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Cohesion in the Books of the Hebrew Bible and Its Interpretation

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ABSTRACT

The Bible is generally accepted as one book, although it is a compendium of many books written by many authors of various backgrounds and over more than a millennium. Linguistic cohesion is studied usually within each book or at the level of a group of books, whereas the unity of the whole Bible is posited by the thematic continuity. However, the language of the Hebrew Bible—the Old Testament—seems to show an internal unity that runs through all the books. This article attempts an initial investigation into the cohesion between the books of the Old Testament by means of identifying some linguistic cohesive devices that mark linkage between books together with continuity in themes. It suggests that the Hebrew Bible is structured along the two narrative axes: a major historic narrative axis that runs from Genesis to Kings, and a parallel narrative form from Chronicles to Ezra-Nehemiah. The prophetic and poetic books are assumed to be attached to these narrative axes. On the other hand, it seems that these cohesive devices in biblical Hebrew are difficult to recast naturally in any living languages in the world.

Introduction

The Holy Scriptures that we have now are presented to us in the form of one book. This oneness of the Bible is manifest not only in the format of bookbinding but also in its internal unity.[1] The internal unity—or linguistic coherence—of the Bible is expressed in the grammatical features of cohesion. Coherence refers to the internal, semantic unity of the discourse, whereas cohesion refers to "the ways in which the components of the surface structure of a text—words, phrases, sentences—are linguistically connected within a sequence" (Berlin 1989:29ff.).

In biblical studies the topic of coherence and cohesion has been investigated mostly at the level of individual biblical books or at the level of a group of books such as the Pentateuch. However, coherence and cohesion at the level of

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[1]Freedman (1993) is a good resource to consult on this topic.

the whole Bible[2] has only rarely been studied, as exemplified by Freedman (1993) and Niccacci (1995).[3] This article is another attempt to show the cohesion between the whole books of the Hebrew Bible by illustrating cohesive devices and to look into its implications on biblical interpretation. The aim of this article is to present a bird's-eye view of the cohesion in the books of the Hebrew Bible and an explanation of its meaning, in contrast to fuller detailed descriptions of cohesion in the whole Bible that would easily require many monographs and articles.

Approach: Some Premises and Steps

The overall approach of this study is descriptive, and two premises and two methods are put forward.

The first premise is that the whole Bible has unity within itself and each biblical book has its own internal coherence. There are diverse views about the structure and organization of the Bible and the interrelationship of the biblical books. The current study starts on the basis that the Bible is physically here with us as one volume with internal coherence. In other words, this research starts on the traditional ground that the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible[4] have been accepted by both Jews and Christians as one whole book for the past two thousand years or so. Two editions of the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Hebrew Bible are taken as the source text for the investigation: (1) *Torah Neviim Ketuvim* (The Horev edition) and (2) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS 1984).[5] The basic method is to describe the features of cohesion as they are in the given MT.

The second premise is that the canonical order of the MT as we have it today in the two editions above is tentatively assumed as the original order as intended by the authors/editors of the Hebrew Bible. There have been discussions and different opinions about the original canonical order of the Bible. There are even some differences of order between the BHS and the Horev edition for the first seven books in the Writings: Psalms-Proverbs-Job-Song of Songs-Ruth-Lamentations-Ecclesiastes (Horev) versus Psalms-Job-Proverbs-Ruth-Song of Songs-Ecclesiastes-Lamentations (BHS). Certainly it is right to

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[2]A word on "the whole Bible": For Christians the whole Bible means the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible) and the New Testament. It is possible to research on the coherence and cohesion of both the Old Testament and the New Testament; however, this article deals with the Hebrew Bible only.

[3]It is interesting that Niccacci and I have come out with a very similar result to the research that has been done independently. Hearing the story of my investigation on this topic and the result, Alviero Niccacci said, "It's wonderful!" at his Studium Biblicum Franciscanum in Jerusalem in June, 2000. I would like to thank him for reading this article and making considerate remarks. Nevertheless, readers will recognize there are some differences between his paper and the present article in the approach and result.

[4]Cohesion of the books of the New Testament may also be studied in connection with the Hebrew Bible, though it is outside the scope of this article.

[5]It is known that the Horev edition of the Hebrew Bible is based on the Aleppo Codex and the BHS on the Leningrad Codex. Readers are alerted to some minor accentual differences between the BHS editions (1984 and 1990); e.g., *ʾašrê hāʾîš* (BHS 1984, Horev) versus *ʾašrê-hāʾîš* (BHS 1990) in Psalms 1:1.

say that the order of the books needs to be established first. In reality, there are largely two types of order in the current state: One is that of the MT; the other that of the Greek Septuagint.[6] However, at the end of all these arguments "the origin of the arrangement of books in the Hebrew Bible cannot be traced" (Douglas 1962:149), and we are left with the MT as we have it today. The difference of order does not seem to have a vital significance for the current research. Thus, this study follows the order presented in the Horev edition, though minor modifications are implied about some books of the Writings in the next section.

The first step of the research method is to search for cohesive devices between the books by primarily focusing on the first—and to a lesser degree the last—few sentences/verses of each book. This in turn assumes again that each book is a coherent unit on its own. Several textlinguists came out with lists of cohesive devices, such as verb morphology (the same tense-aspect), deictic links (anaphora and cataphora), conjunction, lexical cohesion, fixed phrases/formulae, and ellipsis.[7] Some of these features, most often verb morphology, will be found in the data.

Along with the linguistic cohesive devices at the surface level, other cohesive features at the semantic level, namely thematic continuity and participants, will be discussed. The study of themes in the Bible indeed converges with biblical theology rather than linguistics; yet this deep-level study is included so as to describe a more complete picture of the Bible text, i.e., by means of describing the form and function. Certainly there are so many strings of cohesion and coherence, linguistic or extralinguistic, that the whole Bible is knit together into one coherent macro unit. Provided that the whole Bible is a cohesive discourse, it should have overall themes that move through all the books. Here only a couple of foundational themes are identified and described. The overall themes of the Bible posited in the current study will be introduced in the section on Genesis below.

After the first step has been taken in identifying the cohesive devices and themes, attempts will be made to interpret the meaning behind these cohesive devices and the flow of the themes.

Cohesive Devices for Biblical Cohesion

As the Hebrew Bible is composed of three parts, namely Torah, Neviim, Ketuvim, the present study follows this traditional structure and order.

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[6]Possibly the most ancient order of canonical books may be found in the Babylonian Talmud Baba Batra (14b): Five books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the Twelve, Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles—twenty-four books in total.

[7]For types of cohesive devices, the following may be consulted: Halliday and Hasan 1976; Halliday 1994; Beaugrande and Dressler 1981.

The Historic Narrative Axis and the Parallel of Chronicles

The Pentateuch and Former Prophets: the Historic Narrative Axis

Genesis: The first book of the Bible starts with a temporal phrase *běrē'šît* 'in beginning' denoting an absolute beginning. The Creator God is the only participant in the first and topic clause, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," indicating that the following events will be dominated by God.

The word order in the first clause requires a closer look. Van der Merwe et al. (1999:342) presents the unmarked order of the Hebrew verbal clause when all the constituents are lexicalized as this:

"Verb + subject + object + indirect object + prepositional object + other complement/adjunct + complement/adjunct (place) + adjunct (time)"

In the light of this unmarked word order, we note that the temporal phrase *běrē'šît* is fronted from its unmarked post verbal position. The word order of the first sentence in Genesis 1:1 is: adjunct (time) - verb - subject - object 1 - object 2. The function of fronting is to topicalize or contextualize the fronted element in the sentence or larger context.[8] This topicalized temporal phrase—or adjunct (time)—indicates the absolute beginning of the biblical narrative and also implies that the following narrative has a "temporal axis." Indeed this temporal axis gives the backbone to the body of the biblical narrative, as discussed below.

The following narrative in Genesis describes in chronological order the story of God's creation, early human history, the call of Abraham and the history of his descendants, especially of Isaac and Jacob/Israel. Genesis includes smaller texts of various genres, such as poetry, prophecy, prayer, genealogical lists, and long direct discourses. There are indeed several digressions from the main story line of Adam-Noah-Abraham-Isaac-Jacob/Israel and Joseph, such as Cain's story (Genesis 4), Lot's story (Genesis 19), Ishmael's story (Genesis 25), and Esau's story (Genesis 36). However, the narrative in the book as a whole is structured along the chronological axis, which I would call the historic narrative axis.

In Genesis the historic narrative axis appears in two stages or units: (1) the first unit is along the universal Adamic line (chapters 1:1–11:9), or the primeval history; (2) the second unit is along the Abrahamic-Israelite line, or the patriarchal history, for example, which lasts until the end of the axis in the Bible (chapters 11:10–50:26). These two macro discourse units are distinct in at least three

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[8]Buth 1995:84: "In Functional Grammar a topic is a constituent of a clause that has received special marking (either by word order, a special particle, or intonation, depending on that language) in order to signal the intended perspective for relating the clause to the larger context...A marked topic is not the salient, important information of a clause. Its purpose is to help the listener understand how and on what basis some sentences are grouped together."

features: (a) the boundary-marking formula *ʾēlleh tôldôt*[9] 'these are the descendants/generations of' in 11:10 indicates a major division; (b) change of participants—Adam and his descendants (i.e., all humanity) in the first unit versus Abraham and his descendants in the second unit; (c) change of location—Mesopotamia in the first unit versus Canaan and Egypt in the second unit, as well as the change of time.

Overall Theme

What is the overall theme of the Bible? It is not so easy to pinpoint from the text of the Hebrew Bible. There is a plethora of theological scholarly works dealing with this issue, yet it should be feasible textlinguistically to determine the overall theme. Genesis is the first and topical book in the Hebrew Bible (and also in the whole Bible of the Old and New Testaments). It in turn denotes that the book of Genesis sets the topic of the whole Bible. Here the topic coincides with the theme, as Givón suggests.[10]

The first unit (Gen. 1:1–11:9), which covers the first human history for about two thousand years, sets up the primary topic. The participants are the Creator God, who saves and judges, and all humanity (i.e., the first man Adam and his descendants), which degenerates. The first man *(ādām)* was created in God's image and appeared as male and female (Genesis 1:27), and they were privileged to have a close relationship with God (Genesis 2). But, they fell from the position by committing the sin of disobedience, and God approached them to reestablish the broken relationship (Genesis 3). The fundamental question for sinners is to reestablish the broken relationship with God. The second human generation approached with their offerings, thus foreshadowing the model of worshippers or priests. It was seen that they had big problems (Genesis 4). Adam's descendants multiplied (Genesis 5), but sin also multiplied among people to the point of necessitating God's universal judgment except on Noah and his family (Genesis 6–8). After the flood Noah offered sacrifices, officiating in the worship as a priest, and God responded (Genesis 8:20–22). Noah's family restarted humanity and civilization, with internal problems (Genesis 9–11). At the Babel tower Adam's (and Noah's) whole descendants appear for the last time as *běnê hāʾādām* 'the sons of men/the children of Adam' (Gen. 11:5) just before their geographical and linguistic dispersion. They were opposing the original plan of God for men to "multiply...fill the earth..." (Gen. 1:28) by

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[9]There are ten occurrences of *tôldôt* 'descendants/generations/account' formulae in Genesis indicating major discourse unit breaks. (1) 2:4 "account of the heavens and the earth," (2) 5:1 "descendants of Adam," (3) 6:9 "descendants of Noah," (4) 10:1 "descendants of the sons of Noah," (5) 11:10 "descendants of Shem," (6) 11:27 "descendants of Terah," (7) 25:12 "descendants of Ishmael," (8) 25:19 "descendants of Isaac," (9) 36:1, 9 "descendants of Esau," (10) 37:2 "descendants of Jacob." As for the four variable spellings of *tôldôt*, see Barr 1989.

[10]"Thematic continuity is the overall matrix for all other continuities in the discourse. It is the hardest to specify, yet it is clearly and demonstrably there. Statistically, it coincides with topic and action continuity to quite an extent within the thematic paragraph" (Givón 1983:8).

conspiring together, "lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth" (Gen. 11:4). But God intervened and carried out his original plan by scattering their languages and dispersing them all over the earth. As a result of our brief observation of the first unit in Genesis, it may be posited that the primary overall theme in the Bible is God's restoring a right relationship between the descendants of Adam and Himself, or in other words, the redemption of the children of Adam. The entire race is the ultimate object of the ensuing redemptive activities of God narrated in the Bible. At the same time we see some recurring topics at the human level: man the sinner, man the worshipper-priest, and offerings and sacrifices, for a restored relationship with God.

The second unit (Genesis 11:10–50:26) covers a family of four generations from Abraham to Joseph. The topic for the second unit may be identified from the calling of God for Abraham at the beginning of the unit: "in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed" (Gen. 12:3). This is the mission statement for Israel, the covenanted descendants of Abraham, that they serve as the means to bless all the descendants of Adam as well as themselves enjoying a privileged relationship with God. This overall theme runs through the entire Bible.

At the very beginning of the second unit we see the issue of land. Abraham moved to Canaan, the promised land, as the Lord commanded him, in "go to the land I will show you" (Gen. 12:1). The land of Canaan is the venue where God's redemptive mission is to take place carried out by the descendants of Abraham. Even so, Abraham lived a meandering life moving around many countries including Mesopotamia, Canaan, and Egypt, thus demonstrating the international character of his and his descendants' mission. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were all functioning as priests.

At the end his descendants moved altogether to Egypt although it did not mean a permanent migration. But four generations later the chosen people came out of Egypt and marked the birth of the nation of Israel out of the descendants of Abraham.

Exodus: The book of Exodus begins with the conjunction *wĕ* 'and' and the deictic *ʾēlleh* 'these' as cohesive devices in the first phrase *wĕʾēlleh*. The conjunction *wĕ* grammatically denotes that the narrative in Exodus is a continuation from Genesis.

Furthermore, it is observable that the first clause of Exod. 1:1 (i.e., the clause until the *atnach*) is identical with the first clause in Gen. 46:8, as this:

Gen. 46:8   *wĕʾelleh šĕmōt bĕnê-yiśrāʾēl habbāʾîm miṣrāymâ*
            'And these are the names of the sons of Israel who came to Egypt'
Exod. 1:1   *wĕʾelleh šĕmôt bĕnê yiśrāʾēl habbāʾîm miṣrāymâ*
            'And these are the names of the sons of Israel who came to Egypt'

It is hard to miss that this is a tail-head connection, an important cohesive device at a high discourse level in many languages of the world. Why then is there such an interval (Genesis 46:28–50:26) between these two mirrored clauses—or passages by extension—Genesis 46:8–27 and Exod. 1:1–5? There seem two factors that made the author employ this feature despite the interval: (a) participants and (b) location. In Gen. 46:8–27 the sons of Israel, the future nation of Israel, start their journey from Canaan to Egypt—seventy men altogether including Joseph and his two sons in Egypt; whereas Exod. 1:1 starts with the same seventy men who multiplied their number in Egypt before taking the journey back to Canaan. The sons/children of Israel/Jacob are the tenth and final product of the tenfold *tôldôt* 'generations' events in Genesis, *ʾelleh tôldôt yaʿăqōb* 'these are the generations of Jacob' (Gen. 37:2), while the interval passages are rather personal accounts of Jacob and Joseph. The historic events of the exodus from Egypt should be directly connected to the migration of the children of Israel to Egypt along the backbone historic narrative axis of the macrobiblical narrative.

Thus, the people of Israel leave Egypt toward the promised land of Canaan, now via "the desert road" (Exod. 13:18) to receive the law and regulations as a nation in the desert of Sinai.

Leviticus and Numbers: These two books begin with the *wayyiqtol* verb form: *wayyiqrāʾ* 'and he/ (the LORD) called' in Lev. 1:1; *wāyĕdābbēr* 'and he/ (the LORD) spoke' in Num. 1:1.

The *wayyiqtol* verb form, which has the coordinating conjunction *wĕ* 'and' within itself, as a kind of the *waw*-consecutive verb form, functions as the major cohesive device to indicate that the foreground events continue.[11] This in turn means that Leviticus is a continuation of Exodus, and Numbers is of Leviticus.

The *wayyiqtol* verb form is the most important and frequently used cohesive device in the Hebrew Bible.[12] It is employed extensively at the sentence and discourse levels, and even at the book level as we see here. Regarding the use and original purpose of the *wayyiqtol* form, Sasson 1997:117 writes: "It appears

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[11]Buth (1995) and Niccacci (1990, 1994). Niccacci (1990) extensively explains the relationship between the verb forms and the grounding in the Hebrew discourse. "In narrative, for instance, *wayyiqtol* is the only verb form for the mainline…" (Niccacci 1994:129).

