

COPULAR PREDICATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted for the qualification of Magister Artium at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same work for a qualification at/in another university/faculty.

Daniel Wilson

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I would like to thank the Maker of heaven and earth, the architect of language.

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“Something beautiful”

ABSTRACT

This study provides an analysis of the different forms of copular predication in Biblical Hebrew (BH). BH uses two syntactic constructions to convey copular predication. One construction utilises a finite form of the BH copula הִיהַ and the other construction merely juxtaposes the subject and the predicate with no overt copula. This second form is known as the verbless clause (or nominal clause).

The traditional explanation for the use of the BH copula rather than a verbless clause is to convey the tense, aspect, or mood of a situation by means of the verbal morphology. An overt copula is used to satisfy certain inflectional demands in a sentence. While this explanation is true in many examples, there are many examples of verbless clauses in the Hebrew Bible that are not ambiguous as to their tense, aspect or mood. The traditional explanation seems incomplete in accounting for the presence of an overt copula. Additionally, there are several forms of the copula that occupy different syntactic positions. What effect, if any, does the position of the copula have on the overall meaning of the sentence?

To answer these questions I utilise an integrated theoretical approach which starts with the generative assumption that all statements of being are copular constructions whether or not they have an overt copula in the sentence. I challenge the traditional verbless/verbal clause distinction in BH syntax and adopt a categorisation of predicate types that is consistent with many linguistic studies of predication. I utilise a stratification of formal strategies of predication from cross-linguistic typology in order to explain the different forms of BH copular predication. I also adopt a view of the copula that is informed by network semantics. This dissertation examines each example of copular predication in Joshua through 2 Kings and categorises them according to a semantic taxonomy. Each of these forms has a unique syntactic markedness profile with respect to tense, aspect and mood. The critical contribution of this dissertation is that these syntactic profiles exist under a broader categorisation of +change-of-state and –change-of-state semantics and that there is a semantic network of nuances that these forms are capable of conveying. This is a challenge to the traditional definition of the copula which defines it as a semantically-empty constituent that merely has a structural role. Newer research on copular constructions suggests that there is a network of semantic nuances which a copula can convey in certain languages. The data revealed that one construction in both +change-of-state and –change-of-state categories can express several different semantic nuances.

In this dissertation I demonstrate that the presence or absence of a finite form of היה is attributed to the syntactic profile and semantic network of each form of copular predication and each form is connected to its function.

A. The zero copula strategy (the verbless/nominal clause) is the unmarked strategy and does not indicate change-of-state.

B. Sentences in which a finite form of the verbal root היה is preceded by a constituent are marked for aspect (perfective or imperfective) and do not indicate change-of-state.

C. Sentences with ויהי or ויהיה as well as any finite form of the root היה with an obligatory prepositional phrase with ל indicate change-of-state.

ABSTRAK

Hierdie studie verskaf 'n analise van die verskillende vorme van predikate met die koppelwoord in Bybelhebreus (BH). BH gebruik twee sintaktiese konstruksies om predikate met die koppelwoord weer te gee. Een konstruksie gebruik 'n finiete vorm van die BH koppelwoord היה en die ander konstruksie plaas slegs die subjek en die predikaat in jukstaposisie met geen overte koppelwoord nie. Hierdie tweede vorm is bekend as die nie-verbale sin (of nominale sin).

Die tradisionele verduideliking van die gebruik van die BH koppelwoord eerder as die nie-verbale sin is om die tyd, aspek of modaliteit van 'n situasie deur die verbale morfologie weer te gee. 'n Overte koppelwoord word gebruik om te voldoen aan sekere fleksievereistes in 'n sin. Terwyl hierdie uiteensetting waar is in baie voorbeelde, is daar wel baie voorbeelde van nie-verbale sinne in die Hebreuse Bybel wat nie dubbelsinnig is in terme van hul tyd, aspek of modaliteit nie. Die tradisionele verduideliking blyk onvolledig te wees om die teenwoordigheid van 'n overt koppelwoord te verklaar. Verder is daar verskeie vorme van koppelwoorde wat verskeie sintaktiese posisies beklee. Watter effek, indien enige, het die posisie van die koppelwoord op die algehele betekenis van die sin?

