stage for the first distribution episode then begins where

³⁶ The writer achieves all this by a lavish use of relatives and conjunctions: *ʾăšer* (1a, 1b), *kaʾăšer* (2b), *kî* (3a, 4a) and *kî ʾim* (4c). A final *wayyahləqû ʾet-hāʾāreṣ* (5c) with *qal*-activity only anticipates the *piel* resultative of 19:51b (WO § 24.3.1a (406)).

³⁷ Codex Cairensis also divides into 13:1-14:5. No ancient manuscript has a break at 13:7/8, but rather after 13:14 (Codex Aleppo, LXX) or after 23 (Leningradiensis) (Koorevaar 1990:184). Ottoosson (1991:114) notes the Mosaic conquest and distribution parallels in 11:16-13:33, and Coats (1987:23) also in 14:1-15.

³⁸ The unmodified proper name Joshua can open a new major unit, because the full form 'ben Nun' occurs already in 14:1a (contrast Koorevaar 1990:188, 163 n. 2). This is similar to the situation in 3:1a where the full form occurs in 2:23b. The boundary at 14:6a is overlooked by the majority of modern readings (1990:187).

³⁹ Cf. Koorevaar (1990:190). A similar idea is expressed at other transition points at the beginning of a major unit (18:1c) or in the middle of a minor one (21:44a).

the closure of the conquest ended. Joshua defeated the Anakites and won peace—Caleb was allotted the Anakite Hebron and the land had peace.

The next episode lists allotments for the two central tribal units. It opens with the first occurrence of *wayhî haggôrāl lā-X* ‘and X had (=received) the lot’ (15:1a)⁴⁰ and is followed by *wayhî lāhem gābûl* ‘they had (=received) border’ (2a). The **lot for Judah** (15:1–63) describes the borders for the clans (15:2–12) and the towns in the South (21a), lowlands (33a), mountains (48a) and desert (61a).

In the middle of the list is embedded a story on **Caleb’s seizure of Hebron and Achsah’s request for wells** (15:13–19). A zero-subject verb *nātan* presumes a far-distance reference to the major participant Joshua (14:6a–b, 13a) and the verb is preceded by a strongly marked *ûlakālēb ben-yāpunneh* (ResTop).⁴¹ Caleb’s name is repeated in *wayyōreš miššām kālēb* (15:14a). He is also the implied subject of *wayyaʿal miššām* ‘and from there he went up (to Debir)’ (15a). The clause *wayyōmer kālēb* (16a) introduces Caleb’s promise to give the conqueror of Hebron his own daughter Achsah. Caleb’s brother Othniel took it (17a) and Caleb *wayyitten-lō* ‘he-gave-Ø to-him’ (17b). Then an enigmatic climax opens with *wayhî bābōʾah* ‘and-it-was when-come-her’ (18a) and continues with *wattāsītēhû lišʾōl mēʾēt-ʾābîhā šādeh* ‘and-she-incited-him to-ask from-AM-her-father field’ (18b). The pronominal cross-reference to the object in 18b relies on Caleb being a major participant, so the sense is ‘(Achsah) incited (Caleb) by asking her father for a field’.⁴² This is explained as the act of alighting (*wattiṣnah*) the donkey (18c) in order to make her father ask her and argue him into providing her with a field with wells.

The lot for Joseph’s sons opens with *wayyēšēʾ haggôrāl* ‘and-(it-) went.out (or ‘ran from’) the-lot’ (16:1a). A description of the southern border of Benjamin (1a–3b) is followed by a list of **border towns of Ephraim** (5a–10). A *wayhî haggôrāl* introduces the **lot of Manasseh**

⁴⁰ The paradigmatic equivalents are *wayyippālū ḥablē-mānaššeh ʾāšārā* ‘ten portions of Manasseh fell’ (17:5a) and *wayyašlāk lāhem yāhōšuaʾ gôrāl* ‘Joshua threw for them lot’ (18:10a).

⁴¹ Cf. also object complement *ḥēleq* ‘(gave) as a part’ and adjuncts for place, manner and goal before the NewTop object *ʾet-qiryat ʾarbaʿ*.

⁴² Noth (1953:86) achieves this sense by removing the object suffix and glossing the verb as “she decided to ask” (also Soggin 1972:166). Butler (1983:180) insists that the pronoun can only refer to Othniel, but as a locally minor participant of the previous unit he ought to have been reintroduced by name. A zero subject reference to Othniel is blocked by the intervening *wayhî bābōʾah* boundary marker. Boling (1982:374) emends into “he nagged her” and Hawk (1991:105) finds a pun on Sheol in *lišʾōl*. Our solution assumes that *lišʾōl* functions as a gerund (Mosca 1984:20–22).

The next major unit describes the remaining tribal areas. The unit opens with a shift from Gilgal (14:6) to Shiloh where the Tent of Meeting is erected (18:1a–b). Its stage contains a speech on **the description of the remaining land** (18:1–10). Additional elaboration explains that the land has been conquered (1c), but seven “uninherited” tribes remain (2a). Joshua gives directives for border registration by geographical explorers (3b–7c). Joshua reviews their job at the departure (8a–f) and they execute it (9a–c). He distributes the land in Shiloh at the ark (10a–b; cf. 1a–b).

The **lots of the seven tribes** (18:11a–19:49a) are listed in a fairly homogeneous structure of introduction, (mostly) long lists of towns with their sums, and an anaphoric conclusion stating that *zōt nahālat X* ‘this is the inheritance of X’. Yet subtle changes create individual variation in the otherwise monotonous grammar of lists. A unit-initial verb + (*hag*)*gōrāl* and number is varied by means of choice of verb, PCS-constructions and adjunct/NP apposition. The verbs *wayyaʿal* ‘came up’ and *wayyēšē* ‘went out’ are used for the first two tribes with southern portions (Benjamin and Simeon). Then *wayyaʿal* followed by *yāšāʾ*/*wayyēšē* shifts are repeated for the northern tribes. The whole lot ends on a note of failure when the sense of *yāšāʾ* for Dan shifts to ‘went out (of hand)’ (47a).⁴⁶ The linguistic pattern is as follows:

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| (3) | 18:11a | <i>wayyaʿal gōrāl_{cs}</i> | <i>maṭṭēh bənê_{cs}-binyāmin</i> | <i>ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:1a | <i>wayyēšē</i> 2nd | <i>ləšimʿōn</i> | <i>ləmaṭṭēh bənê-šimʿōn ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:10a | <i>wayyaʿal</i> 3rd | <i>libnê zəbūlun</i> | <i>ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:17a | <i>ləyiššāškār</i> | <i>yāšāʾ</i> 4th | <i>libnê yiššāškār ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:24a | <i>wayyēšē</i> 5th | <i>ləmaṭṭēh bənê-ʾāšēr</i> | <i>ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:32a | <i>libnê naptālī</i> | <i>yāšāʾ</i> 6th | <i>libnê naptālī ləmišpəḥōtām</i> |
| | 19:40a | <i>ləmaṭṭēh bənê-dān</i> | <i>ləmišpəḥōtām—yāšāʾ</i> 7th | |

This sevenfold list concludes on the note that the task of inheriting the land, according to its boundaries, was now completed (49a).⁴⁷

to 14:6–17:18. Caleb has a prominent position as the first distributor among the tribal heads in Num 34:20–29 after Eleazer and Joshua (34:17–18; cf. Josh 14:1).

⁴⁶ The already well-known area of Benjamin between Judah and Joseph is described with both borders and towns (as Joshua 15) and the position of Simeon within Judah is noted (19:9). The final failing tribe Dan is marked out by a Recipient-Manner-Verb-Subject variant. Dan’s tenure may be deeply ironical (Hawk 1991:112), but not as the sole account of a settlement, and some remained in the south (Judg 13–16). Dan is an exception within the distribution, rather than evidence of a total fragmentation.

⁴⁷ Some interpreters (20.2%) demarcate into 19:49–51 (Koorevaar 1990:196), but only one (D.K.Campbell) suggests 19:49b–51 (1990:150 n. 5, 197). Koorevaar

A final closure contains a **summary of the description of the land** (19:49b–51). In almost enacted thanksgiving for rendered services, it is told that the Israelites gave Joshua inheritance among them (49b) and he built and settled his town (50a–c). This donation was necessary because the town was already allotted to Ephraim (Joshua 16), but it also fulfills a former divine promise (50a; 14:6c; Num 14:30–31) (Koorevaar 1990: 197–198). A final statement sums up all of Joshua 14–19. This anaphoric cleft-sentence has *ʿēlleh* ‘there’, achievement verb *niḥālū* ‘gave inheritance’ and a full reference to Eleazar, Joshua and the family heads (19:51a; a ResTop from 14:1a). As in prior endings, the completion of the distribution is noted (51b; cf. 13:7a; 14:5c). The **description part** of the distribution is structured according to Table 5.9 (18:1–19:51 [SUPRA-EP 2.2]).⁴⁸

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
18:1–10	Stage	Description directives	Circumstance
18:11–19:49a	Ep1–7	Lot of Seven Tribes	Sequence
19:49b–51	Clos	Summary division	Summary

Table 5.9 Macrostructure of Joshua 18–19

The third and final distribution unit in Joshua 20–21 deals with sacral aspects of the allotment. Its stage recounts the choice of **cities of refuge** (20:1–9). It opens with the significant episode-initial clause *waydabbēr yahwēh ʿel-yāhōšuaʿ + lēʾmōr* (cf. 1:1b; 3:7a; 4:15a; 8:1a *inter alia*). The new theme is presented in a divine speech (2b–6d). The execution of the divine order is reported by *wayyaqdišū* ‘they-purified’ (7a). A conclusion repeats the purpose of the cities in an anaphoric *ʿēlleh*-summary (9a–d; cf. 19:51a). Moses had already arranged for such cities in East Jordan (Deut 4:41–43). This kind of information follows the pattern in 13:7b–14:5.⁴⁹

argues that *waykallū ... ʿet-hāʾāreš* ‘completed [to divide] the land’ (49a, 51b) frames the section, but infinitive *linḥōl* ‘give inheritance’ plus manner adjunct *ligbūlōtēhā* in 49a sums up the preceding in contrast to the more general *mēhallēq* in 51b.

⁴⁸ The seven portions could be viewed as a single episode, but all have narrative introductions. Koorevaar (1990:193) objects that a subdivision would also apply to 13:7b–33. However, 13:7b–14:5 is elaboration, but 18:11a–19:49a main line events.

⁴⁹ Cf. Koorevaar (1990:200). However, he divides into 20:1–6 and 20:7–21:42 despite no prior support (1990:198). It violates the episode structure with lot(s) in the middle and it overrides the grammar of 21:1.

The central episode concerning the **Levite lot** (21:1–42) is surprisingly well-coded. It has a remarkable opening with *wayyiggəšû* '(they-) approached' (1a; 14:6a), a full NP *roʔšê ʔābôt halwiyyim* 'the heads of the Levite families' (NewTop) and the usual authorities (a ResTop as in 19:51a). It is followed by *waydabbərû*, a resumed double setting adjunct *bəšilōh bəʔereš kənaʿan* 'in Shiloh in Canaan' and unit-initial *lēʾmōr* (21:2a). It is therefore more carefully marked than even the stage of the first main distribution discourse in 14:6 (but note the anticipation in 14:1).

The internal structure of the unit is equally remarkable. It is first thematically summarized that Israel gave them cities and grass-lands out of their own inheritance (21:3a). Then the allotment formula *wayyēšēʔ haggôrāl lə-* (4a) introduces the portion given to the tribe of Qahat for the Aaron-family in Judah, Simeon and Benjamin (4b) as well as the other Levites' portions (5a–7a).⁵⁰

At this point an unusual grammatical marking begins. It is first repeated that the Israelites gave (*wayyittənû*) to the Levites (promoted post-verbally) cities and grasslands (8a). This sentence is construed with a manner adjunct *baggôrāl* 'by lot'. However, the adjunct is preceded by a prominent comparative adverbial clause *kaʔāšer šiwwā yahwēh bəyad-mōšeh* 'just like Yahweh had ordered by the hand of Moses' (8b).⁵¹ The next clause repeats *wayyittənû* (9a) but deletes both the agent and the recipient which is the textually accessible family of Aaron (8a). Yet these cities are now enigmatically modified by *ʔāšer-yiqrāʾ ʔethen bəšēm* 'which he called them (resumptive pronoun) by name' (9b)—possibly in an oblique reference to God's own choice. This repetitious language continues into *wayhî libnê ʔahārōn* (10a) and zero-subject *wayyittənû* (11a), and even zero-verb-and-subject for Benjamin (17a). The central themes are Hebron, Caleb and cities of refuge (11a–13a).

In contrast, it is simply listed how the other Levite families got their cities and grass-lands (the remaining Qahat family (20a), Gershon (27a) and Mariri (34a)). The end summarizes at some length that *tihyēnā heʿārīm hāʔēlleh ʿir ʿir* 'these cities shall be (belong?) city by city' (42a) and *kēn ləkōl-heʿārīm hāʔēlleh* 'so [shall it be] for all these cities' (42b).

The section on the donations to the sacral tribe ends with a **summary of the distribution** (21:43–45). It is similar to the ending of the description section (19:49b–51), but slightly more general. Now it is Yahweh

⁵⁰ The others are listed in verb-ellipses like (*wə*)*libnê* X *mimmišpəḥōt maṭṭēh* ... 'and to the sons of X from the families of the tribes of' (5a, 6a and 7a).

⁵¹ Note that *bəyad-mōšeh* elsewhere occurs only in 2b.

who *wayyittēn* 'gave' or as a high-level summarizing statement 'so had given' (21:43a) Israel all the land as sworn to their fathers (43b). The point is here that the Israelites *wayyirāšūhā wayyēšəbū bāh* 'possessed it and lived in it' (43c-d) and all divine promises were fulfilled (44a-45b).

The closure of the third and final episode on the distribution thus notes a complete fulfillment (45b). The divinely ordered selection of cities of refuge with staging direct speech (20:1-9; cf. 14:6-15; 18:1-10) leads up to the Aaronite allotment. The peak-marking features lump the whole together into one extended solemn lot.⁵² The description of the Aaronite inheritance shows how, just as in the grammar of miracles (3:15-17; 4:18; 6:20), a list can form a grammar of holiness. The section on **donations** within the distribution episode is illustrated by Table 5.10 (20:1-21:45 [SUPRA-EP 2.3]).

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
20:1-9	Stage	Levite directives	Circumstance
21:1-42	Ep1	Lot of Levites	Sequence
21:43-45	Clos	Summary of distribution	Summary

Table 5.10 Macrostructure of Joshua 20-21

5.2.4 From Distribution to Covenant in Joshua 22-24

Demarcation of the ending of the book of Joshua is a major compositional puzzle. It can be argued that all of Joshua 22-24 forms a single unit through a series of convocations with *yīqrā*' (22:1a), *wayyīqrā*' (23:2a) or *wayyēšəp ... wayyīqrā*' (24:1a-b) (Koorevaar 1990:204). The text type of Joshua 22 also shifts from listing to story-telling. However, this criterion is less reliable, because most of Joshua 22-24 consists of speeches. Moreover, the unity of Joshua 13-22 is marked by the reoccurrence of the discourse marker of Joshua 13 in Joshua 23.

Within the story on the "altar" at Jordan in Joshua 22 there are also several points which indicate a conclusion for the distribution. The unit opens with an introductory *ʔāz yīqrā' yəhōšua'* 'at that time Joshua called' (1a). This is similar to *ʔāz yībneh yəhōšua'* (8:30a) in the closure of Joshua 5-8. Furthermore, the full form 'Joshua ben Nun' is not used here, but only at the more well-marked boundary of Joshua 23.

⁵² The peak features override a division into 21:1-3, 4-8, 9-19, 20-26, 27-33, 34-40, 41-42 (Koorevaar 1990:200). They also disprove that Joshua 20-21 should be viewed just as "two segments concerning people of marginal status in Israel (those

The first episode narrates **Joshua's dismissal and exhortation of the East Jordan tribes** (22:1-8). The speech acknowledges the full services they had promised and rendered throughout the years of conquest (2b-4b; cf. 1:12-18), but also looks ahead by stressing the demand for future loyalty (22:5; cf. 1:7 and Hawk 1991:119). Joshua then blesses them (6a, cf. 14:13a) and sends them home. Their dismissal (6b) is even elaborated in a comparison with Moses (7a-d).⁵³ A culminating address by Joshua admonishes them to share the spoils with their brethren (8b-d). The key word *ḥilqû* 'share' (8d) plays on 'divide' (13:7a).

The third mention of the departure of Ruben, Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh (9a) reintroduces them after a major boundary break.⁵⁴ The embedded discourse on the **erection of the monument at Jordan** (22:9-34) reports in its stage how they got to the Jordan (9a-10a). The beginning of the inciting incident in episode 1 in 10b is marked by a reintroduction of the eastern tribes (ResTop). In crisp and dramatic language it narrates the construction of a huge altar in the area.⁵⁵ Both 11a and 12a have explicit subjects and different localizations. All three units apparently function as sub-episodes in a dramatic unfolding of the consequences of the engineering (10b) which carried alarming rumors all over (11a-b) and resulted in mobilization in Shiloh (12a-b).

The climax in episode 2 opens with an extensive introduction of a delegation consisting of the deputy high priest Pinhas and 12 representatives (13a-14b). The sending of these men leads to a very long dialogue exchange with prosecution (16a-20d) and defense (22a-29b). The "rival altar" is explained as solely a monument of unity between the east and west. It is meant to prove their religious affiliation in case it should be questioned in the future. A final paragraph reports the approving verdict of the representatives (30a-31d). In the last episode (32a-33c) their defense is also approved by the Israelites.⁵⁶ Finally, an extremely short

unaffected by boundaries): manslaughterers and Levites" (Hawk 1991:101).

⁵³ Frequent mention of obedience confirms the unqualified loyalty of the tribes towards Yahweh and Moses. Their dismissal implies that the rest (21:44) was achieved (Hawk 1991:118-119), and no frame is therefore broken (contrast 1991:120).

⁵⁴ The majority reading has 21:1-34 as a unit, but 12.1% has 22:1-9 and only 9.7% has 22:1-8 like the Hebrew texts (Koorevaar 1990:203-204).

⁵⁵ The exact location may be deliberately obscured (Boling 1982:512).

⁵⁶ A double approval is expressed through repetition of *wayyîṭab bə'ênêhem* (30b) in *wayyîṭab haddābār bə'ênê bānê yiśrā'el* (33a). Their praise of God (*waybārākū*) also plays on Joshua's blessing of the tribes (6a and 7a).

closure notes that the eastern tribes named the altar 'It is a witness among us that Yahweh is the God' (34b).

The final confession is a befitting ending to the years of conquest and distribution. The story far from "fails to close" (Hawk 1991:119). Just as the opening key story in Joshua 2, it ends with a strong assertion of loyalty in a direct quote. Joshua 22 has an initial speech by Joshua in the stage and an embedded story on the aftermath of the eastern tribes' building operations. This pattern is found in all distribution episodes. Yet Joshua 22 is most closely related to the stage of the distribution with the initial speech by God (13:1-7a) followed by elaboration (13:7b-14:5). Ruben, Gad and the half tribe of Manasseh (cf. 13:7b-8a; 18:7; 20:8; 21:6-7, 38) are again in focus in the final conclusion.

Joshua 13:1-14:5 and 22 therefore mark the introduction and conclusion framing all the **distribution discourse** (Joshua 13-22).

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations	
13:1-14:5	SUPRA-STAGE 2	Deficiencies	Circumstance	┌
14:6-17:18	SUPRA-EP 2.1	Division	Sequence	└┐
18:1-19:51	SUPRA-EP 2.2	Description	Sequence	└┐┐
20:1-21:45	SUPRA-EP 2.3	Donation	Sequence	└┐┐┐
22:1-34	SUPRA-CLOS 2	Diversion	Summary	└┐┐┐┐

Table 5.11 Macrostructure of Joshua 13-22

Joshua 23 opens the final major discourse of the book. It is on a par with Joshua 13 because of another double statement on Joshua's old age in 1b and 2c.⁵⁷ It is even preceded by the discourse marker *wayhî* and a temporal phrase *mîyyāmîm rabbîm* 'after many days' before a temporal adverbial clause 'after that Yahweh had given Israel peace from all its surrounding enemies' (1a).

The main clause of the first segment is *wayyiqra' yəhōšua'* 'Joshua called' (2a). It resumes 'all Israel' as the summoned party. An apposition specifies its representatives as the elders, family heads, judges and officers. It is a quote formula for Joshua's long **monologue on future blessing or disaster** (2c-16e). He preaches that the prior great deeds of Yahweh promise great blessings for the future. He also warns them against equally certain disaster in the case of disloyalty.

⁵⁷ The double reference to the aged leader does not mean that Joshua 13-22 is set in parenthesis (Gunn 1987b:102-103), but rather that inheritance had to prepare for the new life in the land (Butler 1983:147).

The next unit is explicitly located at Shechem and deals with the covenant that was made there (24:1–28).⁵⁸ The opening has *wayyeʿšōp yāhōšuaʿ* ‘Joshua assembled’ plus ‘all the tribes of Israel’ (1a) in addition to the same group as in Joshua 23 as object of *wayyiqrāʾ* (Koopmans 1990:190 n. 79). It is now also stated that they ‘stood before God’ (1c) when Joshua addressed all the people (2a)—possibly in the presence of the ark. The immediately following segment consists of direct speech exchanges portraying Joshua versus the people in a lively **dialogue on loyalty** (2a–24c). A final segment then turns into a chunk of event reporting on **the covenant ratification** (25a–28a). The words are written in the lawbook of God (26a) and a stone erected as a witness to the covenant (26b). The significance of this witness is climatically singled out in a direct speech (27b–e). The discourse then ends on the note that Joshua discharged the people to their homes (28a; cf. 22:6b, 7c).

The ending of the book accumulates direct discourse on the importance of the covenant. Attaching two speeches at the end of the book may seem redundant indeed. A compositional clue is given by *wayyikrōt yāhōšuaʿ bārīt lāʿām bayyôm hahûʾ* ‘And Joshua made a covenant for the people on that day’ (25a). This construction type is found in the closures of 6:26a and 9:27a. It suggests that the final discourse has a speech as an extended stage (Joshua 23; cf. 13:1–7a; 14:7ff; 18:1–6; 20:1–6) followed by a single main episode on loyalty in preparation for the covenant (24:1–24; cf. the single main unit in 21:1–42). The covenant procedure proper (24:25–28) simply functions as a closure. Yet the saliency of this closure is indicated by its prominent events and its culmination in elaboration by direct speech (27b–e; cf. 4:19–24).

On this account, the third and final episode of the book betrays a remarkable structure. It turns out to be a central thematic and highly didactic **covenant discourse** (Joshua 23:1–24:28).

Extent	Constituents	Theme	RST-relations
23	SUPRA-STAGE 3	Cov. monologue	Circumstance 7
24:1–24	SUPRA-EP 3	Covenant-dialogue	Sequence 1
24:25–28	SUPRA-CL 3	Covenant-making	Vol. result 1

Table 5.12 Macrostructure of Joshua 23–24

⁵⁸ Joshua 23 is located in time and Joshua 24 in space (Haw 1991:132). In the discourse universe Joshua 23 is set at Shiloh (18:1a; 21:2a; 22:9a, 12b (32a)), and nothing supports a location at Timnat Sera or Shechem for Joshua 23 (contrast Koorevaar 1990:206 n.3). Joshua 24 is co-temporal, but shifts location.

5.2.5 Summary and Conclusions: The Structure of Joshua

A full book-length compositional analysis underlines the significance of the main boundary markers on the age of Joshua (13:1; 23:1). They divide the book into three episodes on conquest (1:9–12:24), distribution (13:1–22:34) and covenant (23:1–24:28), framed by stage and closure.

The constituent structure of the total work can explain the role of several minor parts. The two summaries of the conquest fit into the whole at different hierarchical levels. The first (11:16–23) serves as a closure of the completion episode (Ep.1.3), while the second (12:1–24) serves as a general closure of the conquest episode (Ep.1). The two summaries on fulfillment are also well integrated at their proper place in the macrostructure. The first summary (19:49b–51) is a closure of the description episode (Ep.2.2). It concludes that all the inheritance territory have been allotted to all the tribes. The second summary (21:43–45) is a summary of the donation episode (Ep.2.3) as well as a more general conclusion for all of the distribution discourse. When the tribes gave some of their prominent cities to the Levites, the conquest and distribution were finished.

The constituent structure underpins the coherence of all of Joshua. The closure of the conquest discourse in Joshua 12 has a mirror-image in the East Jordanian tribal allotment in the stage of the distribution (13:7b–14:5). Together they form a tail-head linkage between the two major episodes of Joshua. The latter unit previews the dismissal of the eastern tribes and the return to their lot in the closure of the distribution (22:1–34). The closure in Joshua 22 with convocation of tribes and a speech on obedience by Joshua is also strikingly similar to the stage of the covenant episode in Joshua 23. The distribution-address (22:1–8) and the covenant-address (23:1–15) thus form a second discourse-level tail-head linkage. Finally, the covenant episode of Joshua 23–24 can be viewed as a unity pervaded by didactic dialogue discourse. As a final episode on loyalty, it brings central themes of the completed conquest and distribution to a forceful conclusion.

The constituent structure can also provisionally be combined with rhetorical relations, although this inevitably anticipates a discussion of thematic macrostructure. The following complete diagram includes a proposal on its text-relational structure. The major peaks are probably the completed conquests (Joshua 9–11) and the Levite donations (Joshua 20–21), because the story unfolds up to both these major goals. The most nuclear segment would then be the list of donation of Hebron to the high priest.