[12]The use of *wayyiqtol* verb form in the Bible may suggest the most unusual character of biblical Hebrew, a highly cohesion-sensitive language, among the languages of the world. Its systematic use of *wayyiqtol* verb form is unique even among Semitic languages. Major Semitic languages, such as Akkadian, Aramaic, and Arabic as well as Hebrew dialects like Mishnaic Hebrew and Modern Hebrew do not have this character. It seems that Ugaritic and some ancient Semitic dialects used equivalents of this verb form scantily in the prose text, although there are yet questions about it (Smith 1991:65ff.).

therefore that the *waw*-consecutive [i.e., *wayyiqtol*] form, as a linguistic or literary feature, originally emerged in some North-West Semitic languages possibly for the purpose of recounting war/epic/heroic acts, and some other acts connected with them." If Sasson's understanding of the origion is correct, the biblical historic narrative might be counted as narrating the "war/epic/heroic acts" of God extending over several thousand years.

After the description of the laws and regulations in Leviticus, the book of Numbers records all the Israelites according to their tribes and families. Here the formula *ʾēlleh tôldôt* is used for Aaron and Moses, "the descendants of Aaron and Moses" (Num. 3:1). This gives a high profile to the Levitical Aaronic priesthood and formally endorses the priesthood of Aaron and his sons as stated in Exod. 28:1. It is one of the only two uses of the *ʾēlleh tôldôt* formula outside Genesis, together with Ruth 4:18, where the Davidic line, or kingship by extension, is highlighted.

Deuteronomy: This fifth book of the Pentateuch begins not with a conjunction but with a tail-head transition construction. The last verse of Numbers and the first verse of Deuteronomy are structurally the same with some fine tuning due to the different discourse situations. Compare the two verses:

Num. 36:13
ʾēlleh hammiṣwôt wěhammišpāṭîm ʾăšer ṣiwwâ YHWH *běyad-mōšê*
ʾel-běnê yiśrāʾēl bě ʿarěbōt môʾāb ʿal yardēn yěrěḥô
'These are the commandments and the ordinances which the LORD commanded by Moses to the people of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.'

Deut. 1:1
ʾēlleh hadděbārîm ʾăšer dibber mōšê ʾel-kol-yiśrāʾēl bě ʿēber hayyardēn bammidbār bā ʿarāb môl sûp bên-pāʾrān ûbên-topel wělābān waḥăṣērot wědî zāhāb.
'These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, between Paran and Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth, and Dizahab.'

The structure of the above two verses may be illustrated as in the following table:

	Numbers 36:13	Deuteronomy 1:1
Main clause: ʾēlleh 'these' +Predicate nominative	ʾēlleh hammiṣwôt wĕhammišpāṭîm 'These are the command- ments and the ordinances'	ʾēlleh haddĕbārîm 'These are the words'
Speaker (logophoric verb)	(ṣiwwâ) YHWH 'the LORD (commanded)'	(dibber) mōšê 'Moses (spoke)'
Instrument/ messenger	bĕyad-mōšê 'by Moses'	∅
Recipient	ʾel-bĕnê yiśrāʾēl 'to the sons of Israel'	ʾel-kol-yiśrāʾēl 'to all Israel'
Location	bĕʿarĕbōt môʾāb ʿal yardēn yĕrēḥô 'in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho.'	bĕʿēber hayyardēn bammidbār bāʿārāb môl sûp bên-pāʾrān ûbên-topel wĕlābān waḥăṣērot wĕdî zāhāb. 'beyond the Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah over against Suph, be- tween Paran and Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth, and Dizahab.'

In Numbers the narrative prior to 36:13 consists of God's commandments, whereas the narrative in Deuteronomy records Moses' interpretation and explana- tion to the Israelites of God's commandments and the events of the forty years of journeying in the desert. Timewise the two narratives are closely connected. The location was basically identical for both narratives, though the location for Deu- teronomy is described in more detail. The two books are connected to each other by means of these tail-head transition verses.

Joshua: The next is Joshua, the first book of the four Former Prophets— Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The Former Prophets naturally and also syntactically follow the Pentateuch. The book of Joshua begins with the tempo- ral clause wayhî ʾaḥărê môt mōšê ʿebed YHWH 'and it was after the death of Moses the servant of the LORD' (Josh. 1:1), with the cohesive wayyiqtol verb wayhî, thus connecting the subsequent narrative to Deuteronomy. The forty years of journey came to an end and the people of Israel entered and occupied the land promised by God to their patriarchs.

Judges: The first verse of Judges repeats the cohesive formula of the first clause of Joshua, *wayhî ʾaḥărê môt yĕhôšuᶜa* 'and it was after the death of Joshua' (Judg. 1:1), thus the two books are connected syntactically as well as thematically.

Samuel (1 and 2): First and Second Samuel are one book in the Hebrew Bible, and it begins with a *wayyiqtol* verb *wayhî*, in *wayhî ʾîš ʾeḥād* 'and there was a certain man' (1 Sam. 1:1). Thus, *wayhî* 'and there was' connects to the narrative of Judges. This clause is in contrast with a similar clause without the *wayyiqtol* verb form in the book of Job, *ʾîš hāyâ* 'there was a man' (Job 1:1).

In Samuel an important participant appears on the scene in the person of David. In fact the book of 1 Samuel describes David's gradual emergence from a humble Bethlehemite shepherd boy to an uncontested king. The importance of David is underlined by the use of the *ʾēlleh tôldôt* formula to introduce his pedigree in Ruth 4:18. "These are the descendants of Perez: Perez was the father of Hezron...and Jesse of David" (Ruth 4:18–22). This genealogy shows David's connection to his patriarch Judah in Genesis 38, thus it is possible to trace his forefathers all the way back to Adam and God. It means that David's role is extremely important, since in the Bible the longer one's genealogy the more important one is considered.

David is portrayed as an exemplary person whose relationship with God was unique and favorable except for some rough times. His unique relationship with God was illustrated by the privileged title *ᶜabdî*[13] 'my servant' that he acquired from God. The phrase *dāwid ᶜabdî* 'my servant David' occurs some twenty times in the Bible (e.g., 2 Sam. 3:18), the most frequent use of the title among the few "servants" of God. David holds such an exceptional position in the Old Testament that it is possible even to classify the whole Old Testament era into two parts: Before David and After David. He was promised by God an eternal dynasty, "Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me; your throne shall be established for ever" (2 Sam. 7:16). David was so important that God intentionally defended his cause/interest, stating "for the sake of David" seven times (e.g., 1 Kings 11:12). In this way the chosen nation is narrowed down to a person, David.

Furthermore, it is observable in Samuel and also in Kings that Jerusalem/Zion was David's royal city, *ᶜîr dāwid* 'the city of David'. The city takes a unique position as the location for God's purpose for Israel and for all humanity. David was the conqueror who took all the land promised by God to Abraham. As the first action after his coronation as king over all Israel David chose to conquer Jerusalem and make it his capital, in 2 Sam. 5:1–12. God also chose Jerusalem to make it a special property, as in "for the sake of David my servant

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[13]In the Hebrew Bible God uses the title "my servant" for only a handful of people: Abraham, Moses, Caleb, Jacob, and prophets such as Isaiah.

and for the sake of Jerusalem which I have chosen" (1 Kings 11:13, 32). Jerusa-lem/Zion, the most well known of all geographical names, is itself a topic in the Bible, occurring over eight hundred times in the Hebrew Bible. In this way the whole promised land is narrowed down to Jerusalem.

David was a victorious king preparing for an era of peace, prosperity, and temple worship during the reign of his son King Solomon. The remaining books on the historic narrative axis, 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, record the history of King David and his royal descendants.

Kings (1 and 2): The two books of Kings are one in the Hebrew Bible. It begins with a verbless clause with the conjunction *wĕ,* in *wĕhammelek dāwid zāqēn* 'and King David was old' (1 Kings 1:1). With the conjunction *wĕ* 'and' the narrative in Kings is connected to the book of Samuel.

Here the picture darkens. Davidic kings of southern Judah, as well as the kings of northern Israel, all sadly failed at the end to live up to the mission of God, i.e., to maintain a right relationship with God and to show it to the Gentile nations.

The final episode of the book of Kings deals with the exiled King Jehoiachin. It is noteworthy that the Jehoiachin story ends at the end of the book with a tem-poral phrase *kol yĕmê ḥayyāw* 'all the days of his life' (2 Kings 25:30), as if the historic narrative axis operates on the chronological line from start to finish. Although Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, was the last king of Judah on the throne, the author of Kings did not treat him as a legitimate king, as the Babylonian king endowed his kingship. Jehoiachin was the last legitimate Davidic king and de-served the author's attention, even if he was dethroned and was in exile in Baby-lon.[14] From this time on, Israel-Judah did not have a Davidic king in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, the historic narrative axis or the "Primary History," as Freedman (1993:1–39) puts it, ends or stalls.

Chronicles: the Parallel Narrative Axis

Chronicles: The book of Chronicles is put last in the Hebrew Bible. It is worth looking closely at the beginning and end of the book. Its beginning lists names without any connectives: *ʾādām šēt ʾĕnôš* 'Adam, Seth, Enosh' (1 Chron. 1:1); then it records the genealogies of many people and the history of the Da-vidic dynasty. The beginning phrase mentions in order the names of key person-alities in the first chapters of Genesis. Its last episode (2 Chron. 36:22–23) is almost like an appendix, while quoting the royal edict of King Cyrus for the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, *YHWH ʾĕlōhāyw ʿimmô wĕyāʿal* 'May the

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[14]The first New Testament book, Matthew, begins with the genealogy of Jesus Christ who the three gospels record as a descendant (or son) of David (Matt. 1:1; Mark 12:35; Luke 18:38). Among the list of his forefathers is Jeconiah, another name for Jehoiachin (1 Chron. 3:16, Jer. 24:1, Matt. 1:12).

LORD his God be with him, and let him go up!' (2 Chron. 36:23). The book ends with the royal edict of King Cyrus of the Medea-Persian Empire to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple of God of heaven, the title of God among the nations of the world. Why this edict? Because God's redemption for the world, including Cyrus' own redemption, comes from Jerusalem, as further explained below in the section on Ezra-Nehemiah.

Overall, Chronicles constitutes a nonprimary parallel narrative axis, as I term it, alongside the primary historic narrative axis of Genesis–Kings. This some-how exhibits a parallelism at the book level.[15] Another descriptive explanation may be that the Bible is a testimony and every sustainable testimony needs two witnesses, as written in:

"The law of the LORD is perfect,
The testimony *(ʿēdût)* of the LORD is sure." (Psa. 19:7)

"On the evidence of two witnesses *(šĕnê ʿēdîm)*, or of three witnesses, shall a charge be sustained." (Deut. 19:15)

Thus the Bible demonstrates that what is written on these two axes is a sus-tainable testimony that deserves due attention.

The book of Chronicles is located at the end of the Hebrew Bible. Thus, the books on the initial historic narrative axis and Chronicles constitute an inclusio structure that shows the unity of the entire Hebrew Bible.

Chronicles is a book largely about David and his household. Among David's many accomplishments the most significant is his establishment of the temple worship, headed by the Levitical priests, and preparation for building the temple in Jerusalem. Thus, three major thematic cohesive elements are observable from Chronicles: (1) Jerusalem, (2) Davidic royal line, (3) temple worship and Leviti-cal Aaronic priests.[16] David's son and successor, Solomon, maintained David's spirit in his early reigning years, but later he deserted God thus opening the divi-sion and eventual collapse of the kingdom.

Ezra-Nehemiah: The book of Ezra-Nehemiah (one book in the Hebrew Bible) may be regarded as an extension connected to Chronicles. The connection is marked by two cohesive devices: (1) The conjunction *wĕ/û* 'and' in the first phrase *ûbišnat ʾaḥat lĕkôreš melek pāras* 'and in the first year of Cyrus king

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[15]Parallelism is confirmed and studied mostly at the verse (or cola) level in poetry in the Hebrew Bible. How-ever, it is observable that parallelism operates at several higher levels: strophe (or paragraph) level; chapter level (e.g., 2 Sam. 22 is parallel to Psa. 18); book level (Genesis-Kings [particularly Samuel-Kings] is parallel to Chronicles); testament/covenant level (OT is parallel to NT); revelation level (written/special is parallel to natu-ral/general).

[16]A foundational combination of these three elements is observable from Genesis 14:18–20: (1) Salem, i.e., Je-rusalem; (2) Abram, forefather of David; (3) Melchizedek, priest of God Most High.

of Persia' (Ezra 1:1); (2) the edict of the key role player King Cyrus of Persia in the first phrase forms a tail-head transition structure with the last episode of Chronicles. Note the virtually identical parallelism in 2 Chron. 36:22–23 and Ezra 1:1–3a. Thus, Ezra-Nehemiah is considered a purposeful extension on the chronological line of the book of Chronicles.

The predominant topic of Ezra-Nehemiah is Jerusalem: the return of the Israelite remnants to Jerusalem under the leadership of David's descendants, rebuilding the temple, reinstating the temple worship, rebuilding the wall, and spiritual revivals under the leadership of Ezra the priestly scribe. For example, the first chapter of Ezra focuses on Jerusalem by mentioning it seven times. In this latter book of the Hebrew Bible three thematic elements are conspicuous, as in Chronicles: (1) Jerusalem, (2) Davidic royal line, (3) temple worship and Levitical Aaronic priests. These three elements are important role players on the parallel historic axis, since they are dominant in Chronicles as well. Thus, we can anticipate that restoring a right relationship between God and the descendants of Adam, or completing God's redemptive mission for all of humanity, will involve these three elements.

Esther: The book of Esther is located at the end of the five "Scrolls" just before Daniel. However, Esther may be considered as constituting part of the parallel narrative axis, as it starts with *wayhî* of the *wayyiqtol* form, in *wayhî bîmê 'ăhašwērôš* 'and it was in the days of Ahasuerus' (Esther 1:1). With this phrase the book is connected possibly to Ezra-Nehemiah on the chronological line.

It is interesting to note that the New Testament authors do not quote directly from these three books on the parallel narrative axis. Investigating the reasons further, however, will be outside the scope of this study. Here it will be sufficient to point out that Chronicles forms a nonprimary parallel narrative axis, with an attachment of Ezra-Nehemiah and possibly of Esther.

The Latter Prophets

How the Latter Prophets and the Writings are connected to the narrative axes is subtle and diverse, so the technique is not simple to describe. The present study is an initial attempt to show briefly cohesion between the Latter Prophets and the Writings and the narrative axes and among the books of the Latter Prophets and the Writings. Presented here are some formal cohesive devices as well as continuity in themes and participants.

The Hebrew Bible includes the prophetic books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, thus fifteen books in total by Christian reckoning. The fifteen books of the Prophets exhibit several kinds of cohesive devices. The cohesive devices in the Prophets may be classified into three categories:

(1) lexical cohesion or common key terms; (2) temporal phrases that connect as a temporal interface to the historic narrative axis; and (3) conjunction *wĕ* 'and'.

Regarding (1), four terms in the semantic domain of "prophetic message" are employed: (a) *ḥăzôn* 'vision' (Isa., Amos, Oba., Nah.); (b) *dĕbar-YHWH* 'the word of the LORD' (Jer., Hos., Joel, Jon., Mic., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.); (c) *maśśā'* 'oracle, pronouncement' (Nah., Hab., Mal.); (d) *mar'ôt 'ĕlōhîm* 'visions of God' (Ezek.). Besides these words that occur in the first one or two verses of each book, there are of course many cohesive lexical terms that function as threads connecting the prophetic books, such as *yôm YHWH* 'the day of the LORD', *kol-haggôyim* 'all the nations', *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt* 'the LORD of hosts'.

Regarding (2), temporal phrases occur in the form of a prepositional phrase composed of the preposition *bĕ* 'in' and temporal noun *yôm* 'day(s) of' or *šānâ* 'year (of)'. These temporal phrases play the role of temporal interface that connects the prophetic books to the historic narrative axis, as with: *bîmê* 'in the days of' (Isa., Jer., Hos., Amos, Mic., Zeph.), *baḥodeš* 'in the month of' (Ezek., Hag., Zech.), *bišnat* 'in the year of' (Ezek., Hag.).

Regarding (3), both Ezekiel and Jonah use *wayhî* 'and it/there was', the cohesion-marking *wayyiqtol* verb form. This feature indicates that the two books are closely connected to the historic narrative axis. This is somehow unique among the prophetic books. Why is it? One possible explanation is that these two books, deeply related to the Gentile world, needed a firm connection to the chronological line—historic narrative axis, which is largely concerned with the Israelites after Genesis 11:9. Jonah deals exclusively with the Gentiles; Ezekiel started his prophecy in Babylon.

The prophecy of Ezekiel envisages the departure from (Ezek. 8:3; 11:23) and return to Jerusalem of the glory of the God of Israel (Ezek. 43:2; 44:4) and the restoration of the Davidic kingship for eternity (Ezek. 37:24ff.). Thus, the suspended narrative axis of the Davidic kingship at the end of the book of Kings is resumed and brought to perfection. It is significant to note that Ezekiel was deported to Babylon in 597 B.C. together with King Jehoiachin and ten thousand captives (2 Kings 24:14ff.) and that his prophecy envisages the restoration of the united kingship in Israel. This means that the book of Ezekiel can be considered to be connected to the Kings and that is the reason behind the use of the cohesion-marking *wayhî* 'and it/there was', the most typical cohesion marker in the historic narrative axis. Ezekiel should be regarded as connected to Kings rather than to Chronicles, on the grounds that Ezekiel counts the dates of his visions according to the date of the second Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem, 597 B.C., when King Jehoiachin was deported (2 Kings 25:27–30).