Om hierdie vrae te antwoord het ek gebruik gemaak van 'n integrerende teoretiese benadering wat begin met die aanname uit generatiewe taalkunde dat alle bestaansbewerings koppelwoordkonstruksies is - of hulle nou 'n sigbare koppelwoord het of al dan nie. Ek het die tradisionele onderskeiding tussen nie-verbale en verbale sinne in BH sintaksis

bevraagteken en 'n semantiese kategorisering van predikaattipes wat konsekwent binne baie linguistiese ondersoeke oor predikaatvorming voorkom, aangeneem. Ek het gebruik gemaak van 'n stratifikasie van formele strategieë van predikaatvorming om 'n linguistiese tipologie tussen tale daar te stel wat die verskillende wyses van BH predikaatvorming met behulp van die koppelwoord kan aantoon. Ek het ook 'n standpunt aangeneem oor die koppelwoord wat beïnvloed is deur netwerksemantiek.

Hierdie verhandeling ondersoek elke voorbeeld van predikaatvorming met koppelwoorde vanaf Josua tot en met 2 Konings en kategoriseer dit volgens 'n semantiese taksonomie. Elkeen van hierdie vorme het 'n unieke sintaktiese gemerkte profiel ten opsigte van tyd, aspek en modaliteit. Die kritiese bydrae van hierdie verhandeling is dat die sintaktiese profiele funksioneer onder 'n wyer semantiese kategorisering van +verandering-van-toestand en –verandering van toestand en dat daar 'n semantieke netwerk bestaan van nuanse wat hierdie vorme in staat is om weer te gee. Dit stel 'n uitdaging aan die tradisionele definisie van die koppelwoord wat dit definieer as 'n semanties-leë samestelling wat slegs 'n strukturele rol vertolk. Nuwe navorsing oor koppelwoordkonstruksies stel voor dat daar 'n netwerk van semantiese nuanses is wat 'n koppelwoord kan weergee in sekere tale. Die data het gewys dat een konstruksie in beide die kategorieë +verandering-van-toestand en –verandering van toestand verskillende nuanses kan toon.

In hierdie verhandeling toon ek aan dat die teenwoordigheid of die afwesigheid van 'n finiete vorm van היה toegeskryf kan word aan die sintaktiese profiel en semantiese netwerk van elke vorm van die predikaat met die koppelwoord en dat elke vorm verbind is aan sy funksie.

- A. Die zero koppelwoordstrategie (die nie-verbale/nominale sin) is die ongemarkeerde strategie en dui nie die verandering in staat aan nie.
- B. Sinne met 'n finiete vorm van die wortel היה wat voorafgegaan word deur 'n konstituent is gemerk vir aspek (perfektum of imperfektum) en dui nie die verandering in staat aan nie.
- C. Sinne met ויהי of והיה asook enige finiete vorm van die wortel היה met 'n verpligte voorsetsel frase ל dui die verandering in staat aan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

∅	Null Verb
ADJ	Adjective
ADJP	Adjective Phrase
AGR	A maximal projection of Agreement
AGRS	Subject agreement
AGRSP	Subject phrase agreement. A maximal projection of AGRS'.
AGRSPECS	The specificational node of AGRS
AGRESPSP	The specification phrase for AGR.
BDB	Brown, Francis, Samuel Rolles Driver and Charles Augustus Briggs, <i>Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> , electronic ed. (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2000).
BH	Biblical Hebrew
CNC	Compound Nominal Clause
COP	Copula
DP	Determiner Phrase
DUR	Durative clitic
GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. 1910. <i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. E. Kautzsch, translated by A.E. Cowley, 2d English ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
INFL	Inflection. A maximal projection.
LOC	Locational constituent
M	Mood
N	Noun
NENA	North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic
NP	Noun Phrase
OBJ	Object
PF	Phonological Form
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PRON	The pronoun used in a tripartite clause
QH	Qumran Hebrew
SG	Singular
SPEC	The specificational node
SUBJ	Subject

T	Tense
TOP	Topic
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
X	A constituent occurring before the main verb

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

A fully-formed sentence is composed of a subject and a predicate (Devitt 1994:3-4). When the predicate is made up of a noun, adjective, or prepositional phrase, rather than a verb, some languages use a copula (such as the English word *be*) to satisfy the syntactic demands for predication (Rothstein 2001:273). In other languages, such as Biblical Hebrew (BH), no overt copula is required in order to complete the syntactic structure. A predication that collocates nominal elements apart from a fully inflected verbal form has been described as a “verbless clause” (Miller 1999:1) on the basis of its surface structure.¹ Example (1) illustrates a verbless clause.