1:1-9	DISC. STAGE: COMMAND	Circumstance	
1:10-12:24	DISC. EP 1: CONQUEST		
1:10-4:24	SUPRA-EP 1.1: Call-to-arms		
1:10-18	Ep1 Mobilisation	Sequence	┌┐
2	Ep2 Spying	Elaboration	┌┐
3-4	Ep3 Crossing	Sequence	┌┐
5:1-8:35	SUPRA-EP 1.2: Complications		
5:1	dM Canaanite terror		┌┐
5:2-12	Stage Divine provision	Circumstance	┌┐
5:13-6:26	Ep1 Capture Jericho	Sequence	┌┐
6:27-8:29	Ep2 Ai defeat/victory	Contrast	┌┐
8:30-35	Clos Covenant renewal	Non-vol. res	┌┐
9:1-11:23	SUPRA-EP 1.3: Completion		
9:1-2	DM Canaanite unity		┌┐
9:3-27	Stage Gibeonite ruse	Circumstance	┌┐
10:1-43	Ep2 Southern campaign	Sequence	┌┐
11:1-15	Ep3 Northern campaign	Sequence	┌┐
11:16-23	Clos Completed conquest	Solution	┌┐
12:1-24	SUPRA-CLOS 1: Conclusion		
Clos	Victory East-West	Volit. result	┌┐
13:1-21:45	DISC. EP 2: DISTRIBUTION		
13:1-14:5	SUPRA-STAGE 2: Deficiencies		
13:1-7a	Stage Divine orders	Circumstance	┌┐
13:7b-14:5	Stage Distribution East-West	Elaboration	┌┐
14:6-17:18	SUPRA-EP 2.1: Division		
14:6-15	Stage Caleb's request	Circumstance	┌┐
15:1-63	Ep1 Lot of Judah	Sequence	┌┐
16:1-10	Ep2 Lot of Ephraim	Sequence	┌┐
17:1-13	Ep3 Lot of Manasseh	Sequence	┌┐
17:14-18	Clos Joseph's request	Non-volit. res	┌┐
18:1-19:51	SUPRA-EP 2.2: Description		
18:1-10	Stage Description directives	Circumstance	┌┐
18:11-19:49a	Ep1-7 Lot of Seven Tribes	Sequence	┌┐
19:49b-51	Clos Summary description	Summary	┌┐
20:1-21:45	SUPRA-EP 2.3: Donation		
20:1-9	Stage Levite directives	Circumstance	┌┐
21:1-42	Ep1 Lot of Levites	Sequence	┌┐
21:43-45	Clos Summary distribution	Summary	┌┐
22:1-34	SUPRA-CLOS 2: Diversion		
22:1-8	Clos Distribution-address	Summary	┌┐
22:9-34	Clos Jordan Monument	Elaboration	┌┐
23:1-24:28	DISC. EP 3: COVENANT		
23	SUPRA-STA 3: Cov. address	Proposal	┌┐
24:1-24	SUPRA-EP 3: Cov. dialogue	Sequence	┌┐
24:25-28	SUPRA-CLOS 3: Cov. making	Vol. Result	┌┐
24:29-33	DISC. CLOS: COMMENT	Vol. Result	┌┐

Table 5.13 Discourse Constituents and rhetorical Structure of Joshua

5.3 The Grammar of interclausal Relations

The investigation of episode and discourse demarcations (the constituent structure) has shown the complex interaction between syntax and pragmatics. This syntactic shaping of semantic content for pragmatic reasons is at the core of a functional grammar of interclausal relations.

The following will integrate the computational description of Joshua (the WIT_{Syn} database) into our discourse grammar. Its first part deals with data on clause demarcation and the interclausal linkage system of the functional-structuralist grammar. The second part divides the looser interclausal connections into a sequential system of syntactic coherence and a referential system of pragmatic information management. The distinction between sequential and referential components of the grammar is drawn from the description of relations registered in the database. The presentation incorporates the computational codes (2.4.3), and discernible functions are treated for each coded connection type (5.3.3–4).

Accordingly, after a discussion of the problem of clause-demarcation in a syntactic database (5.3.1), the grammatical evidence is organized into three main grammatical categories. First, the layered clause theory is exemplified by data on tight interclausal linkages (5.3.2). Next, interclausal grammar is described as syntactic chaining marking sequential coherence (5.3.3). Finally, packaging variation in interclausal connections is related to referential coherence (5.3.4). This will allow us to draw conclusions on the function of all the major cross-clausal relationships in the grammar of Joshua (5.3.5).

5.3.1 Clause-division and Relations in a Database

So far the WIT_{Syn} data have been used in text displays and for discussion of peculiar grammatical features of specific texts. The major advantage of a computer-assisted description is, however, that it enables us to categorize all grammatical patterns in a total assemblage. Every linguistic construction in a natural corpus is accessible as grammatical information.

However, a description of interclausal relations soon runs into the problem of clause and sentence definition. Even if a viable definition of the clause is formed at the outset (2.3.1), the actual analysis is affected by the infinitely complex grammatical behavior. Despite an adequate and flexible linguistic framework like a functional discourse grammar, we are not capable of explaining all the astonishing variations in textual communication completely.

Andersen and Forbes (1992) have described this problem of clause demarcation in a linguistic database very well. They use a functional top-

down and sentence-oriented approach. The present approach represents a structural and progressive bottom-up registration by means of syntactic programs. Phrase combination and clause division prepares for a hierarchical description of the syntax of a text (the WIT_{Syn}). In the end the structural sets of phrase and clause patterns can be used for functional and discourse-based analyses of clause demarcation and linkage.

A fundamental rule in a bottom-up demarcation of clauses is that any construction with a predicate in its core forms a clause, or at least a fragment of one, as explained in (2.3.1).¹ But a few verb constituents do not function as predicates because they have changed part of speech function (notably participles and infinitive absolutes). Beyond that, deletion of clausal constituents often causes problems for clause-analysis. Omission of subject or object is a regular referential mechanism, but it is more troublesome in the case of **ellipsis** of verb (1a)² or verb and subject (1b and 1c) (cf. Andersen and Forbes 1992:188–191):³

- (1) ÷ V a. *wāyārēah bā'ēmeq 'ayyālōn* (10:12e)
and-moon in-Valley-of Ayyalon
÷ VS b. *lašihōn melek ḥešbōn ūl'ōg melek-habbāšān* (9:10b; cf. 2:10d)
to-Sihon king-of Heshbon and-to-Og king-of-Bashan
c. *wālībnē gēršōn mimmišpāḥōt halwiyyim ... 'et-ʿīr ...* (21:27a)
and-to-sons-of Gershon from-families-of the-Levites ... AM-city-of

Another problem is caused by **embedding** of clauses in constituent positions. Quite often restrictive relative clauses introduced by *ʔāšer* will result in the stranding of minimal units such as connectives, conjunctions or phrases. A verb can stand alone after a PCS object followed by a relative clause (2a).⁴ An argument can be stranded after an intervening clause (2b).⁵ The conjunction *kī* 'for' can be separated from its clause by an

¹ In contrast to Andersen and Forbes, the description in WIT_{Syn} does not in advance preclude a clausal status for subordinated, infinitival or participial "clause-like constructions" (1992:184).

² Note also *ūbāmīqneh rab-mə'ōd* followed by *bakesep ūbāzāhāb ūbīnhōšet ūbābarzel ūbīšlāmōt harbēh mə'ōd* (22:8c–d), *ūbāgē yiptaḥ-ʔēl šāpōnā bēt hā'ēmeq ūnā'ʔēl* (19:27c) and *lāmākīr bākōr mānaššeh 'ābī haggil'ād* (17:1c).

³ Cf. 21:5a, 6a, 7a. There is ellipsis of recipient in *ūmimmaṭṭēh binyāmin 'et-gib'ōn wə'et-migrāšehā 'et-geba' wə'et-migrāšehā* (21:17a, 23a, 25a, etc).

⁴ The clause has *yiqtol* (1:16c; 1:18a), *qatal* (3:16c; 6:8b; 8:11a) or participle (6:13a). PCS is followed by *ha*-participle (5:5b; 8:20d), indetermined participle (6:8b, 6:13a) or relative clause (7:14b–d; 8:11a).

⁵ Note with *'et* in *'al-pī yahwēh nātānū lō 'et-hā'īr [ʔāšer šā'al] 'et-timnat-seraḥ bəhar 'eprāyim* (19:50a). It is found after vocative in *ūgābūl nātan-yahwēh bēnēnū*

embedded PCS (2c and 2d):⁶

- (2)a. *kōl* [ʔāšer-šiwwītānū] *naʿāšeh* 'all [which ...] we will do' (1:16b)
 b. *wayyittānū bānē-yiśrāʾēl lalwiyyim* ... [kaʿāšer šiwwā yahwēh bəyad-mōšeh] *baggōrāl* 'The Israelites gave the Levites [...] by lot' (21:8a)
 c. *kī* [lahpōr ʾet-kol-hāʾāreš] *bāʾū* 'for [to-spy ...] they-came' (2:3d)
 d. *kī* [kaʿāšer hāyītī ʾim-mōšeh] ʾehyeh ʾimmāk 'for [as ...] I will be with you' (3:7c)

In many cases it can be difficult to decide whether post-clausal elements form **fragmented clauses or appositional phrases**. A recipient argument can be taken up in a clause-final expression (19:17a; 19:32a). It can be debated whether exceptions construed with *kī ʾim* (17:3b) are clauses or phrases.⁷ Following *kī-ʿānāqīm šām* 'that the Anakites were there' (14:12b), the *wəʿārīm gəḏōlōt bəšurōt* 'and cities great and fortified' can be analyzed both as a subject extension 'as well as ...' or as an elliptic clause '(and there were) great and fortified cities (there)'.⁸

- (3)a. [ləyiśšāškār yāšāʾ haggōrāl hārəbīʿi] *libnē yiśšāškār ləmišpəḥōtām* (19:17a)
 '[for Issachar went out the fourth lot], for Issachar according to their families'
 b. *wəlišlāphād* ... *lōʾ-hāyū lō bānīm kī ʾim-bānōt* (17:3b)
 and-for-Selophead ... not-(they-)were for-him sons for if-daughters

More complicated cases are posited by **embedding of complete sentences or even pragraphs** (Andersen and Forbes 1992:194). Considerable circumstantial material separates the two parts of a complex complement sentence in 10:1. A complete parenthetical sentence *kaʿāšer ʿāsā liriḥō ūlāmalkāh kēn-ʿāsā lāʿay ūlāmalkāh* 'like he did to Jericho and its king, so he did to Ai and its king' is embedded between two complements. Such phenomena at times override the traditional verse enumeration in the Massoretic Text. Notable cases of such **trans-verse constructions** are found in the following cases:⁹

ūbēnēkem bānē-rəʾūbēn ūbānē-gād ʾet-hayyardēn (22:25a) and the *lō*-phrase in 4:8d.

⁶ Cf. the *kī* fragment of 23:12a, the *wə*- fragment of 3:16c and the *wəgam* of 22:7c.

⁷ Cf. 14:4c. The *kaʿāḥat ʾarē hammamlākā* 'as one of the cities of the kingdom' (10:2b) is a comparative phrase after *kī ʾir gəḏōlā gibʿōn* 'for a big city was Gibeon'.

⁸ Similarly appositional ʾereš zābat ḥālāb ūḏəbāš 'a land flowing with milk and honey' (5:6d) after several embeddings and the 'etiological' formula (4:9b etc).

⁹ The *wəʾelleh ʾāšer-nāḥālū* (14:1) has locative and 2nd argument *bəgōrāl naḥālātām* in 14:2. The *wəʾet-har yiśrāʾēl ūšəpəlātōh* (11:16) continues into *min-hāhār heḥālāq* [hāʾōleh šēʾir] *wəʿad-baʿal-gād* ... (11:17). Cf. also *wəkol-haggəšūrī* (13:2) *min-haššihōr* [ʔāšer ʾal-pənē mišrayim] *wəʿad gəbūl ʿeqrōn šāpōnā* ... (13:3) and 13:7b-8a.

- (4)a. *wayhî tōšə'ōtāyw hayyāmmā* (17:9d) *negbā lə'eprayim wəšāpônā limnaššeh* (10)
 'its limits were at the sea south of Ephraim and north of Manasseh'
 b. *wayyišlah ʔel-yōbāb ...* (11:1b) *wə'el-hammālākīm ...* (2a) *hakkənaʿānî mim-mizrāh ...* (3a)
 'and-he-sent to Yobab ... and-to-the-kings ... the-Canaanites from-east'

In one case, a verbless clause (16:8c) transcends the verse. It has an additional RDP-subject with a *ha*-participle clause (16:9a) and an apposition:

- (5) *zōʾt nahālat matṭēh bənē-ʔeprayim ləmišpəḥōtām* (16:8c)
 'this is the inheritance of the tribe of Ephraim according to their families'
wəheʿārīm hammibdālōt libnē ʔeprayim bəṭōk nahālat bənē-mənaššeh (16:9a)
 'and the cities, which were set apart for the Ephraimites in the middle of the inheritance of the Manassites'
kol-heʿārīm wəḥašrēhen 'all the cities and their villages'

In Joshua such phenomena are the general rule for the list material and it results in quite extensive constructions. Both 12:1–6 and 13:1–7a have appositional enumerations extending over several verses. The longest extended "clause" is found from 12:7 and onwards.¹⁰ The main verb is modified by locative adjuncts (8a) and an appositional phrase specifying the nations *haḥittî hāʔēmōrî wəhakkənaʿānî happərizzî haḥiwwî wəḥaybūšî* in an A, B *wə*-C—C, B *wə*-C pattern (8b). It is followed in 9a–24b by a long appositional list of 31 kings in the structure *melek yārîḥō ʔehād* 'king-of Jericho one' (12:9a).¹¹

In other cases clause division is primarily **a matter of ambiguous linguistic explanations**. Ideally clause(-fragments) are demarcated independently of any particular theory, but sometimes we cannot avoid a peculiar interpretation (6a).¹² Or we are left with a curious linguistic rudiment in order to avoid a premature decision (6b):

- (6)a. [*bəyôm*] *šəʾtēnû* (9:12b–c): is *bəyôm* a genitive head noun 'on-day-of' followed by an infinitive clause 'go.out-our' or a conjunctive 'when'?
 b. [*kaṭṭōb wəkayyāšār bəʿenēkā*] *laʿāšōt lānû ʾāšeh* (9:25): does 'as-good and-as-right in-your-eyes' form one or two clauses, or just a complex PCS-object for infinitival 'to-do to-us' which in turn is PCS object for imperative 'do'?

¹⁰ It can even be argued that most of Joshua 15 comprises only a few clauses with an enormous amount of noun phrases in lists.

¹¹ Only *melek hāʿay ʾāšer-miššad bêt-ʔēl ʔehād* (12:9b) has a relative clause.

¹² Note similarly [*kaʾāšer bəyôm*] *šəlōah ʔōtî mōšeh* 'as on-day-of' + infinitive absolute 'send me Moses' (14:11b) and preposition + adverb [*mēʾāz*] *dibber yahwēh* 'from-then' + 'Yahweh spoke' (14:10d–e).

Sometimes a final decision may be almost impossible.¹³ However, such areas of fuzzy boundary marking are only problematic in so far as they make it difficult for us to perform a full and final computational description of the total grammatical system. There will always be loose ends in our classifications. With this *caveat* in mind, we can continue with a description of the data for an interclausal grammar of Joshua.

5.3.2 The Clause-linkage System

The structuralist-functional clause-linkage theory was presented in outline by examples from Joshua (2.3.1). The proposal can now be illustrated in more detail by all the data of Joshua emerging from the computer-assisted description and the comprehensive discourse-pragmatic analysis.

A major point in this grammar is that Hebrew *wayyiqtol* chaining forms a complex system of clausal coordination and cosubordination at the clausal, core and predicate levels. In Joshua, **predicate subordination** with aspectual verbs is relatively rare outside the few characteristic cases noted in example (4) in 2.3.1.¹⁴ The aspectual sense *finish* can be expressed by a *qatal*-serialization of *tammû nikrâtû* 'completely cut off' (3:16c). In all other cases it is construed with a complementizer + infinitive as in *tammû kol-haggôy la'âbôr 'et-hayyardên* 'and-(they-)completed all-the-people to-cross the-Jordan' (3:17c).¹⁵ The verb *šûb* 'do again' is used for aspect only a few times, and in other combinations functions as the lexical verb 'return' at core level.¹⁶

¹³ In 16:1 it is hard to decide where the *wayyiqtol* clause ends and the participle clause begins because of the accumulation of locatives like 'from Jordan', '(to?) Jericho' and appositional 'at (?) the waters of Jericho eastwards'. But apparently the second clause is *hammidbâr 'ôleh* 'the desert goes up'.

¹⁴ Note such peculiar constructions for *hurry* like *wəlô'-'âš lābô' kəyôm tāmîm* 'and it did not hasten to go down for a full day' (10:13f). In *na'âšeh-nnâ' lānû libnôt 'et-hammizbēah* 'let us do for us to build the altar' (22:26b), the *do* verb can not have a full semantic sense before the verb *build*, but is apparently used for 'let us start to...'.
¹⁵ Cf. 4:11a and with *lāhimmôl* (5:8a). It can occur in a temporal adverbial clause *'ad tōm kol-haddābār* (4:10b). Note also *kəcallôt ... ləhakkôtām* 'when they had finished ... to kill them' followed by *'ad-tummām* 'until-finish-their' (10:20a).

¹⁶ Besides 2:23a and 5:2c, note also *wəšāb wəhēra'* 'again be angry' (24:20c) and *'āz yāšûb hārôšēah ūbā'* (20:6d) for 'come back'. Contrast 'return to do X' in *wayyāšob yəhōšua' bā'et hahî' wayyilkōd 'et-hāšôr* 'and-(he-)returned Joshua at-the-time this and-he-took AM-Hazor' (11:10a-b; cf. 22:32a-b).

The most productive predicate subordination in Hebrew is found with *qûm* 'stand up'. The *qûm qaddēš 'et-hā'ām* 'stand.up_{IMP} purify_{IMP} AM-the-people' (7:13a) has the sense 'start to' in contrast to the sense 'arise' (7:10b). One case clearly shows that the arguments are shared by the whole complex predicate, because the object is followed both by a subject in right-detached position and by a peripheral direction argument:

- (7) *qûm 'ābōr 'et-hayyardēn hazzeh 'attā wəkol-hā'ām hazzeh 'el-hā'āreš* (1:2b)
stand.up cross.over AM-this Jordan you and-all-this people to-the-land

This connection is also used with a direction argument in *wəqûm 'ālēh hā'āy* (8:1e, cf. *la'ālōt* (8:3a)) in the sense of 'get off up to Ai'. In several cases it is used with a form of *hālak* 'walk' (*wayyēlēkû* (18:8a) and *wəyithallākû* (18:4c)).¹⁷

The **predicate coordination** is posited for infinitive absolute constructions in example (5a) in (2.3.1).¹⁸ The lexical combinations comprise the two participles *sōgeret ûmāsuggeret* 'closed and shut down' (6:1a). In *raq šimrû mə'ōd la'āšōt 'et-hammišwā* 'Only watch much to-do AM-the-law' (22:5a; cf. 1:8c), the matrix verb *šamar* 'watch' carries the adverbial sense 'carefully'. There is probably also a lexical predicate coordination in a unique complex *qatal* combination:

- (8) *wihōšua' zāqēn bā' bayyāmim* (13:1a, 1c; 23:1b, 2c)
and-Joshua was.old had.come in-the-years

Joshua also contains a few notable verbal complements at predicate level. The complement 'warm' is even fronted in a precore slot in *hām hištayyadnû 'ōtō mibbāttēnû bəyôm šē'tēnû* 'warm we-took.us.as.provi-sions it from-our-houses on-the-day-of depart-our' (9:12a-b).¹⁹ Other examples are 'X was caught alive' or 'found hidden':

¹⁷ Cf. with *wayyillāhem* (24:9a), and *tāqûmû mēhā'ōrēb wəhōraštem 'et-hā'ir* 'arise from the ambush and take possession of the city' (8:7a).

¹⁸ But cases like *haḥārēm* (11:11b) and *wəhaḥāyēh 'ōtām* (9:20b) have clausal status.

¹⁹ This solution differs from the demarcation in WIT_{Syn}. Note now *accusative of state* (WO § 10.2.2d (171)) and the translation "while it was still hot" (p. 172). Note also *wə'ēlleh nō'dōt hayyayin 'āšer millē'nû ḥādāšim* 'and these are the wine-skins which we filled as new' (9:13a). Perhaps *yābēš wəhāyā niqqudim* '[the bread] is.dry and-has.become crumbles' (9:12d-e) is similar.

- (9)a. *wə'et-melek hā'ay tāpāšū hāy* 'and-AM-king-of Ai they-caught alive' (8:23a)
 b. *nimṣə'u hāmēšet hammələkīm neḥbə'im bammə'ārā bamaqqədā* (10:17b)
 '(they-)were.found five-of the-kings hidden in-the-cave in-Makkedah'

Hebrew **core subordination** has only very few modal verbs like example (7) in 2.3.1. A core is embedded as infinitival subject complement:²⁰

- (10)a. *wə'im ra' bə'enēkem la'əbōd 'et-yahwēh* (24:15a)
 and-if evil in-your-eyes to-serve AM-Yahweh
 b. *wə'lō' hāyā kayyōm hahū' ləpānāyw wə'aḥārāyw lišmōa' yahwēh baqōl 'iš*
 and-not (it-)was like-the-day this before or-after to-listen Yahweh to-voice-of
 man (10:14a)

Embedding of object complements is more productive and can become very complex (Andersen and Forbes 1992:186–187). There are many examples with matrix verbs for perception (11a and 11b) or cognition (11c):

- (11)a. *wattir'enā 'enēkem 'ēt 'āšer-ʿāšīfī bəmišrāyim* (24:7e)
 and-(they-)saw your-eyes AM what-I-did in-Egypt
 b. *šāma'nū 'ēt 'āšer-hôbîš yahwēh 'et-mē yam-sûp* (2:10a; cf. 9:3a, 16b; 10:1a)
 we-heard AM what (=how)–(he-)dried.out Yahweh AM–waters-of Yam-Suf
mippənēkem bašē'tkem mimmišrāyim wa'āšer 'āšitem ...
 from-your-face in-go.out-your from-Egypt and-what (=how) you-did ...
 c. *wəhū' lō' yāda' kī-ʾôrēb lō mē'aḥārē hā'ir* (8:14d; cf. 22:31b)
 and-he not (he-)knew that–ambush for-him from-behind-of the-city

The cognition verbs can embed several coordinated clauses with *wəki* 'and that' (12a) or just *wə-* 'and' (12b). In one complex case a mini-narrative follows after a *wəki*-complement (12c; cf. with *rāʾā* in 8:21a). The subject can be raised as object (12d) and a comparative sentence can be embedded as a complement (12e):

- (12)a. *yāda'fī kī-nātan yahwēh lakem 'et-hā'areš wəki-nāpālā ... wəki nāmōgū*
 I-know that–(he-)gave Yahweh to-you AM-the-land ... and-that-it-fell ... and-
 that (they-)trembled (2:9b-d)

²⁰ Note further *mē'et yahwēh hāyətā ləhazzēq 'et-libbām* 'from-AM Yahweh it-was to-harden AM-their-hearts' (11:20a), *ḥālilāh lānū mimmennū limrōd bəyahwēh* 'far for-us from-us to-revolt against-Yahweh' (22:29a; cf. 24:16b), and *wayyikrōt lāhem bərūt ləḥayyōtām* 'he made them a covenant that they should stay alive' (9:15b).

- b. *bəzō't tēdā'ūn kī 'ēl ḥay bəqirbəkem wəhōrēš yōrīš* ... (3:10b-c)
by-this you-shall.know that God living in-your-midst and-remove he-will.remove
- c. *wākī hišlīmū yōšəbē gib'ōn 'et-yiśrā'ēl wayyihyū bəqirbām* (10:1e-f)
and-that (they-)made.peace inhabitants-of Gibeon with-Israel and-they-were in-their-midst
- d. *ləma'an da'at kol-'ammē hā'āreš 'et-yad yahwēh kī ḥāzāqā hī'* (4:24a)
in.order.that know all-peoples-of the-land AM-hand-of Yahweh that strong it
- e. *'āšer yēdā'ūn kī ka'āšer ḥāyītī 'im-mōšeh 'ehyeh 'immāk* (3:7c; cf. 23:13a)
so.that you-can.know that as I-was with-Moses I-will.be with-you

The complementizer function of *'āšer* and *kī* is also found in the interrogative pronoun (13a-b):

- (13)a. *wəhagged-nā' lī meh 'āsītā* and-tell-please to-me what you-did (7:19d)
b. *lō' yāda'rī 'ānā hālākū hā'ānāšim* not I-know where (they-)went the-men' (2:5c)

The most productive and significant serialization in Hebrew chaining is found in **core cosubordination**. In chaining languages it can be very difficult to decide between cases of shared arguments at core level and more independent clause structures. Cases like *ānāšim bā'ū ... laḥpōr 'et-hā'āreš* 'men (they-)came to-spy AM-the-land' (2:2b) are interpreted as core cosubordination. The *laḥpōr* can be fronted as a PCS (3d). Any systematization will necessarily be experimental, but the following list comprises some of the most likely candidates for **goal CoCs**:

- (14)a. *tis'ū mimməqōmkem wəhālaktem 'aḥārāyw* 'set out and walk' (3:3c; cf. 9:17a)
b. *wayyis'ū ... wayyēlakū lipnē* 'lifted and walked in front' (3:6c; cf. 6b, 14a)
c. *wayyēlakū wayyābō'ū* 'walked and came' (2:1c; cf. 22a)²¹
d. *gōšū hēnnā wəšim'ū* 'come near and listen' (3:9b)
e. *qirbū šimū* 'come close and place' (10:24d)
f. *lābō' lārešet* 'to come to posses' (1:11e)²²
g. *wayya'abrū wayyābō'ū* 'crossed over and came to' (2:23b)²³

²¹ Also with 'see': *lakū rə'ū* (2:1b), 'walk around': *lakū wəhithallākū* (18:8c), 'cross': *wayyēlakū ... wayya'abrū* (18:9a), 'take provisions': *wayyēlakū wayyištayyārū* (9:4a), 'serve': *wəhālaktem wə'abadtem* (23:16b), 'turn around': *pənū ūlakū* (22:4c).