The book of Jonah is more a narrative than a prophecy. It also begins with *wayhî* thus indicating that its narrative is connected closely to the narrative axis. The prophet Jonah represents Israel and Nineveh. In the synecdoche referring to the world power, Assyria represents the nations. Jonah's message, whether

delivered in good will or not, brought about an extensive repentance and salvation among the Assyrians, such a dramatic illustration of Israel's mission for the nations. The cohesion marking *wayhî* may suggest that salvation to the nations comes through Israel's service.

In fact, these three categories of cohesive devices are employed in each prophetic book singly or in combination. The way they are used may be classified into three types. (A) Typically, nine prophetic books have two cohesive devices: lexical cohesion and temporal phrases: Isa., Jer., Ezek., Hos., Amos, Mic., Zeph., Hag., Zech. (B) Six books have only lexical cohesion, without a temporal interface: Joel, Obad., Jon., Nah., Hab., Mal. (C) Two books have the conjunction *wĕ* 'and' together with one or two other devices: Ezek., Jon. While type (A) indicates an obvious connection with the narrative axis, (B) as well as the unusual type (C) require a closer look. The summary table in the appendix may be consulted.

The books with the cohesion marking type (B) may be commonly characterized as related primarily to the judgment of the Gentile nations. This means they are less coherently connected to the primary historic narrative axis but deal with the salvation and judgment of all humanity. Joel delivers an apocalyptic prophecy foretelling a universal judgment and salvation, characterized by the phrases 'the day of the LORD' (Joel 1:15, four occurrences) and 'all the nations' (Joel 2:17, eight occurrences). Obadiah deals with the judgment on Edom (Obad. 1)—the first Gentile nation, which is genealogically closest to Israel—and all the nations (Obad. 15ff.). Jonah deals with the warning and salvation of Assyria, Nahum with the judgment of Assyria, whereas Habakkuk deals with the superpower Babylon (Hab. 1:6) and the salvation of the just in the world scale (Hab. 2:4, 14). Malachi, though the message is directed to Israel (Mal. 1:1), deals repeatedly with the topic of worldwide salvation and judgment (Mal. 1:5, 11, 14; 3:19–21).

In summary, it is evident that the prophetic books are grammatically and semantically connected to the chronological narrative axes, marked with various cohesive devices.

Prophetic books deal with the same themes as the books on the narrative axes; namely the redemption of all humanity through the priestly service of Israel. In the meantime there appeared a big flaw in Israel—that was the apostasy of the Israelite nation itself. Nevertheless, God carried out his plan through the remnant of Israel and Judah. Three cohesive thematic elements are highly visible in the prophetic books: (1) Jerusalem (occurs in Isa., Jer., Ezek., Dan., Joel, Amos, Oba., Mic., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.); (2) David (occurs in Isa., Jer., Ezek., Hos., Amos, Zech.); (3) Aaronic priests (occur in Isa., Jer., Ezek., Hos., Joel, Mic., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.).

There are four major participants in the prophetic books: (a) God, (b) God's servants the prophets, (c) Israel/Judah, (d) Gentile nations. God, the sovereign participant, sends "my servants the prophets" to Israel/Judah and the nations to

proclaim his message. The messages in all the prophetic books (the fifteen books and Daniel) involve "nations," even using the word *gôyim* 'nations'. Jonah did not use the word *gôyim*, but he personally interacted with the Gentile sailors and the multiethnic Nineveh people. On the other hand, Israel/Judah is involved in all the prophetic books except Jonah. Thus, it is clearly evident again that God's ultimate interest lies with all the nations of the world, the entire human race including Israel.

The Writings

The Writings are the remaining books: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the five Megillot 'Scrolls' (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles. Three books in the Writings, namely Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles, have already been dealt with above. As mentioned above, the cohesion and coherence in the Writings is not easily identified. This is a preliminary attempt to describe cohesion in these final books of the Hebrew Bible.

One common characteristic in the books of the Writings seems to be a focus on individual experience or personal relationship with God in the world. Psalms have individual psalmists who expressed their devotional life. Proverbs is narrated mainly by Solomon, and by a few other individuals such as Agur and Lemuel. Job is about the upright man Job. Song of Songs is about the love of a couple—Solomon and the Shulamite woman. Ruth is about the Moabite woman Ruth. Lamentations is Jeremiah's emotional outpouring over falling Jerusalem. Ecclesiastes is a memoir of the son of David, the sage-king in Jerusalem. Esther is largely about the Jewish queen Esther. Daniel is prophet Daniel's personal life intermingled with prophecies. Ezra-Nehemiah also has personal characters in its episodes. Chronicles is about the central figure David. The books in the Writings show what a right relationship with God should be like and how it can be established personally and internally. In the Writings one does not read sets of rules and regulations, as in the Pentateuch or Prophets, but can think and pray, sing and praise, laugh and dance, weep and despair as an individual before God. Here we witness people's success and failure in acquiring a right relationship with God, and with their neighbors by extension. In fact a right relationship with God and with neighbors is the ultimate purpose of God for all humanity. Thus, the primary theme in the first unit of Genesis is even more apparent in the Writings. Overall it may be concluded that cohesion in the Writings is more thematic than formally linguistic, even if the formulaic three cohesive elements of Jerusalem, David, and Aaronic priests are visible in several books, particularly Psalms, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

Another distinctive characteristic among the books of the Writings is that the book of Job is less cohesively connected than all the biblical books to the historic narrative axis, whereas other books relate to the narrative axis in various ways.

Job: The book of Job is unique in that it does not have visible cohesive devices that relate directly to the historic narrative axis. That should be natural, since the participants and geographical backgrounds in Job are altogether non-Israelite. It is even not appropriate to say that Job is non-Israelite or non-Abrahamic, for he is distinct from Abraham or Israel.

The book of Job may be considered as a microparallel with the historic narrative axis in the Bible. It begins with a man called Job, *ʾîš hāyâ bĕʾereṣ-ʿûṣ ʾiyyôb šĕmô* 'There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job', (Job 1:1) and it ends with his death, *wayyāmōt ʾiyyôb zāqēn ûśĕbaʿ yāmîm* 'and Job died, old and full of days' (Job 42:17). It is observable that this book deals with the fundamental question of the relationship between God and a human being. Job is the representative of the descendants of Adam, who was the first *ʾîš* 'man' (Genesis 2:23ff.; Job 1:1). There is a parallelism between Adam and Job, including the fact that his wife was with him till the end of his life as a helper though sometimes she was not so helpful.

God's interest in the entire human race is once again evident with this literary masterpiece of Job. If Genesis 1:1–11:9 deals with all people in the Pentateuch, the book of Jonah corresponds to this theme in the Prophets, and the book of Job in the Writings.

Psalms: The book of Psalms turns our attention to the Israelite narrative axis. Psalms is a devotional compendium of the result of Israel's close relationship with the LORD (YHWH), the only God. Psalms are composed predominantly by David. The authors are devotional individuals in the history of Israel, so their psalms are personally connected to the historic narrative axis. It is largely the psalm titles that make this connection. There are also clear historical references in a small number of psalms. For example, Psalms 3 is connected doubly to the historic narrative axis by means of mentioning (a) the author "A psalm of David" and (b) the historical reference "When he fled from his son Absalom."

Proverbs, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes: These three books do not have formal linguistic cohesive devices in their beginnings but are connected on a personal level to the historic narrative axis, as they are all authored by

Solomon[17] (Prov. 1:1, Song of Songs 1:1), Son of David (Prov. 1:1, Eccles.1:1), a king (Prov. 1:1, Ecc. 1:1). In contrast to the devotional character of Psalms, these three books deal with aspects of practical life in this world.

Proverbs deals with wisdom necessary for living in the world, especially for an established man to be successful in full social-business engagements. A socially mature wise man of Proverbs needs after all an equally 'virtuous wife' (*ʾēšet ḥayil,* Prov. 31:10). We have a wedding song for such an ideal couple in Song of Songs.

Song of Songs sings the joy of life for a man and a woman in their youth, dealing with love and conjugal happiness, which is a fundamental part of human life after the divine blessing *pěrû ûrěbû* 'be fruitful and multiply' (Genesis 1:28) and the Adamic wedding song (Genesis 2:23):

zōʾt happaʿam ʿeṣem mēʿāṣāmay	This one at last is bone of my bones
ûbāśār miběśārî	And flesh of my flesh;
lězōʾt yiqqārēʾ ʾiššâ	This one shall be called woman,
kî mēʾîš luqoḥ-zōʾt	For from man was she taken.

Ecclesiastes is a meditative autobiography of an old man after a top-level adventurous life. His warning conclusion may catch the attention of any person seeking wisdom in life: "The end of the matter; all has been heard. Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man *(kî-zeh kol-hāʾādām)"* (Eccles. 12:13). For at the end all men face death, which especially is the topic of Lamentations.

Lamentations: The death of a kingdom and many people, and the death throes of falling Jerusalem is the topic of Lamentations. The book begins with a resounding cry *ʾêkâ* 'how!' over the destruction of Jerusalem in the month of Ab in 586 B.C. In this sense this book is closely connected, though as a parallel, to the end of the historic narrative axis, describing the final days or funeral of the Davidic kingdom of Judah.

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[17]Modern biblical scholarship largely questions the Solomonic authorship of especially Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs. Some recent research suggests that that should not be the final state of the issue, as Young (1993:140) argues: "It is on the basis of the language, and to a lesser degree, the thought of the book that Qoheleth is dated, usually to the Hellenistic period. It is clear that these outdated notions need to be drastically revised." Discussing the date of Ecclesiastes or Song of Songs is outside the scope of this article. While acknowledging the need for further investigation, I base the present study on the traditional view of the Solomonic authorship of these books.

Ruth: This book begins with two cohesive devices: (1) a *wayyiqtol* verb *wayhî* 'and it/there was'; and (2) *bîmê* 'in the days of'. The device (1) is a characteristic of the historic narrative axis, whereas (2) is for both historic narratives and the prophetic discourses, as described under Ezra-Nehemiah. With the first clause *wayhî bîmê šĕpōṭ haššōpṭîm* 'and it was in the days of the ruling of the judges' (Ruth 1:1) the book of Ruth is connected collaterally, together with the cohesive device (2), to the book of Judges. Ruth, a Moabite woman, is so elevated as to have a biblical book bear her name. This honor is due to the prominence of David, her great grandson. The meaning of the use of the *ʾēlleh tôldôt* formula in Ruth 4:18 is already explained under the section on Samuel.

Ruth echoes the image of a 'virtuous wife' (*ʾēšet ḥayil*, Prov. 31:10) as Boaz calls her a 'virtuous woman': *ʾēšet ḥayil ʾātt* 'you are a virtuous woman' (Ruth 3:11). It is interesting that this virtuous woman happened to be a Moabite, a non-Israelite. This is a proof that the Bible narrative continuously interacts with the Gentile world. The biblical book that most extensively relates to the Gentile world may be Daniel, the next book.

Daniel: The book of Daniel begins with a temporal interface with the historic narrative axis, *bišnat šālôš lĕmalkût yĕhôyāqîm melek-yĕhûdâ* 'In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah' (Dan. 1:1). Daniel starts his public life in Babylon and reveals God's master plan for all of human history that interacts closely with the history of Israel, Jerusalem, the anointed (i.e., Davidic) king, and temple worship (Dan. 9:24ff.). Moreover, he intends to communicate the message to the wider world by writing a part of the book (Dan. 2:4–7:28) in Aramaic, the international language of that time. Daniel, being among the top administrators of the empires, held an international perspective, and his message held an international importance. His prophecy indeed involves many nations as well as Israel. Daniel begins with a connection with the history of Israel, beginning with the first Babylonian deportation in 605 B.C. (Dan. 1:1).

The last two books after Daniel, namely Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, have been dealt with already as constituting the parallel narrative axis. Thus ends the Hebrew Bible.

Conclusion

The Hebrew Bible forms a single macro unit. As biblical Hebrew is an ex-tremely cohesion-sensitive language, the Bible is formal linguistically, built up as a unit. It is suggested that there are cohesive relations that establish a historic

narrative axis running from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Kings. At the
end of this axis the Abrahamic-Davidic lineage is cut off on the surface with the
fall of Jerusalem and deportation. Along this primary narrative axis there is a
parallel narrative axis that runs in Chronicles and possibly in Ezra-Nehemiah.
The books in the Latter Prophets and Writings are attached to the historic narra-
tive axis in diverse ways. Ezekiel resumes the historic narrative axis at a deeper
level and envisages its completion, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and
temple worship in Jerusalem.

The books in the Hebrew Bible contain various kinds of cohesive devices
that connect to one another. Below, a summary table of formal linguistic cohe-
sion in the books of the Hebrew Bible is added to show the details of the cohe-
sive devices. Now what are its implications for Bible translation? It is
unfortunate that translations in all other languages—including biblical Aramaic
and modern Hebrew—should lose some of these cohesive devices in the biblical
Hebrew text, as recasting those devices naturally in other languages is difficult.
But since formal cohesion is such a conspicuous character of the Bible, more
formal translations may attempt to reflect this character by expressing the cohe-
sive devices more literally, e.g., 'And these are the names of the sons of Is-
rael...' (Exod. 1:1), 'And the LORD called Moses...' (Lev. 1:1).

Another point observed from this macroscopic survey on the cohesion in the
biblical books is that the Bible message is concerned with all the nations of the
world while Israel—Jerusalem, Davidic king, and Aaronic priests, to be more
precise—play a vital role. This constitutes the two overall themes in the Bible:
(1) God's restoring of a right relationship between the descendants of Adam, or
all the nations of the world, and himself, (2) Israel, the covenanted descendants
of Abraham, serve as the means to bless the descendants of Adam. These overall
themes run through the entire Bible. Thus, interactions between Israel and the
Gentile nations are the subject matter for biblical events, right from the begin-
ning in the life of Abraham. Especially, the first two books in the Pentateuch,
Job among the poetic-wisdom books, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and prophetic
books deal extensively with interactions between Israel and the Gentile world.
The Hebrew Bible even ends with the edict of Cyrus, a Gentile king, in 2 Chron.
36:23:

kô ʾāmar kōreš melek pāras kŏl-mamlĕkôt hāʾāreṣ nātan lî YHWH ʾĕlōhê
haššāmayim wêhûʾ-pāqad ʿalay libnot-lô bayit bîrûšālaim ʾăšer bihûd mî-
bākem mikkol-ʿammô YHWH ʾĕlōhāyw ʿimmô wĕyāʿal.

'Thus says Cyrus king of Persia, "The LORD, the God of heaven, has given
me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at
Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the
LORD his God be with him. Let him go up."'

The reason for these perennial interactions between the Gentile world and Israel lies again in the ultimate purpose of God to restore a right relationship between the whole human race and himself to be completed through the priestly service of Israel.

It may be further suggested that the Bible is dealing with the theme of "life," as God is the source of life, and the first sign/condition of life is the internal unity of the members in any given organism. Thus, the cohesion of the whole Bible suits well with its theme. This biological aspect of the Bible may remind us of the proposition in the New Testament: "The word of God is living and active" (Heb. 4:12).

