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Inhalt

Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew[*]

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Edge constructions, typically referred to as casus pendens, topicalization, and extraposition, are used frequently in the Hebrew Bible to aid in the more precise communication of discourse information beyond the sum of lexical and syntactic features. And yet, the precise syntax and pragmatic functions of full range of edge constructions has not yet been treated within a single, linguistically-grounded analysis. This study provides such a unified analysis, describing the syntax and discourse-pragmatic functions of left and right clause edges constituents in biblical Hebrew.

1. Introduction

Constituents at the edge or margins of the clause in Biblical Hebrew (henceforth, simply *Hebrew*) are "marginal" only in their placement, not in their grammatical and discourse importance. "Edge" constituents communicate discourse information that is often critical to the full interpretation of the text. These edge constituents can be divided into four basic categories, distinguished by whether they lie on the front or rear edge of the clause and by how they relate to other constituents inside the clause; the four types are named and illustrated in (1)–(4).

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(1) Fronting

אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלֶּךְ־נֹחַ

'with God Noah walked' (Gen 6.9)

(2) Left-dislocation (= "casus pendens")

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נָתְנָה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ

'And the man said: the woman that you placed with me—she gave me (some fruit) from the tree' (Gen 3.12)

(3) Extraposition

וְהִנֵּה רִבְקָה יֹצֵאת אֲשֶׁר יֻלְּדָה לִבְתוּאֵל

'and behold, Rebekah was coming out, who was born to Bethuel' (Gen 24.15)

(4) Right-dislocation

וַתְּגָרֶשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם שְׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֱמֹרִי

'and it (the 'hornet') drove them out from before you, the two Amorite kings' (Josh 24.12)

The first two examples exhibit a constituent at the front, or left edge, of the clause, preceding the Subject and Verb. The feature that distinguishes (2) from (1) is the presence of an overt resumptive constituent in (1)(2), the pronoun הוא, which makes the link to the initial noun phrase (NP)[1] האשה explicit, versus the absence of any resumption in (1) for the prepositional phrase (PP) את האלהים. The second two examples, (3) and (4), feature constituents at the end, or right edge, of the clause. As with the first two constructions, what distinguishes (3) from (4) is resumption, that is, the presence in (4) of an overt coreference between the edge constituent, שני מלכי האמרי, and a constituent within the clausal core, the 3mp clitic pronoun in אותם.

Not unexpectedly, the phenomena represented by (1)–(4) have long received attention by grammarians, either within general discussions of

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[1] Currently in generative grammar the determiner is analyzed as the head of its own phrase (i.e., Determiner Phrase, or DP) that takes a noun phrase (NP) as a complement (Carnie 2006: 195-99). However, for the sake of simplicity, I will use NP in this study, even when DP is more accurate.

word order variation or in an excursus on, for example, type (1)(2) "casus pendens" (see, among others, Ewald 1891:151-59; Driver 1892 [1998]: 264-74; König 1881-97, 2/2:437-46; Davidson 1901:148-51; Kautzsch 1910: 457-58; Joüon 1923:477-78; Brockelmann 1956:121-24). As Hebraists began to incorporate general linguistic frameworks to the study of Biblical Hebrew syntax, edge phenomena, primarily fronting and left-dislocation, have not been neglected. While Gross 1987, Naudé 1990, Geller 1991, van der Merwe 1999, and Zewi 1999 are the few studies that specifically concentrate on some aspect of edge constructions, many more discuss edge phenomena within the context of Hebrew word order variation and information structure: Muraoka 1985, Khan 1988, Gross 1996, 2001; Rosenbaum 1997, Heimerdinger 1999, Shimasaki 2002, Lunn 2006, Joo 2009, and Moshavi 2010.

The studies cited in the last paragraph represent a mixture of philological acumen and linguistic insight. This study has benefited from the strengths of each analysis. Space does not permit me to interact critically with each of the above works, which use widely divergent linguistic frameworks and approach the data with different goals, from presenting an exhaustive taxonomy to identifying underlying structures to determining discourse functions. However, two general features are worth noting since they contextualize the raison d'etre of my analysis. First, none of these works discusses right-dislocation or extraposition.[2] Second, because of this asymmetry, none of the previous analyses provides a unified synthesis of edge phenomena, covering both the left and right clause edges as well as both the syntax and information structure characteristics of each construction.[3] My purpose is to present such a synthesis, a unified and cogent explanation of the four distinct-though-related edge constructions illustrated in (1)–(4).[4]

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[2] On my use of extraposition, see below, note 44.

[3] The exception is Naudé 1990, which is an exemplary study in many ways. Its only weakness (which could also be viewed as a strength) is that the focus was strictly on the *syntax* of the left-dislocation and topicalization (=fronting). Naudé, though, does not cover the right-periphery or information structure.

[4] This study is explicitly aimed at presenting a coherent, theoretically-grounded framework for further study of edge phenomena. An exhaustive study of the diversity and complexity of the data for each four types illustrated in 0(1)–(4) requires monographic treatment.

The structure of this study is as follows. In §2 I provide an introduction to my approach to Hebrew phrase structure and a sketch of my framework for the interaction of syntax and pragmatics in Hebrew. In §3 I discuss left-edge constituents—fronting and left-dislocation—and describe the syntax and pragmatics of the two types in Hebrew. In §4 I address right-edge constituents—extraposition and right-dislocation—and suggest their structure and function. Finally, in §5 I address two sets of particularly challenging constructions that do not transparently fit one of the four basic categories.

2. Background: the articulated CP in Hebrew

Within generative syntax, which is the theoretical framework with which I analyze Hebrew syntax, the structure of a clause is taken to consist of two basic phrase categories: lower levels are fundamentally lexical in nature and higher levels are functional (Fukui 2001). The lexical categories have substantive content since they line up with the lexical items that are inserted into an incipient clause (e.g., the nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs). These categories, which bear semantic features, play a critical role in the interpretation of the linguistic expressions, since it is within these categories that most of the lexical items interact with each other in terms of thematic roles (e.g., agent, patient, goal). The functional categories, in contrast, do not have substantive content and are not central to interpreting the linguistic expressions; rather, these categories are largely grammatical and computational, triggering agreement feature checking, setting the tense-aspect-mood, or, in the case of the outermost layer, establishing the clause type.

Since in this study I am interested in constituents on the clausal edge, it is the outermost functional layer that is my primary concern. This layer is widely referred to the as the *complementizer phrase*, or "CP" for short. The CP establishes a clause's illocutionary force, or what type of clause it is, such as main versus subordinate, or declarative versus interrogative (Haegeman and Guéron 1999:520-38).

Besides setting the clause type, a second important feature of the CP is its recursive nature. Within the minimalist approach to phrase structure, whether the CP represents one level, say, for an interrogative word to establish the illocutionary force as interrogative, or two or more layers,

perhaps to host fronted constituents, depends entirely on whether those layers are needed. In a previous study, I proposed the basic structure of the Hebrew clause in (5), in which I illustrate the CP layers that are articulated when the clause must accommodate fronted constituents (Holmstedt 2009:137):

(5)
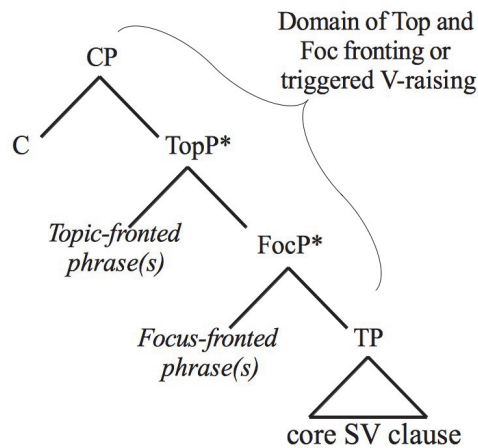
In (5), the bracket covering the entire functional layer above the Tense Phrase (TP) is intended to signal that the Topic Phrase (TopP) and Focus Phrase (FocP) are components of the CP, projected when necessary and potentially recursive (indicated by the *-marking). The "core SV clause" that exists at the TP level, i.e., before any triggered raising of constituents to the CP domain, reflects the analysis of Hebrew as a typologically Subject-Verb language (see Holmstedt 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011a, 2013).

Two additional features of my view of the articulated CP in (5) must be briefly explained before moving through the Hebrew data. First, the recursive nature of the CP layers in Hebrew is not simply a theory-internal feature, but is necessitated by the rich Hebrew data. The need for multiple CP layers is confirmed not only by the use of multiple Topics or Foci, but also by the presence of non-pragmatically marked constituents raised to the CP for purely syntactic reasons (i.e., triggered raising).

The second feature is the discourse information associated with constit-
uents located in a TopP or FocP. Following the information structure
model presented in Holmstedt 2009, I explain the data in terms of four
concepts existing in two overlapping layers (see McNally 1998):
Theme, Rheme, Topic, and *Focus*, as defined in (6).

(6)   *Label   Instruction*
         Theme   'Anchor' Information ($\approx$ Given)
         Rheme   Add information ($\approx$ New)
         Focus   Isolate (often with contrast) X from a set
         Topic   Go to Theme X (orients to X)

The *Theme* is that piece of information which anchors the added infor-
mation to the existing information state. Thus, the Theme is a known,
active entity within the discourse and is the functional opposite of the
Rheme. The *Rheme* represents that information which has been added
to a discourse situation.

Focus is defined in terms of a membership set: if an expression x is
Focused, the addressee is instructed to generate a membership set M =
$\{x,y,z, \ldots \}$ and set x in relation to the ontologically or contextually
identified alternatives in M (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:83).[5] The re-
lationship between a focused entity and the other items in the member-
ship set is often, though not always, associated with a contrast. The final
concept, the *Topic*, instructs the addressee where (or when or about
whom or what) to insert the "added information" of the Rheme
(McNally 1998:165).[6] Topics are necessarily thematic information.

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[5] Following Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998, this definition of Focus is purposefully
underspecified in order to include the sub-types of Focus which are often discussed:
identificational focus, exhaustiveness focus, contrastive focus, interrogative focus,
thematic focus, etc. See also Gundel 1999. Note that while the relationship between
the Focus and the set alternatives is often contrastive, contrast itself is "the result of
the general cognitive processes referred to as 'conversational implicatures'"
(Lambrecht 1994:291).

[6] My Topic is the same as McNally's (1998) "link." McNally calls attention to the
distinction between "the issue of whether the information in a sentence is being
added under a specific address from the issue of whether the sentence *encodes*

With the articulated CP phrase structure I have sketched as well as the brief orientation to my framework of Hebrew information structure, we are now prepared to consider Hebrew edge phenomena.[7]

3. Left Edge Constituents

As the Hebrew examples in 0 and (1) demonstrate, both fronting and left-dislocation concern constituents that are placed at or have moved to the front or left edge of the clause. Just as their syntactic structures share some obvious similarities, we will also see that their pragmatic features overlap, though not completely.

3.1. The Syntax of Fronting

Fronting refers to the construction in which a constituent is moved from its default position to a position near the front of the clause, as with the PP in (7), repeated from (1):[8]

(7)   אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלֶּךְ־נֹחַ
'<u>with God</u> Noah walked ____{with God}' (Gen 6.9)

---

specific instructions to go to an address. On this theory, sentences do not have to contain link constituents in the way that they must contain focus/rheme constituents" (1998:166-167; italics in original).

[7] Although I have consulted the data collected by the works cited throughout, my primary database for this study consists of the text of the Hebrew Bible tagged for the *Holmstedt-Abegg Hebrew Syntax Database,* distributed within the Accordance Bible software by Oaktree Software. This database currently includes all the books of the Hebrew Bible excepting Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah, and 1-2 Chronicles. Also, though I list many examples, and have tried to be exhaustive for left and right-dislocation, for extraposition and fronting I provide representative lists of examples. my data collection does indicate that the examples I present in throughout this study are are representative of the basic syntactic structures and information options available to the Hebrew writers. I will include exhaustive lists and much more contextual descriptions in an in-progress monograph on this topic.