²² Also with 'encamp' *wayyābō'ū ... wayyahānū* (11:5b), 'cut out': *wayyābō' ... wayyakrēt* (11:21a).

²³ Also with 'encircle': *'ibrū wəšōbbū* (6:7b), 'blow': *'ābərū wətaqə'ū* (6:8b, 13a). Other cores are more independent: *wayya'abrū haššōṭarim bəqereb hammahāneh wayšawwū 'et-hā'am* (3:2b-3a; cf. 1:11a) and *wayyillāhem 'im-libnā* (10:29b).

- h. wayya'ālū hā'anāšim wayraggālū 'the men went up and scouted' (7:2d; cf. 2c)²⁴
 i. wayyišlah wayyiqrā 'send and call for' (24:9b; cf. 2:21c, 22:6b)

The *manner CoCs* of example (8) in (2.3.1) is less frequent in Joshua, and in most cases forms clausal linkage. There are such cases as wayyiq-qah 'eben gādōlā wayqimehā šām taḥat hā'allā 'he took a big stone and set it up there under the oak' (24:26b).²⁵ Another case is wə'ēt kol-mišpəḥōtēhā hōš?ū wayyanniḥūm miḥūš ləmahānēh yiśrā'el 'and all her family they brought out and placed them outside to the camp of Israel' (6:23c). A *lexical CoCs* is perhaps found in wayyippōl yəhōšua' 'el-pānāyw 'aršā wayyištāhū 'Joshua fell on his face to the ground and prayed' (5:14e). *Speech verb CoCs* like wayya'an 'ākān 'et-yəhōšua' wayyō'mar 'Achan answered Joshua and said' (7:20a) are more frequent.

The clause linkage theory can help in classifying various uses of **preposition lə- plus infinitive** [c64]. Its syntactic function in aspectual and modal (co)subordinations has been shown above. The 43 occurrences of lə'mōr 'saying' mostly mark embedded speech within direct discourse (D) or an episode-initial quote (N) (cf. 4.2.2). But lə- + infinitive is also used both as a complementizer in core coordinations and as a conjunction in infinitive adverbial clauses. Even if the details of this system are not very clear, and "the line of demarcation ... is somewhat blurred" (WO § 36.2.3d (607)), some prototypical clusters do emerge.²⁶

The **core coordination** is attested in infinitive plus accusative with shared argument in object raising (15a).²⁷ Even an indirect speech complement can be expressed by lə- + infinitive (15b):

- (15)a. haddābār 'āšer-šiwwā yahwēh 'et-yəhōšua' ləḏabbēr 'el-hā'am (4:10b)
 the-word which-(he)-ordered Yahweh AM-Joshua to-tell to-the-people
 b. wayyizzā'āqū ... lirdōp 'ahārēhem they-shouted ... to-pursue after-them' (8:16a)

²⁴ Also with 'strike': ya'ālū wəyakkū (7:3d), 'make war': wayya'ālū bənē-dān wayyillāḥāmū (19:47a), 'slaughter': la'ālōt ... ləšahēt (22:33c), 'help': 'ālū-'ēlay wə'izruni (10:4a, 33a), 'save': 'ālēh 'ēlēnū məhērā wəhōšif'āh lānū (10:6c).

²⁵ But qəhū ... wəšawwū 'ōtām 'take (12 men) and order them' (4:2a-3a) and wə'eqqah ... wā'ōlēk 'ōtō 'I took (Abraham from) and I led him' (24:3a-b) are clause-links.

²⁶ Cf. on the nominal role in 24:15 and 11:20 (WO § 36.2.3b (605)), verbal complement (§ 36.2.3b (606)), purpose, result and temporal clauses (§ 36.2.3d (606)) and gerundive "in [do]ing something" (§ 36.2.3e (608)).

²⁷ Similarly hammal'ākīm 'āšer-šālah yəhōšua' ləraggēl 'et-yəriḥō (6:25c), 'ēt 'āšer šiwwā ... 'et-mōšeh 'abdō lātēt lākem 'et-kol-hā'āreš ūlahašmīd ... (9:24b) and wayšaw yəhōšua' 'et-hahōlākīm liktōb 'et-hā'āreš (18:8b).

In other cases like *laha'ābīdēnū*, the *lā-* + infinitive functions as an adverbial purpose clause:²⁸

- (16) *hē'ābartā ... 'et-hā'am ... lātēt 'ōtānū bayad hā'emōrī laha'ābīdēnū* (7:7b-c)
 you-brought.over ... AM-the-people...to-give us in-hand-of A. to-destroy-us'

An infinitival purpose clause is found after the conjunction *lāma'an* 'in order that' + *da'at* 'to know' (4:24a; [c65]).²⁹ The negated purpose clause is *lābilti har'ōtām 'et-hā'āreš* 'in order not to show them the land' (5:6e; cf. 23:6c, 7a).³⁰

An adverbial function is also expressed by other prepositions like *bā-* 'when' [c55] in (17a),³¹ *kā-* 'just as' [c62] in (17b)³² and *'ad* 'until' [c62] in (17c)³³ plus infinitive in temporal clauses:

- (17)a. *bāšē'tām mimmišrayim* in-go.out-their from-Egypt (5:4c; cf. 2:14d)
 b. *ūkabō' haššemeš šiwwā yāhōšua'* and-as-set the-sun (he)-ordered Joshua (8:29b)
 c. *'ad-hašmīdō 'ōtkem* until-destroy-his you (23:15c)

Moreover, both *kī* and *'āšer* are not only used as complementizers, but also as temporal (18a) and causal (18b) conjunctions. The *kī*-clauses can be followed by cleft-focus (18c) just as the parallel *wā*-clause in 23:5a. The clause can be preposed for topicalization (18d):

- (18)a. *wākī yirdōp gō'el ...* 'and when the avenger pursues ...' (20:5a)
 b. *kī yahwēh nilhām lāyisrā'el* 'for Yahweh fought for Israel' (10:14b; cf. 10:42b)
 c. *kī yahwēh 'ēlōhēkem hū' hannilhām lākem* (23:10b; cf. 2:11d; 23:3b; 24:17a)
 'for it is Yahweh your God who has fought for you'
 d. *kī-'āšitī ... wā'āšitem gam-'attem* 'because I did ... you shall also do' (2:12b-c)

²⁸ Similar purposive candidates are found in *we'ēmaš ... lišmōr la'āšōt_{PrCo}* 'and be strong to guard to do' (1:7b) and its variant *lišmōr wala'āšōt* (23:6b). This is proved by *lāma'an tišmōr la'āšōt kakol-hakkātūb bō* (1:8a). Other combinations are *'ōbārīm ... lābō' lārešet_{CoCs}* 'cross ... to come to take' (1:11d-e), or *lānūs šammā rōšēah* 'for the slayer to fly there' (20:3a).

²⁹ Elsewhere there is only a pair of *lāma'an* clauses in 11:20b, d.

³⁰ In 22:25c *lābilti* is apparently used as complementizer for a negated lexical CoCo.

³¹ But *bibnōtākem lākem mizbēah* 'by-build-your for-you altar' (22:16b) can be analyzed as a core coordination for manner—an NP rather than an adverbial clause.

³² Without *wāhāyā/wayhī* in *ūkabō'* 'and-as-come' (3:15a) and *kinōt yādō* 'as-stretch.out his-hand' (8:19c).

³³ Cf. also 4:10b; 5:6b; 23:13c. There is an interesting case of double temporal specification in *'ad-'omdō lipnē hā'edā lammišpāt 'ad-mōt hakkōhēn haggādōl* 'until-stand-his for-face-of the-congregation for-the-trial until-die the-priest the-high'

The different senses can even be intertwined in the same context.³⁴ In Joshua's final speech to the Joseph tribes, he denies them an additional lot *kî har yihyeh-lāk* 'because you have the mountain' (17:18a), *kî-ya'ar hû* 'even if that is woodland' (18b). He admonishes them to clear it (*ûbêrê'tô*) (18c) so that they can possess it all. He concludes with three *kî*-clauses (18e-f): *kî-tôriš 'et-hakkəna'ānî kî rekeb barzel lô kî ḥāzāq hû* presumably meaning 'for you shall (surely) possess it' as an enablement satellite and 'even if they have iron chariots' and 'even if they are strong' as concession satellites.

The particle *'ăšer* shows a similar wide range of disparate functions. It is used as a temporal conjunction in *'ăšer yiš'ālûn* 'when they ask' (4:21b) similar to the parallel *kî-yiš'ālûn* clause in 4:6b. In one case *'ăšer* means 'whoever' (15:16b). In the majority of cases, it functions as a relative pronoun introducing an embedded nominal modifier. In other cases, relative *'ăšer* clauses form clause-level units that are syndetically or asyndetically coordinated in various ways (cf. Andersen and Forbes 1992:186). Such involved patterns are usually non-restrictive relative clauses. The patterns are NP—Rel.cl + NP—Rel.cl (19a), NP—Rel.cl + *wə*—Rel.cl (19b), NP—Rel.cl + *wə*-cl (19c), and NP—Rel.cl + Rel.cl (19d; cleft-focus):

- (19)a. *wə'ettēn lākem 'ereš 'ăšer lō'-yāga'tā bāh wə'ārīm 'ăšer lō'-bənitem* (24:13)
 'I gave you a land on which you did not toil and cities you did not build'
 b. ... *wə'ăšer yādā'û 'et kol-ma'ăšēh yəhwēh 'ăšer 'āsā ləyisrā'el* (24:31)
 ... 'and who knew all the deeds of Yahweh which he did to Israel'
 c. *kol-ʾiš 'ăšer-yamreh 'et-pikā wəlō'-yišma' ... yūmāt* (1:18)
 'every man who revolts against your mouth and do not listen ... shall die'
 d. *wə'ēleh 'ăšer-nāḥālū bənē-yisrā'el bə'reš kənā'an 'ăšer niḥālū 'ōtām* ... (14:1)
 'and these are which Israel inherited in Canaan which let inherit them ...'

In conclusion, the preceding has shown how the theory of the layered clause can explain many details of Hebrew clause linkage. When we look at all the data in Joshua, it emerges that core cosubordination and coor-

(20:6b-c).

³⁴ Note also 23:10 and 14:1-5. Andersen and Forbes (1992:184) compares the adversative function of *kî* with non-embedded constructions with *lāken* and *'al*. Multiple-occurrences of *kî*-clauses seem to support this.

dination are fairly productive in Hebrew. The adverbial clausal subordinations seem to transcend the confines of intraclausal syntactic linkage.

5.3.3 Sequential Coherence

Beyond the intraclausal linking of clause fragments into complex cores, there is a vast area of interclausal linking of finite clauses. The higher layers form looser syntactic or pragmatic connections. In a chaining language like Hebrew, the grammar dissolves into syntactic continuity for clause sequencing vs. discontinuity for referential and other discourse-pragmatic reasons.

The information in the database (WIT_{Syn}) can help us to understand the mechanism of interclausal relations. It is almost impossible to deduce an experimental hypothesis on the interclausal functions of the verb, unless the hierarchical position of all relations have been coded. Table 5.14 summarizes codes that function in sequential syntax beyond the bulk of parallel clauses ([c200–204*]).

Forms	Codes
<i>wayyiqtol</i> -chains:	c370, c371, 372, c117, c317
<i>wəqatal</i> -chains:	c323, c321, c322, c320, c324, c327
<i>wayiqtol</i> -chains:	c483, c481, c328

Table 5.14 Codes for Sequential Clause Relations

All the textual analyses and especially the detailed account of Joshua 2 (cf. 3.3) have shown the crucial role of chaining in the sequential development of Hebrew narrative. Most of the data in the WIT_{Syn} consist of identical or only slightly changed **chains of perfective *wayyiqtol*-clauses** in narrative [the bulk of c200–204]. Except for the more tightly knit predicate or core links, the chains of *wayyiqtol* clauses are mostly clausal cosubordinations for continuous active reference.³⁵ Individual sentences are marked off by explicit subject reference in clause coordination. They disambiguate reference or mark a unit boundary. A chain can open a discourse (2:1a) as well as episodes and paragraphs (2:2a, 3a, 4a, 15a, 22a, 23a). The book of Joshua even opens with the *wayyiqtol* form of *hāyā* (1:1) as discourse marker.³⁶

The prototypical *wayyiqtol* clause narrates sequential events. However,

³⁵ Cf. 2:4a–b, 21a, c–d, 22a–b, d, 23a–c.

³⁶ It begs the question to term this “secondary beginnings” (WO § 33.2.4b (554)).

it is well-known that such narrative foreground constructions in many languages attain more specialized functions (cf. Thompson 1987:442–443). Thus the *wayyiqtol* can be used in a recapitulative function for **summary of the preceding events**.³⁷ The summary function is found at the end of a stage as in *wayyiškabû-šāmmâ* ‘they lodged there’ (2:1e). It is also often found in a final elaboration of a closure when direct speech is introduced by *wayyômarû ’el-yahôšua’* ‘they said to Joshua’ (2:24a).

In other cases a *wayyiqtol* form provides an **advance summary** anticipating several following clauses, or even a whole discourse. It can be marked off by *wayyiqtol* + adverb as in *wayyišlāhēm lāylâ* ‘and he sent them off that night’ (8:3c; cf. 2:1a).³⁸ A thematic aspect of the following story is previewed in *wayya’āsû gam-hēmmâ b’ormâ* ‘and they also acted treacherously’ (9:4a; cf. 6:27–7:1). The unit initial anticipatory function is also found in a preview between two long dialogues in 2:15a.

A special **past perfect** sense can be found at the opening of or early in an episode when the new unit elaborates on an event narrated in the immediately preceding context (10:8a).³⁹ The same sense is achieved when a continuation *wayyiqtol* occurs in a backgrounded embedded paragraph like *wattiṣmanēm* ‘and she had hid them’ (2:6b).⁴⁰ It can also occur if a complete episode has expository function (4:11–12 and 21:43–45).

The database offers further details on Hebrew narrative chaining. The *wayyiqtol* chain is **preceded by** a cleft-focus construction in the *NC-wayyiqtol* [c370] sequence (12:7b; 14:6a; 19:51b). In a list it can express the function of continuative *wayyiqtol* (19:9c). This also occurs after an LDP-presentative construction like *kî yahwēh ’ēlōhênû hû’ hamma’āleh ’ōtânû ... wa’āšer ’āsâ l’ēnênû ... wayyišmarēnû* ‘for Yahweh our God, he is the one who brought us up ... and who did before our eyes ... and kept us’ (24:17). The *yiqtol-wayyiqtol* [c371] sequence occurs after *’āz + yiqtol* (22:6a). The *qatal-wayyiqtol* [c372] sequence is frequent in unit-initial openings.⁴¹

³⁷ Cf. 5:9 (WO § 33.2.1d (550–551)) and 10:40–42 (JM § 118i (392)). Note also 11:23, 14:5, 15; 18:8–10; 20:7–9. This “closural” *wayyiqtol* (Niccacci 1990:§ 38 (62)) has a foreground function (1990:§ 29 n. 33 (201–202)).

³⁸ There are several cases of an episode-initial divine speech formula *wayyômer yahwēh* (1:1b; 3:7a; 4:15a; 8:1a; 20:1a).

³⁹ Buth (1994:149) rejects pluperfect. Instead he finds “unmarked overlay” in cases of lexical repetition or anterior schemas (1994:142–144).

⁴⁰ A “Sprosserzählung” (Schneider 1982:§ 48.4.5.1–3(199–200)), “rudimentary narrative” (Talstra 1978:172) or “short independent narrative” (Niccacci 1990:§ 27(48)).

⁴¹ Cf. 2:6b; 4:9b, 14b, 19b; 5:3a; 8:19b, 22b, 23b, 29c; 9:11a; 10:37e; 12:6b; 13:1b; 14:5c; 16:10b; 19:18a, 24a, 33a, 41a, 47a, 49a, 50b; 22:2c; 24:32b, 33b.

An **interruption** of the *wayyiqtol* chain occurs when the clause sequence *wayyiqtol—yiqtol* [c117] is past tense after a particle (8:30a; 10:12a). The *wayyiqtol—wə ... yiqtol* [c317] is only found in a list after *wayhî* where *ûbəʔāšēr yipgəʔûn* 'and on Asher it touched' (17:10c), with past tense, has a NewFoc for further detail.

Hebrew duplicates *wayyiqtol*-chaining in direct discourse. The primary mirror-image of narrative chaining is found in the **imperfective** *wəqatal-chaining* in direct discourse. This accounts for another large part of identical or only slightly changed clause sequences [again the bulk of c200–204]. The basic system is set out in example (21) in 2.3.3.⁴²

A chain with a Command (SS) is often found in the *imp—wəqatal* [c323] sequence. A speech may open with the promise *rəʔēh nātattî* 'look! I will give' with perfective of resolve (6:2b). The following *wəqatal* form *wəsabbōtem* 'and you shall encircle' (6:3a; cf. also 8:2a) marks a **command** as the main goal of the exhortation. It agrees with the main subject addressed. Similarly, the form *waḥāzaqtem məʔōd lišmōr* 'and you must be very strong to keep' (23:6a) marks the most prominent *wəqatal* Command (SS) after *rəʔû hippalî* 'look, I have thrown (lot)' (23:4a). Another similar chain is *wəhaʔābartem* 'and you shall bring' and *wəhinnaḥtem* 'and you shall place' (4:3c–d; cf. 2:12d–13b; 7:13b–14b; 9:11d; 15:19d). The **future** discourse marker *wəhāyâ* 'and it will happen' can introduce a prominent predictive segment of direct speech (3:13a; 7:14b; 8:5b). A subject switch *wəhāyâtâ hāʔîr ḥērem ... ləyahwēh* 'and so the city will be ban for Yahweh' (6:17a–b) states a **consequence** (a Result (DS)); cf. 20:3b).

The pattern is also frequently found in the *yiqtol—wəqatal* [c321] sequence. An opening statement can mention present time background information like *ʔam-rab ʔattâ* 'you are a big people' (17:17b) and a negated future (17d). It is continued by the main addressed subject in *ûbēreʔtô* 'and you shall develop it' (18c; Command (SS)), but then reverts to different subject *wəhāyâ ləkā tōšəʔōtāyw* 'so that its extreme limits may belong to you' (17:18d; Result (DS)). The same subject chains of Command (SS) can follow an injunctive. After pronominal focus, *wahābēʔtem* 'and you shall bring (it)' (18:6b) specifies a further Command (SS) to be performed, but *wəyārītî* 'so that I can throw (lots)' (18:6c) is Result (DS).⁴³ Following injunctive with ParFoc, *waʔāzartem* 'and you shall

⁴² Note the term *Appelsatzreihe* (Floss 1982:155). These *wəqatal* forms are not indefinite futures (Floss 1986:47, 126) or imperfective forms (1986:41).

⁴³ In a similar case, *wəhōraštem* 'take into possession' (8:7a) after *wəʔattem tāqūmû mēhāʔrēb* qualifies for predicate subordination, but Command (SS) would also apply.

help' (1:14c) states a specific directive.

A Future (SS) sequence is found in *wəhōrîš* 'and he will dispossess' (23:5b; cf. 22:25c) which explicates a preceding LDP + PCS + *yiqtol*. It is followed by *wîrištem* (23:5c) for Result (DS). A future *that*-clause can be followed by *wəhāyû* 'so that they will be' (23:13b) for Result (DS). The Prohibitive—*wəqatal* construction is a Command (SS) in *wahārîʿōtem* 'and then you shall shout' (6:10g) and *wəhāgîṭā* 'and you shall ponder' (1:8b).

Adverbial clauses have their own ways. A Result (DS) like *wəyārəšû gam-hēmmā* 'so that also they may possess' (1:15b) can continue an 'ad 'until' + *yiqtol*-clause with future perfect. After a negative purpose clause with *pen* 'in order not' + *yiqtol* a chain can explain the preceding as in *ûləqaḥtem* 'and you take' (6:18c; an Explicative (SS)). A preposed conditional *wəʾim* 'and if' + *yiqtol*-clause is followed by Apodosis (DS) in *wəhāyînu* 'then we will be' (2:20b). The temporal *kî* 'when' may also be followed by Apodosis (DS) in an example like *waʾāmartem* 'then you shall say' (4:7a).⁴⁴ In 24:20b–d an Explicative (SS) *waʿābadtem* 'and you serve' intervenes before Apodosis (DS) *wəšāb wəhēraʿ* 'then he will again get angry' which has predicate subordination. It is also followed by Explicative (SS) *wəkillā* 'and finish (you)'.

The same pattern emerges from the *qatal*—*wəqatal* [c322] sequence. There is an Apodosis (DS) *wəʿāšînu* (2:14e) after a conditional clause (cf. 22:28c) and an occasional Command (SS) in 24:27d. It also occurs in the NC—*wəqatal* [c320] sequence. After a future statement like *ʾûlay yahwēh ʾôrî* 'maybe Yahweh [will be] with me' (14:12c), the following *wəhōrašîm* 'so that I can dispossess them' (12d) shifts subject as a Result (DS). A *wəhāyâ* 'and it will be' (2:14d) is used for Future (DS) after a verbless oath clause, a rhetorical question (22:18b) or an exhortation (23:15a). The *ptc*—*wəqatal* [c326] sequence can be used for Explicative (SS) (1:13b), but also for the Command (SS) *wîdaʿtem* 'and you shall know' (23:14). The *inf*—*wəqatal* sequence [c324] occurs after *bəʿobrəkem* 'in-transgress-your' (23:16a) with a conditional sense. The *wəqatal*-chain first has Explicative (SS) *wahālaktem waʿābadtem* 'and you go and serve' (16b) and *wahîštaḥwîtem* 'and you pray' (16c). The main clause is Apodosis (DS) *wəhārâ* 'then (the wrath) will kindle' (16d) followed by Result (DS) *waʾābadtem* 'so that you will cease' (16e).

The *ûnatānāh yahwēh* 'so that Yahweh can give it' (8:7b) is Result (DS). A similar case is *ûbāʾ* 'and he shall come' (20:6d) after future *ʾāz* 'then' + injunctive *yāšûb*.

⁴⁴ Cf. similarly 4:22a and note 20:5b.

These new referential rules can sometimes solve some otherwise obscure chains. In Joshua 20 an imperatival command to choose refuge-cities (20:2b) is followed by a purpose clause introducing a man-slayer as main subject before seven *wəqatal*-clauses (3b–4f). The first *wəhāyû* ‘so that they can become’ (Result (DS)) shifts the subject to specify the goal. Then *wənās* ‘and he shall flee’ reverts to the main subject in a Command (SS). It is continued by further commands in *wəʿamad* ‘and he shall stand’ (SS) and *wədibber* ‘and he shall say’ (SS). The *wəʿasapû* ‘so that they can gather (him) in’ specify Result (DS). It is followed by a *wənātənû* ‘and give (him)’ Explicative (SS). The final *wəyāšab* ‘immām ‘and he shall remain among them’ reverts to the main subject for Command (SS).

A third sub-system of sequential syntax operates in *wəqatal* chaining in **boundary and city lists**. This text type has long lists with enumeration of city names like *ûlabbāʾôt wəšilḥîm wəʿayin wərimmôn* (15:32a). The monotonous listing of names is sometimes broken up before and after a parenthetical comment (20a). Or they are varied into more complex phrases (20b).⁴⁵ They mostly conclude with nominal expressions reduced to simple noun phrases (20c):⁴⁶

(20)a. *qiryat-baʿal hî* ‘qiryat yəʿarîm wəhārabā (15:60a–c)

‘Kiriath-baal, that is Kiriath-jearim, and Rabbah’

b. *ʾašdôd bənôtêhā wəḥāšerêhā* ‘Ashdod, its suburbs and its villages’ (15:47a)

c. *kol-ʿarîm ʿešrîm wātêša* ‘wəḥāšrêhen ‘all cities 29 and their villages’ (15:32b)

Some lists are organized around title-like NPs like *wəʿarê mibšār* ‘and the fortified cities’ (19:35a). The structure of Joshua 15 is then governed by constructions like *baššapêlâ ʾeštāʾôl wəšorʿâ wəʾašnâ* ‘In the Shephelah: Eshtaol and Zorah and Ashnah’ (15:33a; cf. 21b, 48a, 61a).