Appendix: A Summary Table of Cohesion in the Books of the Hebrew Bible

Abbreviations and signs:

Conj	Conjunction
LC	Lexical cohesion
PrepT	Prepositional phrase as temporal interface with the historic narrative axis
⇩	The historic narrative axis
⬇	The parallel narrative axis
①②③	Chronological order in the parallel narrative axis
⇦	Parallel connection to the historic narrative axis (with personal connection)
⇔	Parallel connection to the historic narrative axis (with temporal-situational connection)
⬊	Parallel with the historic narrative axis

Book	First verse / clause (final verse(s) / clause(s).) Cohesion items underlined	Cohesive devices
1 Genesis	*bĕrē'šît bārā' 'ĕlōhîm 'ēt haššāmayim wĕ'ēt hā'āreṣ* 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth' (46:8 <u>*wĕ'ēllê šĕmôt bĕnê-yiśrā'ēl*</u>) ('And these are the names of the sons of Israel')	"Absolute beginning" ⇩ *[tail]--* ⎬
2 Exodus	<u>*wĕ'ēlleh šĕmôt bĕnê yiśrā'ēl*</u> 'And these are the names of the sons of Israel'	--*[head]* ⎬ ⇩ Conj: *wĕ* 'and'
3 Leviticus	<u>*wayyiqrā' 'el-mōšê*</u> '<u>And</u> the LORD called Moses'	⇩ Conj: *wa* 'and'
4 Numbers	<u>*wayĕdabbēr* YHWH *'el-mōšê*</u> '<u>And</u> the LORD spoke to Moses' (36:13 <u>*'ēlleh*</u> *hammiṣwôt wĕhammišpāṭîm 'ăšer ṣiww* YHWH *bĕyad-mōšê 'el-bĕnê yiśrā'ēl bĕ'ărĕbōt mô'āb 'al* *yardēn yĕrēḥô*) ('<u>These are</u> the commandments and the ordinances which the LORD commanded by Moses to the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan of Jericho')	⇩ Conj: *wa* 'and' *[tail]--* ⎬
5 Deuteronomy	<u>*'ēlleh*</u> *haddĕbārîm 'ăšer dibber mōšê 'el-kol-yiśrā'ēl* *bĕ'ēber hayyardēn bammidbār* '<u>These are</u> the words that Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness'	--*[head]* ⎬ ⇩
6 Joshua	<u>*wayhî 'aḥărê môt mōšê 'ebed* YHWH</u> '<u>And</u> it was after the death of Moses the servant of the LORD'	⇩ Conj: *wa* 'and'
7 Judges	<u>*wayhî 'aḥărê môt yĕhôšu'a*</u> '<u>And</u> it was after the death of Joshua'	⇩ y *wa* 'and'
8 Samuel (1&2)	<u>*wayhî 'îš 'eḥād*</u> '<u>And</u> there was a certain man'	⇩ Conj: *wa* 'and'
9 Kings (1&2)	<u>*wĕhammelek dāwid zāqēn*</u> '<u>And</u> King David was old'	⇩ Conj: *wĕ* 'and'
10 Isaiah	*ḥăzôn yĕša'yāhû ben-'āmôṣ 'ăšer ḥāz 'al-yĕhûdâ* *wîrûšālāim bîmê 'uziyyāhû yôtām 'āḥāz yĕḥizqiyyāhû* *malkê yĕhûdâ* '<u>The vision of</u> Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw con- cerning Judah and Jerusalem <u>in the days of</u> Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah'	⇦ LC: *ḥăzôn* 'the vi- sion of'; PrepT: *bîmê* 'in the days of'
11 Jeremiah	1:1 *dibrê yirmiyāhû ben-ḥilqiyyāhû min-hakkōhănîm* *'ăšer ba'ănātôt bĕ'ereṣ binyāmin.* 1:2 *'ăšer hāyâ* <u>*dĕbar-*</u> <u>YHWH</u> *'ēlāyw bîmê yō'šiyyāhû ben-'āmôn melek yĕhûdâ* *bišlōš-'eśrēh šān lĕmālkô* '¹The words of Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, of the priests who were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin, ²To whom <u>the word of the</u> LORD came <u>in the days of</u> Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign'	⇦ LC: *dĕbar-*YHWH 'the word of the LORD' PrepT: *bîmê* 'in the days of'

12 Ezekiel	_wayhî biŝlōŝîm ŝānâ bārĕbî‘î bihămiŝŝ lahōdeŝ wā’er’eh_ _mar’ôt ’ĕlōhîm_ 'And it was in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month, ...I saw visions of God'	⇦ ⇩ Conj: _wa_ 'and' LC: _mar’ôt ’ĕlōhîm_ 'visions of God' PrepT: _bi ŝānâ/ hōdeŝ_ 'in the year/month'
13.1 Hosea	_dĕbar-YHWH ’ăŝer hāyâ ’el-hôŝē‘a ben-bĕ’ĕrî bîmê_ _‘uzziyyâ yôtām ’āhāz yehizqîyyâ malkê yĕhûdâ_ 'The word of the LORD that came to Hosea the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah'	⇦ LC: _dĕbar-YHWH_ 'the word of the LORD'; PrepT: _bîmê_ 'in the days of'
13.2 Joel	_dĕbar-YHWH ’ăŝer hāyâ ’el-yô’ēl ben-pĕtû’ēl_ 'The word of the LORD that came to Joel, the son of Pethuel'	⇦ LC: _dĕbar-YHWH_ 'the word of the LORD'
13.3 Amos	_dibrê ‘āmôs ’ăŝer-hāyâ bannōqdîm mitĕqô‘a ’ăŝer_ _hāz ‘al-yiŝrā’ēl bîmê ‘uziyyâ melek-yĕhûdâ_ _ubîmê yārob‘ām_ 'The words of Amos, who was among the shepherds of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah king of Judah and in the days of Jeroboam'	⇦ LC: _hāz_ 'saw' PrepT: _bîmê_ 'in the days of'
13.4 Obadiah	_hāzôn ‘ōbadyâ kô-’āmar ’ădōnāy YHWH le’edôm_ 'The vision of Obadiah. Thus says the Lord GOD concerning Edom'	⇦ LC: _hāzôn_ 'the vision of'
13.5 Jonah	_wayhî dĕbar-YHWH ’el-yônâ ben-’ămittay lē’mōr_ 'And there was the word of the LORD (that came) to Jonah the son of Amittai'	⇦ Conj: _wa_ 'and' LC: _dĕbar-YHWH_ 'the word of the LORD'
13.6 Micah	_dĕbar-YHWH ’ăŝer hāyâ ’el-mîkâ hammōraŝtî bîmê_ _yôtām ’āhāz yĕhizqiyyāh malkê yĕhûdâ_ 'The word of the LORD that came to Micah of Moresheth in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah'	⇦ LC: _dĕbar-YHWH_ 'the word of the LORD' PrepT: _bîmê_ 'in the days of'
13.7 Nahum	_maŝŝā’ nînwēh sēper hāzôn nahûm hā’elqōŝî_ 'An oracle concerning Nineveh. The book of the vision of Nahum of Elkosh'	⇦ LC: _maŝŝā’_ 'an oracle'; _hāzôn_ 'the vision of'
13.8 Habakkuk	_hammaŝŝā’ ’ăŝer hāzâ hăbaqqûq hannābî’_ 'The oracle which Habakkuk the prophet saw'	⇦ LC: _hammaŝŝā’_ 'the oracle'; _hāzâ_ 'saw'
13.9 Zephaniah	_dĕbar-YHWH ’ăŝer hāyâ ’el-sĕpanyâ ben-kûŝî_ _ben-gĕdalyâ ben-’ămaryâ ben-hizqiyyâ bîmê_ _yo’ŝiyyāhû ben-’āmôn melek yĕhûdâ_ 'The word of the LORD which came to Zephaniah the son of Cushi, son of Gedaliah, son of Amariah, son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah'	⇦ LC: _dĕbar-YHWH_ 'the word of the LORD'; PrepT: _bîmê_ 'in the days of'

13.10 Haggai	*bišnat šĕttayim lĕdāryāweš hammelek* <u>*baḥōdeš haššiššî*</u> *bĕyôm ʾeḥād laḥōdeš hāyâ* <u>*dĕbar-YHWH*</u> *bĕyad-ḥaggay hannābîʾ* 'In the second <u>year of</u> Darius the king, <u>in the</u> sixth <u>month</u>, <u>on the</u> first <u>day of</u> the month, the <u>word of the</u> LORD came by Haggai the prophet'	⇐ PrepT: *bišnat* 'in the year of'; *baḥōdeš* 'in the month of'; *bĕyôm* 'in the day of' LC: *dĕbar-YHWH* 'the word of the LORD'
13.11 Zechariah	<u>*baḥōdeš haššĕmînî*</u> *bišnat šĕttayim lĕdāryāweš hāyâ* <u>*dĕbar-YHWH*</u> *ʾel-zĕkaryâ ben-berekyâ ben-ʿiddô hannābîʾ* 'In the eighth <u>month</u>, in the second <u>year of</u> Darius, the <u>word of the</u> LORD came to Zechariah the son of Berechiah, son of Iddo, the prophet'	⇐ PrepT: *baḥōdeš* 'in the month of'; *bišnat* 'in the year of' LC: *dĕbar-YHWH* 'the word of the LORD'
13.12 Malachi	*maśśāʾ* <u>*dĕbar-YHWH*</u> *ʾel-yiśrāʾēl bĕyad malʾākî* 'An oracle; the word of the LORD to Israel by Malachi'	⇐ LC: *maśśāʾ* 'an oracle'; *dĕbar-YHWH* 'the word of the LORD'
14 Psalms	*ʾašrê hāʾîš* 'Blessed is the man'	⇔
15 Proverbs	*mišlê šĕlōmōh ben-dāwid melek yiśrāʾēl* 'The proverbs of Solomon, son of David, king of Israel'	⇔
16 Job	*ʾîš hāy bĕʾereṣ-ʿûṣ ʾiyyôb šĕmô* 'There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job'	↘
17 Song of Songs	*šîr haššîrîm ʾăšer lišĕlōmōh* 'The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's'	⇔
18 Ruth	<u>*wayhî*</u> <u>*bîmê*</u> *šĕpōṭ haššōpṭîm* '<u>And</u> it was <u>in the days of</u> the ruling of the judges'	⇐ ⇩ Conj: *wa* 'and' PrepT: *bîmê* 'in the days of'
19 Lamentations	*ʾêkâ yāšbâ bādād hāʿîr rabbātî ʿām* 'How lonely sits the city that was full of people!'	⇔
20 Ecclesiastes	*dibrê qohelet ben-dāwid melek bîrûšālāim* 'The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem.'	⇔
21 Esther	<u>*wayhî*</u> <u>*bîmê*</u> *ʾăhašwērôš* 'And it was in the days of Ahasuerus'	(↓) ③ Conj: *wa* 'and' PrepT: *bîmê* 'in the days of'
22 Daniel	*bišnat šālôš lĕmalkût yĕhôyāqîm melek-yĕhûdâ* 'In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah'	⇐ ⇔ PrepT: *bišnat* 'in the year of'
23 Ezra–Nehemiah	*ûbišnat ʾaḥat lĕkôreš melek pāras* 'And in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia'	② ↓ Conj: *û* 'and' PrepT: *bišnat* 'in the year of'
24 Chronicles (1&2)	*ʾādām šēt ʾĕnôš* 'Adam, Seth, Enosh'	① ↓

BIOGRAPHY

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Some Observations on the Storyline Status of Gerunds in Koorete (Omotic)

Stephen H. Levinsohn

ABSTRACT

Although Longacre (1990) claimed that only the final verb of sentences in Koorete narratives presents a storyline event, this squib shows that both the final verb and the unmarked gerunds which are directly dependent on it are storyline. It also discusses the storyline status of switch reference gerunds in Koorete, plus reasons for beginning new sentences in the language.

Longacre (1990:11) notes in his chapter on some SOV languages of Ethiopia:

> The Cushitic, Omotic, and Semitic languages of Ethiopia are SOV languages which chain clauses in strings so that (1) final clauses have special fully-inflected verbs and (2) non-final clauses have verbs that are not fully inflected but are variously called "gerunds," "participles"[1]...There is some tendency to develop switch reference systems to keep track of same versus different subject from clause to clause.

Longacre continues (p. 12):

> As far as the storyline status of gerunds and finals go, there are three hypothetical possibilities regarding their mutual ranking. Assuming that the whole sentence is *not* off the storyline, we could find A, B, or C.
>
> A. Only the final verb is storyline; preceding verbs indicate backgrounded actions or happenings...
>
> B. The final verb is a routinely added element which either is grammaticalized or is in process of being grammaticalized. Verbs meaning 'do', 'be', or 'say' are likely to occur in this function. In such circumstances it is the preceding gerunds which are storyline, or perhaps one particular kind of gerund.

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[1]'Participle' is a better term than 'gerund' since, according to Crystal (1997:279), a gerund refers to a "word derived from a verb [which] is used as a NOUN." However, to avoid confusion with the terminology employed in Longacre 1990, I have retained the term 'gerund'.

C. Both the final verb and the unmarked gerunds which are directly dependent on it are storyline (while gerunds are off the line if they depend upon off-the-line final verbs).

Of the three possibilities sketched above, C is possibly the commonest alternative, but A appears to be documentable in our sample of Ethiopian languages, and a structure approximating B is also found [in Afar].

Koorete is then cited as a type A language. This squib claims that, in fact, Koorete is of type C. It also discusses the storyline status of switch reference gerunds in Koorete, plus reasons for beginning new sentences in the language. These observations stem from an analysis of three Koorete texts which SIL linguist Lydia Hoeft obtained, glossed, and charted for a Discourse for Translation workshop in Addis Ababa at the beginning of 2001.

Koorete Is a Type C Language

Longacre's classification of Koorete as type A was based on a limited corpus collected by a woman who had only recently begun to study the language (Breeze p.c.). Further research indicates that, like other Omotic languages, Koorete is in fact of type C. This is illustrated in sentence (1); the events described in the unmarked gerunds (1a–c) are at least as important as the one presented with the final verb (1d).[2]

1. a. *Ye   kom'e   etti,*
        the   skin   taking
    b. *mellusi*
        drying
    c. *e   oomo   axi   kaxhicho   bidz.mixi   gara kessi*[3]
        3S   under   people   rest.NOM   tree   LOC   climbing
    d. *e   utto.*
        3S   sat.down
    'He took the skin, dried it, climbed a tree under which travellers rest, and settled down.'

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[2]The following sentence—(9) of §3—reads, 'It was then that many traders came; not seeing him above, they unloaded their goods from their mules and donkeys onto the grass in order to rest under the tree, and started retying them when he, being in the place where he was, beat the hide, and they all, saying, "What has come among us?" left their mules, donkeys and goods, and fled.'

[3]The following abbreviations are used:

IMPF	imperfective	REF	reflexive pronoun
			(coreferential with the subject—Breeze 1990:12)
LOC	locative	S	subject marker
NOM	nominaliser	SR	switch reference marker
PERF	perfect	3P, 3S	third-person plural, singular.

In the light of this example, the unmarked gerunds found in the sentences cited on pp. 12–13 of Longacre's article may readily be interpreted as presenting storyline events.

A typological question remains, as to whether any SOV languages that chain clauses are of type A. Readers are invited to contribute a squib or article to this journal if they know of such a language.

The Status of Switch-Reference Gerunds in Koorete

Breeze concluded for the Gimira language (now called Bench), "gerund marked for SR [switch reference] ranks lower in the structure of a sentence...than does the same gerund without the SR marker. This is because the gerund plus SR regularly refers to the non-thematic participant..." (Longacre 1990:26). This observation is often, but not always, valid for Koorete. (The term "thematic participant" denotes the participant who is the current center of attention in the story.)

In sentence (2), for instance, the question presented in connection with the gerund marked for SR (2a–b) is readily interpreted as being of less importance than the response of the other participant (the thematic one) (2c–d). In other words, one may view the event of (2a–b) as backgrounded with respect to the storyline events of (2c–d).

2. a–b. *Axiti   "Am   ne   uwwe?"   hidi   oysi-ne*[4]
            people.S   why   you   shout   saying   asking-SR
    c.   *"Ha zawa   geritta-kko   ta   dhiila   etti   muqo-na   ta*
            the house   people-be   my   flour   taking   ashes-with   my
                    ogorita   kunso"   hidi
                    sacks   filled   saying
    d.   *uwwe   e   lagusso.*
            shout   3S   increased
    'When people asked, "Why are you shouting?", he replied, "The people in this house have taken my flour and filled my sacks with ashes!" and he shouted even more.'

Similarly in (3) the event described in the gerund marked for SR (3b), which is in the imperfective, is readily interpreted as describing the circumstance for the events of (3c–d), rather than itself being a storyline event. In other words, it may be viewed as backgrounded with respect to the storyline event of (3d)—the use of the perfect in (3c) may well background (3c) with respect to (3d), too.

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[4]The norm is for reported speeches in Koorete to be followed by two orienter verbs: a gerundive form of *hi-* 'say' plus a verb indicating the function or manner of the speech (e.g., ask a question, answer a question, beg, request, think). The only time that a reported speech is followed by a single orienter verb is when the sentence concerned describes climactic events—see (8a).

3. a. *Li'iya*   *yesine*
        wicker.container   being.IMPF
    b. *modhese*   *kato-na*   *e*   *kaa'usune*
        pleasant   voice-with   3S   playing. IMPF.SR
    c. *Boraana*   *kaati*   *yeyna*   *garichine*
        Boraana   king.S   along.there   passing.PERF
    d. *e*   *siido.*
        3S   heard

    'While he was in the container and singing with a nice voice, the Boraana king came to be passing by and heard him.'

In (4), in contrast, the speech presented in connection with the gerund marked for SR (4b–c) appears to be at least as important as the response (4d). Furthermore, the thematic participant is Buxho, not his brothers, as the following sentence ((1), cited in §1) confirms.

4. a.   *Hinne-kko Buxho-y*   *be*   *anguzaxhe-kko*   *yoodi*
         then-be   Buxho-S   REF   brothers-to   coming
    b-c. *"Ta   maydo   shutti,*   *hi*   *muudo   geede,*   *e*   *kom'e-wo*
         my   ox   killing   you   ate   after   3S   skin-only
              taase   inguwayte"   *hidi*   *e*   *gadhi-ne*
              me.to   give!   saying   3S   asking.for-SR
    d.   *kom'e*   *esuse*   *u*   *indo.*
         skin   him.to   3P   gave

    'It was at this point that Buxho went to his brothers and begged them, "Since you killed my ox and ate it, at least give me its skin!" and they gave him the skin.'