[8] I do not insert into the Hebrew examples coindexation or other signs for indicating the syntactic movement. However, the translations are intended to signal these issues explicitly. Thus, I use an underscore (___) and a subscript copy of the constituent to indicate the origin site before movement and underlining to indicate moved constituent.

The movement of the constituent forward leaves a gap, or in generative terms, a *trace* or *copy* of its features in the position from which it raised. This trace or copy is linked to the moved constituent and so both of them together fulfill the syntactic role of a single constituent in the clause—in (7), the PP (in either its default or fronted position) is the sole adjunct to the verb התהלך. Within the Subject-Verb/triggered-Verb-Subject analysis I have proposed elsewhere (Holmstedt 2002, 2005, 2009, 2011a, 2013), the basic syntax of (7) would be Subject-Verb-PP נח התהלך את האלהים. The raising of the PP to a TopP or FocP position in the CP further triggers the raising of the Verb to a lower position in the CP above the subject.

Where precisely a fronted constituent is raised to within the phrase structure depends on both the presence of other clause-initial constituents and the fronted phrase's pragmatic features. We are given a starting point for detecting the general location of fronted constituents by considering their position vis-à-vis interjections, such as English *man* (8) or Hebrew הנה (9), interrogative ה (10), and subordinators like אשר (11).

(8)   Man, Rachel I like __Rachel.
       *Rachel, man, I like __Rachel.

(9)   וְעַתָּ֕ה הִנֵּ֥ה אִשְׁתְּךָ֖ קַ֥ח
       'and now, look—<u>your wife</u> take __your wife.' (Gen 12.19)[9]

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[9] For other examples of fronting with הנה as an indicator, see Gen 26.9; 29.2; 41.2, 18; Exod 32.9; Judg 7.13; Amos 7.4; Obad 1.2; Nah 2.1; Ps 40.10; 73.15, 27; Esth 8.7. I have found only two examples in which a הנה follows a fronted phrase: Gen 42.22 and Hab 2.13. Note also concerning Gen 12.19—it is also possible to analyze this as two clauses, 'and now, here is your wife; take (her) and leave!' I can see no determinative syntactic criteria by which to choose between the complement fronting (my analysis) and the two clause (a null copula clause and then a clause in which the verb לקח has a null complement) analysis. In discourse-pragmatic terms, the difference is subtle: the fronting analysis presents אשתך as Focus (contrast אשתך with Abram's presentation of Sarai as אחותי; see below, n. 25), whereas the two clause analysis includes no overt pragmatic marking, but perhaps results in a more forceful command 'Look at her! Take her and get out!'. I thank Johannes Diehl for pushing me to consider the non-fronting interpretation.

(10) הֲלְבֶן מֵאָה־שָׁנָה֙ יִוָּלֵ֔ד

'<u>to a son of 100 years</u> (a child) can be born ___{to a son of 100 years}?'
(Gen 17.17)[10]

(11) כְּעֵץ֮ שָׁת֪וּל עַֽל־פַּלְגֵ֫י מָ֥יִם אֲשֶׁ֤ר פִּרְי֨וֹ ׀ יִתֵּ֬ן בְּעִתּ֗וֹ

'like a tree ... which <u>its fruit</u> it gives ___{its fruit} in its time.' (Ps
1.3)[11]

The הנה in (9), the interrogative ה in (10), and the אשר in (11) are
all typically in the highest layer of the CP and so provide evidence that
fronted constituents land within the domain of the CP, somewhere in-
side its articulated layers (see, e.g., Greenberg 1984). Indeed, the diver-
sity of the abundant fronting data in the Hebrew Bible indicates that
Hebrew allows a highly articulated CP to be projected. Consi-
der (12)–(15):

(12) וְאַתָּ֖ה אֶת־בְּרִיתִ֣י תִשְׁמֹ֑ר

'and <u>you</u> <u>my covenant</u> ___{you} will keep ___{my covenant}' (Gen
17.9; also Gen 8.22; 48.5)

(13) אִ֣ישׁ מִמֶּ֗נּוּ אֶת־קִבְרוֹ֙ לֹֽא־יִכְלֶ֣ה מִמְּךָ֔

'<u>each of us</u> <u>his grave</u> ___{each of us} will not withhold ___{his grave}
from you.' (Gen 23.6)

(14) וּפֶ֥תַח הַתֵּבָ֖ה בְּצִדָּ֣הּ תָּשִׂ֑ים

'and <u>the door of the ark</u>   <u>in its side</u> you will put ___{the door of the}
_{ark} ___{in its side}.' (Gen 6.16)

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[10] For other examples of fronting after a ה interrogative, see Gen 3.11; 16.13;
17.17; 18.21; 20.4; 30.2, 15; 34.31; 37.32; 43.27; 50.19; Exod 10.7; 14.11; Josh
5.13; 22.17; Judg 12.5; 14.15; 18.19; Amos 5.25; 8.8; Hab 1.17; 3.8; Ps 58.2; 77.8;
85.6; 88.11; Ruth 1.13.

[11] For other examples of fronting within an אשר clause, see Gen 49.28, Lev 4.22,
Deut 8.9, 9.2; Judg 3.2; 1 Kgs 3.12; 2 Kgs 22.13; Isa 13.17; 62.2; 66.13; Jer 1.17;
10.25; 22.25; 29.25; 31.32; 39.17; Ezek 6.11, 11.12; 32.29; Hos 14.4; Joel 4.5; Mic
6.12; Zech 1.15; 11.2; Mal 2.14; Ps 3.7; 55.15; 79.6; 104.17; 119.158; 144.8, 11;
Job 3.23; 5.5; 9.15, 17; 15.18; 19.27; 29.25; Qoh 2.12; 4.3; 6.12; 7.22; 9.2; Dan
1.10. Many cases of word order variation within relative clauses reflect the raising
of a light PP (complement or adjunct) or the adverb שָׁם along with the verb,
resulting in X-V-PP-S order, e.g., יִצְחָ֔ק אֲשֶׁ֨ר תֵּלֵ֥ד לְךָ֛ שָׂרָ֖ה (Gen 17.21).

(15) וְהַנִּשְׁאָרִים הֶרָה נָּסוּ

    'and <u>those who were left</u>   <u>to the hill country</u> __those who were left
    fled __to the hill country.' (Gen 14.10)

All four examples exhibit the fronting of multiple constituents: the subject NP and NP complement in (12) and (13), the NP complement and PP complement in (14), and the subject NP and PP complement in (15).

As the fronted NPs and PPs in (9)–(15) illustrate, Hebrew allows the fronting of a wide variety of constituents in diverse syntactic roles—subject, complement, adjunct—and in both main and subordinate contexts. Examples (16) and (17) add evidence of fronted Adverbs and Verbs to round out the picture of diverse constituent fronting.

(16) שָׁמָּה קָבְרוּ אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וְשָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ

    '<u>there</u> Abraham and Sarah, his wife, were buried __there.' (Gen 25.10)

(17) הֵינִיקָה בָנִים שָׂרָה

    '<u>suckled</u> <u>sons</u> has Sarah __suckled __sons.' (Gen 21.7)

In (16) the adverb phrase שמה is fronted, while in (17) the position of the full NP verbal Complement בנים—clearly fronted to a position before the Subject—indicates that the verb itself, היניקה, has also been fronted, to a position above the fronted Complement.[12]

3.2. The Syntax of Left-Dislocation

Left Dislocation describes the structures illustrated by the Hebrew example in (18), repeated from (1).[13]

(18) וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נָתְנָה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ

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[12] Based upon the context of Genesis 21, I suggest that the Verb-Complement-Subject clause in verse 7 reflects Sarah's incredulity about her own ability to birth and suckle at ninety years of age.

[13] This construction is typically called *casus pendens* or *nominative* and *accusative absolute* in Latin-based grammatical works. Khan lists of multitude of terms have also been used to describe this construction (1988:xxvi, n.1). For a relatively brief, clear background of both left-dislocation in general and Hebrew linguistics, see Bonnell 1994. See also Westbury 2010.

> 'the woman that you placed with me—***she*** gave me (some
> fruit) from the tree' (Gen 3.12)

In these constructions, the first NP stands just outside and in front of
the following clause and is resumed within that clause by a coreferential
constituent.

As I pointed out in the discussion of fronting (see above, example (8)),
the placement of interjections, such as English *man* (19), and interrog-
atives like *where* (20) provide important evidence about the position of
these left edge constituents.

(19) Rachel, man, I like ***her***.

(20) John, where is ***he*** going?

The acceptability of examples like (19) and (20), in which the dislo-
cated constituent precedes the interjection and interrogative, indicates
that, in contrast to fronting, dislocated NPs stand on the edge of the
clause proper. The connection between the dislocated constituent and
the clause proper indicate that left-dislocation is associated with the CP,
though always at a higher position than fronting (see the discussions in,
among many others, Greenberg 1984; Anagnostopoulou 1997; Bayer
2004; Beninca' and Poletto 2004; d'Avis 2004; Lambrecht 2001; Lohn-
stein and Trissler 2004; Riemsdijk 1997; Rodman 1997; Ziv 1994).[14]

Left-dislocation in Hebrew falls into four basic arrangements depen-
ding on the type of resumptive NP within the clause: a) resumption by

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[14] In Generative grammar, left-dislocation is typically analyzed as CP-adjunction,
i.e., that the left-dislocated constituent is generated in a position adjoined to the left
edge of the CP. That dislocated constituents are inserted directly in this position
during the derivation of the clause, rather than moved there from an original lower
position, reflects the consensus analysis. See Haegeman (1994:406-7) for a brief
discussion and critique of the movement analysis of left-dislocation. The only two
generative studies of dislocation in Hebrew have followed the adjunction analysis:
Naudé 1990 proposes CP-adjunction, whereas DeCaen 1995 opts to place
dislocated constituents in a lower position (i.e., IP-adjunction), an analysis that,
while novel, introduces other complexities for the analysis of Hebrew clause
structure that he does not address (1995:132, n. 51).

an independent pronoun (21);[15] b) resumption by a clitic pronoun (22); c) resumption by a coreferential locative adverb, such as שָׁם,[16] (23), and d) resumption by a coreferential NP, such as an anaphoric epithet (e.g., הנפש ההיא), (24).

(21) מִקְנֵהֶם וְקִנְיָנָם֙ וְכָל־בְּהֶמְתָּ֔ם הֲל֥וֹא לָ֖נוּ הֵ֑ם
'their cattle and their property and all their beasts—are *they* not ours?' (Gen 34.23)

(22) יְהוּדָ֗ה אַתָּה֙ יוֹד֣וּךָ אַחֶ֔יךָ
'O Judah, you—your brother shall praise *you*.' (Gen 49.8)

(23) הַשָּׂדֶ֞ה אֲשֶׁר־קָנָ֤ה אַבְרָהָם֙ מֵאֵ֣ת בְּנֵי־חֵ֔ת שָׁ֚מָּה קֻבַּ֣ר אַבְרָהָ֔ם וְשָׂרָ֖ה אִשְׁתּֽוֹ
'the field that Abraham bought from the Hittites—*there* Abraham and Sarah, his wife, were buried.' (Gen 25.10)

(24) וְעָרֵ֣ל ׀ זָכָ֗ר אֲשֶׁ֤ר לֹֽא־יִמּוֹל֙ אֶת־בְּשַׂ֣ר עָרְלָת֔וֹ וְנִכְרְתָ֛ה הַנֶּ֥פֶשׁ הַהִ֖וא מֵעַמֶּ֑יהָ
'and the uncircumcised, a male who has not been circumcised with regard to his the flesh of his foreskin—*that person* shall be cut off from his people.' (Gen 17.14)[17]

Beyond the variety of resumptive strategies, the Hebrew data often explicitly illustrate the position of the dislocated constituent in the highest position within the clause. For example, interrogative elements, such as the ה in (21) and modal verbs, such as the irrealis perfective in (24), typically reside in the initial position of the clause.[18] But in both dislocation examples, the left-dislocated constituent precedes even the interrogative and modal verb.