The grammar of the lists is shaped by introductory *wayyiqtol*—*wəqatal* [c327] sequences as in (21a).⁴⁷ Following a past form, the *wəqatal* apparently is an enumerating past tense preceded by a coordinating connective. The lists are organized internally into spans of *wəqatal* with same

⁴⁵ The noun phrase *ʿazzâ bənôtêhā wəḥāšerêhā* (15:47a) is modified both by *ʿad-naḥal mišrāyim* ‘to the River of Egypt’ and by the enigmatic *wəhayyām haggəbûl* ‘and the Sea is the border and territory’ (*kaṯîb*). A *qarê* suggests *wəhayyām haggādôl* ‘and [to] the Great Sea and its territory’. Compare *ûgəbûl yām hayyāmmâ haggādôl* ‘and the sea border is at the great Sea’ (15:12a).

⁴⁶ The most complex conclusion occurs in *kol-heʿarîm libnê mārārî ləmišpəḥôtām hannôtārîm mimmišpəḥôt halwiyyim wayhî gôrālām ʿarîm šatēm ʿešrêh* (21:40a).

⁴⁷ Similarly in lists 16:2a, 6a; 17:7b; 18:12b; 19:11a, 22a, 26b, 29a, 34a.

or similar locative setting. Paragraphs are demarcated by explicit subject noun phrases (21b). Occasional frontings followed by *yiqtol* are past time (21c):⁴⁸

- (21)a. *wayhî lāhem gəbûl ...* (15:2a) *wəyāšā' 'el-minnegeb ləma'ālēh 'aqrabbim wə'ābar šinā wə'ālā ...* (3a-b)
and-it-was to-them border ... and-it-went.out to-from-negeb to-Maaleh Akrah-bim and-it-passed (to) Zin and-it-went.up
b. *wənāsab haggəbûl mizrahā ta'ānat šilōh wə'ābar ...* (16:6c-d)
and-(it-)turned.around the-border to-east (of) Taanath-shiloh and-it-passed
c. *mittappūah yēlēk haggəbûl yāmmā nahal qānā wəhāyū tōšə'ōtāyw hayyāmmā*
from-Tappuah (it-)went_{IMPFV} the-border to-west (of) Nahal Kanah and-(it-)was
its-extremities to-the-Sea (16:8a-b)

The **coordinated *wəyiqtol*** is infrequent and its sense not unified. In the ***imp—coor. wəyiqtol*** [c483] sequence there are some possible cases of unmarked jussive (4:16b) and cohortative (10:4b) functions. In the ***yiqtol—coor. wəyiqtol*** [c481] sequence⁴⁹ the *ya'ālū wəyakkū* 'go up and smite' (7:3d) is apparently jussive core cosubordination. After a modal sense of *mā 'ōmar* 'what can I say' (7:8a) follows *wəyišmā'ū* 'and they will hear' (9a), apparently stating a further hypothetical implication.

In 7:9b, a ***wəyiqtol—wəqatal*** [c328] sequence is used for explication just as in *wəqatal*-chains. An even clearer example of ***wəyiqtol* chaining** is found in the following case:

- (22) *hābū lākem šəlōšā 'ānāšim laššābeṭ wə'ešlāhēm wəyāqūmū*
bring for-you 3 men for-the-tribe and-I-send-them and-they-shall.go.up
wəyithalləkū bā'āreṣ wəyiktəbū ... wəyābō'ū (18:4)
and-they-shall.go.around in-the-land and-they.shall.write ... and-they-shall.come

Here the verb 'send' (18:4b) can be interpreted as either unmarked cohortative or a Result (DS). The predicates 'go up around',⁵⁰ 'write', and 'come' are either unmarked jussives or Command (SS)-chains. It is

⁴⁸ In this discourse type *wayhî lə-* marks past (17:11a). Constructions like *wəlō' yoklū* are explanatory past (12a), and *wayhî kī* is discourse marker as in narrative (17:13a). The comment clause *wə-PCS* (subject) + *yiqtol* in *wəhayyadēn yigbōl-ōtō lip'at-qēdmā* 'and the Jordan "bordered it" on its east side' (18:20a) is the only clause with a phrase structure identical to the narrative comment with *qatal* in 3:15c.

⁴⁹ A *wəya'amdū* 'and they shall stand' (3:13d) is probably future after *wəhāyā—PCS* + *yiqtol* future. In *WIT_{syn}* it is linked to the preceding elliptic clause (<480>).

⁵⁰ This is a core cosubordination with the shared argument *bā'āreṣ* 'in the land'.

then followed by *wəhiṭhalləqû ʾōtah* 'and they shall divide it' (5a), a Command (SS) for specification of their task. This isolated case probably shows that *wəyiqtol* can function as a third person "jussive" variant of the direct address in *wəqatal*-chainings.

In conclusion, Hebrew exploits four sub-systems of syntactic chaining through clusterings of *wayyiqtol* (N), *wəqatal* (D), *wəqatal* (lists) and *wəyiqtol* (D) in descending order of priority.

5.3.4 Referential Coherence

The other large domain of Hebrew clause combining is used for various degrees of departure from the prototypical sequentiality of the chains. These functions relate to discourse contexts where topicality is of central interest. Hebrew uses the non-sequential verbs forms, mainly (*wə-*) + (LDP) + (PCS) + *yiqtol* or *qatal* as well as imperatives, verbless clauses, participial clauses and infinitive clauses for these purposes.

Forms	Codes
x- <i>qatal</i> :	c322, c122, c120, c320, c127, c327
x- <i>yiqtol</i> :	c111, c311, c112, c312, c110, c310, c410, c422
imp:	c333, c133, c131, c132, c130, c136, c113, c313, c123, c303
inf:	c324
ptc:	c116, c316, c306, c360, c362, c367
NC:	c100, c300, c302, c307, c301

Table 5.15 Codes for Referential Clause Relations

The following will present referential syntax according to the sequence of codes in Table 5.15 above. Referential syntax marks such pragmatic functions as activation, (dis)continuity, and relevance of nominals as well as further pragmatic goals. Again the Wit_{syn} database for Joshua is very useful for a study of such pragmatic packaging processes, because all data are readily available in fully coded "electronic" form.

It is evident that this proposal has certain weaknesses. Any account of vast amounts of complex text must remain experimental and tentative. Furthermore, I use an adjusted pragmatic theory on topic and focus functions (cf. 2.3.2) and rely on discourse-pragmatic results (cf. 3.4; 4; 5.2 and 5.4). Nevertheless, this proposal can at least contribute to the continuing study of the grammar and text of Joshua. It points to new directions in the study of Hebrew clause combining.

The **qatal-clauses** are the most important pragmatic variants in narra-

tive texts. The *qatal—wə-(...) qatal* [c322] sequence can be used discourse-initially with parallel focus. A discourse opening with pronominal focus like *ʾānī zāqanī* 'I am old' (23:2c) is followed by *wəʾattem rəʾitem* 'and you have seen' (23:3a; a ParFoc). It is found in *wəhāʾāreṣ nišʾārā* 'in the land remains' (13:1d; a ParFoc), but also closure-initially (4:20a) and towards the end of an episode (6:25a).

The construction can mark a new focus in the opening of a unit. In many cases a new participant is introduced and further comment added (3:15c; 24:33a (N); 13:22a (L); NewFoc).⁵¹ The clause *wəkōl šəlal heʿārīm hāʾēlleh wəhabbəhēmā bāzəzū* 'and all the spoil of these cities and their cattle they plundered' (11:14a; a NewFoc) opens a comment paragraph in a closure (N). The comment may be a restatement in negated form (10:40c). More special cases consist of a perfective *wəqatal* with coordinating *wə-* after a negated restatement (22:3b).⁵² After paragraph-level *kī* a contrastive focus can form a chiasmic pattern with synonymous verbs (5:5b; 14:3b, 4b; cf. LDP 5:7a).

The *qatal—qatal* [c122] sequence is often found in negative restatements like *lōʾ yādaʿtī ʾānā hālākū hāʾānāšīm* 'I do not know where the men went' (2:5c).⁵³ It occurs at the end of paragraphs and then often with a restrictive focus like *raq bəʿazzā bəgat ūbəʾašdōd nišʾārū* 'only in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod they remained' (11:22b).⁵⁴ Besides this, there are several special functions of the sequence. In lists a NewTop + *qatal* can mark a new paragraph after *wəqatal* (17:8a). Comparative *kaʾāšer—kēn* clauses with *qatal* often close episodes.⁵⁵ In D there are such disparate occurrences as rhetorical question (22:20d), a hypothetical statement (7:7d) and a logical consequence after *ʾāz* 'then' (22:31d).

The *NC—qatal* [c120] sequence can mark a new paragraph. In one case a cleft-focus construction is followed by a long list before a new participant is introduced (12:6a; a NewFoc).⁵⁶ A *qatal*-initial form is used

⁵¹ Note explanatory NewFoc after affirmation (7:20c) or negation (2:4d).

⁵² After a rhetorical question *wəʾal-kol-ʾādat yišrāʾēl hāyā qāṣep* 'and on all the congregation of Israel came the wrath' (22:20b; NewFoc recipient) draws a conclusion. Note past continuation in 9:12e and 22:4a.

⁵³ Note also *hakkōl bāʾū lākem* (23:14c) followed by *lōʾ-nāpal mimmennū dābār ʾeḥād* (14d) and compare 21:45a followed by *hakkōl bāʾ* in 45b. For other negative statements, see 8:35a; 10:28d; 11:14d, 22a (N); 22:3a (D).

⁵⁴ PCS is also used with *raq* in 6:24b, 8:27a and 11:14b.

⁵⁵ Thus 10:1c–d; 11:15a–b; 14:5a–b; with extra *wəkaʾāšer* 10:39e–f.

⁵⁶ Cf. *qatal* with ParFoc in 5:4b after *wəzeh haddābār ʾāšer-māl yəhōšuaʿ* 'this is the reason why Joshua circumcised' (4a). Note also a comment in a list (13:12b).

in the unique bi-clausal presentative construction *wəʔəlleh šalmôtênû ûnəʔālênû bālû* ... 'and these are our clothes and our shoes, they have become worn out ...' (9:13c-d, cf. 12a-13b). The sequence is also found after a conditional clause (22:24b).

After a verbless clause the *NC—wə-(...) qatal* [c320] sequence can introduce an additional entity (NewFoc; 22:25a (D) and 18:7c (N)). A negated clause such as *wəlōʔ hōrîšû* 'but they did not dispossess' (16:10a) can conclude a general explanation at the end of a list.⁵⁷ The construction can also mark NewTop in lists (15:6a, 13a). It is used in the bi-clausal presentative construction after *wəhinnēh* (9:13b).

The *wayyiqtol—qatal* [c127] sequence frequently marks focus, especially in the PCS + *qatal* construction for episode-internal restatement. The PCS may mark a NewFoc for time as in *kol-hallaylā ʔālā* 'all the night they were marching up' (10:9b; cf. 4:14a and 11:18a). The PCS marks manner in *kōh ʔāsû šēšet yāmîm* 'so they did for six days' (6:14c).⁵⁸ A restatement can be negated (13:14a) and may have parallel focus (11:9c-d)). Restatement can be expressed by clause-initial *heḫērim* (10:28c) and *qāmû* (3:16b). It is frequently expressed by negative *lōʔ-hišʔir* 'he did not leave behind' (10:30c; 37c, 39d, 40b; cf. 10:21b, 11:11c). Finally, adverbial *ʔaz* 'at that time' + *qatal* introduces a significant event within an episode (10:33a).

The *wayyiqtol—wə-(...) qatal* [c327] sequence is often used in negated clauses without fronting. It can be used for restatement,⁵⁹ dramatic repetition,⁶⁰ and even main line statements.⁶¹ It is also frequently used for topic at an episode-initial boundary. A paragraph-initial ResTop marks a new episode in *wəlišnayim hāʔānāšîm* ... *ʔāmar yəhōšuaʔ* 'To the two men ... Joshua said' (6:22a).⁶² It may also mark minor episodes as in *wəʔet-hāʔām*

⁵⁷ This is similar to the negated and summarizing *ûləšēbeṭ hallēwî lōʔ-nātan mōšeh naḥlālā* 'but to the Levite tribe Moses did not give an inheritance' (13:33a; a ParFoc). Note also parallel focus in 14:8b.

⁵⁸ Cf. *ʔal-pî yahwēh nātānû lō ʔet-hāʔir* 'by the mouth of Yahweh they gave him the city' (19:50a) and *ʔim-ʔārēhem heḫērîmām yəhōšuaʔ* 'together with their cities Joshua put them under ban' (11:21b).

⁵⁹ Cf. 2:22e; 5:1d, 12c; 8:20c; 9:26c; 22:33c (N) and 2:11c (D). This "negated antonym paraphrase" occurs after *wayyiqtol* paragraph and episode final (Longacre 1989a:76-77).

⁶⁰ Thus *wəlōʔ-ʔās lābôʔ kəyôm tāmîm* 'and [the sun] did not hasten to set a full day' (10:13f; cf. 10:14a; 8:17a).

⁶¹ Negative clauses signal significant non-events in cases like *wəlōʔ hikkûm bənē yišrāʔel* 'the Israelites did not kill them' (9:18a (N); cf. 24:10a (D)).

⁶² Cf. 4:19a; 9:3a [plus *wayyaʔāsû gam-hēmmā* (9:4a) with ExpanFoc]; 10:28a.

šiwwâ yəhōšuaʿ ‘and the people Joshua ordered’ (6:10a; cf. 8:19a, but NewFoc in 1:12a). The *wə*-PCS + *qatal* mentions further background information in the ResTop *wəhāʾāreš nikbāšā lipnēhem* ‘and the land was (also) conquered by (or before) them’ (18:1c; cf. 11:10c). The SubTop *wəʾēt kol-malkēhem lākad* ‘and all their kings he took’ (11:17b) marks an expository episode. The SubTop gives a summarizing comment at the end of a closure in *wəʾēt kol-hammālākīm hāʾēlleh wəʾet-ʾaršām* ‘and all these kings and their land’ (10:42a) or late in an episode (6:23c).

In other cases there is unit-initial new focus. This is found in the closure *wəʾet-haybūsî yôšabê yərûšālaïm* ‘and the Jebusites who live in Jerusalem’ (15:63a). The middle of a closure can bring in a NewFoc for comment (24:32a; cf. 8:20d) or time (24:5d). ParFoc can be used for contrast (22:7a–b). Often a contrastive NewFoc closes an episode or paragraph as in *wəhāʾāreš šāqəṭā mimmilhāmā* ‘and the land had peace from the war’ (11:23d; 14:15c; cf. 8:29a; 11:11d; 24:4c).⁶³ Note also the negated restatement *wəʾet-pî yahwēh lōʾ šāʾālū* ‘but the mouth of Yahweh they did not ask’ (9:14b).

Often the **discourse marker** *wayhî* opens this *wayyiqtol*—(*wə*...) *qatal* [c127/327] sequence. Part of the problem with *wayhî* is to distinguish its pragmatic use from predicate functions like *wayhî ləmas-ʿōbēd* ‘and it became a slave laborer’ (16:10c) (Eskhult 1990:30).⁶⁴ The *wayhî* can both open a new major unit in the story and link otherwise unrelated minor subdivisions as either episode or sub-episode marker.⁶⁵ The discourse marker is often followed by a temporal adverbial adjunct as in *wayhî miyyāmîm rabbîm ʾaḥārê ʾāšer-hēnîaḥ yahwēh ...* ‘and it happened after many days after that Yahweh had given peace ...’ (23:1a).⁶⁶ The *wayhî* can be followed by a one-member adverbial clause like *bəbōʾāh* ‘when-come-she’ (15:18a), is sometimes followed by two infinitives (cf. 3:14) and may cluster at peaks (6:15–16). The *wayhî* can occur in narrative embedded within direct speech (2:5a).

After an episode-initial *wayhî*, a PCS + *qatal* ([c127]) can have NewFoc for time (5:2a) or restrictive focus (6:15d). When the *wayhî* is fol-

⁶³ Note also the chiasmic sentence *wayyiddōm haššemeš wəyārəaḥ ʿamād* ‘the sun stopped and the moon stood’ (10:13a–b).

⁶⁴ Thus the *wayhî kol-hannōpālîm* ‘all the casualties were’ (8:25a) is not a discourse marker but an existential statement.

⁶⁵ Cf. Niccacci (1990:§ 28 (48–49) and 36 (59–60)). It characterizes the following as a story, or resumes the narrative thread after embedding (Talstra 1978:173).

⁶⁶ Cf. 3:2a; 6:15a, 16a; 9:16a; 10:27a; 24:29a. Note also that *bayyōm haššəlîšî wayy-....* ‘on the third day then ...’ (Gen 22:4) is equivalent to a *wayhî* form (Gen 40:20) (Longacre 1989a:67; cf. Niccacci 1990:§ 38 (61)). The combination is dubbed

lowed by clause-initial *qatal*, it usually does not mark the beginning of an episode (6:16a). Often it occurs towards the end of an episode (4:18b; 10:27b; but note 8:29c). The *wayhî*—*wə*-PCS + *qatal* ([c327]) can also introduce a new participant (9:3a).⁶⁷

The other major pragmatic pattern is formed by *yiqtol* in direct discourse. The *yiqtol*—*yiqtol* [c111] sequence primarily occurs in negated contexts. A vetitive can be continued by such diverse functions as negated future, injunctive and prohibitive.⁶⁸ After a negated future *yiqtol*, another negated future *yiqtol* summarizes the promise (1:5d). Or a future *yiqtol* introduces a SubTop for restatement as in *‘ōrep yipnû* ‘back they will turn’ (7:12b). The positive sequences are primarily injunctives.⁶⁹ Finally, *yādôa’ tēdā’û* ‘you shall surely know’ (23:13a) is used in the apodosis after a conditional.

The *yiqtol*—*wə*(...) *yiqtol* [c311] sequence is primarily used paragraph initially. It can mark ParFoc for participants or place followed by injunctive (1:14b), future intent (1:16c), or vetitive (22:19e). After the pronominal focus *wə’attâ təšawweh* ‘but you shall order’ (3:8a), it marks a shift from future to injunction. The new paragraph can also add a NewFoc for the volitional instruction *yûmât* ‘shall be executed’ (1:18a). A future intent is stated in the focused question *ûmâ-ta’ăšēh* ‘and what will you do’ (7:9d). An *x-yiqtol* can form injunctive chains of NewFoc for participants, time and manner (6:4a–c). Other special cases comprise prohibitive apodosis after temporal adverbial *wākî* (20:5b). A *wə’āz taškîl* ‘and then you will have success’ (1:8e) is used for rhetorical elaboration of a causal *kî-’āz*-construction.

The *qatal*—*yiqtol* [c112] sequence can mark a clause-initial injunctive apodosis after *wəhāyâ* + adverbial clause (6:5c; 8:8b). Mostly the injunctive is preceded by a PCS-construction such as the ParFoc of *hannilkād bahērem yiššārēp bā’ēš* ‘he who is caught in the ban shall be burned by fire’ (7:15a, cf. 14b–d). The same pattern is also used after *nətatîw* for

“a two-clause sentence” by Eskhult (1990:30), i.e., a bi-clausal construction.

⁶⁷ The sequence occurs at peak in *wəyahwēh hišlik* ‘and Yahweh threw’ (10:11a) but also in a sub-episode (10:20c).

⁶⁸ A negated future can support an exhortation by promising *lō’-ya’ămōd ʾîš* ‘no man shall hold stand’ (10:8d). Injunctive specifies ParFoc in *’et-sûsēhem tə’aqqēr wə’et-markəbôtēhem tišrōp bā’ēš* ‘their horses you shall hamstring and their chariots you shall burn by fire’ (11:6d; cf. SubTop 7:3d). Prohibitive *lō’-yāmûš* ‘don’t let it slip’ (1:8a) adds detail.

⁶⁹ After injunctive a restrictive injunctive can have LDP *’ak* ‘however’ and PCS *rāhōq* ‘a distance’ (3:4a) or sentence restrictive *raq* (1:17c) after *yihyeh* ‘shall be’.

future perfect of resolve (1:3a). A PCS + future is found in *kēn yābî* 'he shall bring' (23:15b) after a *ka'āšer* clause.⁷⁰ The *qatal—wə(...)* *yiqtol* [c312] sequence primarily marks new paragraphs. After *wəqatal* an injunctive can have pronominal focus (8:7a). Or, it has NewFoc for time (2:16f) or contrast (23:7b). A negated future prediction or result occurs after *qatal* (7:12a).

The *NC—yiqtol* [c110] sequence usually marks focus.⁷¹ The focus entity specifies details of a preceding NC in injunctive *ʔōšar yāhwēh yābō* 'to the treasure of Yahweh it shall come' (6:19b).⁷² The negated future form often adds an implicit logical consequence, e.g., since you are a great people *lōʔ-yihyeh lākā gōrāl ʔehād* 'you will not have one (more) lot' (17:17d; cf. 7:13f; 9:19c; 24:19e). The few scattered instances of *NC—wə(...)* *yiqtol* [c310] are used for focus in present time contexts.⁷³ In two cases a negated future adds a future consequence (9:23b; 22:27b). This is also the case in the affirmative *wəhōrēš yōrīš* 'and he will surely dispossess' (3:10c). Once *inf—wə(...)* *yiqtol* [c314] is used for a negated future result (20:9c). The *inf.abs—wə(...)* *yiqtol* [c315] states a negated future consequence in *wəlōʔ-yihyeh ʔālênû qešep* 'and wrath will not be over us' (9:20c).

A special, but rarely used focus category, is found with the expanding focus particle. The *NC—gam(...)* *yiqtol* [c410] terminates a speech with focus on the 1st pl pronoun and future intention in *gam-ʔānaḥnû naʔābōd ʔet-yāhwēh* 'also we will serve Yahweh' (24:18b). The *qatal—gam(...)* *qatal* [c422] sequence has predicate focus in 2:24c and 7:11b.

The **openings of direct discourse** [c999] can have *qatal*-initial reporting forms like *nimsəʔû ḥāmēšet hammālākīm* 'the five kings have been found' (10:17b). They are past tense except for the present sense of cognitive *yādaʔû kî* 'I know that' (2:9b). A PCS subject before speech-initial *qatal* functions as NewTop or ResTop, e.g., *yāhwēh šiwwā bəyad-mōšeh*

⁷⁰ Note also PCS for NewFoc in the lists (16:8a) and the peculiar sequences in 7:25c and 22:18b as well as the past in 23:10a. Injunctive *raq-šəlālāh ūbāhemtāh tābōzzū lākem* 'only its spoil and its cattle you should plunder for yourselves' (8:2c; RestrFoc) continues a sequence with *wəʔāsītā* + a *ka'āšer*-clause.

⁷¹ After LDP (SubTop) in *ʔānōkī ʔōrīšēm* 'I will dispossess them' (13:6a; a NewFoc).

⁷² Focus can specify a curse (6:26c–d) or a list (13:3b). RestrFoc is marked in injunctive *raq rāḥāb hazzōnā tihyeh* 'only Rahab the harlot shall stay alive' (6:17c) followed by RDP *hîʔ wəkol-ʔāšer ʔittāh babbayit* 'she and all which is with her in the house'.

⁷³ Cf. ParFoc *mî ʔattem ūmēʔayin tābōʔû* (9:8e), NewFoc *wəʔattem tāšūbū hayyôm* (22:18a) and list comment *wəhayyardēn yigbōl-ʔōtō lipʔat-qēdmā* (18:20a).

lātet 'Yahweh has ordered by the hand of Moses to give' (21:2b). Speech-initial *qatal* can also be preceded by pragmatic introducer participles like sentence adverbial *kēn* 'certainly' (2:4c) and the *rəʔû* 'look' before *hip-palî lākem ʔet-haggôyim* 'Look, I have allotted you the nations' (23:4a).⁷⁴ The same function is found with presentational *hinnēh* 'look' (2:2b; 22:11b). The functions of *wəhinnēh*⁷⁵ and *wəʔattâ* are more disparate.⁷⁶

The **illocutionary devices** also comprise the particle *-nāʔ* to reinforce the appeal of an imperative as in *wəhagged-nāʔ lî meh ʔāsūtā* 'and tell me please what you have done' (7:19d; cf. 2:12a; 22:26b). Vocatives can be fronted as LDP in *bānî* 'my son' (7:19b), backshifted as RDP in *hērem baqirbakā yiśrāʔēl* 'there is ban among you, Israel' (7:13e), or even clause internal (22:25a). A sentence adverbial interjection like *wəʔak* 'and indeed' precedes the conditional subordinator *ʔim* in 22:19a.

The **imperative** is the major illocutional verb. A NewFoc for location may precede as in *hāhārâ lēkû* 'to the mountains you go' (2:16b). An imperative can occur in a chain like *imp—wəimp* [c333] which is found in *hāzaq wəʔemaš* 'be strong and courageous' (1:7a, 18b; cf. 6:18a) or at a higher level in the *imp—imp* [c133] sequence (1:7a). Most of these links are coded as identical verbs, e.g., *pənû ûlākû* 'turn around and go' (22:4c [201]). In the *yiqtol—imp* [c131] sequence one or more vetitives precede (8:1d; 10:6c, 25d). Exhortation can follow volitional instruction (1:18b).

The initial clause in the *qatal—imp* [c132] sequence states a concession before a proposal. This is found when a NewFoc for manner like *kēn bāʔû* 'certainly they came' (2:4c) precedes *ridpû mahēr* 'quickly pursue' (5d). After *məʔereš rəhōqâ bāʔnû* 'we have come from a distant country' (9:6c; a PCS NewFoc for source) follows *wəʔattâ* 'and now' (6d; <302>) + imperative *kirtû-lānû bərît* 'make a covenant for us' (<130>). This connection can gap over a long textual segment (24:14a continues 2c). The *wəʔattâ* + imperative can also occur after a discourse-initial pronoun (NewFoc).⁷⁷ In other cases, the *NC—imp* [c130] sequence occurs after

⁷⁴ Cf. 8:1f, 4b and 8d, and note singular in 6:2b.