As stated above, many instances of gerunds marked for SR do appear to conform to the principle proposed by Breeze, that they are backgrounded with respect to events described in later clauses of the sentence. Exceptions such as (4) appear to meet two conditions:

1. Such gerunds involve events that are performed by the 'global VIP' (the thematic participant for the story as a whole).

2. The prominence marker *-kko* 'be' is attached to the sentence-initial connective—*hiine* 'then' in (4a)—to indicate that the sentence concerned describes a significant new development in the story.

This may explain why the author can present a very significant new development (Buxho gathering up the ashes of his house—(5a)) in an imperfective gerund marked for SR.

5. a. *Ye   e   geede-kko Buxho-y   assi   ye   be   keexi*
        the   3S   after-be Buxho-S   again   the   REF   house
        muqo   bhikkilusune
        ashes   gathering.IMPF.SR
    b. *esindo   na'axhe-y   e   gara   u   qozoozo.*
       his   brothers-S   3S   LOC   3P   made.jokes
    'It was after that that Buxho started gathering up the ashes of his house,
    while his brothers ridiculed him.'

Sentence Breaks in a Type C Language

If both the final verb and certain gerunds present storyline events, the question arises as to when final verbs are used in narrative, rather than gerunds. The following are some possible principles.

1. When a series of events performed by the **same subject** is associated together, then they are presented in a single sentence. When the same subject takes a new initiative, in contrast, a new sentence is begun.

This principle is illustrated by comparing (1) (repeated below) with (6)–(7). The events presented in sentence (1), which are performed by the same subject, are all realized with the same goal in mind.

1. a. *Ye   kom'e   etti*
        the   skin   taking
    b. *mellusi*
       drying
    c. *e   oomo   axi   kaxhicho   bidzi.mixi   gara kessi*
       3S   under   people   rest.NOM   tree   LOC climbing
    d. *e   utto.*
       3S   sat.down
    'He took the skin, dried it, climbed a tree under which travellers rest, and
    settled down.'

In contrast sentence (6) presents the final events of one attempt by Buxho's brothers to get the better of him, whereas the next sentence (7) begins a further attempt to do so.

6. h. *axiti   u   gara   miici-ne*
        people.S   3P   LOC   laughing-SR
    i. *dhaddi,*
       leaving

    j. *u*   *maaddho.*
        3P   returned

7. a-b. *Hinne-kko esindo na'axhe-y "Am   ha   Buxho-se nu*
            then-be his   brothers-S what this Buxho-to we
            hante?"   hidi   massi
            do   saying thinking
    c.   *"Gaaganna-kko nu   dafe"   hidi   uydo.*
        cliff.from-be   we   throw saying said.
    '...people were laughing at them, and they left and returned. It was then
    that his brothers thought, "What shall we do to this Buxho?" and they
    decided, "We'll throw him off a cliff".'

    2. When a **change of initiator** occurs, then a new sentence generally begins. In contrast, when an initiative on the part of one participant produces the desired response from another, then the two may be presented in the same sentence.

    This explains why sentence (4) (cited in §2) includes both Buxho's request for the skin of his ox and his brothers' act of giving him it. Only one initiator (Buxho) is involved.

    Similarly, although two gerunds marked for SR occur in (8), Buxho's brothers initiate all the actions.

8. a. *Hinne-kko esindo na'axhe-y "Hinne   numba gaaganna*
        then-be his   brothers-S then   us   cliff.from
        dakuwa!..." hidi
        throw   saying
    b. *li'iya   u   geli-ne*
        wicker.container.in 3P entering-SR
    c. *u   uddina gaaganna e   dati-ne*
        3P all   cliff.from 3S throwing-SR
    d. *haydhi,*
        dying
    e. *be uddina u   allo.*
        REF all   3P finished
    'It was then that his brothers said, "Then throw us down!" got into a wicker container and, when he threw them all down the cliff, died, and were all obliterated.'

    3. The one place where an exception is found to the principle that only one initiative is presented per sentence is in a sentence that describes the climactic event of an episode. Even in such a sentence, however, there is a single thematic

participant. Thus, although Buxho is the initiator in (9f), the traders are the thematic participants throughout the sentence.

9. a. *Hinne-kko   laga   axiti   nagaaditi   yoodi,*
        then-be   trader   people   many.S   coming
    b. *esa   afa   beedobadi*
        him   above   saw.not
    c. *e   oomo   kaxe efese   be   biqilo   be   harre   gara-fa*
        3S   under   rest take.to   REF   mules   REF   donkeys   LOC-from
        be   shagaxhita   birshi
        REF   goods   untying
    d. *maata   gara tutti   u   yesune*
        grass   LOC   tying   3P   be.IMPF.SR
    e. *ye   be   yecho   godo   yesine,*
        the   REF   be.NOM   place   be.IMPF
    f. *ishila   e   oxhi-ne*
        hide   3S   beating-SR
    g. *"Am   nuuka   gella?"   hissine*
        what   us.between   entered   say.IMPF
    h. *be   biqilo   be   harre   be   shaqaxhe   datti,*
        REF   mules   REF   donkeys   REF   goods   leaving
    i. *dhaddi,*
        getting.up
    j. *u   woxxho.*
        3P   ran

    'It was then that many traders came; not seeing him above, they unloaded
    their goods from their mules and donkeys onto the grass in order to rest
    under the tree, and started retying them when he, being in the place where
    he was, beat the hide, and they all, saying, "What has come among us?"
    left their mules, donkeys, and goods, and fled.'

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Discourse Structure, Verb Forms, and Archaism in Psalm 18

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ABSTRACT

Psalm 18 is especially relevant to the occasional use of what might be called "old preterites" in the Hebrew Bible. These forms act exactly like *wyyqtl*, i.e., the *waw* consecutive with the imperfect in respect to being a narrative tense and limited to clause-initial position, but lack the *w-* on the front. In this particular psalm the distribution of this form correlates with the narrative progress which can be posited within the psalm. A secondary value in this psalm is its possible light on the use of the two basic forms of the Hebrew verb, the perfect *(qtl)* and the imperfect *(yqtl)* in off-the-line uses in the structure of the psalm.

Introduction

Assuming that this psalm is Davidic—as witnessed by the parallel chapter in 2 Samuel 22—the psalm is a comparatively early one in a book of hymns which culminates with the "hallelusia" written in the postexilic period. There is therefore the possibility of finding features that are somewhat archaic—and in fact this has been assumed for some time.[1] It is not, however, the purpose of this article to discuss the various sorts of archaisms found in this psalm, but to focus on one archaic feature, viz., "old" preterites (if such they be!) which we find here. Nor is it our purpose to make a critical and conflated study of Psalm 18 with the parallel passage in 2 Samuel 22 in respect to this or other archaic features. Rather it is suggested here that Psalm 18 uses a systematic and semantically consistent use of the "old preterite" not found in the text of 2 Samuel 22 where the distribution of the old preterite, i.e., the *yqtl*, and the more recent *wy-yqtl* forms, appear to be less systematic, and perhaps disturbed in the transmission of the text. In the text of Psalm 18 is found a partial explanation of this feature in terms of the discourse structure of this piece of poetry.

A lesser goal of this article is to suggest that Psalm 18 may be paradigmatic in respect to helping the exegete of Bible translation to sort out autobiographical

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[1]Cross and Freedman (1975) classify as "early Yahwistic poetry" Exodus 15, Deuteronomy 33, Genesis 49, Judges 5, and Psalm 18=2 Samuel 22.

and hence past time references from references to the psalmist's ongoing situation (present or future). This problem, which is troublesome at many points in the Psalms, is less acute in Psalm 18 because the narrative nature of certain parts of the psalm points in the direction of a recounting of past experiences in these portions.

Also note points at which the verb forms in Samuel differ from those in Psalm 18 and observe these differences, but this will not be in itself a goal of the article. Suffice it to say that while the old preterites that characterize Psalm 18 show systematic patterning in the structure of the psalm, these patterns are not so evident in the parallel passage, 2 Samuel 22.

While in general I see less chiasm in the psalms than other students of this part of the Bible find, I do see that many psalms have a tendency to locate pivotal or crucial information somewhere near their centers. Often this pivot is marked by the occurrence of free pronouns even where not strictly needed, e.g., as subjects of finite verbs. Chiasm is, however, not the only available analytic tool; linear structures also occur and in most discourse types reflect a template (Longacre 1996). Thus, narrative discourse is built on some such template as the following: stage, inciting incident, mounting tension, climax of tension, denouement—release of tension (Longacre 1996 and earlier). Hortatory prose discourse seems to involve some such template as the following: problem/ situation, authority of exhorter, command element, motivation for implementing the command (rewards, promises, need). Of course, neither template is slavishly followed but is subject to topological stretching, shrinking, and twisting in the hands of a skillful writer.

In the poetry of the Psalms lyric poetry is not built on such templates; each lyric has its own ad hoc macrostructure which acts somewhat in lieu of a template. But most other types of poetry are built on a template, which is frequently hortatory. One special kind of hortatory discourse, prayer, in which the psalmist is asking God to act in his behalf, typically involves the psalmist's situation, petition, reliance on the character of God, or the life of the psalmist, and affirmation of confidence. This is readily seen to be a variation of the hortatory template. Poetry can also either be narrative or involve stretches of narrative, in which case a rudimentary narrative template is applicable.

Before looking in detail at Psalm 18, which has two narrative strophes, consideration needs to be given to a further feature of narrative: ways to mark a surface structure action peak or a didactic peak (Longacre 1996). In prose narrative the inciting incident, the climax, and the denouement are all candidates for the special peak marking. Besides marking significant stretches of action, a narrative may include a didactic peak where the theme of the story is allowed to emerge, action is held in abeyance, and speech, in the form of monologue or dialogue is foregrounded.

A summary of the structure of Psalm 18 follows. The psalm naturally divides into five strophes:

Strophe 1. Introduction, vv. 2b–4[2]
Strophe 2. Episode 1, vv. 5–25
Strophe 3. Didactic peak, vv. 26–32
Strophe 4. Episode 2, vv. 33–49
Strophe 5. Conclusion vv. 50–51

The strophes form a structural chiasm in which the introduction corresponds to the conclusion, the two episodes correspond to each other, and the didactic peak constitutes the key. Strophes 1, 3, and 5 are timeless/present in temporal reference, while strophes 2 and 4 narrate experiences of the psalmist and thus have a past temporal reference.

The Hebrew Verb and the Structure of Psalm 18

The above observation regarding temporal references in Psalm 18 is of considerable value, for it helps to guide the temporal interpretations in a composition written in a language where tense is not primary but rather aspect is.[3] Mood will also be seen to figure into the picture. All of this is quite in contrast to biblical Hebrew prose styles where consecutive tenses, command forms, and verbless clauses dominate the picture in narration, prophecy-procedure-instruction, exhortation, and exposition, respectively. Thus, in narration the *waw*-consecutive imperfect [*wyyqtl*] provides the narrative backbone and can be considered to function as a past tense. In prophecy, procedure, and instruction, the *waw*-consecutive perfect [*wqtl*] dominates as backbone and indicates a parameter *projection,* which in many cases has a future temporal reference (Longacre 1996). In hortatory discourse, commands provide the backbone, surfacing as imperatives, and jussives. In expository discourse and in lyric poetry, verbless clauses, participial clauses, and clauses with action verbs and inanimate subjects are backbone. But nevertheless, in lyric poetry both aspects of the verb occur in bewildering fashion. Unlike prose, where the *(N)qtl* consistently is a backup for the *wyyqtl* in narrative, and the *(N)yqtl* a backup for the *wqtl* in prophecy/procedure/instruction, both aspects of the verb, the *qtl* and the *yqtl,* occur freely in off-the-backbone structures. In brief, leaving behind the prose types and approaching poetry there are fundamental questions of the meaning and function of the two aspects in a way not faced—except for stretches of reported speech—in prose. The occurrence of the two aspects in Psalm 18 can shed light

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[2]Verse numbers are from the Hebrew throughout the article.

[3]Assuming aspect to be more basic than tense in biblical Hebrew does not strike me as all that strange in that I speak one of indigenous language of Mexico, Trique, where aspect rather than tense is basic. In Trique the basic morphological opposition is continuative (stem form) versus punctiliar (prefix). The punctiliar is more frequent in reference to past time, although past continuatives are by no means uncommon. References to the present are normally continuative. References that are future or hypothetical employ a modal form that is regularly built on the punctiliar plus tonal modification.

on these issues. This is because the psalm sets up situations of narration and teaching in which there is a framework for the distribution of the two aspects; this distinction between a psalmist's past and current experiences is not by any means clear in many of the psalms.

Much has been written concerning the distinction between the *qtl* and the *yqtl* forms in Hebrew. Again the reader is reminded that this becomes an especially crucial issue for the analyst mainly in passing from prose to poetry. To describe the meaning function of the two in poetry or anywhere else follow Waltke and O'Connor (1990) in beginning with the distinction perfective versus nonperfective. While there is nothing particularly profound or revolutionary in this suggestion, it provides a good starting point, and probably a better one than accomplished versus continuative, which I posited for several years.

Taking the *qtl* as meaning perfective we can distinguish:

Perfective, past	*qtl*.p
Perfective, perfect (often translatable as a present)	*qtl*.pr
Perfective, future (certainty)	*qtl*.f
Perfective, precative (implies confidence of answer?)	*qtl*.i
Perfective, modal, often contrafactual	*qtl*.c

Taking the *yqtl* as meaning non-perfective, we can distinguish:

Non-perfective, open-ended (future/present)	*yqtl*.o
Non-perfective (usually iterative), in the past	*yqtl*.p
Non-perfective, modal, (jussive, unmarked jussive)	*yqtl*.j
Non-perfective, modal (assertive of the future)	*yqtl*.m

The consecutive tenses are used much more rarely in poetry than in prose. Thus, some two hundred forty occurrences of the *wyyqtl* occur in the Psalms. Much more than in prose the *wyyqtl* form is consecutive on whatever precedes it and continues the sense and function of that form. But even when clearly consecutive, it does not occur indiscriminately but often marks something locally climactic in its strophe. On the other hand, the *wyyqtl* can occur in narrative poetry as partially marking the main narrative line; in such cases it is independent of any preceding form. Psalm 18 has instances of both these usages. The *wqtl* form is much rarer in poetry, possibly as few as twenty-five times in the entire psalter. It too seems to mark a local climax. It does not occur in Psalm 18.

These concerns point to the striking problem which is encountered in Psalm 18: the occurrence of clause-initial *yqtl* forms that function parallel to *wyyqtl* forms as a further narrative tense. In that many regard the *wyyqtl* forms as old preterites preserved by the addition of initial *w*-, what is in this psalm can be

considered to be old preterites persisting without the initial conjunction.[4] This usage must be regarded as either archaic or archaizing. The old preterite is phonologically homophonous with the *yqtl*, but unlike the latter has a narrative-sequential meaning and function.

In the tree diagram of this article, an asterisk (*) before the English gloss indicates *wyyqtl* in the Hebrew text, while @ indicates *yqtl*.n, i.e., the old preterite in the Hebrew text. The symbol # indicates a verbless clause with # positioned where the verb would occur were it present in the text.

The Introduction and Conclusion of the Psalm (vv. 2b–4)

Verse 1 in the Masoretic text is a long title and ascription. Verse 2 begins with the *wyyqtl* form "And he said..." making the entire psalm, as it were, the quotation of a reported speech structure. In verses 2b–4 the theme is the introduction to the psalm.

This introduction conforms to a paragraph type which we can describe as thesis-amplification with embedded result paragraphs (for paragraph types here and below, cf. Longacre 1996:101–122). All verbs are *yqtls* and have an open-ended reference: *yqtl*.o. One participle occurs, the "praiseworthy one" in verse 4, but it is not the main verb of a clause. Several verbless clauses occur which ascribe various titles and properties to God. The *yqtl* verbs are: "I love you, YHWH"; "I take refuge in Him"; "I call on the praiseworthy one"; and "I am saved from my enemies." The vocatives and verbless clauses work in the titles and properties which are ascribed to God: "YHWH, my strength, my rock, my fortress, my deliverer, my God, my rock, my shield, the horn of my salvation, my stronghold." Noteworthy here is the first-person possessive on each form. For the full picture, see the partial tree diagram below.

Introduction: Amplification paragraph (no past time references)
       Thesis: Expository result paragraph
2b.   Result: I love-you [*yqtl*.o], YHWH my strength [cl-initial, not
        yqtl.n][5]
        Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph
3.   Thesis: YHWH # my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer
           Paraphrase: My God # my rock
        Amplification: Expository cyclic result paragraph
           Result: I take refuge [*yqtl*.j+*coh*] in Him [cl-initial, not *yqtl*.n]

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[4]Cross and Freedman, rather than taking the narrative *yqtl* forms as old preterites, take the position: "It can no longer be doubted, however, that the imperfect form of the verb was the common, generally used verb form in old Israelite, as in old Canaanite poetry, and that its time aspect was determined by the context, not the presence or absence of the conjunction" (1995:84–85).

[5]1 Sam. 22:2 omits this opening clause.