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[15] On the status of the third person pronoun in so-called tripartite verbless clauses, see Holmstedt and Jones 2014.

[16] See Gen 25.10.

[17] See also Gen 17.17; 46.26.

[18] See Cook 2008 on the so-called *waw*-prefixed verbs.

There are a number of Hebrew function words that demarcate the boundary between the adjoined dislocation and the lower layers of the CP, illustrated in (25)–(28):[19]

(25) וְאַהֲרֹן מַה־הֹוּא כִּי תלֹּונוּ עָלָיו
'and <u>Aaron</u>—what is **he** that you should murmur[20] against him?' (Num 16.11)

(26) הַיֶּלֶד אֵינֶנּוּ וַאֲנִי אָנָה אֲנִי־בָא
'the boy is not (here) and <u>I</u>—where am **I** going?' (Gen 37.30)

(27) אֲנִי הִנֵּה בְרִיתִי אִתָּךְ
'and <u>I</u>—look, **my** covenant is with you.' (Gen 17.4; also Amos 4.13)

(28) וְאִישׁ אֹו אִשָּׁה כִּי־יִהְיֶה בֹו נֶגַע בְּרֹאשׁ אֹו בְזָקָן וְרָאָה הַכֹּהֵן אֶת־הַנֶּגַע
'and <u>a man or a woman</u>—if/when there is a spot on **him**, on the head or on the beard, the priest will examine the spot.' (Lev 13.29-30)[21]

In (25) and (26), the interrogative מה and אנא, respectively, separate the left-dislocation from the resumptive clause, while in (27) it is the interjection הנה and in (28) the temporal/conditional כי. When such functions words occur after a dislocated NP and before the ensuing resumptive clause, they parallel the English interjection *man* in that they clearly demonstrate that the dislocation resides outside of the core clause.

The relative ordering of dislocations and fronted constituents is the second syntactic feature I will highlight. In addition to the dislocation-

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[19] In addition function words, there are at least three cases of a vocative intervening between the dislocated constituent and the resumptive clause: 1 Kgs 1.20; Ezek 27.8; Zeph 2.12 (with a change in person).

[20] *Kethiv.* The *Qere,* תלינו, is presumably the Hiphil תַּלִּינוּ.

[21] See also Lev 2.1; 4.2; 5.1, 2, 4, 15, 17, 21; 7.21; 11.4, 5, 6, 7; 13.2, 9, 24, 29, 38-39, 40,   47; 15.2, 19, 25; 19.20; 22.11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 27; 24.15, 17, 19; 25.26, 29;   27.2; 27.14; Num 5.6, 12, 20; 27.8; 30.3, 4; Deut 14.8; Ezek 3.19, 21; 14.9, 13; 18.5; 33.2; Ps 62.11.

fronting combination in (18), (21), and (23), consider the examples
in (29)–(31).

(29) וְגַם אֶת־בֶּן־הָאָמָה לְגוֹי אֲשִׂימֶנּוּ
    'and also <u>the son of the maid</u>—into a nation I will make **him**.'
    (Gen 21.13)

(30) הָאֲנָשִׁים הָאֵלֶּה שְׁלֵמִים הֵם אִתָּנוּ
    '<u>these men</u>—peaceful are **they** with us.' (Gen 34.21; see also
    47.6)

(31) וַאֲנִי ׀ בְּבֹאִי מִפַּדָּן מֵתָה עָלַי רָחֵל בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן בַּדֶּרֶךְ
    'and <u>I</u>—when I came from Paddan, Rachel had died on **me** in
    the land of Canaan on the road.' (Gen 48.7; see also 24.27)

The dislocated NP את בן האמה in (29) is followed by the PP לגוי,
which is the second complement for the trivalent[22] verb אשים. The
default position in Hebrew for a PP complement is either following the
verb (if the verb is bivalent) or following the NP complement (if the
verb is trivalent). In (29) the PP complement has been raised to the CP,
either as a second Topic, in addition to the dislocated Topic, or for Fo-
cus. Similarly, in (30), after the dislocated NP האנשים האלה, the (null)
copular Complement, the adjective שלמים, is fronted for Focus and so
comes before the Subject pronoun הם.

Though both (29) and (30) exhibit left-dislocation in a Topic-Focus
structure, the context of (31) suggests that Hebrew also allows left-dis-
location to be followed by a second, fronted Topic constituent. In (31),
the dislocated 1cs pronoun אני is followed by the PP-infinitival clause
בבאי מפדן, which is a temporal adjunct subordinate to the verb מתה
and is fronted as a temporal, scene-setting Topic.

The third and final structural feature of left-dislocation to note is its
presence within subordinate contexts. In early generative research on

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22 Verbal valency refers to the number of arguments controlled by a verbal
predicate. A monovalent verb, for example, requires only a subject; a bivalent verb
requires a subject and a complement. Valency fits the syntax and semantics of the
Hebrew verbal system better than transitivity. For an introduction to valency as it
applies to Biblical Hebrew, see Cook forthcoming.

left-dislocation, it was asserted that it could not be embedded, at least for English (Chomsky 1977; Baltin 1982; Lambrecht 2001:1069; see Holmstedt 2006:11, esp. nn. 30-31). This cannot be true for Hebrew, since many examples like (32) and (33) exist.[23]

(32) כִּי ׀ כָּל־אֹכֵל חָמֵץ וְנִכְרְתָ֜ה הַנֶּ֣פֶשׁ הַהִוא֙ מִיִּשְׂרָאֵ֔ל מִיּ֥וֹם הָרִאשֹׁ֖ן עַד־יוֹם הַשְּׁבִעִ֑י

'because <u>anyone who eats leavened bread</u>—***that person*** shall be cut off from Israel from the first day to the seventh day.' (Exod 12.15)

(33) כִּי־חָצ֣וֹר לְפָנִ֔ים הִ֕יא רֹ֖אשׁ כָּל־הַמַּמְלָכ֥וֹת הָאֵֽלֶּה

'because <u>Hazor</u>—previously ***it*** was the head of all these kingdoms.' (Josh 11.10)

The presence of a subordinating particle like the כי or אשר before a dislocated constituent suggests a high degree of flexibility in the Hebrew CP. Both כי and אשר have the status of a complementizer and so are associated with the head C of the CP.

And yet, despite the variety of multiple left-edge combinations, the left-dislocated constituent always precedes any other fronted elements (i..e, non-LD Topics and all Foci). The structural implications are illustrated in the diagrams in (34), modified from (5).

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[23] The great majority of embedded left dislocation lies within a כי clause. For אשר clauses, see 1 Sam 3.11; 2 Kgs 21.12; Jer 19.3; Ps 104.17; Qoh 3.16, 21; Esth 4.11.