⁷⁵ The *wəhinnēh* functions episode or speech internally as attention arouser in N before *qatal* (8:20b), participle (5:13b), passive participle (7:21d, 22c) or in D before presentative *qatal* (9:13b).

⁷⁶ As discourse marker *wəʔattâ* signals shift to present situation or command. In other cases it has the clause-internal meaning 'and now', cf. 22:4a vs. 22:4b.

⁷⁷ The discourse opening *ʔattâ yādaʔtā* 14:6c prepares for 12a and *ʔattem šəmartem* in 22:2b for 4c (contrast Ø-*yādaʔtā* in 2:9b preceding 12a). NewFoc for participant is found in *mōšeh ʔabdi mēt* (1:2a) if it is the *qatal*-verb and not a participle. Note the dramatic shortening in 24:23.

conditional *ʔim-ʕam-rab ʔattâ ʕālēh* 'if you are a big people go up' (17:15c-d; cf. 22:19a-b). The only *ptc-imp* [c136] mentions a potential future situation as motivation when *ʕad-ʔānâ ʔattem mitrappîm* 'how long will you desist' (18:3b) precedes *hābû* 'bring' (4a).

Among the other combinations, the *imp-yiqtol* [c113] sequence in most cases has vetitive *yiqtol*.⁷⁸ An *imp-wā(...)* *yiqtol* [c313] can mark a NewFoc with contrast in a future intent *wāʔānōkî ûbêî nāʕābōd ʔet-yahwēh* 'but I and my house will serve Yahweh' (24:15g; cf. 18:8f). It can continue an injunction (6:6d, 7c; 18:6a) or vetitive (10:19a).

The *imp-qatal* [c123] sequence can have *nātattî* 'I will give' for future resolve (1:3a).⁷⁹ The *qatal* opens the unique paragraph *ḥātāʔ yisrāʔēl wəgam ...* 'Israel has sinned and it has also ...' (7:11). It occurs in indirect question in *wəhaggeḏ-nāʔ lî meh ʕāšitā* 'and tell me please what you have done' (7:19d). The verbless clause in the *imp-wāNC* [c303] sequence opens a paragraph emphasizing a final point (6:19a; NewFoc).⁸⁰

Other **non-finite forms** are used in both narrative and discourse. The *inf-wā(...)* *qatal* [c324] sequence occurs only after past circumstance (10:20c) or future condition (23:16b, d). A **participle** opens a speech in the *ptc-yiqtol* [c116] sequence to state future circumstance before vetitive (8:4c) or PCS + injunctive for ParFoc (2:18b-c). The *ptc-wā(...)* *yiqtol* [c316] sequence marks a new paragraph. The NewFoc + future intent may have contrastive function (8:5a) or mark actuality (9:7c). A *ptc-wāNC* [c306] sequence adds further description (5:13c; 6:1a).

When a participle is postposed in the *NC-wā(...)* *ptc* [c360] sequence, it can restate background information (2:15c; 12:5a). The *qatal-wā(...)* *ptc* [c362] sequence is used for a present progressive description (6:8c), a list description (15:7b), and a background explanation (20:5d (D); cf. 9:22e (N)). Descriptive statements are also found in the *wayyiqtol-wā(...)* *ptc* [c367] sequence (3:17b; 4:10a; 6:13a).

The **verbless asyndetic clause** (=NC) often introduces participants into a story.⁸¹ The *NC* [c100] code is used for several disparate functions. The clause type is found in the conclusion of units,⁸² in parenthetical

⁷⁸ See 1:7c; 1:9c; 7:19e; 10:19d. An imperative is followed by ParFoc for detail in 18:5b-c and used in an object clause after imperative in 24:15b.

⁷⁹ Imperative *rāʕh* 'look!' (6:2b; 23:4a) opens a paragraph. Affirmative *rāʕû ʕiwwîfî ʔetkem* 'look I have told you' (8:8d) and rhetorical *hālôʔ ʕiwwîfîkâ* 'have I not told you?' (1:9a) closes a final exhortation.

⁸⁰ Contrast ellipsis in 10:12e and 22:8c.

⁸¹ "These pattern as comments and often are of an explanatory nature" (Longacre 1989a:80, cf. 76). They state contemporaneous action (Niccacci 1990:§ 33 (54)).

⁸² Cf. list-summaries like *zōʔt naḥlāt bānê-gād* (13:28a) and elaborations (2:21b).

explanations,⁸³ or even in the central nucleus of legislation (2:19a, 19c). In narrative, a passive participle can reinforce a point as in *hālō-hîʔ kätûbâ* ‘*al-sēper hayyāšār* ‘is it not written in the Book of the Righteous?’ (10:13d). Most of the parenthetical explanations occur in a *NC—wāNC* [c300] sequence like *wāhakkesep tahtêhā* ‘and the money beneath it’ (7:21e; 7:22d; cf. 10:2e).

A *qatal—wāNC* [c302] sequence may provide extra geographical background information in lists (17:8b)⁸⁴ and narrative (14:15a). In direct discourse it can add a further contrasting point like *wāhûʔ ʔiṣ ʔehād* ‘and he is (even just) one man’ (22:20c; 17:14c). The *wayyiqtol—wāNC* [c307] sequence identifies a person in *ûšmāh rāḥāb* ‘and her name was Rahab’ (2:1d), explains a name (2:1d; 8:11d; 9:17b; 13:23b) or introduces a further participant early in a narrative paragraph (22:14a). It can open an expository paragraph introduced by the pronominal dummy *wāzeh* ‘and this’ (5:4a; NewFoc).⁸⁵ The *yiqtol—wāNC* [c301] sequence can be used for further elaboration (17:16c).

In conclusion, the marked PCS-constructions before *qatal* and *yiqtol* are used in various focus and topic functions. A more precise categorization of such data is only possible as a result of a careful analysis of topicality. Only discourse-pragmatic analysis can verify functions in each individual case. A computer-assisted syntactic listing of all extant clusters seems the only way to make significant progress towards a more accurate understanding of various pragmatic functions.

5.3.5 Summary and Conclusions: The Grammar of Joshua

The preceding presentation of the grammar of the whole Book of Joshua has shown how it is possible to describe all syntactic relations between clauses once their interclausal relations have been coded. By this procedure we can proceed from the extant types of connections to the most significant and prototypical functions.

From all these diverse data the following discourse functions emerge:

1. Sequential chains consist of *wayyiqtol* (N), *wāqatal* (D and L), *wayiqtol* (D).
2. Referential relations comprise many diverse pragmatic functions:

⁸³ In explanations of archaic names, e.g., *baʿālā hîʔ qiryat yaʿārīm* (15:9d).

⁸⁴ Note 19:27c and 34e.

⁸⁵ Note the LDP-construction in *wālišlāpəḥād ben-hēper ben-gilʿād ben-mākîr ben-mənaššeh lōʔ-hāyū lō bānīm kî ʔim-bānôt* ‘but for Shelophehad son of Hefer ... for him there was no sons but only daughters’ (17:3a; a SubTop or unit-initial NewFoc).

- b. *x-yiqtol* for injunctive, vetitive, future with NewFoc, RestrFoc, ParFoc, SubTop [c111, c311, c112, c312, c110, c310]
 c. *imp* for commands [c133, c132, c130, c136, c113, c313, c123, c133]
 d. *ptc* for description and background [c116, c316, c362, 366, 367]
 e. *NC* (ptc) for description and background [c100, c300, c301, c302, c307]

Table 5.16 is a synthesis of the primary codes established in the grammar of Joshua. It lists central functions and presents an overview of central codes (cf. documentation in Winther-Nielsen and Talstra 1995)

yiqtol 110-117	110 NC-111 <i>yiqtol-</i> .inj .inj ~ fut .proh .fut ~ fut .Foc .fut .Foc/Top	112 <i>qatal</i> -113 <i>imp-</i> .inj .vet .fut . .vet . .Foc (L) .	114 <i>inf-</i> .1x .	115 <i>abs-</i> .	116 <i>ptc-</i> .vet .inj ¶Init .	117 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> 'āz-clause
qatal 120-127	120 NC-121 <i>yiqtol-</i> .Foc .	122 <i>qatal</i> -123 <i>imp-</i> .neg .fut .Foc .past .Top	124 <i>inf-</i> .	125 <i>abs-</i> .	126 <i>ptc-</i> .	127 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .Foc .neg
imp 130-137	130 NC-131 <i>yiqtol-</i> .wə'attā.vet→	132 <i>qatal</i> -133 <i>imp-</i> .back .1x	134 <i>inf-</i> .	135 <i>abs-</i> .	136 <i>ptc-</i> .1x	137 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .
we-NC 300-307	300 NC-301 <i>yiqtol-</i> .backg .backg	302 <i>qatal</i> -303 <i>imp-</i> .backg .1x	304 <i>inf-</i> .	305 <i>abs-</i> .	306 <i>ptc-</i> .descr	307 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> ¶Init .Foc
we-yiqtol 310-317	310 NC-311 <i>yiqtol-</i> .fut .inj ~ fut .vet .Foc .proh .fut .Foc	312 <i>qatal</i> -313 <i>imp-</i> .inj .vet ~ fut .inj ¶Init . .Foc .	314 <i>inf-</i> .1x	315 <i>abs-</i> .1x	316 <i>ptc-</i> .inj .fut .Foc	317 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .1x
we-qatal 320-327	320 NC-321 <i>yiqtol-</i> .wQ .wQ .neg .Foc .Top	322 <i>qatal</i> -323 <i>imp-</i> .wQ .wQ .Foc	324 <i>inf-</i> .wQ	325 <i>abs-</i> .	326 <i>ptc-</i> .wQ .neg .Top .Foc ¶Init (L)	327 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .neg .Top .Foc ¶Init (L)
we-ptc 360-367	360 NC-361 <i>yiqtol-</i> .backg	362 <i>qatal</i> -363 <i>imp-</i> .descr .backg	364 <i>inf-</i> .	365 <i>abs-</i> .	366 <i>ptc-</i> .	367 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .descr
wayyiqtol 370-377	370 NC-371 <i>yiqtol-</i> ¶Init 'āz→	372 <i>qatal</i> -373 <i>imp-</i> ¶Init	374 <i>inf-</i> .1x	375 <i>abs-</i> .	376 <i>ptc-</i> .2x	377 <i>wayyiqtol-</i> .

Table 5.16 Codes of Clause Relations and Functions

Sigla: wQ (*wəqatal* for Command (SS) / Explicative (SS) / Result (DS)) / Apod (DS)), neg (negated *yiqtol* or *qatal*), fut (future), ~ fut (negated future), vet (vetitive), proh (prohibitive), inj (injunctive), backg (background information), descr (descriptive statement), Foc (Focus), Top (Topic), ¶Init (initial in a paragraph/episode), ¶End (at the end of a paragraph/episode).

him there was no sons but only daughters' (17:3a; a SubTop or unit-initial NewFoc).

5.4 The Thematic Macrostructure

The preceding discourse analyses of stories from Joshua have explored how units are structured and expressed in the grammar. Such grammatical and discourse-pragmatic results on discourse organization and interclausal coherence are useful when we try to trace the thematic aspects of the story line of Joshua and the high points in its superstructure.

An analysis of thematic macrostructure will investigate the organization of a discourse through its openings, major episodes and closings. Above all it will search for nuclear theme elements. This presentation will adhere to the outline of episodes proposed in (5.2), but focus on discourse topics and elaboration of events and lists through direct discourse.

5.4.1 The Themes of the Framework

The opening supra-stage (1:1–9) and the closing supra-closure (24:29–33) will naturally influence the ideological perspective of the discourse. They guide the expectations of the reader as he passes through the story and as he draws his conclusions at the end of his reading. The writer of Joshua did remarkably well in his framing of the central themes of his work.

The opening introduces Joshua, the main character of the story, as a **servant of Moses** (1:1). Through the appositional modifier *māšārēt mōšeh* 'serving/server of Moses' (1b) he is only indirectly made a servant of God through Moses.¹ This Mosaic service contextualizes the book within the prior story of Israel and reverts the death of Moses from the end of the preceding book (Deut 34:5).

The theme of service also reoccurs at the end of the book. The significant difference is that now Joshua is reintroduced as a **full servant of God** by appositional *'ebed yāhwēh* 'servant of Yahweh' (24:29a). The conclusion on Joshua's burial sums up that he attained a unique servant status. After his fulfilled mission he had succeeded Moses completely.²

But the closure does not end the discourse as solely a biography of Joshua. It also concludes that Israel served Yahweh during the lifetime of Joshua and the elders who outlived him (31a–b) and were familiar with

¹ The introduction manages to mention Moses three times in the first three clauses: in a circumstance satellite for the story (1a), in the first main clause (1b) and in a circumstance opening the divine speech (2a). Joshua's service is part of a literary characterization of Joshua in the Pentateuch as "a Moses-like leader" (Chirichigno 1987:77).

² Note especially Coats (1987:24). Hawk (1991:32–33) instead reads the deaths of Moses and Joshua as a frame functioning to humanize time.

Yahweh's great deeds (31c). A *wə-ʔet-ʕašmôt yôšēp*_{PCS-Obj} 'AM-bones-of Joseph' (32a; NewFoc) mentions the re-burial of Joseph's bones. Through apparently superfluous, this event fulfills a promise made in Egypt (Gen 50:25; Exod 13:19). The present fulfillment is implicitly compared with Joseph's aspirations and God's providential guidance (Gen 50:24).³ A final *wə*-PCS mentions the death and burial of another participant, the high priest Eleazar (24:33a-c; cf. example (1d) in 2.1).⁴

The narrational frame thus maintains that true Mosaic service of God was accomplished in the time of Joshua. The topic is, however, unfolded in a way that hints at a temporal restriction (31a-b). Servanthood may have lasted in this early generation only. Both the introduction and the conclusion thus insist that a struggle for full loyalty to God was won, but that a menacing future failure may lay ahead in spite of God's magnificent deeds.

The initial divine command (1:1-9) encapsulates **the whole macrostructure** of the book. Its first part is shown in Figure 5.1.

b	P		_____< 130 >	01,02.3	[qwm]
	PrSu		_____< 200 >	01,02.4	[ʕbr] [ʔt h-yrdn h-zh] [ʔth /w- /kl h-ʕm h-zh] [ʔl h-ʔrʃ]
--	--				
	Rel		< 16 >	01,02.5	[ʔʃr] [ʔnky] [ntn] [lhm (l-bny yʃrʔl)]
3a	LDP		< 123 >	01,03.1	[kl mqw̄m]
	Rel		< 11 >	01,03.2	[ʔʃr] [tdrk] [kp rglkm] [bw]
	Moti		< 222 >	01,03.3	[lkm] [nttyw]
b	Just		< 12 >	01,03.4	[k-ʔʃr] [dbrty] [ʔl mʃh]
4a	Elab		< 112 >	01,04.1	[m-h-mdBr ... [yhyh] [gbwlkm]
5a	Mean		< 111 >	01,05.1	[ʔ] [ytyʃb] [ʔyʃ] [l-pnyk] [kl ymy hyyk]
--	--				
b	Back		< 12 >	01,05.2	[k-ʔʃr] [hyty] [ʕm mʃh]
c	Summ		< 113 >	01,05.3	[ʔhyh] [ʕmk]

Figure 5.1 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 1:2b-5c

After a reference to the circumstance of Moses' death, the main point of God's directive is marked by imperative *wəʕattâ qûm ʕäbôr ʔet-hayyardēn hazzeh* 'and-now, get.up cross AM-the-Jordan this' (2b) in anticipation of Joshua 1:10-4:24. It is followed by an asyndetical LDP + PCS-clause with *natattîw* 'I-give-it' (3a, [123]) with *qatal* for future resolve. The LDP

³ Cf. Longacre (1989a:20-56). Joshua's and Joseph's age of death at 110 (Gen 50:26) invites a further significant comparison.

⁴ An indefinite subject construction *wayyiqbārû ʔōtô* 'they (=the Israelites) buried him' (33b=30a; cf. 32a) has a locative argument *bagibʕat pinḥās bənô*. The clause *ʔāšer nittan-lô bəhar* (33c) agrees with genitive in gender (JM § 150n (555)).

kol-māqôm ‘every place’ is textually accessible from *hāʔāreš* ‘the land’ (2b; a SubTop). Its sense is further defined by *tidrōk kap-raglākem bō* ‘your feet may tread on’ (cf. example (20) in 2.2.3). This promise anticipates the divine initiative in the conquest operations in Joshua 5–12. A parallel future PCS + *yiqtol* clause (4a) elaborates that from the desert to the Mediterranean Sea *yihyeh gəbûlkem* ‘will be your border (=you will have a border)’. It introduces the key word in the distribution episode of Joshua 13–22.⁵ A final appositional future PCS + *yiqtol* clause *lō-yityaššēb ʔiš lapānēkā kōl yāmē ḥayyēkā* ‘not-(he-)shall stand man for-your-face all days-of your-life’ (5a) explains how Joshua will be able to carry this out.⁶ Structurally and thematically it anticipates the sermons on God’s amazing victories in Joshua’s old age in Joshua 23–24.

The final comparison sentence *kaʔāšer hāyītī ʔim-mōšeh ʔehyeh ʔimmāk* ‘as I have been with Moses, I will be with you’ (5b–c) summarizes the exhortation by highlighting the Mosaic model of operation. The divine speech thus initially presents a microcosmos of the whole macrostructure of the book. A more perfect thematic guidance for both the participant Joshua and for the reader could hardly be imagined.

The opening divine directive is then backed by the **encouraging admonition** shown in Figure 5.2. It is structured by repetitions of *ḥāzaq weʔmāš* ‘be very strong’ (6a). The first identical imperatival form ([200]) takes up the preceding hints at responsible performance, divine assistance and opposition. It is motivated (*kī*) by a repetition with pronominal focus in *ʔattā tanḥīl ʔet-hāʔām hazzeh ʔet-hāʔāreš ʔāšer-nišbaʔtī laʔābôtām lātēt lāhem* ‘you (you-)shall.let.inherit AM-the-people this AM-the-land which-I-swore to-your-fathers to-give to-them’ (6b).⁷ If the verb is a future, rather than an injunctive or modal, this clause links the theme of

⁵ The land description in 1:4 can be interpreted as an unrealized deuteronomistic ideal (Ottosson 1991:16) because they failed to conquer it despite Yahweh’s manifest promises (13:6) (1991:19). But the northern boundary in 2nd millennium sources always fluctuates, and *hammidbār* ‘the desert’ refers to the uncultivated area in general, e.g., the region of Bethel and Ai (8:15, 20; 16:1; 18:12) (Hess forthcoming (b)). The *hallābānōn* ‘the Lebanon’ may refer to the forested mountains in central and northern Canaan.

⁶ Its negated form strikes the pragmatic contrary-to-expectation tone of the last addresses. This implicit anticipation in 5a argues against the proposal of Ottosson that a chiasmic composition of 1:4–24:1 portrayed an ideal Davidic land and that Shechem marks “en ideologisk *inclusio*” from Gen 12:4 to Josh 24:1 (1991:17).

⁷ The pronoun *ʔattā* may be contrastive NewFoc (you, nobody else). It need not imply that distribution is Joshua’s main task (Ottosson 1991:20), only that he completes it.

5.4.2 The Conquest Theme of Joshua 1-12

The three episodes on the call-to-arms, complication and completion of the conquest (1:10-11:15) unfolds the stage in various ways.

The stories constantly reiterate **divine miracles** at their peaks (3:14-16; 4:18; 6:20; 10:10) as a fulfillment of God's promise to give them the land (1:2b). Most stories are triggered by an initial divine announcement of imminent success (3:5; 6:2; 8:2; 10:8). The divine **encouragement** of the stage is even restated verbatim in *ḥizqû wə'imṣû* (10:25d; 1:6a) when Joshua orders his officers to execute the five allied kings and promises them that thus will Yahweh do to all they wage war against (10:25e). The phraseology for the hanging of the kings in 26c-d is also an allusion to *wə'et-melek ḥā'ay tālā* 'but the king of Ai he hung' (8:29a) (cf. Boling 1982:242). Since the king of Ai fell in military action, he is singled out as the first prototypical opponent.⁹

At the same time all the stories are pervaded by a dual aspect of divine performance and human effort—God gives the victory, but Joshua effects it. Both the stage and the episodes combine the conquest theme of Yahweh's miraculous deeds with the theme of **human leadership**.¹⁰ The closure of the episode on the completion concludes that Joshua took *'et-kol-hā'āreṣ kākōl 'āšer dibber yāhwēh 'el-mōšeh* 'all the land exactly as Yahweh had told Moses' (11:23a).¹¹ This is also expressed by the final summary of the conquest episode (12:7a) and the impressive list of defeated kings. All the stories exemplify how directives of God are executed by the leader and it is often the point of their peaks and closures.¹² A breath-taking and astonishing climax is reached when Joshua bluntly ordered Yahweh to stop the sun and moon (10:12a-c).

The leadership theme is also the major thematic force behind the detailed account of preparations. Joshua's expedient execution of the

⁹ It explains why the execution of the king of Ai is explicitly mentioned, while the death of the king of Jericho (6:3) is just assumed as part of the banned lot of Jericho.

¹⁰ It is a dual portrayal of God as the Lord of the hero and the creative role of the hero (Coats 1987:20, 24-25; cf. Lohfink 1962 and McCarthy 1971b:175). Boling (1982:244) divides the two aspects between sources (*dtr*₁ and *dtr*₂). But sources may not be the only explanation (Coats 1987:20), and divine conquest never existed independently of the Joshua saga (1987:31 n.24). Joshua's double installation by both Moses and Yahweh is an intentional scheme (Porter 1971:129-131).

¹¹ Hawk (1991:48-49) deconstructs the statement because it alludes to Gibeon, but that story is an exception to the rule of total conquest. Nor does Yahweh fail to harden Gibeon (Eslinger 1989:51-52), but Israel fails to obey at Ai and ask at Gibeon.

¹² Joshua 6 affirms God's act in giving the city, but also "Joshua's stature in all the land." (Coats 1987:21). In Joshua 7 he "simply represents the Lord in the trial" and

divine orders (1:10–18; 2:1; 3:1, 5, 6, 9–10; 4:1ff) portrays him as a **completely obedient servant**.¹³ The dialogues end in a reinforcing exhortation by the East Jordan tribes who encourage him to be *raq ḥāzaq weʿēmāš* ‘only be exceedingly strong’ (1:18b). His sending of the spies and their report on Canaanite fears (2:9b–11d, 24b–c) only supports the divinely promised success (1:5a, 5d) and the encouragement by God and tribe (1:1–9, 18d). His spies carefully guard themselves against guilt in their pursuit of obedience (2:17–20). Joshua does not object to their news (2:23–24), but diligently implements their oath through his rescue of Rahab (6:22–25). The human dimension also explains the repeated theme of Joshua’s glorification (3:7; 4:14; cf. 6:27).

The East Jordan tribes’ exhortation also bears on the theme of **the unity of the people**. This theme is hinted at already in the stage by such phrases as the right-detached position of *ʾattā wəkol-hāʿām hazzeh* ‘you and this whole people’ (1:2b), *lāhem libnē yiśrāʾēl* ‘to them (pl), to the children of Israel’¹⁴ and the fronted *lākem* ‘to you (pl)’ (PCS). Yet Joshua can not take the willingness of the East Jordan tribes for granted, but can only remind them of Moses’ promise of land and then direct them to help their brothers (13a–15d). Their enthusiastic answer provides a voluntary “popular” backing of the divine promise (1:5) and the encouragement (1:6–9).¹⁵ Their voluntary cooperation is confirmed when they head the train across the Jordan (4:12–13). Their representatives participate in the picking of stones in the Jordan (4:3–9) and they lead the ceremonial conquest of Jericho (6:7, 9). Their two defeated kings (12:1–6) receive a prominent place ahead of the 31 of the west and repeatedly serve as prime deterrents of the Canaanites (2:10; 5:1; 9:10). The victories in the east under Moses and in the west under Joshua are combined as two parts of one grand victory by a united people.

However, in the structure of Israel’s theology and anthropology there is hardly ever a totally perfect obedience. The theme of **fall and failure** is

Yahweh gives them Ai (8:7b) only when Joshua raises his javelin (8:18–23).

¹³ Joshua is a “typexempel” of obedience to Mosaic law and an ideal leader (Ottosson 1991:13). Joshua 1–12 is “a paradigm of obedient Israel.” (Childs 1979:249).

¹⁴ Note appositional noun after preposition + suffix (Br § 68b (64); WO § 31.4e (508); JM § 146e (543)).

¹⁵ Their response verge on a divine pronouncement (1:17c–d, 18b). They even stipulate a death penalty for any disloyalty (18a). It need not be read ironically, because they had previously caused death (Num 32:7, 14–15) (Hawk 1991:59). Rather it reverses former grumbling by ready submission (Hauch 1991:119), and underscores their submission to Joshua’s military authority (Rowlett 1992:18).

forefronted in the disastrous consequences of the violation of the ban in the defeat at Ai which threatened the people and God (7:9). At this nadir of humiliation and distress the encouraging words of *ʿal-tîrāʾ wəʿal-tēḥāt* 'Do not fear and do not frighten' (8:1b-c) repeats the stage almost verbally (1:9c-d). The confessional allegiance on the top of Ebal (8:30-35) points to a further way out of the crisis.