> Thesis: YHWH # my shield, and the horn of my salvation,
>   my stronghold.
> Result: Result paragraph
4.   Thesis: I call on [*yqtl*.o] the praiseworthy one [participle],
>   YHWH.
>   Result: And I am saved [*yqtl*.o] from my enemies

The Conclusion of the Psalm (vv. 50–51)

The conclusion is somewhat shorter than the introduction, with which it forms an inclusio.

The conclusion is signalled by the conjunction *<al ken* 'therefore'. It consists of a reason paragraph with v. 50 stating the thesis "I will thank...I will sing praises" while v. 51 states the reason in an amplification structure. The thesis employs *yqtl* verbs with cohortative endings, "I am determined to thank you, let me thank you" or something on that order. These are symbolic verbs functionally similar to *yqtl*.j. The verbs of v. 51 are participles used as main verbs; the full text reads: "He makes great his salvation to his king; he does loving-kindness to David and his descendants for evermore."

> Conclusion: Hortatory reason paragraph
>   Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph
50.   Thesis: Therefore [*<al ken*] I will thank *[yqtl+coh~yqtl.j]*
>   among the nations YHWH.
>   Paraphrase: To your name I will sing praises [*yqtl+coh~yqtl*.j]
>   Reason: Expository amplification paragraph
51.   Thesis: He makes great [participle] his salvation to his king
>   Amplification: He does [participle] loving-kindness to his
>   anointed, to David and to his descendants for evermore.

Didactic Peak (vv. 26–33)

As didactic peak of this psalm, the expounding structure needs to be considered a generic coordinate paragraph, since it coordinates two different types of paragraphs, i.e., a procedure paragraph as its first member and an expository (lyric) paragraph as its second member. This is clear in that the first part has backbone *yqtl* structures and can be construed as procedural; while the second part has backbone verbless clauses and participial clauses and can be construed as expository/lyric. Furthermore, the first part addresses God in second person while the second part speaks about God in the third person. Verse 33 is a good example of a *wyyqtl* which is consecutive on a participle, echoes the function of

the participle and is climatic in its section. Following is an indentation diagram of this section of the psalm.

Didactic peak: Generic coordinate paragraph: first part God is second person; second part God is third person (no clear instance of past time reference; (coordinates different types of paragraphs).

Thesis 1: Procedural result paragraph

Thesis: Procedural paraphrase paragraph

Paraphrase: Procedural paraphrase paragraph

26.   Thesis: With the faithful you show yourself faithful [*yqtl*.o]

27.   Paraphrase: With the blameless you show [*yqtl*.o] yourself blameless

Thesis: Procedural coordinate paragraph

28.   Thesis 1: *kiy* [*assev*] *'attah* with the pure you show yourself [*yqtl*.o] pure

Thesis 2: And with the crafty you show yourself [*yqtl*.o] shrewd

Result: Procedural coordinate paragraph

Thesis 1: Procedural paraphrase paragraph

29.   Thesis: *kiy* [*assev*] *'attah* keep burning [*yqtl*.o] my lamp

Paraphrase: YHWH my God illuminates my darkness [*yqtl*.o]

Thesis 2: Procedural coordinate paragraph

30.   Thesis 1: *kiy bcha* I run through [*yqtl*.o] a troop

Thesis 2: And in YHWH my God I scale [*yqtl*.o] a wall

Thesis 2: Expository coordinate paragraph

Thesis 1: Expository result paragraph

Thesis: Expository paraphrase paragraph

31.   Thesis: As for God, his way # perfect

Paraphrase: The word of YHWH # secure

Result: A shield # to those who trust in Him.

Thesis 2: Expository rhetorical question and answer paragraph

Rhetorical question: Expository coordinate paragraph

32.   Thesis 1: For who # God besides YHWH?

Thesis 2: For who # rock save our God?

A. Expository paraphrase paragraph

33.   Paraphrase: God # the one who arms [participle] me with strength

Thesis: And he *makes [*wyyqtl*] perfect my way [consecutive on the participle; climactic here in this portion of the paragraph].

Episode 1 (vv. 5–25)

This whole episode has the structure of a narrative reason paragraph, whose thesis is a narrative stimulus-response paragraph. The setting of the latter employs *qtl*.p verbs with one instance of the *yqtl*.p. The stimulus itself employs several *yqtl*.p forms to depict the psalmist's (iterative) crying out to YHWH for help for past iterative (cf. Joosten 1999). The response beginning at v. 8, has strong narrative movement, beginning with the onset of a *wyyqtl* form (as in narrative prose functioning as main line without any preceding form to which it is consecutive). Through a series of embeddings—narrative sequence paragraph occurring recursively within narrative sequence paragraph—the *wyyqtl*s carry the narrative main line down through v. 16. As offline elements both *qtl*.p and *yqtl*.p occur in a way not characteristic of narrative prose where customarily the former functions without the latter. Thus, a paraphrase element in v. 8 "and the earth shook" is *yqtl*.p while a causal clause in the same verse is *qtl*.p, "because he was angry." The following offline amplification in v. 9 has in one instance *qtl*.p "smoke went up from his nostrils," while "fire from his mouth devoured" is *yqtl*.p; and "burning coals blazed out of it" is again *qtl*.p. Similarly in vv. 12–13, which constitutes a setting in one of the embedded layers of narrative sequence paragraph, *yqtl*.p is employed in one clause and *qtl*.p in the next. In v. 14, a main line *wyyqtl* element is paraphrased as *yqtl*.p. These two elements *yqtl*.p and *qtl*.p function in various ways to support and enhance the story line carried by the *wyyqtl* forms. It might be considered a piece of special pleading to insist that the *yqtl*.p must always be considered to imply a past iterative while the *qtl*.p reports simple perfective accomplishment. Nevertheless, some distinction of this sort can often be made. Further consideration of this question will be given in detail in the final section of this article.

In v. 17, however, where the last sequential thesis is found in the lowest level of embedded narrative sequence paragraph, the chain of *wyyqtl*s which has hitherto been used to indicate the narrative main line is broken off and gives way to the use of a form that is obviously meant to continue the main line but is simply clause-initial *yqtl*. This is *yqtl*.n., i.e., *yqtl* narrative. Noticeably its occurrence is climactic, and furthermore it occurs right at the point in YHWH's rescue of the psalmist which could be dubbed 'the contact phase': "He reached down from on high. He took hold of me. He drew me out of deep waters."[6] Verse 19 uses another such form: "They confronted me in the day of disaster." Verse 20 gives a further use of this form "He rescued me..." Although a few instances of this

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[6]In some Dibabawon (Philippines) game procurement discourses at what we might call the target procedure, where the hunter shoots or spears his quarry, there is a shift to a more specific person, e.g., we (inclusive) > you sg. and they> he. Since person shifts and tense shifts are often associated as markers of peak phenomena, I am not overly surprised to find a tense shift in the BH. text at what I have called the "contact phase" of God's rescue of the psalmist (from Myra Lou Barnard and Janette Forster reported in Longacre 1996:41).

construction appear in Psalm 78 and elsewhere (cf. Partridge 1995), here it is in its fullest implementation. It can be explained in various ways. It could even be considered to be somewhat in the nature of a historical present in certain Indo-European languages where the historical present is typically reserved for great or pivotal moments of a story. On the other hand, on somewhat surer ground and not greatly dissimilar in function, the *yqtl*.n could be considered to be either an old surviving West Semitic preterite or an intentionally archaizing form—since poetry invites use of such devices. At any rate the narrative *yqtl* form appears to be used here apparently deliberately to mark a great moment of the story.

The second main part of strophe 2 is a cyclic reason structure which is attached to the previous thesis in vv. 5–20. This section is itself an embedded reason paragraph. The thesis contains two *yqtl*.p the first of which, since it is clause-initial could be considered to be a *yqtl*.n. "YHWH delivered me in my righteousness; according to the cleanness of my hands he rewarded me." The reason is given in *qtl*.pr forms—thus, present/perfect reference. All this is paraphrased in a verbless clause and in a negative *yqtl*.

Episode 1

God intervenes: narrative reason paragraph (mainly past time references)
Thesis: Narrative. Stimulus-response paragraph vv. 5–19
    Setting: Paraphrase paragraph:
      Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph
5.   Thesis: The cords of death coiled around me [*qtl*.p]
        Paraphrase: The torrents of Belial burst on me [*yqtl*.p]
      Paraphrase: Paraphrase paragraph
6.   Thesis: The cords of Sheol surrounded me [*qtl*.p]
        Paraphrase: The snares of death confronted me [*qtl*.p]
    Stimulus: Stimulus-response paragraph
      Stimulus: Paraphrase paragraph
7.   Thesis: In my distress I was calling on YHWH [*yqtl*.p]
        Paraphrase: And to my God I kept crying for help. [*yqtl*.p]
      Response: Paraphrase paragraph
        Thesis: He heard [*yqtl*.p/*yqtl*.n] my voice from his temple[7]
        Paraphrase: And my cry before him entered his ear.[*vqtl*.p]
    Response: Narrative sequence paragraph
      ST 1: Amplification paragraph:)[8]
        Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph
          Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph

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[7] 'Heard' is a *wyyqtl* in 2 Sam. 7; no verb 'entered' occurs; i.e., *vqtl*.p/n>*wyyqtl*.
[8] ST = sequential thesis

8.   Thesis: And it *trembled [*wyyqtl*] and it *shook,
                      [*wyyqtl*] the earth (verbs in tandem)
                      Paraphrase: And the foundations of mountains shook
                      [*Nyqtl*.p]
                      Paraphrase: And they *shook [*wyyqtl*], because angry
                      he [*qtl*.p]
                      Amplification: Amplification paragraph
9.   Thesis: Smoke went up from his nostrils [*qtl*.p]
                          Amplification: Amplification paragraph
                            Thesis: And fire from his mouth devoured [*yqtl*.p]
                            Amplification: Burning coals blazed out of it
                            [*qtl*.p]
                  ST 2: Narrative sequence paragraph
10.   ST 1: He *parted [*wyyqtl*] the heavens
                      ST 2: And he *came down [*wyyqtl*]
                      Terminus: And dark clouds # under his feet
                  ST 3: Narrative sequence paragraph
11.   ST 1: And he *mounted [*wyyqtl*] on a cherub
                      ST 2: And he *flew [*wyyqtl*]
                      ST 3: And he *soared [*wyyqtl*] on the wings of the wind.
                  ST 4: Narrative sequence paragraph
                      Setting: Narrative coordinate paragraph
12.   Thesis 1: he @made [*yqtl*.p or n][9] darkness his cover-
                          ing, his canopy around about him. The darkness of
                          the waters, cloud masses of the sky
13.   Thesis 2: Out of the brightness of his presence clouds
                          advanced [*qtl*.p], hailstones and clouds of fire.
                      ST 1: Paraphrase paragraph
14.   Thesis: And *thundered [*wyyqtl*][10] YHWH from the
                          heavens
                          Paraphrase: And Elyon gave out [*yqtl*.p] his voice
                      ST 2: Narrative sequence paragraph
15.   ST 1: And he *sent forth [*wyyqtl*] his arrows
                          ST 2: And he *shot [*wyyqtl*] them.
                          Terminus: hailstones and coals of fire
                      ST 3: Narrative sequence paragraph
16.   ST 1: And *were seen [*wyyqtl*] the valleys of the
                          waters.

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[9]In 2 Sam. 22:12 "and he made" is a *wyyqtl*, i.e., *yqtl*.p/n>*wyyqtl*.
[10]In 2 Sam. 22:14 "thundered" is a *yqtl*.n, i.e., *wyyqtl*>*yqtl*.n.

ST 2: And *were revealed [*wyyqtl*][11] the foundations of the earth, at your rebuke, YHWH at the breath of your nostrils

ST narrative: [peak] Narrative sequence paragraph

17.   ST 1: he @reaches down [*yqtl*.n] from on high

ST 2: he @takes ahold [*yqtl*.n] of me.

ST 3: he @draws [*yqtl*.n] me out of deep waters,

ST narrative: Cyclic comment paragraph:

18.   Thesis: He @rescues [*yqtl*.n] me from my strong enemies, and from my foes who were too strong [*qtl*.p] for me

Comment: Antithesis paragraph [possibly flashback]

19.   Thesis: They *confronted [*yqtl*.n] me in the day of disaster

Antithesis: Reason paragraph

Reason: but YHWH *was my [*wyyqtl*] support.

Thesis: And he *delivered [*wyyqtl*] me into a large place.

Thesis': He @rescued [*yqtl*.n] me because he de-lighted [*qtl*.pr] in me.

Reason: Cyclic reason paragraph: extends from v. 21–25

Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph

21.   Thesis: @ YHWH delivered [*yqtl*.n] me in my righteousness

Paraphrase: According to the cleanness of my hands he rewarded [*yqtl*.p]

Reason: Paraphrase paragraph

Thesis: Paraphrase paragraph

22.   Thesis: For I have kept [*qtl*.pr] the ways of YHWH

Paraphrase: I have not done [*qtl*.pr] evil in turning away from my God.

Paraphrase: Paraphrase paragraph

23.   Thesis: For all his judgments # before me

Paraphrase: And his statutes I've not turned from [*yqtl*.p]

Thesis: [pseudo] Narrative sequence paragraph: [or: Narrative rea-son paragraph]

ST 1: [N] Paraphrase paragraph [or: reason]

24.   Thesis: And I *was [*wyyqtl*] blameless before him

Paraphrase: And I have *kept [*wyyqtl*] myself from iniquity

25.   ST narrative: And YHWH *rewarded [*wyyqtl*] me in my righteous-ness. according to the cleanness of my hands in his sight. [or thesis]

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[11]In 2 Sam. 22:16 "were revealed" is *yqtl*.n, i.e., *wyyqtl*>*yqtl*.n.

Strophe 4, Episode 2 (vv. 34–49)

There is also narrative movement in this strophe, so it is considered to be an-
other episode in the life and career of its warrior author. There is, however, a
nonnarrative preposed section, vv. 34–36 which marks the setting of this para-
graph, as well as a nonnarrative terminus.

The setting consists of an expository coordinate paragraph which consists of
three theses.

Theses 1 and 2 are embedded result paragraphs, each thesis of which is char-
acterized by a participial main verb. The accompanying results are *yqtl*.o "He
makes me to stand on my high place" and *qtl*.pr "a bow of bronze is bent by my
right hand." The *yqtl*.o is used here in what is probably its primary sense, while
the *qtl*.pr reflects the accomplished perfect sense which reaches into the present.
The third thesis of this coordinate paragraph is itself an embedded coordinate
pararaph whose first verb is a *wyyqtl* while the following two verbs are *yqtl*.o
forms "You gave me the shield of your victory; your right hand sustains me; and
in your stooping down you make me great."

With v. 37 again there is narrative movement in a narrative sequence para-
graph with eight sequential theses. Each sequential thesis is developed as an
embedded paragraph. Careful analysis of these various embedded structures
reveals that every sequential thesis except sequential thesis 6 has a dominating
yqtl.n form; sequential thesis 6 is dominated by a *wyyqtl* form instead. Whether
this *wyyqtl* form should be considered to be a reversion to the more frequent way
of indicating narrative movement or whether it should be considered to be con-
secutive on the last *yqtl*.n is an open question. In either case the narrative
movement of the paragraph is unimpaired. What is of more importance is that
again the *yqtl*.n form is found here almost completely replacing the more normal
wyyqtl narrative backbone. If episode 2 is considered to be a continuation of
episode 1—in spite of the intervening didactic portion—then episode 2 could be
considered to be marked as of greater moment by the occurrence of the *yqtl*.n
backbone—just as this verb form it proved to be climactic within episode 1.
Thus, while episode 1 narrates the psalmist's being rescued from his enemies in
a life-threatening situation, episode 2 narrates his being victorious over sur-
rounding peoples and emerging as head over a hegemony.

Sequential thesis 1 is expounded by a narrative comment (or maybe result
paragraph). Its thesis has a *yqtl*.n verb: "You broadened the path under me" and
its comment/result has as negated *qtl*.p: "And my ankles didn't turn."

Sequential thesis 2 (v. 38) is an embedded narrative sequence paragraph
whose first two verbs are *yqtl*.n, while the third verb, which is negated, might
better be considered to be a *yqtl*.p. "I pursued my enemies, and overtook them,
and didn't turn back until they were finished off."

Sequential thesis 3 (v. 39) is a narrative paraphrase paragraph. The thesis, a
result paragraph, has its own thesis, which is a clause with a *yqtl*.n verb—as is

also the verb of the paraphrase. The result is, again, a negated verb which I am simply content to label *yqtl*.p. "I crushed them and they were not able to rise; they fell under my feet."

Sequential thesis 4 (vv. 40–41) has the structure of a narrative result paragraph. Its thesis is an embedded reason paragraph. The thesis of the embedded unit has the expected *yqtl*.n form but it is preceded by the reason which has a *wyyqtl* verb which is consecutive on the preceding forms. "You armed with strength for war. You made bow those rising up against me at my feet." The result is a coordinate paragraph one of whose verbs is a *qtl*.p and the other of which is a *yqtl*.p. "And my enemies turned the back to me, and those hating me I destroyed."