(34) main clause LD   subordinate clause LD

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        CP                              CP
       /  \                            /  \
     LD    CP                         C'    CP
          /  \                    (kî, 'ăšer)  \
         C   TopP*                      LD    TopP*
            /    \                            /    \
    Topic-fronted  FocP*            Topic-fronted   FocP*
      phrase(s)   /   \               phrase(s)    /   \
         Focus-fronted  TP              Focus-fronted  TP
           phrase(s)   /\                 phrase(s)   /\
                core SV clause                   core SV clause
```
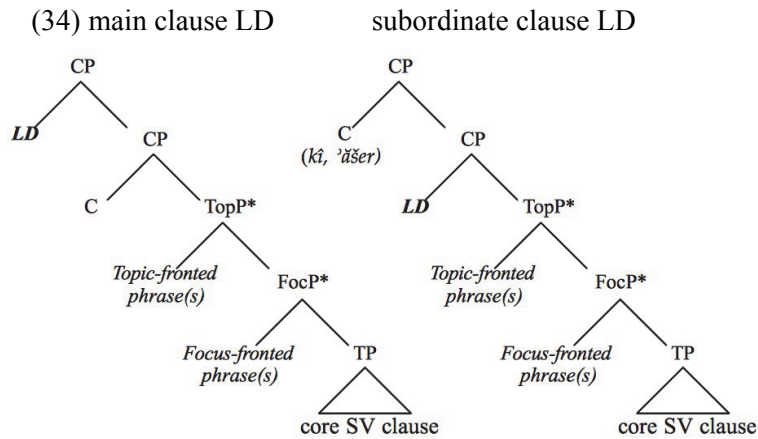
The difference between the two phrase structures lies with the position of the left-dislocated element vis-à-vis the complementizer. In main clauses, the dislocation is projected as CP-adjunction, that is, a phrasal position for the dislocation is simply added above the highest complementizer level already projected. This cannot account for the embedded cases of dislocation, however. Instead, the phrasal position for the dislocation must projected as CP-adjunction below the complementizer that establishes the embedded nature of the clause.

3.3. Left Edge Pragmatic Functions[24]

The two left edge constructions in Hebrew both relate to marking the constituent involved with Topic or Focus pragmatics. Fronting and left-dislocation are distinguished by the specific strategy that each presents. Fronting is the simpler of the two and straightforwardly presents the fronted constituent as either Topic or Focus. Which of these pragmatic instructions is intended can only be determined by reading the discourse

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[24] My proposal for the information structure features of Hebrew left-dislocation and fronting builds on Prince's (1998) analysis of these phenomena in English and Yiddish as well as Vallduví and Vilkuna's (1998) analysis for Finnish and Catalan.

context. Consider again the examples I have given so far, with the information structure indicated after each:

(1)/(7) *ʾeṯ hā ʾĕlōhîm hiṯhallek nōăḥ* ___*ʾeṯ-hā ʾĕlōhîm* (Gen 6.9)	Focus
(9) *wə ʿattâ hinnê ʾištəkā qaḥ* ___*ʾištəkā* (Gen 12.19)	Focus[25]
(10) *halləben mēʾâ šānâ yiwwālēḏ* ___*ləben mēʾâ-šāna* (Gen 17.17)	Focus[26]
(11) *kə ʿēṣ ... ʾăšer piryô yittēn* ___*piryô bə ʿittô* (Ps 1.3)	Topic
(12) *wə ʾattâ ʾeṯ bərîṯî* ___*ʾattâ ṯišmōr* ___*ʾeṯ-bərîṯî* (Gen 17.9)	Topic-Topic[27]
(13) *ʾîš mimmennû ʾet-qiḇrô lōʾ yiḵleh* ___*ʾîš mimmennû mim-məkā* ___*ʾeṯ-qiḇrô* (Gen 23.6)	Topic-Focus[28]

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[25] The complement אשתך is Gen 12.19 is transparently fronted as a Focus, contrasting what Abram told Pharaoh (that Sarai was his *sister*) with the truth (that Sarai was his *wife*).

[26] The Focus on the fronted PP adjunct לבן מאה שנה builds on Abraham's natural set of expectations, that men can beget children only to a reasonable age and that his age, one hundred years old, is well beyond the upper limit. Thus, the contrast is between reasonable expectations (e.g., בן ארבעים שנה) and Abraham's age.

[27] Gen 17.9 follows five verses in which God describes what he will do for Abraham in his covenant with; in 17.9 God addressed Abraham's responsibility in this agreement. The fronted 2ms pronoun אתה signals the shift in Topic from God, who had been the agentive Topic since 17.4 to Abraham (being addressed in the second person). The fronted complement בריתי orients Abraham to the precise Topic—though the ברית of God has been mentioned back in 17.7, all the material between that mention and the one in 17.9 had specified all the things that God would do for Abraham. Topic-fronting בריתי in 17.9 returns the attention to the larger, encompassing item. It is also possible that בריתי is a Focus rather than Topic: whereas God had spent vv. 4-8 detailing what he would do for Abraham, now he addresses what Abraham would do for him. But I consider this latter analysis less contextually felicitous.

[28] With the Topic-fronted subject איש ממנו the Hittite speaker orients Abraham to which of the previously mentioned entities (whom Abraham had referenced as 'you' in the preceding verse) would act. Another way to think of this is as a choice that the Hittite speaker made in the response: among the obvious choices, rather than starting with 'you, Abraham, ...', he started with איש ממנו. The key to understanding the force of the Focus-fronted complement את קברו is recognizing

(14) *ûpetaḥ hattēbâ bəṣiddâh tāśîm* ___*peṭaḥ hattēḇâ* ___*bəṣiddâh* (Gen 6.16)	Topic-Topic[29]
(15) *wəhanniš ʾārîm herâ* ___*hanniš ʾārîm nāsû* ___*herâ* (Gen 14.10)	Topic-Focus

Examples (1), (9), and (10) represent straightforward Foci. In each case, the fronted phrase—or a constituent *within* the phrase—is related to and set over against an explicit or implicit membership set derived from the discourse context. I will describe how the Focus works in the context of a single example, (1), to illustrate. In Gen 6.9, the two clauses preceding the Focus-fronting describe Noah as a 'righteous' man, then a man 'blameless' among his contemporaries. Noah's character and piety are progressively built up (Wenham 1987:170) and it culminates with the Focus-fronting in the third clause: he walked *with God* (and not, for example, according to the ways of his contemporaries).

Example (11) illustrates the use of fronting for a Topic. Within the relative clause, the order is overwhelmingly Verb-Subject (see Holmstedt 2002, 2009, 2011a), which indicates that this relative exhibits the fronting of the subject NP. It is hard to imagine how this could serve as a Focus, since what else but its fruit would the tree provide? Rather, the NP פריו and especially the 3ms clitic pronoun ו signal to the reader/listener that among the multiple potential relative heads in the immediately preceding context, the head is the one associated with fruit, that is the עץ 'tree' (versus the פלגים 'channels' or מים 'water'). Thus, the pronoun ו functions as a Topic.

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that while the scope of the Focus lies over the entire NP, it can also be associated with one constituent within the phrase; in the case of קברו את the Focus is on the 3ms suffix, indicating that the force is 'his (own) grave'. Thus, a paraphrastic translation of (13) that highlights the pragmatics is 'not one among us would withhold his own grave from you'.

[29] In the instructions for how to build the ark, the Topic-Topic construction in (14) shifts Noah's attention from the roof (צֹהַר) above (מִלְמַעְלָה) in the first half of the verse to the door (פתח) in the side (צדה). The next clause moves on to the three levels or decks of the ark (the complement-verb order in that clause also reflects Topic-fronting). There is no inherent reason that a set of instructions like this need include Focus-fronting, unless there were a need to correct actions or expectations (i.e., 'put the door in the side, not the roof!').

The multiple fronted phrases in (12)–(14) serve the same purposes in their respective contexts: they orient the recipient to two distinct Topics, to which information will be added by a shared rhematic bundle of information, the verbs תשמר, לא יכלה, and תשׂים, respectively. In (15), the double fronting presents a Topic-Focus structure, wherein the first fronted constituent, הנשארים, orients the reader to the remaining three kings of one faction in the battle (in the clause preceding this, the narrator reports that the other two, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, had fallen in retreat). The second fronted constituent, the adverbial (locative) phrase הרה, tells the reader where these three kings fled. As a Focus, the phrase הרה provokes a membership list consisting of all the possible locations to which the kings could have fled (hill country, plains, coastland, etc.) and contrasts הרה with the other possible destinations.

In all the cases of multiple fronting that present both a Topic and a Focus, there appears to be a strict order concerning their position in the Hebrew CP: if both Topic and Focus Phrases are projected, the Topic will always precede the Focus. Not only does this match the phrase structure I proposed in (5) and (34), this Topic-Focus order reflects an important rhetorical strategy for structuring any sort of text: it is necessary to orient one's audience to the issue at hand before driving home one's point.

Whereas fronting may be used to present a constituent as either Topic or Focus, left-dislocation is more tightly constrained: left-dislocated constituents are never new to the discourse (and so never rhematic, but always thematic) and are thus associated only with a Topic role. The resumptive element, though, may function in one of two ways: 1) it may be marked for Focus, thereby allowing the two distinct constituents to mark their common referent with multiple layers of information (Topic and Focus); or 2) it may by its presence allow another constituent in the core clause to be explicitly fronted for Focus (in other words, there are cases in which the non-resumptive constituent could not be clearly Focus-fronted without the presence of the resumptive constituent to clarify the word order).

The dislocated constituent and its resumptive element work together to create one of two complex discourse-pragmatic sets of instructions, which I summarize in (35) and (36):[30]

(35) *Topic (LD)–Theme (resumption)*: the left-dislocated NP functions as a *Topic*, orienting the listener/reader to one among many possible discourse-known entities, about which the following clause will make a proposition. The resumptive does not carry Focus and it may be used as a syntactic foil for another constituent within the clause to function as the Focus. E.g., Avigayil—she's ***smart*** (vs. *not-smart*).

(36) *Topic (LD)–Focus (resumption)*: the left-dislocated NP functions as a Topic, orienting the listener/reader to one among many possible discourse-known anchors, about which the following clause will make a proposition. The resumptive carries Focus, thereby allowing the speaker to both orient the listener/reader to this particular entity and mark it as a Focus. E.g., Benjamin—***he's*** fast (vs. Noah, who presumably is not so fast).

Below I repeat all the Hebrew left-dislocation examples I have given, indicating after each the type of information structure represented (with the pragmatic function of any case of additional fronting within the clause indicated in parentheses):

(1)(2)/(18) <u>hāʾiššâ ʾăšer nātattâ ʿimmādî **hiwʾ** nāṯənâ lî min hāʿēṣ</u> (Gen 3.12)	Topic-Focus
(21) <u>miqnêhem wəqinyānām wəkol bəhemtām hălôʾ lānû **hēm**</u> (Gen 34.23)	Topic-Theme[31]

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[30] Prince argues that English allows discourse-new left-dislocation for contexts in which the canonical position for that particular type of NP would be greatly disfavored for new information (1998:284-6). This is not the case in Hebrew, in which left-dislocation is never used for new information (note that "new" information is distinct from previously introduced, set aside, and reinvoked information, which may appear "new" in the immediate context but is not new in the larger discourse context).

[31] Within the core clause, the null copular complement PP לנו is fronted for Focus,

(22) *yəhûḏâ ʾattâ yôḏûḵā ʾaḥêḵā* (Gen 49.8)	Topic-Focus[32]
(23) *haśśāḏeh ʾăšer qānâ ʾabrāhām mēʾēt bənê hēt šāmmâ qubbar ʾaḇrāhām wəśārâ ʾištô* (Gen 25.10)	Topic-Focus
(24) *wəʿārēl zāḵār ʾăšer lōʾ yimmôl ʾet bəśar ʿorlātô wənikrəṯâ hannepeš hahiwʾ mēʿammêhā* (Gen 17.14)	Topic-Theme[33]
(25) *wəʾahărōn ma hûʾ kî ṯillônû ʿālāyw* (Num 16.11)	Topic-Focus[34]
(26) *hayyeleḏ ʾênennû waʾănî ʾānâ ʾănî ḇāʾ* (Gen 37.30)	Topic-Theme[35]
(27) *ʾănî hinnê ḇərîṯî ʾittāḵ* (Gen 17.4)	Topic-Theme[36]

whereas as the left-dislocated constituent is resumed by the 3mp pronoun הם. Though independent pronouns often bear Topic or Focus, here the pronoun both functions as the overt subject of the null copula clause and provides a "foil" constituent so that the Focus-fronting of לנו can be discerned.

[32] The context suggests the 2ms resumptive pronoun is Focus; if so, this suggests that a clitic pronoun can drag a verb up with it when raised. The verb here would not be raised for any other reason (LD does not trigger V-raising). Alternatively, as a verse within an old poetic section (Genesis 49), the VS order could simply reflect the basic pattern before the shift to SV (see Holmstedt 2013). I take the contextual clues to favor the former interpretation, that the pronoun is fronted for Focus.

[33] The non-fronted position and thematic status of the resumptive הנפש ההוא in (24) allows the semantics of the irrealis perfective verb נכרתה to be clearly signaled by the Verb-Subject order.

[34] As I illustrated in (9)–(11), an interrogative like מה will always reside higher than fronted constituents. In the null copula clause מה הוא, the pronoun הוא may carry Focus, though it can only be signaled by prosody (i.e., Focus-related intonational stress) since it clearly cannot be signaled by word order.

[35] Similar to the issues relating to (25) (see the preceding note), whether the resumptive pronoun אני carried Focus or not would only be accessible by interpreting the prosody; in the absence of such prosodic cues, we are unable to determine the precise role of the resumptive, though a non-Focus, thematic role makes better contextual sense to this reader.

[36] Immediately preceding the LD in (27) is the general introduction of God's covenant with Abraham (Gen 17.1-3). As the beginning of the fuller description of the covenant's details, the LD orients the listener (Abraham) to the party and

(28) *wə ʾîš ʾô ʾiššâ kî yihyeh bô nāgaʿ bərōʾš ʾô bəzāqān wərāʾâ hakkōhēn ʾet hannegaʿ* (Lev 13.29-30)	Topic-Theme[37]
(29) *wəgam ʾet ben hāʾāmâ ləgôy ʾăśîmen**nû*** (Gen 21.13)	Topic-Theme[38]
(30) *hāʾănāšîm hāʾēlleh šəlēmîm **hēm** ʾittānû* (Gen 34.21)	Topic-Theme[39]
(31) *wa ʾănî bəbōʾî mippaddān mētâ ʿal**ay** rāḥēl bəʾereṣ kənaʿan badderek* (Gen 48.7)	Topic-Theme[40]

responsibilities being described first. Appropriately, vv. 4-8 detail all the benefits Abraham will receive precisely because it is God who is the other party; that is, in effect God says in v. 4, 'I am behind this covenant, which will result in X for you.'. The LD constituent אני is resumed within the core clause by the 1cs clitic pronoun in בריתי. Since God is known and active in the discourse, the resumption is thematic (as is the host NP ברית).