But even then, after the remorse, repentance and restoration of Joshua 7-8, still follow the deception, dissatisfaction and deviation of Joshua 9. The Gibeonite rhetoric culminates in the grand speech of deceit (9b-13d) which is dramatically detailed because of the resulting Israelite compliance. The line of argumentation is shown in Figure 5.3.

9b	Back		└─┐ < 999 >	09,09.2	[m-ʔrʃ rḥwqh mʔd] [bʔw] [ʔbdyk] [l-šm yḥwh (ʔlhyk)]
--	--				
c	Moti		└─┐ < 522 >	09,09.3	[ky] [šmʔnw] [šmʔw] ...
11a	Sequ		└─┐ < 372 >	09,11.1	[w-] [yʔmrw] [ʔlynw] [zqynynw /w- /kl yšby ʔrʃnw]
--	--				
	QF		└─┐ < 64 >	09,11.2	[l-ʔmr]
b	P		└─┐ < 999 >	09,11.3	[qḥw] [b-ydkm] [šydh] [l--drk]
c	Sequ		└─┐ < 201 >	09,11.4	[w-] [lkw]
	PrCo		└─┐ < 64 >	09,11.5	[l-qʔtm]
d	Sequ		└─┐ < 323 >	09,11.6	[w-] [ʔmrtm] [ʔlyhm]
e	C		└─┐ < 999 >	09,11.7	[ʔbdyk] [ʔnḥnw]
f	DM		└─┐ < 302 >	09,11.8	[w-] [ʔth]
	A		└─┐ < 130 >	09,11.9	[krtw] [lnw] [bryt]
12a	Evid		└─┐ < 100 >	09,12.1	[zh] [lḥmnw] [ḥm] ...

Figure 5.3 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 9:9b-c, 11-12a

The tricky Gibeonite delegation first informs the suspicious Israelites on the background for their move: they had heard of the prior acts of Yahweh (9b-10b; cf. 2:9b-10d).¹⁶ In a prominent third degree embedded direct speech (11e), they implicitly admit that their elders had advised them to bring their provisions in order to request a status as servants. Their main petition *wəʿattâ kirtû-lānû bərîʔ* 'and now, make a treaty with us' (11f) is duly backed up by the evidence of their crumbled bread, torn wine skins and worn-out clothes (12a-13d). Joshua is not directly, or at least severely, implicated by the ruse. He solves the problem by changing their status from dependent treaty-partners to "slaves" for the sanctuary.¹⁷ Even the enforced responsibility to protect the Gibeonites turns into a

¹⁶ They also allude to their distant provenance, cf. Deut 20:15 (Hawk 1991:84).

¹⁷ Possibly the servant status meted out by 9:22ff was possible because of their confession (9:9-10) (Koorevaar 1990:178), which is also highlighted in Rahab's case

massive victory (10:6).

In conclusion, the flow between feat and defeat leads to a completion of the conquest. Joshua won a massive, glorious victory in one single campaign (10:42a; 11:16) and executed the directives of God and Moses (8:30–35; 10:40; 11:15; 11:23). However, it did take time (11:18a) and he did not eliminate the Anakites from Gaza, Gad and Ashdod (11:22b). This anticipates the old days of Joshua (13:1; 23:1) and the task of Caleb (14:5–15).

5.4.3 The Distribution Theme of Joshua 13–22

The **distribution** discourse in Joshua 13–22 unfolds the third discourse topic on inheritance (1:4a). The three major episodes revolve around border lines and town lists for the two main tribes, the seven remaining ones and the Levites.¹⁸ The theme is land legislation for property areas, and especially rulings, when land was subsequently allocated to another tribe (19:1–9; 20–21). A central juridical issue is that one half of a tribe has already received a portion (13:7b, 29–31; 14:3a, 4a; 16–17). The distribution episode also constantly notes the unique situation of the Levite tribe (13:14a–c; 14:3b, 4b–c; 18:7; 20–21) who in the end receive prominent cities as gifts from the other tribes (Joshua 21).

Details of the **settlement process** are rarely narrated except in case of extraordinary claims or circumstances (15:13–19; 19:47, 49b–50). The writer's goal is apparently to delineate the extent of the original allocations. But the complications of the settlement are noted everywhere, as all episodes ends on the note that the tribe in question failed to settle specific areas or drive out the Canaanite population (15:63; 16:10; 17:12–13; 19:47). These complications anticipate a later turbulent era following in the discourse of Judges 1:2–3:5.

The distribution theme is carefully introduced in a **divine speech** in 13:1–7. After a specification of problems and a list of remaining land

(2:9–11). However, this does hardly imply that a treaty is an acceptable way around the ban (McCarthy 1971a:174), but rather that the wronged (an illegal treaty) is not corrected by further wrongs (an abrogation of an oath). The story pictures a tricked Israel, not a tricky one.

¹⁸ The arrangement is often assumed to reflect the division of the nation into the South and North after Solomon (Ottosson 1991:121–122), but Benjamin and Simeon are allotted territory in Shiloh (18:11–19:9), not with Judah in Gilgal. The lists attends to the two most prominent tribal entities as in Genesis 49. The universe of the discourse reflects the time of Joshua with more details on occupied territory in the south.

(cf. Koorevaar 1990:198). The parallel references to Moses (12:1, 6; 13:8) and Joshua (12:7; 14:1) in supra-closure 1 and supra-stage 2 emphasize the allotment task of both.

This obedience theme is even more prominent in the stage and closure of the division episode (Ep 2.1).

6c	Just	└┐< 999>	14,06.3	[ʔth] [ydʔt] [ʔt h-dbr]
	Rel	└┐< 12>	14,06.4	[ʔšr] [dbr] [yhwh] [ʔl mšh (ʔyš h-ʔlhym)]
	--			[ʔl ʔdwty /w- /ʔl ʔdwtyk] [b-qdš_brnʔ]
7a	Elab	└┐< 100>	14,07.1	[bn ʔrbʔym šnh] [ʔnky]
b	Circ	└┐< 204>	14,07.2	[b-šlh mšh (ʔbd yhwh)] [ʔty] [m-qdš_brnʔ] ...
	--			
c	Sequ	└┐< 370>	14,07.4	[w-] [ʔšb] [ʔtw] [dbr] ...
8b	Summ	└┐< 320>	14,08.4	[w-] [ʔnky] [mlʔty] [ʔhry yhwh (ʔlhy)]
9a	NRes	└┐< 370>	14,09.1	[w-] [yšbʔ] [mšh] [b--ywm h-hwʔ]
	QF	└┐< 64>	14,09.2	[l-ʔmr]
b	PCS	└┐< 223>	14,09.3	[ʔm] [ʔl] [h-ʔrš]
	Rel	└┐< 12>	14,09.4	[ʔšr] [drkh] [rglk] [bh]
	P	└┐< 999>	14,09.5	[lk] [thyh] [l-nh̄lh /w- /l-bnyk] [ʔd ʔwlm]
c	Just	└┐< 521>	14,09.6	[ky] [mlʔt] [ʔhry yhwh (ʔlhy)]
10a	DM	└┐< 300>	14,10.1	[w-] [ʔth]
	Moti	└┐< 120>	14,10.2	[hnh] [h̄hyh] [yhwh] [ʔwty]
c	Rest	└┐< 100>	14,10.4	[zh ʔrbʔym w-ħmš šnh] [m-ʔz]
d	Circ	└┐< 120>	14,10.5	[dbr] [yhwh] [ʔt h-dBr h-zh] [ʔl mšh]
	Rel	└┐< 12>	14,10.6	[ʔšr] [hlk] [yšrʔl] [b--mdbr]
e	DM	└┐< 200>	14,10.7	[w-] [ʔth]
	Moti	└┐< 100>	14,10.8	[hnh] [ʔnky] [h-ywm] [bn ħmš w-šmw̄nym šnh]
	--			
11a	Elab	└┐< 100>	14,11.1	[ʔwdny] [h-ywm] [ħzq] ...
c	└Circ	└┐< 100>	14,11.4	[k-k̄hy] [ʔz]
d	Elab	└┐< 300>	14,11.5	[w-] [k-k̄hy] [ʔth] [l--ml̄hmh] ...
12a	DM	└┐< 302>	14,12.1	[w-] [ʔth]
	P	└┐< 130>	14,12.2	[tnh] [ly] [ʔt h-hr h-zh]
	Rel	└┐< 12>	14,12.3	[ʔšr] [dbr] [yhwh] [b--ywm h-hwʔ]
b	Moti	└┐< 523>	14,12.4	[ky] [ʔth] [šmʔt] [b--ywm h-hwʔ]
	CoSu	└┐< 502>	14,12.5	[ky] [ʔnqym] [šm /w- /ʔrym gdlwt bšrw̄t]
c	Enab	└┐< 100>	14,12.6	[ʔwly] [yhwh] [ʔwty] ...

Figure 5.5 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 14:6c-12e*

After the gathering of the tribes in Gilgal for the allotment (14:6a), the casting of lots is prefaced by **a long monologue by Caleb**. The main relational connections are shown in Table 5.5. Caleb first justifies his right to make his proposal. He reminds Joshua of Yahweh's words *ʔel-mōšeh ʔiš-*

mōšeh ʔiš-hāʔēlōhīm ʿal ʔōdōtay wəʿal ʔōdōtēkā bəqādēš barnēaʿ ‘to Moses, the man of God, concerning you and concerning me in Kadesh-barnea’ (6c). His complete obedience (8b) had prompted Moses to solemnly swear that he would get *hāʔāreš ʔāšer dārākā raglakā bāh* ‘the land which your foot tread on’ (9b). This is the only instance of the use of the expression outside the stage (1:3a).²⁰ As a result he was promised that *lakā tihyeh lənaḥālā ūləbānēkā ʿad-ʿōlām* ‘to you it shall belong as an inheritance and to your children forever’. Caleb motivates his reminder by adding that not only has God kept him alive as promised (10a), but he is also still physically fit: *ʿōdennī hayyôm ḥāzāq* ‘I am still today strong’ (11a) and *kəkōḥī ʔāz ūkəkōḥī ʿattā* ‘my force then and my force now, they are the same’ (11c; cf. JM § 174i (644)).

After this long and involved justification for the proposal, Caleb reaches the main point of his request by *wəʿattā tənāh-lī ʔet-hāhār hazzeh* ‘And now, give me this mountain’ (12a). He attaches a further motivation by reminding Joshua of the urgency of this task: *ʔattā-šāmaʿtā bayyôm hahûʾ kî-ʿānāqīm šām* ‘you have yourself heard on that day that the Anakites are there’ (12b).²¹ On a personal level he also reaffirms his trust through an enablement satellite: *ʔūlay yəhwēh ʔōtī wəhōrašūm kaʔāšer dibber yəhwēh* ‘maybe Yahweh [will be] with me so that I can drive them out just as Yahweh has spoken’ (12c–e).

This speech is central to the theme of the distribution episode (Ep 2.1). Caleb refers to a decisive event during the desert wanderings when he and Joshua were the only scouts to count on God’s power to conquer the land. The others lost courage because of the scary presence of the Anakites in Hebron (cf. Numb 13:22, 28, 33) and caused the Israelite rejection due to disbelief (14:33–35). Part of the doom of the desert has already been reversed by the circumcision (Josh 5:4–7). Now Caleb volunteers to defeat the Anakites and thus remove the stumbling block of that period. At the same time, he once more acts in consort with Joshua who had already completed the conquest by defeating them (11:21).²² It is structurally significant that only these two Anakite highlights are followed by the statement that *wəhāʔāreš šāqatā mimmilḥāmā* ‘and the land had peace from the war’ (11:23d; 14:15c).

²⁰ Cf. Ottosson (1991:16). Caleb is prominent as the only one to survive the former generation, and he was a Davidic ancestor (1991:28).

²¹ The introductory *kî* is either adverbial ‘certainly’ or a discourse-level ‘because’.

²² A further intertextual contrast is that Joshua starts his career as general against the dreadful Amalekites in Exodus 17 and now ends his term by defeating the fearful Anakites.

Caleb's inheritance is paralleled by the closure of the description episode (Ep 2.2) which tells that **Israel gave Joshua a lot** (19:49b–51). His choice of a town within Ephraim stands out in the discourse context because the preceding lists do not deal with Ephraimite territory. Joshua's inheritance at the end of the description episode therefore parallels Caleb's inheritance at the opening of the division episode.²³ In contrast, the inheritance of a third leader, the high priest Eleazar (14:1b and 19:51a), is only mentioned in the note on his burial (24:33).

However, obedience does not get the final word. Even at the time of Moses some tribes had failed. The remark that *wālō' hōrīšū banē yiśrā'ēl 'et-haggāšūrī wā'et-hamma'ākāī* 'but the Israelites did not drive out the Geshurites and the Maachites' (13:13a) "foreshadows more serious instances of peoples not dispossessed" (Hawk 1991:102). Caleb's parade example of perfect completion in 15:12–19 shows that Judah was successful and it does "mirror the promise—fulfillment program of the book as a whole" (1991:104).²⁴ In contrast the area of the Joseph tribes is fragmentary and the closure of Joshua 14–17 even strikes an ominous note of discouragement (1991:106, 109).

Disobedience culminates in the closure. In consort **Ephraim and Manasseh complain** about their single lot (17:14b) despite their size (14c) and prior blessing (14d). Joshua admonishes them to follow Caleb's example and settle the woodlands (15c–e). They object that the area is too small and the Canaanites in the Jizreel Valley too strong (16b–c).

Joshua then rejoins in a final decisive answer which is very complex.

17b	└Just	└< 999 >	17,17.3	[ʿm rb] [ʔth]
c	Elab	└< 201 >	17,17.4	[w-] [kḥ gdw] [lk]
d	NRes	└< 110 >	17,17.5	[ʔ] [yhyh] [lk] [gwrl ʔhd]
18a	NCau	└< 511 >	17,18.1	[ky] [hr] [yhyh] [lk]
b	Conc	└< 501 >	17,18.2	[ky] [yʿr] [hwʔ]
c	~E	└< 321 >	17,18.3	[w-] [brʔtw]
d	VRes	└< 202 >	17,18.4	[w-] [hyh] [lk] [tʂʔtyw]
e	Enab	└< 512 >	17,18.5	[ky] [twryʃ] [ʔt h-knʿny]
f	Conc	└< 501 >	17,18.6	[ky] [rkb brzl] [lw]
g	Conc	└< 204 >	17,18.7	[ky] [ḥzq] [hwʔ]

Figure 5.6 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 17:17d–18g

²³ In view of Joshua's overall role, it is not clear why he "comes off poorly by comparison with Caleb" (Hawk 1991:113). Why blame him for being given a city without having asked first? He is even portrayed as the first to have built his city.

²⁴ It is less clear how Achsah can be viewed as a negative land-grabber like Rahab (Hawk 1991:105). She posits an interesting parallel to the Zelophehad daughters

Joshua first justifies his right to dismiss their complaint. They are a great nation (17:17b) and have *kōah gādōl* 'a great force' (17c; 14:11c). As a result *lōʾ-yihyeh lākā gōrāl ʾehād* 'you will not get a(n additional) lot' (17c), because they will get access to the mountain, even if it is woodlands (18a–b). He therefore commands them to clear the area and settle it all (18c–d). They will be able to dispossess the Canaanites (18e–f). No reaction follows on this final verdict. Either the tension and conflict is left hanging, or there was nothing more to discuss (cf. Butler 1983:183 and Koorevaar 1990:193).

The tension rises to unforeseen heights at the closure of the distribution episode in Joshua 22. The story reopens the theme of unity from the first episode of the book (1:12–18) and again brings in the Mosaic example of the East Jordan tribes from the stage (13:7b–14:5).²⁵ The central accusation of the representatives is stated in their inquisitive opening question:

- (1) *mā-hammaʿal hazzeh ʾāšer mēʿaltem bēʾlōhē yisrāʾel lāšūb hayyôm mēʾahārē yahwēh bibnōtakem lākem mizbēah limrodkem hayyôm bayahwēh*
 'What is this revolt which you have committed against the God of Israel, when you turn today away from Yahweh by building yourselves an altar, when you revolt today against Yahweh' (22:16b–c).

Further rhetorical questions mark successive steps in their argumentative strategy.²⁶ In the second question, *hamāʿat-lānū ʾet-ʿāwōn pāʿōr* 'Was the guilt at Peor too little for us' (17a), they include all Israel in a reference to the idolatry with Moabite women in the desert according to Numbers 25. The third question, *wāʾak ʾim-ṭēmēʾā ʾereš ʾāhuzzatkem* 'But if indeed the land of your inheritance is defiled' (19a), is followed by an advice to move west to the central sanctuary in Canaan. The final clue is a reference to the sin of Achan and its implications by *hālōʾ ʿākān ben-zerah māʿal māʿal bahērem wāʿal-kol-ʿādat yisrāʾel hāyā qāšep* 'Didn't Achan commit a revolt by the banned goods so that upon all the congregation of Israel came wrath' (20a).²⁷

(17:3–6), but do Manasseh's women live on the other side of Jordan (1991:108)?

²⁵ For connections to Numbers 32, see Ottosson (1991:110). A further connection is that Joshua only blesses Caleb (14:13a) and the East Jordan tribes (22:6a) (1991:118).

²⁶ Or two accusations (16–18, 19b–20), each with previous offenses (Hawk 1991:125).

²⁷ Achan's trespassing probably influenced the serious verdict of the congregation (cf. *māʿal* (7:1), and Boling 1982:220)—it had a virtual loss of nerves.

The East Jordan tribes react with a strong emotional defense.²⁸ Their argumentative strategy consists of several complex steps as shown by Figure 5.7.

22e	A		< 110 >	22,22.8	[l] [twšy'nw] [h-ywm h-zh] ...
23b	Cond		< 64 >	22,23.3	[w-ʔm] [l-h'lw] [ʔyw] [ʔwlh /w- /mnhh] ...
--	--				
24a	Othe		< 230 >	22,24.1	[w-ʔm] [lʔ]
b	Solu		< 120 >	22,24.2	[m-dʔgh] [m-dbr] [ʔsynw] [ʔt z't]
	QF		< 64 >	22,24.3	[l-ʔmr]
c	C		< 999 >	22,24.4	[mhr] [yʔmrw] [bnykm] [l-bnynw]
	QF		< 64 >	22,24.5	[l-ʔmr]
d	C		< 999 >	22,24.6	[mh] [lkm /w- /l-yhwh (ʔlhy yšr'l)]...
--	--				
25c	Sequ		< 321 >	22,25.5	[w-] [hšbyt] [bnykm] [ʔt bnynw]
	CoCo		< 64 >	22,25.6	[l-blty] [yrʔ] [ʔt yhwh]
26a	Just		< 372 >	22,26.1	[w-] [nʔmr]
b	P		< 999 >	22,26.2	[nʔšh] [nʔ] [lnw]
	PrSu		< 64 >	22,26.3	[l-bnwt] [ʔt h-mzbh]
c	Inte		< 100 >	22,26.4	[lʔ] [l-ʔwlh]
d	Join		< 201 >	22,26.5	[w-] [lʔ] [l-zbh]
27a	Cont		< 500 >	22,27.1	[ky] [ʔd] [hwʔ] [bynynw /w- /bynykm /w- /byn drwtynw ʔhryn] ...
--	--				
c	VRes		< 310 >	22,27.3	[w-] [lʔ] [yʔmrw] [bnykm] [mhr] [l- bnynw]
--	--				
d	C		< 999 >	22,27.4	[ʔyn] [lkm] [hlq] [b-yhwh]
28a	Sequ		< 200 >	22,28.1	[w-] [nʔmr]
b	DM		< 999 >	22,28.2	[w-] [hyh]
	Circ		< 512 >	22,28.3	[ky] [yʔmrw] [ʔlynw /w- /ʔl drtynw] [mhr]
--	--				
c	Sequ		< 322 >	22,28.4	[w-] [ʔmrnw]
d	C		< 999 >	22,28.5	[rʔw] [ʔt tbnyt mzbh yhwh]
	Rel		< 12 >	22,28.6	[ʔšr] [ʔšw] [ʔbwtynw] ...
29a	LDP		< 100 >	22,29.1	[hlylh] [lnw (mmnw)]
	PrCo		< 64 >	22,29.2	[l-mrd] [b-yhwh]
b	Join		< 201 >	22,29.3	[w-] [l-šwb] [h-ywm] [m-ʔhry yhwh]
	CoCo		< 64 >	22,29.4	[l-bnwt] [mzbh] [l-ʔh l-mnhh w-l-zbh] [m-l-bd mzbh yhwh (ʔhynw)] ...
--	--				

Figure 5.7 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 22:22a-29b*

First they insist on their innocence by oath. A first repeated left-detached position *ʔel ʔēlōhīm yahwēh* 'El, the God Yahweh' is resumed by

²⁸ "Now the eastern tribes hurl the charge back at them, predicting that the descendants of the Cisjordanian tribes will be responsible for causing future division and apostasy in Israel" (Hawk 1991:126).

the participle clause *hûʔ yōdēaʕ* (22a) stating that God already knows it. It is joined with a second left-detached position for *yisrāʔēl* followed by a future or modal ingressive sense in *hûʔ yēdāʕ* ‘it will/should come to know’ (22b).²⁹ Both are independent appeals. A conditional sentence with double apodosis *ʔim-bāmered wəʔim-bāmaʕal bəyahwēh* ‘if in disobedience and if in revolt against Yahweh’ (22c–d) has an apodosis *ʔal-tôšʕēnû hayyôm hazzeh* ‘[then] not-it-would.save-us the-day this’ (22e) with vetitive neuter. If they had built an altar (23b–c), Yahweh would indeed *yəbaqqēš* ‘search’ or ‘beseech them for it’ (23d). However, *wəʔim-lōʔ* ‘But if not [the case]’ (24a), then the alternative explanation can only be that *middəʔāgā middābār ʕāšînû ʔet-zōʔt* ‘[then] from-anxiety of-the-word/thing/event we-did AM-this’ (24b).

The explanation then develops into several quotes within quote:

(2) 1 2 3 degree of direct speech embedding:

»...[saying] (24a):

. »your children will say:

. . »your (=our) children have no part in Yahweh« (24b–25b)

. and they will deter our children from fear of Yahweh« (25c–d)

and then we said (26a):

. »let’s make an altar as witness of sacrifice-bringing« (26b–27b)

. so that your children will not say (27c):

. . »you have no part in Yahweh« (27d)

and then we said (28a):

. »(it will happen) when they say [it] to us and our descendants (28b)

. then we will say (*qatal*) (28c)

. . »look at this altar-monument for Yahweh« « (28d–g)

It is far from us to revolt against Yahweh and build altar for sacrifices « (29a–b)

The eastern tribes admit their fear of a threatening future exclusion by their kin in two quotes at the deepest level of embedding in the discourse (24b–25b and 27d). They assert the paradigm of obedience in a equally deeply embedded final quote (28d–g) and in their conclusion (29a–b).

The crisis conjures suspicion and strife, and future exclusion lurks under the surface. But in spite of the ambiguity of the easterner’s “altar”-construction and their geographical distance, the story is still a strong witness to the ideological unity of the people. The final word of the distribution is a denial of betrayal. It is detrimental to search for a deeper meaning at variance with its grammar and discourse structure.³⁰

²⁹ These complex introducing clauses are hardly vocatives (contrast Hawk 1991:126).

³⁰ Hawk reverses the story because “[t]he entire explanation seems contrived and the

The major unifying theme of the distribution episode is the precise listing of territorial rights. In this respect **the allotment of the Aronites** grammatically receives a careful marking through its very pronounced peak in 21:4–19. This sacral theme reasserts that the Israelites willingly gave of their own allotted territory (3a) just as Yahweh had ordered through Moses (2a–b). This theme contributes strongly to the overriding issue of fulfillment and obedience in the whole discourse.

Two of the episodes conclude with closures of success. The allotment was completed and God had given them the land as promised (19:49b–51). They had now taken it into possession by settling there (21:43c–d).³¹ What he had promised was completely fulfilled (45a–b). There was peace in the land and no enemies attacked them (44a–d). Both of them reinforce the stage (13:1–14:5) and the closure (22) of the distribution discourse which emphasize the completed task, the obedience to the words of Yahweh through Moses and the unity of east and west.

In conclusion, the distribution discourse moves from the secured property across the Jordan to the west and then returns to the “altar” at Jordan with its warning of trespasses and reassertion of loyalty. Yet the salient themes are the continuous obedience of Joshua and the willingness of Caleb. God’s gift of inheritance sets the model for the people’s gifts to Joshua and the priests.

5.4.4 The Covenant Theme of Joshua 23–24

A final theme anticipated by the stage is the promise that nobody will be able to overcome Joshua for the rest of his life (1:5a). This theme surfaces in the third and final episode of Joshua 23–24. It reflects the end phase of his life by the note on his age and the peace brought by Yahweh (23:1; cf. 13:1a). Joshua explicitly reminds them of his approaching death through the idiom *wāhinnēh ʾānōkī hōlēk hayyōm bāderek kol-hāʾāreš* ‘look, I am today walking the way of all the earth’ (23:14a). He personally testifies that he will always serve Yahweh (24:15g).

denials are suspiciously passionate” (1991:127), but and but the desperate negotiators are “willing to accept the explanation at face value.”

³¹ Thus 21:43–45 are not “exaggerated claims ... to impose order on a story that has become increasingly incoherent and uncertain” (Haw 1991:116). Yahweh still has to fulfill the Sidonian promise (13:6) and wipe out remaining people, but promises for the future are always conditional on obedience. The conclusions and most minor constituent units assert the completion of the events at large rather than “an incoherent and incomplete ending.”