Sequential thesis 5 (v. 42) is an embedded paraphrase paragraph whose dominating verb, in the first clause is a *yqtl*.n to which corresponds the result (participial): "They cried and there was no one answering." This is paraphrased in a second set of clauses, the first of which is elliptical: "To YHWH" and the second of which contains a negated *qtl*.p "And he didn't answer them."

Sequential thesis 6 (v. 43) does not have a *yqtl*.n verb but rather a *wyyqtl*, the more usual narrative structure: "I beat them as dust on the wings of the wind" followed by a *yqtl*.p "Like mud of the street I poured them out."

Sequential thesis 7 (v. 44–45) is a narrative comment paragraph whose thesis is an embedded narrative sequence paragraph both of whose verbs are *yqtl*.n: "You delivered me from the attacks of the people; you placed me as head of the nations." The comment extends across verse boundaries and includes both the last sentence of v. 44 and the first sentence of v. 45; both sentences have *yqtl*.o in that the psalmist seems to be describing the resultant but contemporary situation—albeit a relative clause in the last sentence of v. 44 is a *qtl*.pr: "Peoples I have not known serve me. In their hearing of me they submit to me."

Sequential thesis 8 (vv. 45–46), the final one in this narrative paragraph, likewise straddles verse boundaries. The setting of this embedded paragraph has two coordinated clauses with *yqtl*.o—in that again the psalmist is probably describing an ongoing contemporary situation—but the thesis of the paragraph is a sentence with a *yqtl*.n form which is the last in the long chain of such forms. Thus, the setting: "Sons of strangers cringe before me. Sons of strangers lose heart." The thesis reverts, however, to the clause-initial narrative *yqtl*.n: "And they came cringing from their strongholds."

The nonnarrative terminus of this long narrative sequence paragraph is a result paragraph with embedded paraphrase paragraphs on various levels. Participles are prominent in this structure, and there is one instance of a *wyyqtl* which is consecutive on one of the participles. Other verbs are *yqtl*.o.

The internal structure of the paragraph which expounds episode 2 is traced out in order to demonstrate how the special narrative main line composed of clause-initial *yqtl*.n verbs dominates the structure of the component subparagraphs and hence of the whole.

Episode 2

Narrative sequence paragraph (except for setting, references are to past time even if translatable as historical presents)

Setting: Expository coordinate paragraph [probably no past time references here]

        Thesis 1: Result paragraph

34.   Thesis: He makes [participle] my feet like those of a deer

             Result: So that he makes me to stand [*yqtl*.o] upon my high place

        Thesis 2: Result paragraph

35.   Thesis: He teaches [participle] my hand to war

             Result: So that a bow of bronze is bent [*qtl*.pr] by my right hand

        Thesis 3: Coordinate paragraph

36.   Thesis 1: And you *gave [*wyyqtl*] me the shield of your victory

             Thesis 2: And your right hand sustains me [*yqtl*.o][12]

             Thesis n: And in your stooping down you make me great [*yqtl*.o]

      ST 1: Narrative comment paragraph

37.   Thesis: You @broadened [*yqtl*.n] the path under my step

          Comment: And my ankles didn't turn [*qtl*.p]

      ST 2: Narrative sequence paragraph

38.   ST 1: @I pursued [*yqtl*.n] my enemies

        ST 2: And @ I overtook [*yqtl*.n][13] them

        Terminus: And I didn't turn back [*yqtl*.p] until they were finished off [inf]

      ST 3: Narrative paraphrase paragraph

        Thesis: Comment paragraph

39.   Thesis: I @crushed [*yqtl*.n] them

          Comment: And they were not able to rise [*yqtl*.p][14]

        Paraphrase: They @fell [*yqtl*.n] under my feet.

      ST 4: Narrative result paragraph

        Thesis: Reason paragraph

40.   Reason: And you* armed [*wyyqtl*] me with strength for war [*wyyqtl* continues the historical present/past reference]

          Thesis: You @made bow [*yqtl*.n] under me those rising against me

        Result: Narrative coordinate paragraph

41.   Thesis 1: And my enemies you made turn [*qtl*.p] the back to me

          Thesis 2: And those hating me I destroyed [*yqtl*.p].[15]

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[12]This clause does not occur in 2 Sam. 22:36.

[13]In 2 Sam. 22:38 this verb is a *wyyqtl*, *yqtl*.n>*wyyqtl*.

[14]In 2 Sam. 22:39 four verbs occur, the first three of which are *wyyqtl*, while 'they didn't rise' is a *yqtl*.p; one *yqtl*.n>*wyyqtl*.

[15]This verb is a *wyyqtl* in 2 Sam. 22:41, i.e., *yqtl*.p>*wyyqtl*.

ST 5: Narrative paraphrase paragraph
    Thesis: Result paragraph
42.   Thesis: They @cried [*yqtl*.n]
        Result: And no one answered [participle]
    Paraphrase: Result paragraph
        Thesis: [verb not repeated] to YHWH
        Result: And he didn't answer them [*qtl*.p]
ST 6: Narrative comment paragraph
43.   Thesis: I *beat [*wyyqtl*] them as fine dust on the wings of the wind
    (consecutive on historical present/past time reference?)
    Comment: Like mud of the street I poured them out [*yqtl*.p].[16]
ST 7: Narrative comment paragraph
    Thesis: Narrative comment paragraph
        Thesis: Narrative sequence paragraph
44.   ST 1: You @delivered [*yqtl*.n][17] me from the attacks of the
        people
        ST 2: You @placed [*yqtl*.n] me as the head of the nations
        Comment: Narrative paraphrase paragraph
        Thesis: Peoples which I had not known [*qtl*.p] serve me
        [*yqtl*.o]
45.   Paraphrase: In their hearing of me they submit to me [*yqtl*.o]
ST 8: Narrative simple paragraph:
    Setting: Paraphrase paragraph
        Thesis: Sons of strangers cringe before me [*yqtl*.o]
46.   Paraphrase: Sons of strangers lose heart [*yqtl*.o]
    Thesis: @And they come trembling [*yqtl*.n] from their strongholds
Terminus: Hortatory reason paragraph
    Thesis: Hortatory paraphrase paragraph
47.   Intro: YHWH # lives [verbless clause]
        Paraphrase: Blessed be [*qal* past participle] my rock
        Thesis: And may the God of my salvation be exalted [*yqtl*.j]
    Reason: Expository paraphrase paragraph
        Thesis: Expository paraphrase paragraph
48.   Thesis: The God # the one giving [participle] vengeance to me

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[16] In 2 Sam. 22: two verbs occur; both are *yqtl*.p.

[17] This verb is a *wyyqtl* in 2 Sam. 22:41, i.e., *yqtl*.n>*wyyqtl*.

> Paraphrase: And *he subdues [*wyyqtl*]^{18} nations under me [consecutive on participle]
> Paraphrase: Expository paraphrase paragraph

49.   Thesis: He saves [participle] me from my enemies
> Paraphrase: Paraphrase paragraph:
>> Thesis: yea ['*af*] You save [*yqtl*.o] me from those who rise up against me.
>> Paraphrase: From violent men you rescue [*yqtl*.o] me

The Narrative Contained in the Psalm

Although the narrative contained in this psalm is distributed into two well-formed narrative sequence paragraphs, it also contains elements of the narrative template (Longacre 1996:34–35) which runs concurrently with the paragraph structures.

Thus, the setting of the paragraph that expounds episode 1 can be considered to be the stage for the whole story; it depicts the psalmist's perilous situation. The stimulus in verse 7—itself containing an embedded stimulus-response paragraph—can be considered to correspond to the inciting incident of the narrative template. The divine response from v. 8 on is, in the narrower sense, the first episode of the story; it depicts in a paragraph which is similar to an embedded narrative the rescue operation which comes to a peak—after mounting tension in vv. 17–20—and is signalled by the shift from main line *wyyqtl* forms to main line *yqtl*.n forms.

The reason unit appended to this part of the paragraph provides a transition to the didactic peak.

After the intervening didactic peak comes episode 2 of the story: God enabling the psalmist to subdue all his enemies and establish a hegemony over them. Maybe the rather troublesome occurrence of *wyyqtl* in sequential thesis 6 is meant to signal a peak in the overall narrative. Thus, in the earlier discontinuous part of the story the psalmist is rescued from his enemies, here he utterly defeats them in what is perhaps the denouement of the story.

Psalm 18 is a poem and its strophes are all well-formed surface structure paragraphs. Nevertheless, since it contains a narrative, features of the narrative template are reflected in the story, so that the stage of the whole story corresponds to the setting of the first paragraph, while the stimulus unit of that same paragraph reflects the incident. Climax of the story as a whole is marked as the

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[18]This verb is a participle in 2 Sam. 22:48, i.e., *wyyqtl*>participle.
Here is a summary of differences of verb forms in Psalm 18 vs. 2 Sam 22:
  A. Two ambiguous *yqtl*.p/n>*wyyqtl*
  B. Three *yqtl*.n>*wyyqtl*
  C. One *yqtl*.p>*wyyqtl*
  D. Two *wyyqtl*>*yqtl*
  E. One *wyyqtl*>participle

peak of the same paragraph and is signalled by the shift in main line verb forms. After the didactic portion in which the story stands still, the narrative resumes in the third strophe. Here, further mounting tension finds its denouement in v. 43 where the figures of speech—"beating his enemies as fine as dust borne on the wind and pouring them out like mud in the streets"—as well as the anomalous occurrence again of a *wyyqtl* where *yqtl*.n has dominated in the previous verses—all these can be considered to mark the denouement.

Thus, the psalm has its own unity by virtue of being a well-constructed poem. It also finds a further principle of unity in its reflection of the narrative template.

A Further Consideration of Verb Forms in This Psalm

Verb forms function as main-line and off-line elements. Thus, in the narrative parts of the psalm there are two main-line elements, the *wyyqtl* (as in narrative prose) and the archaic or archaizing *yqtl*.n; switches from one to the other of these are not random but serve to mark development either within the respective paragraphs or in reference to the narrative template itself. There are four off-line elements: the verbless clause, the participial clause, and the *qtl*. and *yqtl*. The first elements, the verbless clause and the participial, belong to the more expository (lyric) parts of the paragraph. The vacillation between *qtl* forms and nonnarrative *yqtl* in off-the-line clauses both in the expository and in the narrative parts of the psalm continues to constitute one of the features which has yet to be explained. The basic orientation of the two aspects, perfective and nonperfective while often relevant, cannot explain well all the occurrences, and throws the analyst back on appeals to style (often parallelism) or that expression abhorred by all discourse analysts, *free variation*. However, at least some of the variation between *qtl*.p and *yqtl*.p can be explained in terms of the basic iterative meaning of the latter.

There are ten occurrences in the two episodic strophes labelled *yqtl*.p.

In episode 1, v. 5, the setting of that paragraph (stage of the narrative template), a *yqtl*.p form occurs preceded by a *qtl*.p and followed in the next verse by two further *qtl*.p forms. The whole passage reads:

The cords of death coiled around me
The torrents of Belial burst upon me
The cords of Sheol surrounded me
The snares of death confronted me.

Why is the verb in the second clause a *yqtl*.p while the verbs of the other three clauses are *qtl*.p? Clauses 1, 3, and 4 contain a reference to cords and snares while the second clause uses rather the figure of torrents breaking over the psalmist. Could the *yqtl*.p form in the second clause imply torrents repeatedly breaking over him? Possibly this would not be so appropriate for the cords and snares image.

In episode 1, v. 7, four *yqtl*.p forms occur in stimulus of the episode (inciting incident of the narrative template):

In my distress I called on YHWH
And to my God I called for help
He heard my voice from his temple
And my cry before him entered into his ear.

These forms are *yqtl*.p with the possible exception of the form in the third clause, which is clause initial and could be considered to be a *yqtl*.n. For the first two clauses it is plausible to consider that the two forms could be past iterative; for the last two clauses this seems less plausible. Nevertheless, if we consider the verb "heard" to be a *yqtl*.n, an iterative meaning of the fourth verb is not impossible. In fact, if the calling is iterative, why could not the reception of the calling also be iterative?

In episode 1, v. 8, a *yqtl*.p form occurs preceded by two narrative *wyyqtls* and followed by another *wyyqtl* (with a *qtl*.p in a causal clause positing no problem):

And it trembled and it quaked, the earth
And the foundations of the mountains shook
And they shook because angry he.

Here the preverbal occurrence of "the foundations of the mountains" blocks the occurrence of the storyline *wyyqtl* form. That the verb of this clause is *yqtl*.p instead of a *qtl*.p (as would be usual in prose narrative) suggests that the shaking was repetitive.

In episode 1, v. 9, *yqtl*.p is preceded and followed by *qtl*.p forms:

Smoke went up from his nostrils
And fire from his mouth devoured
Burning coals blazed out of it.

Here it is possible to suggest that the middle clause is iterative in import while the other two clauses are not. Of course, "style" could be invoked, i.e., a local chiasm with the second clause and its *yqtl*.p form as the key.

In episode 1, vv. 12 and 13, the setting of the main narrative sequence paragraph that constitutes this strophe is found. Verse 12 has a *yqtl*.p form and v. 13 has a *qtl*.p form:

He made darkness his covering,
His canopy round about him,
The darkness of waters, cloud masses of the sky
Out of the brightness of his presence clouds advanced,
Hailstones and coals of fire.

The first verb is "he made" and is a clause-initial *yqtl*, which could possibly pattern as a *yqtl*.n, but no other such forms occur in its immediate vicinity. If it is taken simply to be a *yqtl*.p it must be said that the theophany employs a *yqtl*.p here and a *qtl*.p in "advanced" in the following verse.

In episode 1, v. 14, we find the following couplet:

And thundered YHWH from heaven
And Elyon gave out his voice.

The verb of the first clause is *wyyqtl* and carries at this point in the episode the narrative main line. The second verb is *yqtl*.p. The latter form can indeed be past iterative in this context, implying, e.g., the repeated reverberation of the thunder.

In episode 2, setting of that paragraph, vv. 34–36, there is a coordinate paragraph which has three coordinated theses. In theses 1 and 2 participles dominate. A slightly different problem from that seen in the examples above is that in v. 34 the clause which accompanies the participle has a *yqtl*.o verb form while in v. 35 the clause which accompanies the participle is a *qtl*.pr, as seen below:

He makes (participle) my feet like those of a deer
and so makes me to stand (*yqtl*.o) upon my high places
He teaches (participle) my hand to war
So that a bow of bronze is bent (*qtl*.pr) by my right hand.

There is probably no problem to be seen here in the two types of present time references. The *yqtl* is here seen in its primary open-ended, default present which is labeled *yqtl*.o. The *qtl* form, on the other hand, with its overtone of accomplished action, is more of a present perfect—the psalmist surely would not make the claim that he could bend a bow of bronze if he had not done it a least once. In v. 36, the first verb is *wyyqtl,* the latter are *yqtl*.o's with presumably present time reference:

And you gave me the shield of your victory
And your right hand sustains me,
And in your stooping down you make me great.

Once beyond the setting in episode 2 there is a narrative sequence paragraph
where time references are presumably past—although at the end of the long se-
quence, in vv. 44 and 45, there are again present time references. In verse 41 a
wyyqtl followed in the next clause by a form which in its context must be a
yqtl.p:

And my enemies turned the back to me
And those hating me I destroyed.

There is a parallel usage in Psalm 118:10–12. There are three instances of
"destroy" in the *yqtl*.p preceded in each case by *qtl*.p forms. The emphasis of the
context is on the many foes that compassed about the psalmist on all sides. The
yqtl.p forms in such a context are probably iterative—enemies encompassing
about on all sides must be destroyed one by one. Possibly the usage in Psalm 18
is not dissimilar from that found in Psalm 118.

What then? We have examined contexts in which the *yqtl*.p occurs in order to
see if a past iterative is implied. In most cases above this has seemed plausible.
In brief, a case can be made for the iterative reference in ninety percent of the
cases. Would a careful examination of the French *imparfait* for continuative
reference in various contexts do much better percentage wise?

The example from verse 9 remains, however, as clue to a further usage of *qtl*
and *yqtl*, i.e., in poetic parallelism and chiasm. Many instances of this sort can
be cited. It nevertheless needs to be investigated if there are not semantic con-
straints on such usage so as to permit it in some situations and forbid it in others.
But that will have to be a further piece of research and a further paper.

BIOGRAPHY

Robert E. Longacre was born and raised in and around Akron, Ohio. He did
his undergraduate work at Houghton College, took theological studies at Faith
Theological Seminary in Wilmington, Delaware, and received an M.A. and
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tion project under SIL among the Trique Indians of Mexico. Bob has served
extensively as a linguistics and translation consultant in Mexico and in other
parts of the world. In 1972 he began teaching at the University of Texas at Arling-
ton where he supervised many doctoral dissertations and from which he received the

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Contextual Adjustment as a Tool for Teaching Naturalness in Translation

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ABSTRACT

"Naturalness" in translation is not simply a matter of whether or not a text "sounds good." It is, rather, a matter of whether or not the translation uses patterns of expression from the receptor language that are appropriate to the topic and type of situation being addressed. This article introduces a technique for illustrating how the patterns of expression used in a translation would appear if actually used in a contemporary situational context. The technique, which we can call Contextual Adjustment, involves making substitutions in the content words of a passage so that the patterns of expression are maintained while the situational context is adjusted. The technique is demonstrated via contextual adjustments of three parallel passages from the *New American Standard* translation and the *New Living Translation* of the Bible. Detailed recommendations are provided for using the technique in training mother-tongue translators, so that they may better understand the objective of naturalness and be better equipped to evaluate naturalness in their own translation drafts.