[37] The LD in (28) represents a frequent pattern in the legal-ritual instructions in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy (see above, note 21). In (28) the compound NP איש או אשה is positioned before a subordinate כי adjunct clause (in many of the examples of this type, it is the NP נפש that is dislocated before a כי or אשר clause). The position before the subordinating particle signals the clear dislocated status of the initial NP. Interestingly, in almost all cases, the only or closest resumptive element is within the subordinate clause (see Lambrecht 2001:1068).

[38] The context of God's discussion with Abraham concerning Ishmael suggests that the fronting of the PP is for Focus: God is stressing that he will also make Ishmael, like Isaac, לגוי 'into a nation', rather than leaving him to die if Abraham allows Sarah to cast Hagar and Ishmael out.

[39] The Topic-Focus structure is clear in (30), which shows the copular complement שלמים preceding the resumptive subject pronoun הם. The context of the clause indicates that the critical information that Hamor and Shechem needed to convey to their city: the people are *peaceful*, not hostile.

[40] This examples reflects a clear Topic-Topic structure. Temporal adjuncts that are fronted, such as בבאי מפדן, are overwhelmingly Topics, used for scene-setting information. The Topic-hood of such information may be related to processing ease; that is, establishing the temporal or locative context for an action or event aids in its real-time interpretation.

(32) *kî kol ʾōkēl ḥāmēs wənikrəṯâ* **hannepeš hahiwʾ** *miyyiśrāʾēl miyyôm hāriʾšōn ʿaḏ yôm haššəḇiʿî* (Exod 12.15)	Topic-Theme[41]
(33) *kî ḥāṣôr ləpānîm* **hîʾ** *rōʾš kol hammamlāḵôṯ hāʾēlleh* (Josh 11.10)	Topic-Theme[42]

The clause in (21) is a good example of the Topic-Theme articulation of left-dislocation, with additional Focus fronting within the core clause. The dislocated constituent מקנהם וקנינם וכל בהמתם activates a discourse entity that not only had been mentioned multiple times in the preceding chapter (Genesis 33) as well as in passing as מקנהו in 34.5, but could also be assumed as a discourse entity given the cultural context. The structure of the null copula clause following the dislocation unambiguously indicates the thematic role of the resumptive הם, which by its presence and position allows the Focus fronting of the PP לנו to be signaled by the word order.[43]

The clause in (23) illustrates well the Topic-Focus articulation of left-dislocation. The initial dislocated constituent השדה אשר קנה אברהם מאת בני חת is resumed within the clause by the adverbial locative שמה. While adverbial adjuncts normally follow after verbs and their complements, here שמה has been fronted for Focus, triggering in turn the raising of the passive verb קבר over its compound NP subject אברהם ושרה.

Finally, (33) illustrates the addition of a fronted second Topic after the dislocation, חצור. The temporal PP adjunct, לפנים, is a scene-setting Topic constituent, orienting the reader/listener to a temporal quality of

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[41] As with (24) (see note 33), the non-fronted position and thematic status of the resumptive הנפש ההוא in (32) allows the semantics of the irrealis perfective verb נכרתה to be clearly signaled by the Verb-Subject order.

[42] Although the resumptive pronoun היא could carry Focus, there is no discernible reason to read it as such within the discourse context. Lacking any other clue (e.g., prosody), I take it to be a thematic resumptive constituent lacking any further pragmatic features.

[43] Note the position of the interrogative ה, which as a clitic has attached to and so raised the negative to the CP with it. See notes 10 and 34 on the position of interrogatives vis-à-vis fronted constituents.

the predication in the null copula clause היא ראש כל הממלכות האלה,
in which היא is the resumptive for the dislocated חצור.

4. Right Edge Constituents

Just as there are two edge constructions at the left or front edge of the
Hebrew clause, there are also two at the *right* or *back* edge: extraposi-
tion and right-dislocation. The two right edge constructions are less
common than their left edge counterparts, and, while they share some
syntactic and pragmatic features, they are distinct on both scores.

4.1. The Syntax of Extraposition[44]

Of the right edge phenomena, *extraposition* is a movement construction
that parallels fronting—just as fronting was the movement of a constit-
uent to the front of a clause, so extraposition is the movement to the end
of the clause. Extraposition is illustrated in English by (37) and in He-
brew by (38), repeated from (3):[45]

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[44] Within Hebrew studies, there has been variation in the definition of the term
extraposition. For example, Khan 1988, Siva and Yona 1994, Zewi 1996, 1999,
2001, and Shimasaki 2002:245-49 use the term to refer to constituents at the *front*
of a clause, whereas Holmstedt 2001, 2002 uses it for *movement* towards the *end* of
the clause. Whereas the equation with fronting or even casus pendens (=left
dislocation) seems to have been more common in the early and mid twentieth
century (see, for example, Jespersen, whose definition and subsequent examples
indicate he used extraposition for constituent at the left or front of the clause
[1969:35-38; cf. cf. 1964:95; 1928-49, 3:72, 357; 7:223]), for at least three decades
using the term in reference to constituents at the *end* of the clause has been
increasingly accepted (see, for example, Gueron 1980, Mallinson 1986). In this
study I have followed the definition found in the general linguistics works I have
consulted; for an introductory source, see Crystal 2008, "Extraposition": "A term
used in grammatical analysis to refer to the process or result of moving (or
extraposing) an element from its normal position to a position *at or near the end* of
the sentence" (182; emphasis added).

[45] The majority of extraposition examples in the Hebrew Bible involve relatives
clauses. In the following representative list, I note in parentheses those examples
that are non-relative (NR): Gen 6.7 19.4 (NR); 22.14; 24.15, 24; 35.14 (NR); 41.50;
42.14 (NR); 48.15 (NR), 22; 49.17; Exod 1.8; 4.17; 7.20 (NR); 11.6; 19.18 (NR);
20.2, 5 (NR); 26.15; 27.6 (NR); 28.33 (NR); 29.42; 39.33-41.

(37) The man with green eyes appeared. (no extraposition)
vs. The man ___with green eyes appeared <u>with green eyes</u>.
(extraposition)

(38) וְהִנֵּה רִבְקָה יֹצֵאת אֲשֶׁר יֻלְּדָה לִבְתוּאֵל
'and behold, Rebekah ___who was born to Bethuel was coming out,
<u>who was born to Bethuel</u>' (Gen 24.15)

In both examples in (37) the PP *with green eyes* modifies the subject
NP *the man*; whereas in the first example the PP is in its normal position
adjacent to its head, in the second example the PP has been moved to
the right of the verb *appeared* (indicated above by the gap for the orig-
inal position and the underlining for the extraposed constituent). Simi-
larly, in the Hebrew example in (38) the relative clause אשר ילדה
לבתואל has been moved rightward so that it is separated from the NP it
modifies, רבקה, by the null copula and participle יצאת.[46]

There are three basic types of extraposition represented in the Hebrew
Bible: NP extraposition (39), PP extraposition (40),[47] and relative
clause extraposition, as in (38) above and below in (41).

(39) Extraposition of (appositive) NP
וַיֹּאמֶר הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר הִתְהַלְּכוּ אֲבֹתַי לְפָנָיו אַבְרָהָם וְיִצְחָק ... יְבָרֵךְ
אֶת־הַנְּעָרִים

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[46] It is important to distinguish extraposition, in which a constituent is moved
rightward in the clause, from, for example, relative clause stranding, in which the
head of a relative is fronted for Topic or Focus, leaving the relative clause behind
in the original, non-fronted position. For a few examples of the latter, see Gen 30.2;
32.19; 42.13; 48.9; Exod 32.16; ~~38.28;~~ 39.4.

[47] Non-appositive NP-internal PPs are also available for extraposition movement;
for examples, see Exod 20.5; Josh 22.29; and Judg 2.21. I provide Exod 20.5 in
illustration:
לֹא־תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָהֶם וְלֹא תָעָבְדֵם כִּי אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַנָּא פֹּקֵד עֲוֹן אָבֹת עַל־בָּנִים
עַל־שִׁלֵּשִׁים וְעַל־רִבֵּעִים לְשֹׂנְאָי
'you will not bow down to them and you will not be caused to serve them,
because I am Yhwh, your God, a jealous God (who) visits the iniquity of
fathers upon sons ___of those who hate me (upon the third generation and upon
the fourth generation) <u>of those who hate me</u> ' (Exod 20.5)

'and he said: The God who my fathers _____{Abraham and Isaac} walked before, <u>Abraham and Isaac</u>, ... shall bless the boys' (Gen 48:15-16)

(40) Extraposition of PP

וְהֵרִים מִמֶּ֫נּוּ בְּקֻמְצ֔וֹ מִסֹּ֤לֶת הַמִּנְחָה֙ וּמִשַּׁמְנָ֔הּ וְאֵת֙ כָּל־הַלְּבֹנָ֔ה אֲשֶׁ֖ר עַל־הַמִּנְחָ֑ה וְהִקְטִ֣יר הַמִּזְבֵּ֗חַ רֵ֧יחַ נִיחֹ֛חַ אַזְכָּרָתָ֖הּ לַיהוָֽה

'and he shall lift up some of it _____{some of the fine flour of the offering and some of its oil} by his handful, <u>some of the fine flour of the offering and some of its oil</u>, and all the frankincense that was upon the offering' (Lev 6:8)

(41) Extraposition of relative clause

וַיִּֽחַר־אַ֥ף יַעֲקֹ֖ב בְּרָחֵ֑ל וַיֹּ֗אמֶר הֲתַ֤חַת אֱלֹהִים֙ אָנֹ֔כִי אֲשֶׁר־מָנַ֥ע מִמֵּ֖ךְ פְּרִי־בָֽטֶן

'and Jacob was angry at Rachel and said: In the place of God _____{who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb} am I, <u>who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb</u>?' (Gen 30:2)

> *RDH: erroneous example (see above, n. 46); replace with ex. 38 (Gen 24.15).

Though extraposition of NPs and PPs, like those in (39) and (40), occurs more than most grammatical descriptions suggest, by far the most common type of Hebrew extraposition is with relative clauses, like the examples in (38) and (41).

Structurally, extraposition in Hebrew is not simply rightward movement to *any* site further down in the clause. Thorion-Vardi (1987) asserts that extraposed appositives must move to the rightmost position within its clause. That is, when a constituent is extraposed, it is not moved rightward to an arbitrary position in the clause's linear structure, but all the way to the end of the clause. This is mostly accurate (and also for relative clause extraposition), but only when qualified by adding that clausal edges, main or subordinate, serve as boundaries beyond which extraposition does not go. Consider, for example, the extraposition in (42).

(42) רַק֩ רָחָ֨ב הַזּוֹנָ֜ה תִּֽחְיֶ֗ה הִ֤יא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁ֣ר אִתָּהּ֙ בַּבַּ֔יִת כִּ֣י הֶחְבְּאַ֔תָה אֶת־הַמַּלְאָכִ֖ים אֲשֶׁ֥ר שָׁלָֽחְנוּ׃

'only Rahab, the prostitute, ___ _{she and all who are with her in the house} will live, <u>she and all who are with her in the house</u>, because

she hit the messengers which we sent' (Josh 6.17; see also
Exod 19.18)

In (42) the extraposed appositive is a compound NP including its own
relative clause, היא וכל אשר אתה. This appositive modifies the NP
רחב (and represents a common strategy for adding information to a pri-
mary discourse entity that is a simple NP; see Holmstedt 2009b). Of
relevance for the structure of extraposition is that this appositive moves
rightward only until it encounters the edge of another clause, this sub-
ordinate כי clause. Similarly, example (39) illustrates that material does
not extrapose out of subordinate clauses—the appositive אברהם ויצחק
moved only to the extreme right of the relative clause in which it was
contained; it did not move further right within the domain of the en-
compassing main clause.

Though I have been using the terms "right" and "rightward" for the
movement direction of extraposition, this is not technically accurate.
The syntax of extraposition is similar to fronting not just as a movement
phenomenon, but also as a raising construction. However, whereas
fronting motivates the projection of a left-branching CP layer, extrapo-
sition demands a right-branching CP layer, as in (43).

(43)   Extraposition (right-branching raising)
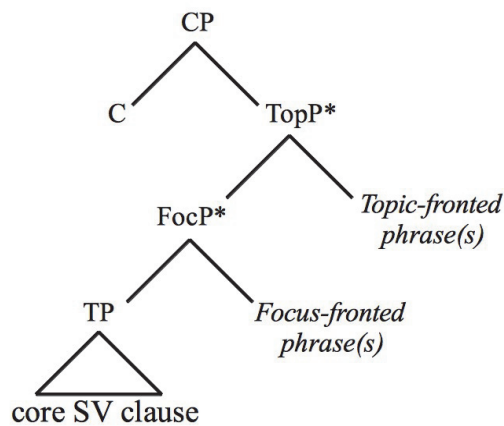
When a constituent is extraposed, the right-branching structure results in its position higher in the hierarchical phrase structure but towards the end of the clause in its linear structure.

4.2 The Syntax of Right-Dislocation[48]

Right-dislocation patterns with extraposition as a right edge clausal phenomenon, though it includes an overt link to the core clause, a "presumptive" element that is cataphoric, that is, pointing forward to the coreferential dislocated phrase (similar to the anaphoric "resumptive" of left-dislocation). Whereas extraposition is structurally parallel to fronting, but reflects movement towards opposite edges of the clause, so right-dislocation is structurally identical to left-dislocation except for the branching of the CP-adjunction. This direction of adjunction accounts for the linear order: since the adjoined dislocation is the highest constituent in the clause (excepting the subordinator in subordinate clauses), left-adjoined dislocations will occur furthest left and right-dislocations furthest right. The structure of right-dislocation is illustrated in (44).

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[48] See Gen 14.9; 40.5; Lev 6.13; Josh 5.4; 24.12; Ps 87.5; Prov 13.4; Qoh 2.21; 3.18; 4.10, 12; 5.8. The primary complicating feature of right-dislocation is that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish from apposition, particularly in cases such as (33), in which the resumptive pronoun and the dislocated constituent are adjacent at the end of the clause. When the structural features of a given example allow either a right-dislocation or an appositional analysis, only the functions of the two constructions disambiguate the analysis. Unfortunately, even the functions of the two overlap (Jones 2011).

(44) Right Dislocation (right-branching CP-adjunction)
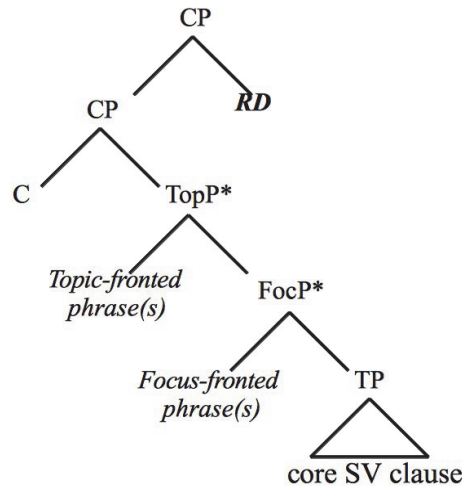
In Hebrew, right-dislocation is significantly less frequent than left-dislocation. It is perhaps due to the relative paucity of examples that the structural variation is minimal. The examples in (45), repeated from (4), and (46)–(49) illustrate the diversity of right-dislocation we find in the Hebrew Bible.