Both chapters have been meticulously analyzed as poetic narrative by Koopmans (1988; 1990) from the Kampen school of colometrical analysis.³² This invites a comparison with a discourse linguistic method.

The discourse structure of **the extended sermon** of Joshua 23 is rhetorically complex. As motivation for his address Joshua first mentions his age (2c) and the people's experience of Yahweh's deeds in the wars (3a). As shown in Figure 5.8 below, he elaborates on this by noting that *rə'û hippaltî lākem ʔet-haggôyim hanniš'ārîm* 'look, I allotted you the remaining people' (4a) and promising that Yahweh will drive them away (5a). From this duality Joshua's first step in his argumentation is to command them *waḥḥazaqtem mə'ōd lišmōr wəla'āsōt* 'you must be very strong to obey and do' (6a) in order to serve God and complete the settlement (6b-7a). This purpose satellite is marked by a 2mp *wəqatal* verb (Command (SS); cf. 11a).

4a	DM	< 132>	23,04.1	[r'w]
	Elab	< 123>	23,04.2	[hpłty] [lkm] [t h-gwym h-nš'rym h-ʔlh]
--	--			[b-nḥlh] [l-šbtykm] ...
5a	LDP	< 302>	23,05.1	[w-] [yhwh (ʔlhykm)]
	Elab	< 110>	23,05.2	[hwʔ] [yhdpm] [m-pnykm] ...
6a	Purp	< 323>	23,06.1	[w-] [hẏqtm] [m'd]
b	Purp	< 64>	23,06.2	[l-šmr]
	PrCo	< 201>	23,06.3	[w-] [l-ʕswt] [t kl]
	Rel	< 10>	23,06.4	[h-] [ktwb] [b-spr twrt mšh]
c	Purp	< 64>	23,06.5	[l-blty] [swr] [mmnw] [ymyn w-šm'wl]
7a	Purp	< 200>	23,07.1	[l-blty] [bwʔ] [b--gwym h-ʔlh]
	Rel	< 100>	23,07.2	[h-nš'rym h-ʔlh] [tkm] ...

Figure 5.8 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 23:4-7*

The motivation (2c-5d) with its purpose (6a-7a) and elaboration (7b-8b) is then restated for rhetorical effect. Yahweh drove the nations away (9a) and nobody could resist Israel (9b). Its purpose is again stipulated in a *wəqatal* command to love Yahweh (11a).³³ He motivates them by the

³² Poetic structure consists of cola (with internal parallelism in a verse), verses (cohere in form and content), strophes (formally delineated sub-units), canticles (sub-cantos) and/or cantos (compositions delineated by thematic shifts) (Koopmans 1990:177-179).

³³ According to Koopmans (1988:97 n. 39, 100 n. 49) the *wəqatal* forms of 6a and 11a open major new units. The repetitions in 5bB and 10b are refrains terminating canticles I.A (1a-5d) and I.B (6a-10c) (1988:99 n.46). The *wayyôreš yahwēh* 'Yahweh dispossessed' (9a) continues the *kī ʔim*-clause in (8a). The LDP-pronoun *wə'attem* (9b) marks ResTop.

threat that if they defect (12a), they can rest assured that Yahweh will not dispossess the remaining nations (13a), but ruin themselves.³⁴

9a	Rest	——— <372>	23,09.1	[w-] [ywrš] [yhwh] [m-pnykm] [gwym gdlym w-šwym]
--	--			
b	LDP	——— <307>	23,09.2	[w-] [ʔtm]
	Elab	——— <120>	23,09.3	[ʔ] [ʔmd] [ʔyš] [b-pnykm] [ʔd h-ywm h- zh] ...
--	--			
11a	Purp	——— <320>	23,11.1	[w-] [nšmrtm] [mʔd] [l-npštykm] ...
12a	Cj	——— <100>	23,12.1	[ky]
	└Cond	——— <240>	23,12.2	[ʔm] [šwb] [tšwbw] ...
13a	Moti	——— <111>	23,13.1	[ydwʔ] [tdʔw]
	CoSu	——— <511>	23,13.2	[ky] [ʔ] [ywsyp] [yhwh (ʔlhykm)]
	PrSu	——— <64>	23,13.3	[l-hwryš] [ʔt h-gwym h-ʔlh] [m-l-pnykm]

Figure 5.9 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 23:9–13*

Joshua then arrives at the main argument of the speech. After a *wəhinnēh* (14a) he repeats the motivation in a summary referring to his old age and all the good Yahweh has done (14b–d). The punch line in the nucleus at last introduces a future scenario by means of the discourse marker *wəhāyā* (15a). Yahweh may in the future fulfill every threat of disaster (*kol-haddābār hārāʿ*) on them (15b) until he completely destroys them (15c) just as he formerly had fulfilled every word of promise (*kol-haddābār haʔōb*) (15a; cf. 21:45). If they trespass against the covenant (16a), God's wrath will kindle against them (16d).³⁵

The **speech exchange on the covenant** in Joshua 24 has a similar thematic structure, but its elements are weighted differently. On the review of past history (24:2–13; cf. 23:3–5) there follows an admonition for the present (24:14–15; cf. 23:6–13) and alternative possibilities for the future (24:19–22; cf. 23:14–16). Koopmans' (1990:180–241) colometric analysis proposes 5 subsections (canticles), balanced in two parts (the cantos in 24:1–13 and 24:14–28). Unfortunately, the suggested poetic balance between units at some points overrules discourse-pragmatic struc-

³⁴ The temptation of Canaanite gods does not *per se* "block a sense of fulfillment" (Hawk 1991:129), but rather asserts the conditionality of every promise on obedience.

³⁵ It is not a prediction (Hawk 1991:129), nor does the "appended declarations transform the affirmation of the promise into a threatening negation" (1991:131). Hawk overlooks the alternative realization of a conditional clause in 16a. Expulsion is not the final word (Butler 1983:253 and Boling 1982:256), but the terminal alternative.

14a	DM	└─┐ < 302 >	23,14.1	[w-] [hnh]
	Summ	└─┐ < 100 >	23,14.2	[ʔnky] [hwlk] [h-ywm] [b-drk kl h-ʔrʃ]
b	Elab	└─┐ < 326 >	23,14.3	[w-] [ydʔtm] [b-kl lbbkm /w- /b-kl npʃkm]
--	CoSu	└─┐ < 522 >	23,14.4	[ky] [lʔ] [npl] [dBr ʔhd] [m-kl h-dbrym h-ʔwbym] ...
15a	DM	└─┐ < 320 >	23,15.1	[w-] [hyh]
	└─┐ Back	└─┐ < 12 >	23,15.2	[k-ʔʃr] [bʔ] [ʔlykm] [kl h-dBr h-ʔwb]
	Rel	└─┐ < 12 >	23,15.3	[ʔʃr] [dbr] [yhwh ʔlhykm] [ʔlykm]
b	C	└─┐ < 112 >	23,15.4	[kn] [ybyʔ] [yhwh] [ʔlykm] [ʔt kl h-dBr h-rʔ]
--	Circ	└─┐ < 70 >	23,15.5	[ʔd hʃmydw] [ʔwtkm] [m-ʔl h-ʔdmh h- ʔwbh h-zʔt]
--	Rel	└─┐ < 12 >	23,15.6	[ʔʃr] [ntn] [lkm] [yhwh ʔlhykm]
16a	└─┐ Cond	└─┐ < 55 >	23,16.1	[b-ʔbrkm] [ʔt bryt yhwh ʔlhykm] ...
16d	Rest	└─┐ < 324 >	23,16.6	[w-] [hrrh] [ʔp yhwh] [bkm] ...

Figure 5.10 Rhetorical and Syntactic Relations in 23:14–16*

ture³⁶ and explicit grammatical marking.³⁷

The dialogue discourse opens with a vast proposal by Joshua (2c–15g). The first long part (2c–13c) quotes Yahweh's actions in "a recital of stops along the way to fulfillment" (Hawk 1991:134). His account of his deeds in history is reported in first person narrative verb forms.³⁸ The key to the discourse structure is found in the introductions of new thematic participants and spatio-temporal shifts.

This embedded speech of Yahweh opens by a strongly marked locational setting *bəʿēber hannāhār* 'Beyond the River' (a NewFoc) followed

³⁶ Text type is violated, if a major homogeneous speech is divided between two cantos (v.2–13/14–15) (Koopmans 1990:206–207), or a single direct discourse (27a–e) into two canticles and its latter part (27d–e) combined with the narrative closure (28a) (1990:224). Even Koopmans must admit "a single, compact strophe" in 24:1 (1990:190). An RST-analysis would not separate 'and I gave him Isaac' (3bB) from 'and I gave Isaac' (4aA) 'Jacob and Esau' (4aB) into two canticles (I.ii.2/3), not even as "a concatenation between episodes" (1990:193 n.99), because it elaborates the 'seed' (3c).

³⁷ An apposition is detached from its head noun (9aA/9aB) (Koopmans 1990:183). A grammatical core coordination like *wāʔettēn ləʔēšāw* 'and I gave to Esau' (4bA) *ʔet-har šēʔir lārešet ʔdō* 'Mount Seir to inherit it' (4bB) is split, and the shared core member *ʔet-har šēʔir* ends up in the wrong core with an extra object besides *ʔdō* (1990:181). A PCS-subject *wāyaʔqōb ūbānāyw* (4cA) is separated from its core in *yārādū mišrāyim* (4cB). Finally, it is curious that a new canticle (II.ii.2; 17bA) should open with a relative clause (1990:212 n. 220).

³⁸ This syntax only marks the role of Yahweh as agent, not the line of argumentation. A computational demarcation of parallel *wāʔeqtol* forms resulted in a dull non-informative structure without grammatical depth.

by *qatal* (2c). The clause introduces the subject *ʾăbôtêkem* 'your fathers' (NewTop). After a time adjunct *mēʿôlām* 'in olden times' it appositionally specifies the prominent ancestor Terah in a right-detached position (Sub-Top). An elaboration (2d) characterizes their fathers as idol worshippers. This background information functions as the stage for the following discourse on servanthood.

Three narrative sequences in episode 1 narrate events from Abraham's time. God took Abraham out of his Mesopotamian background (3a), lead him during his wanderings in Canaan (3b) and 'multiplied his seed' (3c). The patriarchal theme of offspring is elaborated in clauses with *wāʾettēn* 'I gave' mentioning how Isaac became father of Jacob and Esau (3c-d). A new paragraph then introduces the land as a second patriarchal theme. The *wāʾettēn*-clause now reintroduces Esau (ResTop) and informs that he settled Mount Seir (4b).³⁹ A marked contrast in 4c uses precore slot *wāyāʿăqōb ūbānāyw* 'but Jacob and his children' (ParFoc) to tell that they instead went to Egypt. The patriarchal unit thus ends with a walk away without an inheritance.

Episode 2 is again opened by *wāʾeqtol* forms. The new participants Moses and Aaron indirectly also imply a new temporal setting. The resumed entity *ʾet-miṣrayim* 'AM-Egypt' is treated violently by Yahweh (5b) to save the fathers ('you'). However, it only brings them to a walk away into a barrier—'you came to the Sea' (6a).⁴⁰

A new episode 3 is opened by a careful reintroduction of such known entities as the agent of the pursuit, *miṣrayim*, and *ʾăbôtêkem* 'your fathers' (6b). The manner adjuncts 'by waggon and horse' and a full locative adjunct *yam-sûp* underscores the unit marking. This opening is followed by sequences on their cry for help (7a),⁴¹ on the darkness (7b) and on the drowning of the Egyptians (7c-d). The Sea events result in a vision of their disappearance (7d-e).⁴² Afterwards they do not even walk any more—'you sat in the desert for many days' (7f).

³⁹ Neither the repetition of *wā- ... ʾet* nor the introduction of Jacob and Esau in 4a (Koopmans 1990:192-193) are decisive unit markers.

⁴⁰ Koopmans (1990:195 and n. 115) interprets the *wāʾôṣîʾ* 'I brought' (6a) as a temporal adverbial clause introducing a new strophe (I.iii.2). While this can be supported by the repetition of *hōṣēʾîʾ* (5d) it does not explain the strong marking of 6b. We posit a core cosubordination of *wāʾôṣîʾ* + object + source—*wattābōʾû* + goal for accomplishment. The chain of 5d-6a states: I brought you out to the Sea.

⁴¹ Koopmans (1990:196) posits a new strophe (iii.3) in 7a, but it would be unmarked by explicit subject and setting references.

⁴² Koopmans (1990:197) posits a new strophe (iii.4) because of switch to 3fp. But 7bA, bB [*sic*], cA, and cB (1990:182) are very short elaborations.

Episode 4 reverts to the initial *wayyiqtol*-form *wāʾābīʾā* ‘I brought’ and recounts how Yahweh guided them *ʾel-ʾereṣ hāʾēmōrî* ‘to the land of the Amorites’ (8a). The participle clause *hayyôṣēb bāʿēber hayyardēn* ‘who live on the other side of the Jordan’ (8b) provides unit-initial background (NewTop). The story line recounts their attack and defeat. It ends with the first permanent solution—‘you inherited their land’ (8e).⁴³

Episode 5 reports a new counter-attack (9a, cf. 6a). The Egyptian use of force is now supplanted by a more subtle attack by curses. The Moabite king, Balak ben Sippor, called for Bileam ben Beor to curse you (9a–b), but Yahweh would not allow it and instead blessed ‘you’ (10a–b) and saved ‘you’ out of his hand (10c). This ends with an at least partial new solution—‘you crossed over Jordan to Jericho’ (11a).

The final episode 6 contains considerable rhetorical embellishment. It recounts a third counter-attack by the Canaanites (11b, cf. 8c) who are referred to in a full list of nations.⁴⁴ Yahweh repeats that he gave them into their hand (11c=8d/10c; cf. Koopmans 1990:204). He panicked them (12a; cf. 5:1; 6:1; 10:10–12). He drove them away without sword or bow—at least figuratively so (12b–c; contrast 8:17; 10:28ff).⁴⁵ The embellishment is strongest in the final portrayal of the settlement on the west: Yahweh gave them a land they did not labor with, houses they did not build, vineyards and oliveyards they did not plant (13a–c). The final solution is at hand—you now sit eating (cf. 8e).

After this long embedded divine narrative, Joshua draws his conclusion in *wāʾattā yārʾû ʾet-yahwēh wāʾibdû ʾôtô* ‘And now, fear Yahweh and serve him’ (14a–b). He forces them to choose between foreign or local gods and the God of their own fathers, and personally recommends the

⁴³ The *wāʾašmîdēm mippānēkem* ‘and I blotted them out before you’ (8f) is difficult, as destruction should precede settlement. It may be a temporal adverbial *wayyiqtol*-clause, but more likely summarizes the preceding just as 6a does.

⁴⁴ The text *wayyillāhāmû bākem baʾālē-yārîḥô hāʾēmōrî wāhapparizzî ... haḥiwwî wāhaybûsî* (11b) raises several questions: did ‘the lords of Jericho’ really wage war, and what happened to its king? Why is the following noun phrases not introduced by *wā-*, and how can these nations be in apposition to lords of Jericho? Most recently and thoroughly Koopmans (1990:201–203) argues for displacements in the text. But deletion of a single letter, the *ʾayin* of *baʾālē*, would allow for the reading *bālî* ‘without’, i.e., ‘except for Jericho’. This tentative suggestion is elegant and simple, but lacks the support of ancient witnesses and modern scholars.

⁴⁵ The *wattāgāreš ʾôtām mippānēkem šanē malkē hāʾēmōrî* ‘and it drove them away before you, the two Amorite kings’ (12b) has an RDP-apposition. The Amorite kings are singled out in 18b, and should not be deleted (Koopmans 1990:202).

latter (14c–15g). Israel endorses Yahweh's reported deeds and declare their loyalty (16b–18c). The proposal and response dialogue then shifts into turn-taking with a series of counter-comments. Joshua seriously doubts their ability to obey (19a–20e), but they will not accept this (21b–c). Joshua therefore warns them against becoming witnesses to their own declaration (22b–c) and they comply (22e).⁴⁶ Finally, as a peak-marking device of dramatic shortening, the quote formula is completely omitted. In this zero-marked direct speech, Joshua urges them to get rid of their foreign gods and cleanse their hearts (23a–b). Israel solemnly declares its obedience (24b–c) and the covenant is made.

All the oral discourse of this last episode expresses several prominent themes of Joshua. **Victory and success** are expressed throughout (23:3, 5, 9). At the same time, it is constantly noted that even a definite victory may not be definitive after all. Unconquered nations still remain to be subdued in the future (23:5, 14). The perspective of the discourses is therefore that "God fought for Israel, but the conquest was to be gradual and conditional on obedience" (Childs 1979:249).⁴⁷

In the staging monologue Joshua preaches on loyalty and disloyalty (Joshua 23) and in the main speech-exchange he appeals for personal allegiance (24:1–24). The monologue takes up the blessing and curse of the covenant and the dialogue enforces **commitment** before the covenant ceremony. The actual solemn inauguration of the covenant is only the last part of the didactic peak in the covenant dialogue. A plot-oriented discourse-pragmatic analysis thus explains the unity and function better than a poetic structuring into literary parallelism.

The predominant theme of the central dialogue is forcefully captured by the term *'ābad* 'serve'. It is used seven times in 24:14–15, and functions both in the appeal to the people and in Joshua's testimony. Joshua's final *na'ābōd* 'we will serve' (15g) is mirrored in the people's first (18b), second (21c), and third response (24b) (Koopmans 1990:233). They express their strong desire to serve God and in the end affirm that *gam-*

⁴⁶ Hawk (1991:135–136) reads Joshua's denial ironically: the covenant mediator keeps Yahweh and Israel apart. But in the context he unites the two parties and does not interpret their witness ambiguously (1991:137). He reinforces blessing and curse.

⁴⁷ According to Childs (1979:248) this conditionality is deuteronomistic (23:13, Exod 23:30, Deut 7:22). Because the conditions were met, they "demonstrate that the result is complete and total victory of Israel as God fulfills his promise to the letter." (1979:249). Campbell (1991:172, 176, 180) only finds an unhistorical narrative interpretation. Wenham suggests that the editor interpreted "the taking of the land to mean the gaining of control without eliminating all the opposition." (1971:143).

ʾānahñû naʿābōd ʾet-yahwēh kî-hûʾ ʾēlōhēnû ‘we also will serve Yahweh because he is our god’ (24:18b–c). Joshua’s astonishing denial by *lōʾ tūkālû laʿābōd ʾet-yahwēh* ‘you can not serve Yahweh’ (19b) is a forceful way to state their total distance from a holy God.⁴⁸

The phonologically similar verb *ʿābar* is also significant. It has figured prominently in different senses of crossing and passing early in the book, but is now used with *barît yahwēh* in the sense of ‘break the covenant of Yahweh’ (23:16a).⁴⁹ This warning is balanced by the major event of the episode in Joshua 22–24 expressed by the idiom *wayyikrōt barît* ‘cut (=made) a covenant’ (24:25a). The religious sense of covenant-breach surfaces as a significant discourse topic of the book.⁵⁰ The threatening twist in the use of the lexeme in the final speeches is anticipated by the traumatic events following the sins of Achan and the divine indictment for *ʿābar ʾet-barît yahwēh* (7:11b and 15b). A more terrible defeat awaits if God will have to reverse his response: *wakillâ ʾetkem ʾahărê ʾăšer-hêfîb lākem* ‘and finishes you off after he has treated you well’ (24:20d–e).

A final solemn warning is also sounded through the significance that Joshua attaches to the **monumental stone witness** of the covenant. He first presents the stone in an inclusive plural: *hinnēh hāʾeben hazzōʾt tihyeh-bānû laʿēdâ* ‘Look, this stone shall serve against us as a witness’ (24:27b). The cause for its status as a testimony is that it attended and symbolically manifests all Yahweh’s words of promise and of threat (27c). Joshua then emphatically repeats his admonition: *wahāyātâ bākem laʿēdâ* ‘it shall serve as witness against you’ (27d) *pen-takahšûn bēʾlōhēkem* ‘in order that you do not deceive God’ (27e). This reminder of blessing and curse is the final quoted word of the story of the conquest on the lips of the divinely guided general.

In conclusion, both the monologue and the dialogue of the covenant episode summarize central discourse themes from all of Joshua. The speeches reiterate the glorious events of the conquest and prolong this line of action back into patriarchal beginnings. Past history is retold to admonish the people to diligent service of God and to warn them against disastrous revolting. Blessing and curse is united within the solemn confirmation through covenant and witness.

⁴⁸ In other cases *ʿabad* is used in reference to the father’s service of other gods (24:2c) and as a warning against it (23:7d; 24:20a). There is a forceful play between *waʿabadtem ʾēlōhîm ʾāhērîm* ‘serve other gods’ (23:16b) and *waʿabadtem mähērâ mēʿal hāʾareš haṭṭôbâ* ‘quickly become slaves [far] away from the good land’ (16e).

⁴⁹ Cf. the references to *ʾārôn barît-yahwēh* ‘the ark of Yahweh’s covenant’ (3:3b) and variants (3:6b, 6c, 8a, 11a, 14b, 17a; 4:7b, 9a, 18a; 6:6a, 8c; 8:33a).

⁵⁰ Contrast the political sense of the idiom in 9:6d, 7c, 11f, and 15b.

5.4.5 Summary and Conclusion: The Themes of Joshua

A discourse grammar can trace the thematic structure through the structure of the discourse. It is closely related to the structural theology proposed by Koorevaar, but it offers an alternative to his structural-literary uniformity. It looks for the linguistic expressions of discourse topics and for the macrostructure emerging from the story line and its thematic elaboration by direct discourse.

A discourse grammar will therefore follow the thematic guideline set out in the divine speech of the stage. The central themes are linguistically expressed through the key phrases *ʿābōr* 'cross' (1:2b), *nətatfīw* 'I will give' (3a) *gəbūlkem* 'your borders' (4a) and *lōʾ-yityaššēb ʾiš ləpānêkā kōl yāmê ḥayyêkā* 'nobody shall hold stand against you all the days of your life' (5a). The thematic analysis traced the expression of these topics through the stories of the conquest, distribution and covenant.

A discourse grammar can also assert the significance of the final didactic speeches at the end of the book. It will pay attention to the way that Joshua prepares for the confirmation of the covenant by challenging the people to obey the divine commands. It will also note that the final act of raising a monumental stone bears witness to the covenant in 24:27 and serves as a pointer to the thematic structure of the total discourse. God's promises were fulfilled during the conquest through monumental inscription in the stones at Gilgal, the ruins of Jericho and Ai, the altars at Ebal and Shechem and the stone-hails at Ayyalon. The period of distribution and preparation of boundary stones among the tribes ended with the huge stone structure set up at the Jordan as a witness to religious unity between east and west. The eastern tribes solemnly named the (disputed) monument 'Surely, Yahweh is our God' (22:34). The third and final episode of the covenant making again culminates in a witness in stone on covenantal allegiance to the promises and of obedient loyalty towards God.

The theme of the book of conquest is that even if the danger of deceit was present at the glorious beginning, the solid witnesses of all these stones testify to divine acts and human obedience and still speak their limitless language.

5.5 Summary and Conclusions: Joshua's Discourse

This final and sweeping assault on the grammar and text of the conquest story in Joshua has demonstrated that discourse grammar is operational on the level of a complete work. The highest macrostructural levels can be reached when they are solidly tied into the analysis of lower intraclausal and interclausal levels by computational tools and explained by a functional grammar.

This procedure allows us to advance beyond mere thematic readings. We do not propose five central themes (Joshua, war, land, law and Israel) which the editor of Joshua 1 introduced as a sequel to the Pentateuch and preview of the book (Wenham 1971), nor do we search for a Davidic ideal land (Ottosson 1991) or structural key words (Koorevaar 1990).

Discourse-pragmatics can uncover the points where holistic structure and linguistic expression converge to convey the central message. The writer chose to announce his theme right at beginning in the first part of the divine command. The stage prefigures the constituents and themes of the complete work. Table 5.17 shows how structure and theme combine in the Book of Joshua.

Theme in stage	Resumed in	Constituent	Constituents with similar themes
Servant (2a)	24:29-a33	Closure	1:6-9; 1:10-18; 3:7; 4:14; 5:13-15; 6:27; 10:10-28; 11:16-23
Crossing (2b)	1:10-4:24	Ep.1.1	22
Conquest (3a)	5-12	Ep.1.2-3	2
Distribution (4a)	13-22	Ep.2	11:23; 12:1-6
Covenant (5a)	23-24	Ep.3	2:9-20; 4:19-5:12; 7; 8:30-35; 9; 14:6-15; 17:14-18; 22

Table 5.17 Central Themes and Constituents in Joshua

This enables us to distinguish between structure and themes. The story line is fairly uniform. Constituent units unfold progressively through conquest, distribution and covenant-making. The themes of the stories relate more specifically to Mosaic servanthood and covenant-obedience. However, there is no significant contrast between how the story was told and why it was told. Structure and theme converge.

Finally, structure and theme are found only *after* a linguistic analysis, yet the overall structure must be clarified *before* we can understand the functions of syntactic relations. A grammar can only be written when we differentiate between constructions at boundaries or peaks and regular usage. A top-down perspective on bottom-up analysis is essential (5.3).