Introduction

Each language community uses its own preferred ways to express concepts and address situations. Therefore patterns of expression used by one language community will not necessarily have the same meaning when used by another language community. Because of this, maintaining source text patterns of expression when translating may not only make the translated material sound unnatural, it can also influence the clarity of the translation. Furthermore, since the borrowed patterns of expression may be used to express a different meaning in the receptor language, borrowing such patterns from the source language can even bring about a significant change in meaning, rather than a maintenance of meaning.

For this reason accurate translation generally requires more than simply assembling grammatically viable sentences using appropriate key words. It requires use of natural patterns of expression from the receptor language. "Natural patterns" are patterns of expression which are used by the receptor community

in situational contexts similar to situational contexts of the source texts (or which would be used by members of the community if they were to find themselves in situational contexts similar to those of the source texts). Thus "naturalness" is not simply a matter of whether or not a text "sounds good." It is, rather, a matter of whether or not the translation has used patterns of expression from the receptor language which are appropriate for the topic and type of situation being addressed.

Attaining such naturalness in translation can be quite difficult. This is true for several reasons. Translators who are not native speakers of the receptor language may fully understand the benefits in comprehension and clarity that a natural translation will offer. But if they are working in a language they have learned as adults, they may find it difficult to know what would be the most natural pattern of expression for a particular topic or situation. As such, they find it difficult to obtain naturalness in their translations. For this reason when possible most such translators prefer to work in close cooperation with translators who are native speakers of the receptor language, often referred to as mother-tongue cotranslators, or simply Mother-Tongue Translators (MTTs).

MTTs will of course know how to speak their own language, but they may or may not understand the benefits in comprehension and clarity to be gained via a natural translation. It cannot be assumed that just because an MTT is a native speaker of a receptor language, he or she will automatically know how to translate source language materials in a natural manner. Accordingly just as with nonnative speaking translators, MTTs generally need at least a minimal level of training in natural translation. Consultant-trainers can help them evaluate how naturally they render texts, and then make appropriate training available as necessary.

In some cases, because of their familiarity with the established meaning of a source text, it can be difficult for MTTs to judge whether or not their own translation drafts are natural in the receptor language. In regard to Scripture translation this is often the situation for MTTs who have become thoroughly familiar with a national language or trade language translation. If they are accustomed to particular patterns of expression in such a source text, they may not readily recognize that those same patterns if adopted into a translation can affect the naturalness and clarity of the translated passage. Other MTTs may acknowledge this potential problem, but be either emotionally attached to the patterns of expression or too intimidated to depart from them, and thus they may have difficulty rendering a natural text in the receptor language.

In other situations, an MTT may not really understand the meaning of the source text sufficiently well to render it naturally in the receptor language. He or she may, however, understand the individual words well enough to simply transfer the words and patterns into the receptor language. For obvious reasons, such an approach rarely lends itself to a natural translation.

Illustrating Naturalness Via Contextual Adjustment

It is important for consultants offering training to MTTs to ensure that the trainees understand both the importance of and the essence of naturalness in translation. Simply talking about the ideal of naturalness seldom accomplishes such a goal. It can be helpful then to illustrate vividly to an MTT just how the patterns of expression from the source text would look if they were used in the receptor language context. Such an illustration is seldom gained however by simply providing examples from an actual translation of the source text into the receptor language. What the MTT needs to see rather is how contemporary text material from the receptor language context would look if rendered in the same patterns of expression as are used in the draft translation. It is only by seeing such examples that the purpose and essence of naturalness is really made clear. The remainder of this article introduces one technique for providing such examples.

The technique, which may be called Contextual Adjustment, involves determining a generic situational context for a passage, then selecting a local, contemporary situation that can also be described as an instance of such a generic situation. Then by making certain substitutions in content words, the patterns of expression can be maintained while the situation itself is adjusted to reflect the local, current situation. (The examples provided below will no doubt illustrate the technique more clearly than can a prose description.) The goal of the technique is simply to illustrate how the patterns of expression used in a translation would appear if actually used in a modern situational context.

The following three examples use this technique to compare patterns of expression used in two English translations of the Bible, the *New American Standard Bible* (NASB) and the *New Living Translation* (NLT). The NASB has been selected as an example of an English translation that closely follows the patterns of expression used in the Greek source text. The NLT has been selected as an example of an English translation that more closely follows patterns of expression used in contemporary English.

In reading the following examples, be sure to read the Biblical text first (in the left column), before considering its corresponding adjusted example (in the right column). The adjusted text for each example follows not only the patterns of expression, but also the formatting and transliteration patterns, which also have an impact on naturalness. For example, in example A the NASB maintains the tradition of transliterating the Greek word ἀποστολὴν to render the English word "apostleship," so a similar pattern of borrowing and transliteration is followed in the adjusted version. For each example, a generic situational context is briefly described and placed in italics in the introduction to the example.

Example A

This first example compares translations of a passage which in the Greek is a single sentence. The NASB version closely follows the patterns of expression in the original. The generic situational context is as follows:

A fellow is recounting the resolution to a conflict which had arisen between administration and lower (local) level management.

NASB

[7]But on the contrary, seeing that I had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised, just as Peter *had been* to the circumcised

[8](for He who effectually worked for Peter in *his* apostleship to the circumcised effectually worked for me also to the Gentiles),

[9]and recognizing the grace that had been given to me, James and Cephas and John, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, so that we *might go* to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised. (Galatians 2:7–9)

But on the contrary, seeing that I had been entrusted with the paideia to those with no school letter, just as Hank *had been* to those who had a school letter

(for He who effectually worked for Hank in *his* Kócsship to those with a school letter effectually worked for me also to the junior varsity),

and recognizing the burden that had been given to me, Joe and Henry and Tom, who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Larry Brown the right hand of fellowship, so that we *might go* to the junior varsity and they to those with a school letter.

NLT

[7]They saw that God had given me the responsibility of preaching the Good News to the Gentiles, just as he.had given Peter the responsibility of preaching to the Jews. [8]For the same God who worked through Peter for the benefit of the Jews worked through me for the benefit of the Gentiles.

[9]In fact, James, Peter, and John, who were known as pillars

They saw that the superintendent had given me the responsibility of coaching the game for the junior varsity teams, just as he had given Hank the responsibility of coaching the varsity teams. For the same superintendent who worked through Hank for the benefit of the varsity teams worked through me for the benefit of the junior varsity

of the church, recognized the gift God had given me, and they accepted Barnabas and me as their co-workers. They encouraged us to keep preaching to the Gentiles, while they continued their work with the Jews. (Galatians 2:7–9)

teams. In fact, Joe, Hank, and Tom, who were known as pillars of the athletics program, recognized the assignment the superintendent had given me, and they accepted Larry Brown and me as their co-workers. They encouraged us to keep coaching the junior varsity, while they continued their work with the varsity.

In thinking about naturalness in these examples, concentrate on the adjusted texts, rather than the translations from which they are derived. In comparing the adjusted text examples, ask questions such as:

How do you think the readers of your local newspaper would respond to a sports page article if it sounded like one or the other of these two example paragraphs? Do you think they would prefer one over the other? Does one sound more like the way you talk than does the other one? Are there ways in which the one you prefer could be improved, so that it sounds even more natural than it does already? Using your own words, how would you describe what is going on in this paragraph?

Note that if such questions were to be asked of reviewers who were not themselves participants in the exercise, the reviewers should not be given opportunity to compare the adjusted texts with the translation drafts or source texts which they reflect.

Example B

The adjusted text in this example refers to the IRS (the United States *Internal Revenue Service*), which is the U.S. government agency responsible for collecting income tax. IRS tax instructions are notorious for being complicated and difficult to follow. The generic situational context is such:

A leader (or manager) is writing a letter (or memo) to an inside audience, explaining to them why it is that the outside audience has difficulty understanding the insider's position.

NASB

¹⁴But a natural man does not accept the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; and he cannot understand them, because they are spiritually appraised.

¹⁵But he who is spiritual appraises all things, yet he himself is appraised by no one. (1 Corinthians 2:14–15)

But a typical man does not accept the things of the IRS of the Federal Government, for they are foolishness to him; and he cannot understand them, because they are financially appraised.

But he who is financially astute appraises all things, yet he himself is appraised by no one.

NLT

¹⁴But people who aren't Christians can't understand these truths from God's Spirit. It all sounds foolish to them because only those who have the Spirit can understand what the Spirit means. ¹⁵We who have the Spirit understand these things, but others can't understand us at all. (1 Corinthians 2:14–15)

But people who aren't accountants can't understand these instructions from the Federal IRS. It all sounds foolish to them because only those who have the IRS training can understand what the IRS means. We who have the IRS training understand these things, but others can't understand us at all.

As with the previous example, questions may be asked such as: "How do you think the employees of an IRS manager would respond to a memo if it sounded like one or the other of these two example paragraphs?" (And so forth, as is suggested in discussion of example A.)

Example C

Many texts will not easily lend themselves to adjustments into real-life contemporary contexts. Some will, however, lend themselves to similar adjustments, provided the contexts are hypothetical. That technique is used with this example, which is based upon a situational context as follows:

A young king loved his subjects, and he wanted to live with them and help them. So he changed out of his royal robes and left his palace. He went out to live with his subjects, eating what they ate, wearing what they wore, and working just as they worked.

NASB

[5]Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in Christ Jesus,

[6]who, although He existed in the form of God, did not regard equality with God a thing to be grasped,

[7]but emptied Himself, taking the form of a bond-servant, and being made in the likeness of men. (Philippians 2:5–7)

Have this attitude in yourselves which was also in the young king,

who, although he existed in the form of the king, did not regard equality with the king a thing to be grasped,

but emptied himself, taking the form of a bond-servant, and being made in the likeness of common men.

NLT

[5]Your attitude should be the same that Christ Jesus had. [6]Though he was God, he did not demand and cling to his rights as God. [7]He made himself nothing; he took the humble position of a slave and appeared in human form. (Philippians 2:5–7)

Your attitude should be the same that the young king had. Though he was the king, he did not demand and cling to his rights as king. He made himself nothing; he took the humble position of a slave and appeared in the form of a common man.

Again, questions may be asked such as: "How do you suppose the children in your family or community would respond to a story about a young king if it sounded like one or the other of these two examples?" (And so forth, as is suggested in discussion of example A.)

Understand of course that the particular adjustments made in the examples provided here are by no means the only ones possible. Similarly there is no reason to presume that these particular adjustments would be suitable for other sociocultural contexts. These were designed with a particular English-speaking audience in mind. If a different audience were anticipated, then different examples would no doubt be necessary.

It should also be mentioned that the examples provided are not intended to suggest that the NASB is somehow a bad translation and the NLT is the answer to all woes. The translation teams of these respective translations had different goals, and both teams did a good job of achieving those goals. One cannot deny, however, that there is a significant amount of difference in the naturalness of the two translations. And for that reason they serve well for the present discussion and examples.

Using Contextual Adjustment in Training MTTs

In using this technique as a training tool for translators, and MTTs in particular, several steps may be recommended:

(1) As a preliminary step, the trainer would need to find a source passage which, like those used in the examples above, he or she anticipates would lend itself well to contextual adjustment for the receptor languages represented by the MTTs in attendance. The trainees will use this passage as a source text from which to produce two draft translations. (In the exercise, the patterns of expression from the two drafts will be compared via contextual adjustment just as were the patterns of expression from the NASB and NLT translations in examples A, B, and C above.)

(2) The trainer should provide a copy of the source passage for the MTTs to work on. It is preferable that the passages be printed up and distributed as handouts which can be written upon, rather than simply directing the MTTs to look up particular source text pages or verses in bound copies of such source texts. (Most people tend to be much less intimidated by loose handout materials than they are by bound volumes. This is especially true when dealing with Scripture.)

(3) The MTTs can then be asked to generate a first draft translation of the source passage, without consciously working on the naturalness of that draft.

(4) A second copy of the MTTs' first drafts should be made and set aside for use in step (6).

(5) With guidance from a consultant-trainer, the MTTs can then work on the naturalness of this first draft, trying to polish it so that it more closely reflects the common patterns of expressions used in their respective receptor languages. They should consciously ask themselves how they think people will respond to it when it is read or heard. The end product of this step will be their second draft.

(6) When the MTTs are satisfied with the naturalness of this second draft, the trainer may then provide them with the generic situation for the passage. He or she may also demonstrate how content words may be substituted in order to make contextual adjustments.

(7) MTTs will then work on making contextual adjustments for both drafts of their texts. The same generic situation should be used for adjustments to both the first draft and the second draft, so that comparisons can be made between the two.

(8) When they have finished making their contextual adjustments, MTTs should ask themselves how they think the people of their communities would respond to the adjusted texts. The trainer may want to walk them through questions such as are provided in discussion of examples A, B, and C above.

(9) The MTTs may be encouraged to further polish the more natural of the two adjusted texts. In working on this revision, they should not refer back to the

draft translation or source texts. At this point they should simply work on revising the adjusted text.

(10) When the MTTs have finished polishing the more natural of their adjusted texts, they may wish to similarly polish the translation draft which that text represents, thereby applying what they learned during step (9).

(11) Additional source text passages may also be provided to the MTTs so that they gain additional practice in using contextual adjustment to evaluate the naturalness of their translation drafts. It is preferable for such additional passages to represent different types of discourse (narrative, hortatory, and so forth). In this way trainees will be encouraged to evaluate naturalness in translation of all types of texts. Once the MTTs have gained some proficiency in using the technique, they may find it unnecessary to produce two distinct draft translations for each source text, preferring instead to simply work on revising and polishing a single draft.

(12) Finally, the MTTs should be given, opportunity to discuss with one another what they have learned through the exercise.

Demonstrating the Technique to Trainees

There are certain advantages to the trainer demonstrating the technique of substituting content words for the trainees before they are expected to do it themselves. But rather than providing such a demonstration at the beginning of the exercise, it may be advantageous to wait until the trainees have produced some draft material for the selected passage. The demonstration would then be included as part of step (6). In providing such a demonstration, the trainer should use draft texts that he or she has personally prepared for the purpose, rather than using texts that have been generated by a trainee or translator (MTT or otherwise). Furthermore, the trainer should not use the same text for the demonstration as is being translated by the trainees in the exercise. Trainers should note that in making substitutions for a contextual adjustment, it is helpful to try to maintain as many verbs, tense, and aspect markers as possible, concentrating instead on substituting names, nouns, and location words.

Using Tact

In reviewing the drafts and adjusted texts produced in the exercise, great care should be taken not to embarrass trainees. Trainers reviewing the results of this exercise with a trainee should do so in a respectful, helpful manner, and not make fun of grossly unnatural drafts and adjusted texts. An unfortunate loss of face can bring a quick end to what might otherwise have been a long and productive working relationship. It is for this reason that it is most useful to have each trainee compare versions of his or her own translation. A trainer should not

use this technique to compare translated texts generated by different trainees. Similarly, while trainees may be provided an opportunity to present their results in this exercise to their fellow trainees, they should not be required to do so. While they may in fact enjoy doing so, to require them to do so would risk embarrassing them.

National or Trade Language

Finally, if training MTTs in how to translate Scriptural materials, trainers should be sensitive to local attitudes regarding particular national language or trade language translations that may be used as source texts. If MTTs particularly revere a particular national language translation, for example, they may misinterpret examples which use that translation to be a negative critique of the translation, rather than seeing the exercise as an means of helping them improve their skills in rendering a natural minority language translation. Having recognized the potential for such a misunderstanding, trainers can more fully direct trainees' attention to the exercise of naturalness in their own mother-tongue translation work, and avoid making comments that might be interpreted as a critique of the national language translation.

Concluding Comments

The contextual adjustment technique must be used with care, since the substitution of content words can, of course, have tremendous bearing on the way in which the passage should be structured. Furthermore, some passages lend themselves easily to such a transfer, while others do not, so the technique will not be readily applicable to all texts. But it can be useful in explaining and teaching the nature of naturalness in translation. It is offered here simply as a tool to be used if considered useful.

The goal in offering such a tool is, of course, to help expand the repertoire of training tools available. In developing useful training tools we accordingly increase the chance of successful training for translators and cotranslators, thereby encouraging them and helping them to see that they are not necessarily constrained to retain the syntax and patterns of expression employed in respective source language texts.

BIOGRAPHY

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Quotations marked NASB are taken from the *New American Standard B*ible. 1995. La Habra, Calif.: Lockman Foundation.
Scripture quotations marked NLT are taken from the *Holy Bible, New Living Translation*. 1996. Wheaton, Ill.: Tyndale House. Used by permission.