(45) וַתְּגָרֶשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם שְׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֱמֹרִי
'and it (the 'hornet') drove ***them*** out from before you, <u>the two Amorite kings</u>' (Josh 24.12)

(46) וַיַּעַרְכוּ אִתָּם מִלְחָמָה בְּעֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים: אֵת כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר מֶלֶךְ עֵילָם וְתִדְעָל מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם וְאַמְרָפֶל מֶלֶךְ שִׁנְעָר וְאַרְיוֹךְ מֶלֶךְ אֶלָּסָר
'and they line up for battle ***with them*** in the Valley of Siddim, <u>with Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Tidal, king of Goyim, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Aryok, king of Ellasar</u>' (Gen 14.8b-9a)

(47) וַיַּחַלְמוּ חֲלוֹם שְׁנֵיהֶם ... הַמַּשְׁקֶה וְהָאֹפֶה אֲשֶׁר לְמֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם
'and the ***both of them*** dreamed a dream ..., <u>the butler and the baker who belonged to the king of Egypt</u>.' (Gen 40.5)

(48) וְהוּא יְכוֹנְנֶהָ עֶלְיֽוֹן
    'and *he* will establish her, <u>Elyon</u>' (Ps 87.5)

(49) וּלְאָדָ֞ם שֶׁלֹּ֤א עָֽמַל־בּוֹ֙ יִתְּנֶ֣נּוּ חֶלְקֹ֔ו
    'and to a man who has not exerted himself for it he gives *it*,
    <u>his portion</u>' (Qoh 2.21[49])

The structural features of right-dislocation are not particularly challeng-ing—in each case a presumptive pronoun without a clear referent is linked to a full NP residing in the right-dislocated position. What is more challenging is determining the discourse function or functions of right-dislocation in Hebrew.

4.3 Right Edge Pragmatic Functions

Like the two left edge constructions, both of which were associated with relatively straightforward Topic or Focus instructions, extraposition and right dislocation are also associated with Topic and Focus. For example, consider the extraposition in (50) and the right-dislocation in (51), repeated from (47).

(50) וְאֵֽין־עֹ֤וד לָהֶם֙ שָׂכָ֔ר כִּ֥י נִשְׁכַּ֖ח זִכְרָֽם
    'and __ is no longer theirs <u>a reward</u>, because memory of them
    is forgotten' (Qoh 9.5; see also 9.12)

(51) וַיַּֽחַלְמוּ֩ חֲל֨וֹם שְׁנֵיהֶ֜ם ... הַמַּשְׁקֶ֣ה וְהָאֹפֶ֗ה אֲשֶׁר֙ לְמֶ֣לֶךְ מִצְרַ֔יִם
    'and the ***both of them*** dreamed a dream ..., <u>the butler and the
    baker who belonged to the king of Egypt</u>.' (Gen 40.5)

The extraposed constituent in (50), שכר, is certainly not "heavy" or difficult to process. This NP is the subject of the null copula possessive clause and, without any special pragmatic marking, would normally come before the copular complement, להם. The extraposition of שכר

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[49] In Qoh 2.21 the referent of the 3ms clitic pronoun attached to the verb in יתננו is not identified until the right dislocated NP חלקו is given. The entity represented by חלקו is left implicit in this clause and not specified until its dislocated position at the right edge of the clause to heighten the tension by delaying an important piece of information. In this context, it is clear that חלקו bears Focus—it is absurd that what one toils for in life must be passed on to another.

in (50) is for right-branching Focus. The delay that the right-branching Focus causes allows the constituent to be set over against the alternatives in the contextually-based membership set initiated by the Focus with the addition of the cognitive tension produced by delayed articulation in the linguistic structure (see Francis 2010; also Guéron 1980, Huck and Na 1990).[50]

The right dislocation in (51) is associated with Topic, but with a similar twist. Rather than "orienting" the reader/listener to the thematic entity that is isolated for additional information, right-dislocations like those in (51) "clarify." In other words, the presumptive pronoun within the clause core results in referential ambiguity within the discourse—in a group of four active discourse entities (Joseph, the captain of the guard, the baker, and the cupbearer), which two had the dream? The dislocated constituent specifies the referent of the pronoun in שניהם.

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[50] In a 2008 study (published as Fassberg 2013), Steve Fassberg describes word order shifts in "Second Temple Period Hebrew" (he cites mostly Qumran Hebrew, but includes some examples from the Hebrew Bible, especially from Chronicles and Esther). Fassberg identifies six linguistic contexts in which a shift occurs: Verb-Subject to Subject-Verb, Infinitive-Object to Object-Infinitive, Title-PN to PN-Title, Numeral-Noun to Noun-Numeral, Measure-Noun to Noun-Measure, and inversion of items in word pairs. He argues that all six shifts are part of one trend, "end-focus." Though extraposition (as I have defined it) may be used more frequently in post-biblical Hebrew for Focus, setting aside the increase of Subject-Verb, which I explain differently (see Holmstedt 2013a), I do not see an increase of extraposition Focus in the Hebrew Bible—indeed, the occurrences of non-heavy (non-Heavy Noun Phrase Shift) extraposition in the Hebrew Bible are notably rare. Moreover, I have two significant concerns about Fassberg's argument. First, he provides no linguistic argument for the implicit claim that the categories he treats are somehow related (rather than reflections of distinct, unrelated syntactic processes). Second, though he defines end-focus as "new information becomes postposed and moves toward the end of the clause" (70), he does not explain how this applies to the switch of, for example, numeral-noun to noun-numeral. Are we to believe that the numeral becomes focused? If so, then Fassberg's notion of Focus is vacuous. Observing and documenting the shifts is an important service, but the analysis must be performed both in light of both cross-linguistic (typological) patterns, to determine whether or not they are likely related to the same underlying process and with some syntactic theory at least in the background. Naudé's criticism of Gross's work applies equally well here (see below, n. 51)

Two other cross-linguistically common functions of right dislocation are related to the discourse role of Topic: right dislocation is often used either to re-activate a discourse entity that is no longer accessible due to discourse distance or to make explicit an entity that was present only implicitly in the discourse (see Ashby 1988; Ziv 1994; Mayol 2007). As (52) illustrates, Hebrew fits the cross-linguistic pattern of using right-dislocation for Topic-reactivation or Topic-specification functions.

(52) וַתְּגָרֶשׁ אוֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם שְׁנֵי מַלְכֵי הָאֱמֹרִי
    'and it (the 'hornet') drove ***them*** out from before you, <u>the two Amorite kings</u>' (Josh 24.12; see also Josh 5.4)

In (52) the right-dislocated שני מלכי האמרי either refers to the *Amorite* kings who "fought with you" four verses before this clause (24:8) or explicitly refers to the Amorite *kings*, who had only been implied in the previous context.

The pragmatic role of the presumptive element within right dislocation functions no differently than the resumptive in left dislocation. It is always thematic, and it may carry Focus, but it may also be positioned within the core clause so that it aids in the presentation of another constituent for Focus.

It is not, however, always the case that right edge phenomena have a clear Topic or Focus role. The most common use of extraposition relates to an automatic "processing" linear re-ordering, whereby complex entities, especially embedded constituents such as relative clauses, are moved rightward to allow the simpler syntactic constituents to be cognitively processed first and thus more easily. For instance, we could contemplate the extraposed relative in (38), repeated below as (53), all day and fail to see an explanation grounded in a Topic or Focus function.

(53) וְהִנֵּה רִבְקָה יֹצֵאת אֲשֶׁר יֻלְּדָה לִבְתוּאֵל
    'and behold, Rebekah _____{who was born to Bethuel} was coming out, <u>who was born to Bethuel</u>' (Gen 24.15)

The Hebrew CP must allow for a right-branching layer, unmarked for Topic or Focus, into which "heavy" material may be moved.

5. Marginal 'Edge' Constructions

The vast majority of fronting and dislocations are explainable with the patterns I have described in this study.[51] Yet, as with almost every grammatical investigation, there is a handful of examples—in this case a group of fronting constructions—which simply does not fit the established categories. I give two representative examples in (54) and (55).

(54) וּדְבַר מַה־יַּרְאֵנִי וְהִגַּדְתִּי לָךְ

'<u>whatever he shows me</u> and I shall tell ____{whatever he shows me} to you.' (Num 23.3)

(55) אָדָם כִּי־יַקְרִיב מִכֶּם קָרְבָּן לַיהוֶה

'<u>a man</u>: when ____{a man} brings, from yourselves, a gift to Yhwh, ...' (Lev 1.2; see also 22.27)

In (54), the initial NP is separated from the rest of the clause by the conjunction ו and in (55), the initial NP is separated by the subordinator כי. The issue these data raise is whether such constructions are left-dislocations (but *without* resumption) or fronting (but higher than normal, to a position left of the clause-initial function words).[52]

The position of the ו conjunction is sometimes taken as a determinative feature for the left-dislocation analysis. In discussing examples like that in (56), van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze write, "This type of dislocated construction differs also syntactically from those mentioned above. It does not have a resumptive element. It is, however, regarded

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[51] Gross identifies *seventy* clausal patterns in his *Die Pendenskonstruktion* (1987). I concur with Naudé's (1990:117-120) criticism of Gross' extreme taxonomy: the lack of a linguistic theory and abstractions that would allow for the unification of many of the sub-types results in an over-elaborate taxonomy that misses both important generalizations (i.e., the most of the patterns belong to just a few primary types) and critical distinctions (e.g., between topicalization and dislocation).

[52] Gross does not consider resumption a defining characteristic of the "pendens" construction (1987:187-90). Naudé 1990 classifies examples like (56) as "topicalization" (i.e,. not left-dislocation). Neither Khan 1988 nor Moshavi 2010 takes a clear stance on the issue; both simply note the absence of resumption where it is normally expected. Waltke and O'Connor relate examples like (54) to "casus pendens" (1990:§32.2.1e) though apparently consider (56) to be something other than casus pendens (1990: §33.2.4a).

as a dislocated construction because the dislocated element is separated from the rest of the sentence by means of a waw" (1999:339).

(56) בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי וַיִּשָּׂא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו
    '<u>on the third day</u>, and Abraham lifted his eyes ____{on the third day}.'
    (Gen 22.4)

The problem with such a position is, of course, its departure from the linguistic definition of dislocation. By definition dislocation includes the presence of a resumptive element in the clausal core. Moreover, the role the resumptive constituent plays is crucial to the information structuring strategy of the construction as a whole.

I suggest that the real issue with examples like (56) is whether the ו conjunction necessarily marks the edge of the clause, thereby demarcating the main CP from any CP-adjunction, i.e., dislocation (see Holmstedt 2013b). Based on the observable fact that the ו marks the left edge of the second part of a compound NP, it is inherently simpler to recognize that the ו can function as the left-edge marker of any phrase, whether an NP, PP, VP, TP, or any layer of an articulated CP. In other words, the conjunction ו is a left-edge phrasal clitic. Moreover, since the ו can be missing between conjoined phrases, such as with lists of NPs (e.g., 1 Kgs 9.20 מִן־הָאֱמֹרִי הַחִתִּי הַפְּרִזִּי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי; see Joüon and Muraoka 2006: §§177o-p), its absence or presence cannot be syntactically determinative. This variability has left some grammarians grasping at psycho-linguistic straws:

> The use of the Waw of apodosis is not subject to any strict rules. Generally such a Waw is used when a need is felt to link what is about to be said to what has been said, after a slowing down or break in the flow of thought. Now this slowing down takes place especially in conditional clauses (§167), causal clauses (§170), temporal clauses (§166), and after the casus pendens (§156). Certain details have some bearing on the use of the Waw of apodosis, notably the grammatical category of the word which begins the apodosis (verb, noun, particle), and the length of the protasis. (Joüon and Muraoka 2006: §176c)

Rather than guessing at ancient author's psychological needs, it is possible to describe the grammar of ו in such a way that accounts for the

variability of usage. In terms of syntax, when present, the ו functions syntactically to signal the left edge of a phrase; in contrast, when the ו is absent, any phrasal edge must be determined by other linguistic cues. The presence of ו is dictated by three concerns: 1) it may be required for morphosyntactic reasons (e.g., the fused form *wayyiqtol*), 2) it is an information processing aid (e.g., its presence may aid in the correct in-terpretation of the sequence of NPs as a list), or 3) it may be used in a discourse-pragmatic role (e.g., to signal that an example of direct speech is the "dispreferred" response in a dialogue; see Miller 1999).

For examples like (54) and (56), the ו between the fronting and the rest of the clause falls into the second category of usage—it helps the reader/listener interpret the syntax properly. That is, the ו signals that the fronted phrase is, in fact, fronted (cf. Moshavi 2010:84-85 and n. 63). This processing function serves particularly well with examples like (57), in which the ו separates the subject NP from the verb.

(57) אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא אִתּוֹ מֵעֲבָדֶיךָ וָמֵת
    '<u>whoever it is found with him from your servant</u> and shall die
    ____{whoever...}' (Gen 44.9)

In summary, the presence of the ו does *not* distinguish left-dislocation from fronting. Rather, the ו is used in rare cases of Topic fronting to aid in the processing of the syntax.

Excursus: Gen 1:1-3 and Topic-Fronting with *Wayyiqtol*