Chapter 6 Summarizing the Conquests: Conclusions

In the previous five chapters, I have tried to contribute to the story of conquest by attacking the Hebrew grammar of the Book of Joshua. I first explained my strategy and then surveyed the theoretical landscape to decide on the angle of attack. I gathered grammatical intelligence from 'Spying on Jericho', conquered the pragmatics of discourse at Jordan, Jericho and Ai, and concluded with the mopping-up on all of Joshua.

These chapters develop a functional discourse grammar and apply it to Ancient Hebrew narrative. The grammar is functional in the sense that actual linguistic behavior determines its scope and rules. It is discourse-pragmatic in the sense that it accounts for textual factors and purposes of language users. The study traces the ways that the writer of the conquest story told his tale through linguistic structures ranging from clause fragments to a complete, book-length discourse.

In my introduction in **chapter 1**, I gave an account of the challenge of past and present readings of Joshua (1.2). Opposing and divergent trends emerged. An older diachronic tradition now moves towards refined author-oriented redactional reading, while a more modern synchronic literary criticism propagates increasingly subtle themes. The new literary approach reopens the case for demarcation, coherence, and thematic unity of the Book of Joshua.

In this interpretative situation I made the claim that we need a linguistic re-analysis of Joshua (1.3.1). I surveyed two modern trends in Hebrew linguistics and sided with functional grammar and discourse analysis. The aim of this kind of text-linguistics was defined as a search for semantic and formal structuring of a narrative text, an exploration of criteria of unity and internal coherence, and an analysis of devices for boundary marking at the beginning and end of textual segments. This interest is shared with text-syntactic structural grammars, but a functional grammar includes discourse and pragmatics in a much more fundamental way.

I then considered the implications of a linguistic approach for textual analysis. First, this kind of grammar is highly consistent with modern literary criticism which should have methodological priority to diachronic hypothesis in the interpretation of Hebrew literary discourse (1.3.2). Both a linguistic and a literary approach will look for the formal structure and functions of a text as a literary whole, but a functional discourse grammar will also cull contextual and situational information from its textual sources.

Second, we should work on the received Hebrew text rather than on some reconstructed "original" text as long as we do not completely understand the grammatical and pragmatic structure of the Hebrew text tradition (1.3.3). Except for obvious scribal errors, corrections of our standard text should follow as a sequel to discourse-pragmatic analysis. The analyst who has the ancient Hebrew Book of Joshua as his linguistic field data should study the canonical version as grammatical, aesthetic, and transmitted data.

At this stage I presented two new fields of study of special interest to text-linguistics. I suggested that the Rhetorical Structure Theory provides a useful inter-disciplinary framework for linguistic description and textual interpretation (1.3.2). As this theory is informed by pragmatic insights into the rhetorical structure of texts it is very useful both for our theory and for our textual scope.

I also suggested that modern tools for computing can assist our work on a large linguistic corpus (1.4). Computer-assisted procedures enable us to perform a consistent, broad and empirical description of grammatical relations in a text. My grammar of Joshua has not only an interpretative goal, but also attempts to exploit the computer for linguistic description.

Both fields of study are offered as useful areas for the linguistic study of discourse. A pragmatic rhetorical analysis and a syntactic computer-assisted description influence both the theory of grammar and the analysis of discourse. A computational procedure enhances the data-oriented aspect of linguistic analysis, and a rhetorical analysis enhances the functional dimension of linguistic description. When both methods are used in tandem, they bridge the gap between a functional interpretation of regularities in discourse and a formalist description of rules in grammar.

My study of the grammar of Joshua is thus not only a text-specific investigation, but also, and perhaps even more so, an account of how a functional grammar can be combined with a textual analysis and a computer-assisted description. This is reflected in my proposal on theory in **chapter 2**.

I first mentioned the shift away from structuralism to functionalism within linguistics at present (2.1). I stated my debt to Simon Dik's *Functional Grammar* and above all to Foley and Van Valin's *Role and Reference Grammar*. This kind of functional grammar with a discourse-pragmatic perspective can be defined as a theory to explain how semantic structure is syntactically varied for pragmatic purposes. I introduced some key notions, notably syntax, semantics and pragmatics as well as sequential, referential, and spatio-temporal threads of discourse.

Functional grammar was then developed for the intraclausal, interclausal and textual levels, and illustrated by examples from natural languages and especially from Joshua.

At the intraclausal level, a functional discourse grammar relates the meaning and form of a clause to its use in discourse (2.2). It explains how pragmatics is involved in syntactic packaging of simple clauses into complex linguistic constructions. A predicate typology based on language universals can show how clauses consists of sets of semantic relations obtaining between the predicate and its arguments (2.2.1). A theory of a layered structure of the clause can explain the internal structure of the Hebrew predicate and the distinction between peripheral adjuncts and core arguments (2.2.2). It explains how nominals can play a role in the packaging of clause structure by means of positions initial in the clause, or to the left or right of the clause within the sentence. I finally presented some prevalent views on the morphosyntax of the Hebrew verb (2.2.3).

On the next level of grammatical organization, we find the interclausal relations (2.3). Cross-clausal linkage involves both a typology of clause combining and coherence functions of nominal reference and predicate sequencing. It is the most crucial area of functional grammar.

One of the major contributions of functional grammar is that the theory of the layered clause can be extended to higher discourse levels in order to explain the mechanisms of interclausal linkage (2.3.1). It offers a clause-linkage system with several semantic relation types ranging from tight syntactic connections within extended clauses to looser links of pragmatic nature within sentences. Two parameters are used to determine the type and level of an interclausal linkage: (1) a distinction between subordinated embedded units and non-embedded units of either coordination or cosubordination type; (2) whether the linkage involves the predicate, the core or the whole clause. I then tried to determine how many of these nine combination possibilities are actually used in Hebrew.

Another major insight in functional grammar stems from its work on topic and focus (2.3.2). I first introduced the present understanding of the multi-functionality of reference within linguistics. I stated the implications for pragmatic notions of extra-textual identifiability, cognitive activation status, hierarchical discourse relations and relevance in subsequent discourse. On this background I proposed a new way to understand assignment of topic and focus.

Again I related these insights to the interclausal functions of the Hebrew predicate (2.3.3). This second thread of discourse coherence was also explained on the background of prevalent theories of Hebrew. In the

end I presented an interclausal model for assignment of pragmatic functions through marked word order.

In the final step I introduced some theory on discourse grammar (2.4.1). I acknowledged my own indebtedness to Robert E. Longacre's discourse grammar which traces thematic organization beyond the syntax of reference into episode and discourse structure. I briefly explained such key notions as macrostructure, constituent structure, superstructure, peak structure, and dialogue structure.

Within this general framework, the Rhetorical Structure Theory can be used for a more functional and pragmatic interpretation of textual relations (2.4.2). As a language- and theory-independent approach it can help us to understand how writer-intended relations are organized in texts and which regions of a text present the topics of a discourse. It is a useful procedure for discovery of functions that are grammatically or lexically unmarked.

In contrast, a computer-assisted description of syntactic hierarchies is inevitably much more formal and can therefore perform a check on interpretations of discourse structure and rhetorical relations (2.4.3). To this end the grammar can profit from a carefully produced and checked database with full information on phrase structure and clause demarcations. By means of computer programs for experiment and calculation we can establish a hierarchy of clause relations.

The remaining part of the work presents my study of Hebrew grammar and text in the Book of Joshua. It applies the linguistic theory and refines it through analysis of a relatively large set of actual textual data. I have had to restrict my efforts in several ways:

1. Most of the data could not be presented in full within the discussion. A second companion volume presents the sum total of the complete experimental work (Winther-Nielsen and Talstra 1995).

2. I had to find some useful way to organize my study. My aim was to find a way to present the top-down routines in a natural bottom-up progression that would eventually encompass the scope of the total discourse. The strongest claim for a functional discourse grammar could be made if it proved useful in a study of a single story, a group of connected stories and a whole book-length discourse.

3. During my experiments, I directed my investigation in fairly regular steps. I had to begin the study of each individual unit with a search for constituent units and their boundary demarcation (superstructure), proceed with thematic continuity in the referential and sequential threads (coherence) and end in the thematic content, especially as elaborated in

the rhetoric of dialogues (macrostructure). Needless to say, the same goes for a presentation of the data.

4. Finally, I assumed that a continuous dialogue with other scholarly procedures would strengthen my case for a functional discourse grammar. It could provide the average Old Testament scholar with at least some familiar ground. The keen eye for problems by diachronic readers helped me to focus on burning issues. Moreover, idiosyncratic synchronic readings often provoked me to reconsider what exactly was expressed through the grammar and text.

My decisions on these issues are fundamental to the presentation of my analyses. For Joshua it was natural to start with 'the spying on Jericho' in Joshua 2 because it is the first major self-contained story in the book. I organized **chapter 3** as a complete test of grammatical organization right down to the bottom of the intraclausal level.

The episode demarcation ran into some difficulty due to the peculiar structure of the story (3.2). However, an analysis of constituent structure could after all unfold how the order to Rahab was only told to the messengers (2:3), the answer of Rahab was followed by an expository background paragraph (2:6-8a), the departure of the spies was anticipated before the dialogue (2:15), and the post-dialogue episode was demarcated (2:22).

The main task of the analysis—and also the central axis of the whole investigation—was to trace coherence through rhetorical relations and to contrast them with a computer-aided description of interclausal syntax (3.3). Prior readings were related to an explanation based solely on the linguistic expressions. I found a target-rich environment to test my functional grammar on peculiar clause combinings. The rhetorical structure analysis made it possible for me to point out where the computational data were insufficient in terms of program performance or unmarked linguistic structure.

The third and final part of the test concentrated on the thematic aspects (2.4). First I presented referential devices and activation states. Then the dialogue elaborations were analyzed. Much to my surprise I found that some otherwise unexplained referential devices had a function as stylized introducers to speeches. Finally the central theme of the spy story was discussed.

In a second analytical step, in **chapter 4**, I generalized these strategies and applied them to an intermediate level analysis of a group of stories in Joshua 3-8. At this stage I zoomed in on a discourse-pragmatic analysis

of superstructure (episodic organization and demarcation), style structure (stylistic devices at peaks) and macrostructure (dialogue).

The result of these analyses was that the discourse markers of 5:1 and 9:1 proved to divide the story of the crossing of Jordan (Joshua 3:1–4:24) from the stories of the feat at Jericho (5:13–6:26) and the defeat and victory at Ai (6:27–8:29). In the latter, an initial backdrop of a marvelous conquest was reversed by a complicating setback. These twin-stories are surrounded by religious confirmations of the covenant by circumcision at Gilgal (5:2–12) and reading and sacrifice at Ebal (8:30–35). The story of the crossing of Jordan is then a sequel to the mobilization (1:10–18) and reconnaissance (2:1–24). This segment is ingeniously linked by Joshua commanding his officers (1:10–11) and his officers executing orders (3:2), but on new location and after a time lapse of three days. It ties the unit tightly around the embedded spying on Jericho.

These three stories proved to have a quite similar structure. Their stages (3:1; 5:13; 6:27–7:1) are followed by long instructions in dialogue (3:2–5, 6–13; 6:2–5, 6–10; 7:3, 6–15, 8:1–9). They all lead up to double peaks describing the marvels of ritual crossing, miraculous conquest and cunning battle tactics (3:14–17; 4:18; 6:16–20b, 20c–21; 8:13b–16, 17–24). Each of them ends in marked time closures (4:19–24; 6:26; 8:28–30).

Yet, despite this common structure, they are not at all monotonous and dull duplicates. The Jordan crossing has an elaborate flashback (3:1–2) and an inter-peak episode of stone picking (4:1–10) followed by a suspenseful elaboration (4:1–14). In the inciting incident of Jericho stands the divine commander (5:13–6:5) and the rest is mostly an orderly execution of divine orders. The stage of Ai even tells the story in advance through a thematic preview which leads into the complicated embedding of the stories of defeat (7:2–5) and execution (7:6–25).

In the third step, in **chapter 5**, I broadened the scope to a holistic perspective. At the discourse level I generalized even further and selected a few significant aspects of a functional discourse grammar. I concluded that Koorevaar's (1990) statistical analysis of prevalent demarcations and his proposal for an abstract theological structure in effect provided me with a useful context for my own analysis (5.1).

From my constituent analysis I could conclude that the book of Joshua is divided into three episodes through strongly marked high-level markers referring to the old age of Joshua (13:1; 23:1). The divine speech of 1:1–9 is also paralleled by a similar divine speech in 13:1–7a and a functionally equivalent address by Joshua in 23:1–15. A division into con-

quest, distribution and covenant promises is already suggested by themes announced early in the initial divine speech (1:2-5).

The two first episodes contain further embedded episodes. For mnemotechnic reasons I have named these episodes by conspicuous alliterating terms whose thematic portent should be fairly lucid:

1. The first discourse episode on the conquest (1:9-12:24) uses the discourse stage as its own stage and then consists of supra-episodes Ep 1.1: call-to-arms (1:10-4:24), Ep 1.2: complications (5:1-8:35), Ep 1.3: completion (9:1-11:23) and closure: conclusion (12:1-24).

2. The second discourse episode on the distribution (13:1-22:34) consists of a stage: deficiencies (13:1-14:5), Ep 2.1: division (14:6-17:18), Ep 2.2: description (18:1-19:51), Ep 2.3: donation (20:1-21:45), and closure: diversion (22:1-34).

3. The third episode avoids embeddings and forms a final didactic episode with stage: covenant-address (23:1-15), episode: covenant-dialogue (24:1-24), and closure: covenant-making (24:25-28).

This constituent structure can also explain the coherence of Joshua. The closure of the conquest episode (Ep 1) combines the conquests of the eastern and western parts of Jordan (12:1-24). This is reduplicated by 13:7b-14:5 in a kind of flashback structure which I call tail-head linkage. The same coherence device is used in the linking of the closure of the distribution (22:1-8) with the stage of the covenant episode (23:1-15). In both cases Joshua summons tribes and preaches on obedience.

A thematic structure is also marked. The obedience of the tribes east of Jordan and the unity of Israel are very central and frame the main episodes (1:10-18; 12:1-24; 13:7b-14:5; 22:1-34). The major peaks of the book are probably the completed conquests (Joshua 9-11) and the Levite donations (Joshua 20-21). But the divine miracles are prominent components of most of the story peaks in the conquest episode (3:14-17; 4:18; 6:20; 10:8-15). Lists have less perspicuous peaks, but Caleb and Judah are highlighted (14:6-15:23) as is the lot of the priests (21:8-19).

Important thematic statements are also found at the end of several supra-episodes. The conquest was completed (11:16-23), the tribes were allotted their inheritance territory (19:49b-51) and after the sacral donations of prominent cities, the conquest and distribution had come to an end (21:43-45). When the story does not stop there, it is because the people had to be taught religious loyalty (23-24) because of their failure to obey (7:1; 9:14; 17:14-18). Obedience had the final word (8:30-35; 14:6-15; 19:49b-51; 22). The last words of a dying Joshua are a stern warning against trespassing the covenant of blessing and curse (24:27).

The whole discourse was also used for an investigation of sequential continuity between clauses. First I discussed the problems and decisions on phrase and clause structures that are at the core of the syntactic displays of Joshua (5.3.1). Then I filled in some further details on the linkage system (5.3.2; cf. 2.3.1).

In the next step, I used all the remaining codes to explain the interclausal relations of Joshua. The value of a computer-aided description to analyze vast amounts of data became obvious. I also discovered some grammatical rationale behind the varied linguistic usage. The codes for syntactic relations allowed me to look at each individual pattern, ascertain some of its possible prototypical functions and then slowly form a view on the most prominent uses of groups of forms in discourse.

The syntactic clause hierarchies allowed me to trace the details of the chaining grammar of Joshua (5.3.3). I could point out how Hebrew chaining works in *wayyiqtol* forms in narrative, *wəqatal*-series in lists, and perhaps even *wəyiqtol*-chaining in an exhortation. My most novel proposal is that *wəqatal*-chaining of direct discourse exploits a mechanism for same or different subject, somewhat parallel to verb-final languages. The coded relations also enabled me to study the discourse-dependent role of pragmatic functions in interclausal coherence (3.3.4). At this point I listed specific relation types that primarily express topic and/or focus in referential linkages.

There are several important implications of my investigation. It exemplifies how constituents, coherence and content can be analyzed as linguistic objects and, to my mind, prove the value of this kind of research. A functional grammar can explain clause-linkage, topicality and sequencing.

It shows how grammatical, rhetorical and text-hierarchical data can be combined with computer-assisted descriptions in displays. I have developed a more "economical" format for book-length displays which proved highly useful for discourse-pragmatic work.

The analysis of rhetorical relations proved to be a very valuable tool to understand pragmatic intentions. At times I discovered discourse-pragmatic intentions that are unmarked in discourse structure or syntax. It helped to reanalyze the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic data. Often functional grammar could explain linguistic expressions that otherwise were only open to stylistic appraisal. However, such analyses are extremely sensitive to skillful reading and to the understanding of dis-

course structure. They are perhaps no more than interpretative labels which other analysts may agree with or not, as the case may be.

The coding of syntactic relations proved to be indispensable to an explanation of clause-sequences. The significance of sampling relevant computational data on sequential relations is far reaching. However, there are significant limitations to a computer-aided description at higher levels. As expected, it is not (yet) possible for computer programs to transcend the border between the code and the manifold situational and ideational aspects of human communication.

Moreover, even if the present generation of programs generated by Talstra and other members of the *Werkgroep Informatica* are amazingly powerful, they do not include sufficiently the coding of those nominal factors that are crucial to an investigation of topicality. At the least, their descendants in future programs must operationalize recognition of explicit subject marking by noun phrases, pronominalization and the wider role of suffix-marking. Shift of number (<203>) may or may not mark an episode boundary. Identical verb forms (<200>) may occur episode-internally, but also across episode boundaries. Much more work on discourse structure is required to understand the variations in the coding of writer's intentions and stylistic creativity.

Most prior readings of the Book of Joshua of diachronic persuasion are irrelevant for grammatical analysis—inconclusive at best and invalid at worst. Modern text-linguistics will not find much of importance in the tradition of splitting grammatical constructions or sorting the content due to some hypothesis of X number of sources, layers, traditions, authors and the like. The linguistic interpretation of Joshua shows that we have far more important challenges to face in our extant data and we can safely push genetic matters aside for quite some time.

The synchronic readings often offer close-readings that are highly relevant from a linguistic point of view. Often such readers enter the language game in a constructive way by challenging the Bible reader with methods learned from reading of texts in general. The profusion of interpretations can be highly suggestive. However, modern reading should look much more for the linguistic structuring of intentional communication by writers in specific situations. Deconstruction and reader-response criticism are especially detrimental to serious linguistic work.

The most interesting aspect of a functional discourse grammar is that it enables the linguist to establish the textual integrity and thematic unity of individual stories, groups of connected stories and complete works. That appears to be a fair conclusion from my investigation of Joshua.

7 References

I follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (the 13th edition 1982) and the author-date system. I have mostly avoided Hebrew characters for the sake of my general linguistic audience. I refrain from a transcription of Hebrew in a more appropriate phonetic system. I use the rules of *Journal of Biblical Literature* (volume 107 in 1988, pp. 579–596), except for the use of the turned *e* (ə).

7.1 Abbreviations

The following list contains peculiar abbreviations. Note also Table 2.31 for abbreviations of rhetorical relations which are not repeated here.

Bibliographic		fs	Feminine singular
Br	Brockelmann (1956)	fp	Feminine plural
GK	Gesenius and Kautsch (1909)	IMPFV	imperfective aspect
FVV	Foley and Van Valin 1984	LDP	Left-detached position
HAL	Hebräische und aramäische Lexicon zum Alten Testaments	Loc	Locative
JM	Joüon and Muraoka (1991)	ms	Masculine singular
WO	Waltke and O'Connor (1990)	mp	Masculine plural
Theological terms		N	Narrative
dtr	deuteronomistic (redaction)	NP	noun phrase
DtrH	The Deuteronomistic Historical Work (Deut-2 Kings)	Obj	Direct object
MT	The Massoretic Text (Codex Leningradiensis)	Pl	pragmatically fronted entity
LXX	The Greek Septuagint version	PASS	Passive (stem)
Grammatical terms		PCS	Precore slot
ACT	Active (stem)	Pe	Periphery (of clause)
A	Actor	PFV	perfective aspect
Ag	Agent	pl	plural
AM	Hebrew 'accusative marker'	PP	Prepositional phrase
CAUS	Causative	Pr(ed)	predicate
Cl	Clause	PrCo	Predicate Coordination
COMP	complementizer	PrCs	Predicate Cosubordination
ClCo	Clause Coordination	PrSu	Predicate Subordination
ClCs	Clause Cosubordination	RDP	Right-detached Position
ClSu	Clause Subordination	RST	Rhetorical Structure Theory
CoCo	Core Coordination	sg	Singular
CoCs	Core Cosubordination	Su	Subject
CoSu	Core Subordination	suf	Suffix
D	Direct Discourse	Th	Theme (semantic role)
		xyz	Arguments of the predicate
		WIT _{syn}	Werkgroep Informatica Text in hierarchical syntactic arrangement
		Ø	Unmarked grammatical element

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* Out of print.

Syntactic Codes and Rhetorical Relations

Overleaf in Nicolai Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis* (1995).

Attributive and infinitive clauses

- 10: Attributive clause with *hă*-relative
 11-17: Relative clauses (*'ăšer*) + verb or nominal: <11> *yiqtol*, <12> *qatal*, <16> ptc., <17> nom.
 50: infinitive clause stripped without complementizer
 51-70: infinitive clause with complementizer (preposition): <51> *'aḥărê* 'after', <55> *bə*- 'in', <62> *kə*- 'like', <64> *lə*- 'for', <65> *ləma'an* 'in order to', <67> *min*- 'from', <70> *'ad* 'until'

Parallel clauses

- 200: identical verbs (and preverbal elements) in both clauses
 201: identical, except for connector: *wə*- precedes second clause
 202: identical but for gender or number: second verb matches prior pron. suff.
 203: identical *wayyiqtol* forms, but differ in person, number and/or gender
 204: identical verb forms, but no preverbal elements in second;
 or absent verbal forms: second only partially matches phrases of preceding

Defective clauses

- 222: a part of a clause after an embedding, this part contains the verb
 223: a part of a clause after an embedding, the verb occurs before embedding

Special code

- 999: start of direct speech

Standard codes

< DIGIT-DIGIT-DIGIT >		
Present clause:		Preceding clause:
Connector	Predicate	Predicate
	↓	←
	0	nominal
100-169 zero, asyndetic	1	<i>yiqtol</i>
230-291 <i>'im</i> 'if' ¹	2	<i>qatal</i>
300-377 <i>wə</i> -/ <i>wa</i> - 'and'	3	imp.
411-451 <i>'ô</i> 'or', <i>gam</i> 'also'	4	inf.cs.
480-486 <i>wə</i> - 'and' + <i>yiqtol</i>	5	inf.abs.
500-567 <i>kî</i> 'because, even if'	6	ptc.
611-627 <i>'al-kên</i> 'therefore'	7	<i>wayyiqtol</i>
700-711 <i>terem</i> 'before', <i>'ad</i> 'until'		
810-827 <i>pen</i> 'in order that not'		
<i>ləma'an</i> 'in order to'		

From 'Codes for Syntactic Clause Relations' (Table 2.33 p.102)

¹ The system for *'im* clauses begins with the value <230->. It thus differs from the <XYZ>-system: *'im* clause <23-> has nominal predicate, <24-> *yiqtol*, <25-> *qatal*, <26-> imp., <27-> inf.cs., <28-> inf.abs. and <29-> ptc.

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Table 2.33 Codes for Syntactic Clause Relations

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A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua

by Nicolai Winther-Nielsen

The Book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible has been read as a redactional composite and as a literary work on promise and fulfillment, obedience, or covenant. Current research on the book focuses on new sociological models. What is lacking is a comprehensive study of its linguistic structure.

This work on Joshua, the author's dissertation written at Lund University, applies grammatical and textual insights and new computational tools for syntactic analysis. The old story of the conquest is studied by attacking its Hebrew grammar. After explaining the new strategy, the theoretical landscape of functional grammar is surveyed to decide on the angle of attack. The author tests the method on Joshua 2, conquers the pragmatics of discourse in Joshua 3–8 and uncovers the structure, grammar and themes of the whole Book of Joshua.

The study combines several interdisciplinary approaches to textual analysis. It develops a theory of functional grammar and discourse-pragmatic textual analysis for the study of Hebrew. It adopts the model of Rhetorical Structure Analysis to explain a writer's communicative goals as expressed by relations in texts. It applies computational tools for syntactic description of all levels of the language, from phrase to text.

The study addresses issues of concern to such diverse audiences as linguists, grammarians of Hebrew, Bible translators, computational linguists, and interpreters, e.g.:

- How can functional grammar be used for discourse-pragmatic analysis?
- Does Hebrew express aspect, modality and tense through layers of the clause?
- What is a clause and how does it link in a verb-initial chaining language?
- How are topic and focus influenced by activation, relevance and hierarchy?
- In what way are 25 relations sufficient to explain all interclausal relations?
- What does a computer-assisted syntactic description do for discourse interpretation?
- How close is the match between syntactic and pragmatic relations in Joshua 2?
- Can episode demarcation and drama explain unusual features in the grammar of the stories on Jordan, Jericho and Ai in Joshua 3–8?
- Is the Book of Joshua coherent in structure and theme?
- How can computer-generated codes be used for description of clause combining?

All the data are published in Nicolai Winther-Nielsen and Eep Talstra, *A Computational Display of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Analysis and Textual Interpretation* (Applicatio, vol. 13, Amsterdam: VU University Press 1995).