In Holmstedt 2008, I argued that the best linguistic analysis of ראשית in Gen 1:1 was as a noun bound to an unmarked restrictive relative clause.[53]

(58) בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ׃
    "in (the) initial period (that/in which) God created the heavens
    and the earth ..."   (Gen. 1.1)

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[53] Since my paper appeared, we can add four new items to the bibliography: Baasten 2007, van Wolde 2009, Smith 2010, and Kerr 2013. Baasten's study was unavailable to me before my study appeared; it presents a similar argument as my own, though without the focus on the restrictive semantics of the unmarked relative. Van Wolde 2009 and Smith 2010 both cite my study favorably. On Kerr 2013, see the next note.

The restrictive semantics of this analysis imply that the ראשית in question is not necessarily an absolute beginning (e.g., the Big Bang, creation ex nihilo), but only the beginning of the story that follows.[54] What I did not pursue in that study was the relationship of Gen 1:1 to the subsequent verses. The current discussion of extreme Topic fronting is precisely the proper context in which to elucidate the fuller syntax of Gen 1:1-3.

Though recognizing that an unmarked restrictive relative clause lies within the first verse of the Hebrew Bible, it is the addition of the clitic preposition ב that determines how the first verse fits into the larger syntactic structure. The ב preposition indicates that the noun ראשית and its relative clause have been assigned a role within a larger clause. Traditionally, the ב PP has been taken as an adjunct of the verb ברא, resulting in the common translation "In the beginning, God created ...". But since ברא exists within the unmarked relative clause headed by the bound ראשית, it is a syntactic impossibility for the ב PP to be an adjunct to ברא. Instead, the ב PP must be an adjunct to היתה in v. 2 or ויאמר in v. 3. Notably, regardless which is determined to be the main verb for which v. 1 is Topic-fronted PP adjunct, a ו separates the fronted Topic from its clause.

Fronting a PP as a scene-setting Topic before the main verb—including *wayyiqtol,* as in (56)—is a common narrative strategy in Hebrew. Moreover, a high percentage of occurrences of וַיְהִי in Hebrew narrative are discourse markers that exist in a one element clause, that is, the following PP is not part of the וַיְהִי clause but a Topic-fronted adjunct for the next *wayyiqtol* (Cook 2012: 309-12; Holmstedt and Cook 2011).[55] In fact, the use

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54 My analysis has recently been challenged in Kerr 2013. However, Kerr's counter argument that בְּרֵאשִׁית is an adverb all by itself fails to account for the lack of the article on the form. He admits that רֵאשִׁית is bound noun, but provides no parallels of other preposition+bound nouns that are adverbial, nor does he explain what the use of the bound form of רֵאשִׁית implies (42). Though Kerr's is a sophisticated study and rightly situates the cosmogony of Genesis 1 as a theological narrative that might (for most modern readers) be better rendered as "once upon a time" (47), his grammatical analysis is not compelling.

55 In the *Holmstedt-Abegg Hebrew Syntax Database*, there are 349 occurrences of discourse וַיְהִי: Gen 4.3, 8; 6.1; 7.10; 8.6, 13; 11.2; 12.11, 14; 14.1; 15.17; 19.17, 29, 34; 20.13; 21.22; 22.1, 20; 24.22, 30, 52; 25.11; 26.8, 32; 27.1, 30; 29.10, 13, 23, 25; 30.25; 31.10; 34.25; 35.17, 18, 22; 37.23; 38.1, 24, 27, 28, 29; 39.5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19; 40.1, 20; 41.1, 8, 13; 43.2, 21; 44.24; 48.1; Ex 1.21; 2.11, 23; 4.24; 6.28; 12.29, 41, 51; 13.15, 17; 14.24; 16.10, 13, 22, 27; 18.13; 19.16; 32.19, 30; 34.29; 40.17; Lev 9.1; Num 7.1; 10.11, 35; 11.25, 35; 13.33; 16.31; 17.7, 23; 22.41; 25.19; Deut 1.3; 2.16; 5.23; 9.11; 31.24; Josh 1.1; 3.2, 14; 4.1, 11, 18; 5.1, 8, 13; 6.8, 15, 16, 20; 8.14, 24; 9.1, 16; 10.1, 11, 20, 24, 27; 11.1; 15.18; 17.13;

of Topic PPs fronted before the past narrative *wayyiqtol* is the preferred strategy for scene transitions in narrative.[56] In other words, in examples like that in (59),

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23.1; 24.29; Judg 1.1, 14, 28; 2.4; 3.18, 27; 6.7, 25, 27; 7.9, 15; 8.26, 33; 9.42; 11.4, 5, 35, 39; 13.20; 14.11, 15, 17; 15.1, 17; 16.4, 16, 25; 19.1, 5; 21.4; 1 Sam 1.4, 20; 3.2; 4.5, 18; 5.9, 10; 7.2; 8.1; 9.26; 11.11; 13.10; 14.1, 19; 16.6; 18.1, 6, 10, 19, 30; 20.27, 35; 23.6; 24.2, 6, 17; 25.37, 38; 28.1; 30.1, 25; 31.8; 2 Sam 1.1, 2; 2.23; 3.6; 4.4; 6.13; 7.1, 4; 8.1; 10.1; 11.14, 16; 12.18; 13.30, 36; 15.1, 2, 7, 32; 16.16; 17.21, 27; 19.10, 26; 21.1, 18; 1 Kings 2.39; 3.18; 4.1; 5.21, 24; 6.1; 8.10, 54; 9.1, 10; 11.4, 15, 29; 12.2, 20; 13.4, 23, 31; 14.6, 25, 28; 15.21, 29; 16.11, 18, 31; 17.7, 17; 18.1, 7, 17, 27, 29, 36, 44, 45; 19.13; 20.12, 26, 29, 39, 40; 21.1, 15, 16, 17, 27; 22.2, 32, 33; 2 Kings 2.1, 9, 11; 3.5, 20; 4.6, 8, 11, 18, 25, 40; 5.7, 8; 6.5, 20, 25, 26, 30; 7.16, 18; 8.3, 5, 15, 21; 9.22; 10.7, 9, 25; 12.7, 11; 14.5; 17.25; 18.1, 9; 19.1, 35, 37; 20.4; 22.3, 11; 25.1, 25, 27; Ezek 1.1; 3.16; 8.1; 9.8; 10.6; 11.13; 16.23; 20.1; 26.1; 29.17; 30.20; 31.1; 32.1, 17, 27; 33.21; Jonah 4.8; Job 1.5; 42.7; Ruth 1.1, 19; 3.8; Esth 1.1; 2.8; 3.4; 5.1, 2; Dan 8.2, 15; Ezra 4.4, 5; Neh 1.1, 4; 2.1; 3.33; 4.1, 6, 9, 10; 6.1, 16; 7.1; 13.3, 19

[56] Aside from the use of the discourse וַיְהִי (see previous note), in the *Holmstedt-Abegg Hebrew Syntax Database*, there are 271 occurrence of a Topic-fronted adjunct before a ו+verb: Gen 3.5; 4.3, 8; 8.6; 9.14; 11.2; 12.11, 14; 19.17, 29, 34; 20.13; 21.22; 22.4, 20; 24.22; 25.11; 26.32; 27.34; 29.13, 23; 30.25; 31.10; 34.25; 35.17, 18, 22; 37.18; 38.1, 24, 28; 39.7, 11, 19; 40.20; 41.8; 43.2; 47.24; 48.1; Ex 1.16, 19; 2.11, 23; 4.24; 6.28, 29; 12.3; 14.24; 16.5, 10, 13, 34; 17.4; 18.13; 19.16; 30.20, 21; 32.30, 34; 33.16, 22; Lev 4.10; 22.3; 26.26; Num 1.19; 7.1, 89; 9.19, 21; 10.10, 35; 11.25; 12.12; 14.16; 15.18, 19; 16.5, 31; 17.23; 18.30; 22.41; 31.42, 43; Deut 2.16, 17; 3.20; 9.9; 17.18; 20.2, 9; 23.14; 27.2; 31.24, 25; Josh 1.1; 2.14; 3.2; 4.1; 5.13; 6.15, 20; 8.14, 24; 10.24; 11.1; 15.18; 21.20; 24.29; Judg 1.1, 14; 2.4; 3.18, 27; 6.25; 7.9; 9.42; 11.4, 5, 16, 35, 39; 13.20; 14.11, 15, 17; 15.1, 17; 16.2, 4; 19.5; 21.4; 1 Sam 1.4, 20, 22; 2.15; 4.5, 18, 20; 5.9, 10; 7.2; 9.26; 10.2, 5, 9; 11.11; 14.1, 19; 16.6, 16, 23; 17.57; 18.6, 10; 20.27, 35; 23.23; 24.6, 17; 25.37, 38; 28.1; 30.25; 31.8; 2 Sam 1.2; 4.4; 7.14; 10.1; 11.14, 16; 12.18; 13.28; 15.1, 5, 7, 10; 16.13, 16; 17.9, 21; 24.12; 1 Kings 1.21; 2.39; 3.18; 5.21; 6.1; 11.15; 12.20; 13.4, 23, 31; 14.6, 12; 15.13, 21; 16.18; 17.7; 18.4, 17, 27, 29, 36, 44; 19.13; 20.26, 29, 36, 42; 21.16, 27; 22.2, 33; 2 Kings 2.1; 3.5, 15; 4.6, 8, 11, 18, 25; 5.7, 8, 10; 6.20, 30; 8.3; 9.22; 10.7, 9, 25; 12.11; 19.1, 35; 22.11; 25.3; Ezek 4.7; 9.8; 10.6; 16.23, 24, 47, 63; 18.23; 23.39; 25.10; 28.25; 33.11, 33; 36.33; 39.28; 48.1, 28; Joel 4.1, 2; Amos 3.14; Obad 1.8; Zeph 1.8; Ps 25.11; 92.8; Prov 23.5; Ruth 1.1, 19; 3.4; Esth 5.1; Dan 1.20; 8.15; Neh 6.13, 16; 9.5; 13.3, 19. Of these, in 200 the verb is the *wayyiqtol*, in 67 the verb is the (irrealis) *qatal*, and in the remaining 4 the verb is the *yiqtol*.

וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ יָמִים וַיָּבֵא קַיִן מִפְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה מִנְחָה לַיהוָה׃ (59)
'And it was. At the end of (so many) days, Cain brought some
of the fruit of the land as an offering to Yhwh' (Gen 4.3)

the initial וַיְהִי is a discourse marker, somewhat like "and so" in English
story-telling, and the PP מקץ ימים is a Topic-fronted temporal modifier for
the verb ויבא.[57]

What is significantly much rarer is the pattern in which a Topic-fronted
adjunct is followed not by ו+verb, but by ו-subject NP: I have found only
twenty-four in the Hebrew Bible.[58] This suggests that, all things beings
equal, the בראשית Topic PP is an adjunct to the ויאמר of v. 3, not the
היתה of v. 2. How, then, should be understand v. 2? It is a compound pa-
renthesis, consisting of three clauses.

Parentheses are constituents (phrases, clauses, or even compound clauses,
like Gen 1.2) that interrupt the flow of an 'argument', whether the argument
is at its core chronological (i.e., a narrative) or logical (i.e., an exposition,
as in, e.g., many psalms). The easiest parenthetical constituents to identify
are those that are syntactic interruptions, as in (60).

(60)   וְהִפִּיל פּוּר הוּא הַגּוֹרָל לְהֻמָּם וּלְאַבְּדָם
'and one cast a "pur" (it is the lot) to disturb them and destroy
them' (Esth 9.24)

In Esth 9.24, the null copula clause הוא הגורל interrupts the clause within
which it sits, separating the core of the main predicate from the adjunct
infinitive clauses. Note, though, that parentheses cannot simply be thrown
anywhere in its host clause. Rather, they must be placed at word or phrase
edges. In other words, one never finds a parenthesis that intervenes between
a preposition and its complement, since those two items either form a word
(i.e., when the preposition is ב, כ, or ל) or a phrase in which one or both
parts cannot stand on their own (i.e., even the preposition is orthograph-
ically separate, it still 'leans', i.e., is cliticized, on its complement host).
This also applies to collocations of verbs and complements. So, in the case
of Esth 9.24, the parenthesis is inserted between the verbal complement and
the verbal adjunct. We would not find a parenthesis intervening between

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[57] To take this to the next logical step, it would be accurate to say that the protasis-
apodosis description applied to the relationship of temporal clauses, conditional
clauses—any subordinate clause—to their respective main clauses is only semanti-
cally legitimate, not syntactically. In syntactic terms, a subordinate clause, whether
it precedes or follows the main clause, is an adjunct of the main clause verb.

[58] Gen 4.23; 7.10; Exod 16.8; 34.29; Num 2.7, 14, 22, 29; 1 Sam 24.14; 2 Sam
1.1; 3.6; 7.1; 15.34; 17.27;   18.13; 1 Kgs 8.10, 33, 36, 39; 14.5; Ezek 3.19; 11.13;
Neh 1.1; 9.19.

the verb and its complement, because those two items combine to form a semantic unit.

Applying three criteria serves as an accurate test for parenthesis in Hebrew:

1. Does the clause in question add an event on par with the preceding event? If so, it is not likely a parenthesis.

2. Does the clause in question add information about a specific constituent in the preceding clause and yet does not appear to be a relative clause? Also, does the clause in question overlap with the preceding clause in almost all the constituents but adds, say, one new constituent? If either (or both) is true, the clause is likely a parenthesis. (Note that this condition distinguishes parenthesis from what are often taken as circumstantial clauses, where the overlap is minimal and the clause does not primarily modify a single constituent, but often an entire event or situation).

3. Does the structure of the clause in question differ from the structure of the clause on either side of it and do those two clauses share a similar structure? If so, and if it does not contribute an action or even on par with the preceding and following clauses (per #1), it may be a parenthesis.

With this description of and criteria for identifying parentheses in hand, we can now turn back to Gen 1.2. Syntactically, the compound clause in v. 2 sits between a Topic-fronted adjunct clause, בראשית…, and the main verb, ויאמר in v. 3. So far, so good—it sits at an appropriate phrase edge. Does it add an event on par with the preceding event (#1)? In the case of Gen 1.1-3, this criteria is not applicable, since the preceding event is also subordinate. But criteria #2 fits perfectly, since Gen 1.2 picks up with הארץ, which was first presented in v. 1, but then adds something more. So there is overlap, but also additional information. And finally, #3 seals the identification: there is clear structural difference in syntax between, on the one hand, v. 2, with its subject-verb order and, on the other hand, the noun-bound-to-clause in v. 1 and the *wayyiqtol* clause in v. 3. Now, v. 1 and v. 3 do not share the same structure, but that is because v. 1 a syntactic part of v. 3. Nonetheless, the shift we see in v. 2 is paralleled many times with other parentheses in the Hebrew Bible.

The overall analysis of Gen 1.1-3 given above has a long history in biblical scholarship. But we can now understand all the syntactic features of this very interesting and complex clause. Below is a basic English translation that would serve as a starting point for working out one that reflects whatever translation theory one adopts:

'[1]In the beginning period that God created the heavens and earth ([2]the earth was formless and void, and darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the wind of God was hovering over the surface of the waters), [3]God said, "Let light be!" And light was.'

Whereas the Topic-ו examples are not unexpected once the variability and multiple functions of the ו are recognized, examples like (55), where a subordinator like כי or אשר follows an initial NP, or like (61), with the interrogative איך after a PP, are more striking.
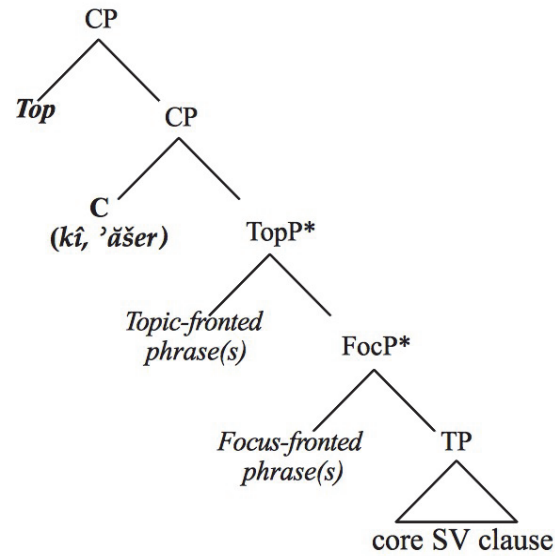
(61) וּלְאֶחָד אֵיךְ יֵחָם
   'and <u>for one</u>, how does it get warm ___{for one}?' (Qoh 4.11; see also 2.12; 3.11)

Such examples do appear quite like the dislocations I presented in (18) and (21)–(33). At the same time, there is no resumption of the initial phrase.

I propose that the Topic-ו pattern should be taken together with the pattern of examples like (55) and (61) to represent the same basic construction. These are not cases of dislocation, since they lack resumption, but are a specific type of fronting. Whereas typical fronting is inherently ambiguous with regard to the Topic or Focus status of the fronted phrase, the fronting represented by (54), (55), and (61) *forces* a Topic interpretation. In other words, the extreme fronting of the Topic phrase is a disambiguation strategy to ensure that the listener/reader understands that the fronted constituent is not a Focus, but a Topic.

In light of extreme Topic fronting, the articulated Hebrew CP shows itself to be even more flexible than we might otherwise guess. The tree in (62) illustrates the full range of fronting possibilities by including the extreme Topic fronting CP layer.

(62)

```
                    CP
                   /  \
                Top    CP
                      /  \
                     C    TopP*
                (kî, ʾăšer)  /  \
                    Topic-fronted  FocP*
                    phrase(s)     /  \
                        Focus-fronted  TP
                        phrase(s)     /\
                                 core SV clause
```

6. Conclusion

My goal for this study was to organize and clarify what has been said about the edge constructions in Biblical Hebrew. Using a two-layer discourse pragmatics framework of Biblical Hebrew information structure encoding, I have presented a unified account of the four edge phenomena: fronting, left dislocation, extraposition, and right dislocation. In summary, I offer a simpler, more unified analysis of edge phenomena than has previously been submitted. My analysis is summarized in the following table.

Fronting	Movement to a left-adjoined projection of the CP, for Topic or Focus; multiple fronting allowed, but Topic always precedes Focus.
Left-Dislocation	Left-adjunction to the CP, for "orienting" Topic; resumptive constituent is thematic and may carry Focus.

Extraposition	Movement to a right-adjoined projection of the CP, for Focus or (more commonly) processing ease of "heavy" constituents.
Right-Dislocation	Right-adjunction to the CP, for "clarifying" Topic; "presumptive" constituent is thematic and may carry Focus.
Extreme Topic Fronting	Movement to a left-adjoined projection of the CP, for Topic; use of phrase edge ו on front edge of phrase immediately following the fronted Topic is a processing aid.

In the process of explaining the four primary edge constructions, I have offered a novel analysis for a marginal edge construction that has long eluded both grammarians and exegetes who work on legal texts (since that is where the majority of the "extreme Topic fronting" examples exist).

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