- (1) 2 Samuel 17:8
וְאָבִיךָ אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
Your father (is) a man of war.²

This type of sentence is structurally similar to sentences which use the BH copula הָיָה. Example (2) uses the BH copula in order to form a full sentence:

- (2) Judges 11:1
וַיִּפְתַּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גִבּוֹר חַיִּל
Jephthah, the Gileadite, was a strong warrior.

Both of these sentences, though only one of them uses a formal copula, are known as copular constructions. Copular constructions are linguistic expressions of “being” (Devitt 1994:1). For our purposes, copular predication is the relationship of a subject to a non-verbal predicate even if there is no overt copula present (Hengeveld 1992:1).

Copular constructions in BH exhibit two dominant syntactic structures. The verbless clause in (1) is the most frequent structure used for copular predication. The second major

¹ The verbless clause is also known as the “nominal clause.” The different terminology is discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2.2.

² In constructions with a zero copula, the tense of English *be* must be inferred from context. This is indicated by parentheses around the English copula.

syntactic structure uses a form of הִיָּה as a copula, as in (2). In the Hebrew Bible, copular constructions which use a form of הִיָּה do so in two syntactical arrangements common to other BH verbs. This construction is schematically represented as X+הִיָּה. The first construction (similar to (2)) uses a finite form of הִיָּה preceded by a constituent. The second construction uses a form of הִיָּה in the *wayyiqtol* or *weqatal* forms in clause-initial position.

Examples (3) and (4) illustrate these constructions:

(3) 2 Samuel 14:27 (similar to (2))

הִיא הָיְתָה אִשָּׁה יְפֹת מְרֹאָה

She was a woman of beautiful appearance.

(4) 1 Kings 11:25

וַיְהִי שָׂטָן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־יְמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה

And he was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon.

1.2 Research Problem

In the history of research on this subject, several important studies have catalogued data and offered descriptive insight into the verbless clause (Andersen 1970, Michel 1960, Cohen 1984) and clauses with the BH copula הִיָּה (Bartelmus 1982). A consistent description of the semantic difference between examples (3) and (4) as well as how these forms relate to the verbless clause remains to be developed, however.

The questions that provoked this study are as follows:

- Why is one syntactic structure used instead of another in expressing copular predication? Specifically, what is being communicated when an author uses a copula instead of a verbless clause? Consider examples (5) and (6):

(5) 1 Samuel 17:33

וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְעֻרָיו

He (is) a man of war from his youth.

(6) Judges 11:1 (repeated from (2) above)

וַיִּפְתָּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גִבּוֹר חַיִּל

Jephthah the Gileadite was a strong warrior.

- What influence does the position of the copula in a sentence have on the overall meaning of the sentence? Consider examples (7) and (8).

(7) 1 Kings 21:17

וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־אֵלֶיָּהוּ הַתִּשְׁבִּי

Then the word of YHWH came to Elijah the Tishbite.

(8) 1 Kings 5:15

כִּי אָהָב הָיָה חִירָם לְדָוִד כָּל־הַיָּמִים

For Hiram had always been a friend to David.

- Most of the literature on the BH copula states that the copula is used rather than a verbless clause in order to add information concerning tense/aspect/modality (Joüon 1947, Bartelmus 1982, Niccacci 1999, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, Sinclair 1999). If this is true, why are there so many examples in the data which do not reflect this motivation? Consider example (9). The deictic temporal phrase is sufficient to indicate the tense of this expression and the copula is not necessary for this purpose. Example (10) shows a similar clause with a temporal phrase yet the sentence is a verbless clause.

(9) 1 Samuel 3:1

וַדְבַר־יְהוָה הָיָה יָקָר בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם

The word of YHWH was rare in those days.

(10) 2 Samuel 5:4

בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בָּמָלְכוֹ

David (was) thirty years old when he became king.

- Typological studies divide copular predications on the basis of the semantic roles of subject and predicate rather than formal syntactic categories such as whether or not an existential clause has an overt copula (Hengeveld 1992, Devitt 1994, Stassen 1997, Pustet 2003). BH copular predications have traditionally been divided between verbless (or nominal) clauses and verbal clauses. Is there a more insightful way to conceptualise and categorise the BH constructions?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This analysis of copular constructions in BH makes use of an integrated theoretical framework drawing on various perspectives. The integrated approach in this study starts with the generative perspective that all linguistic expressions of “being” are copular predicates, which essentially assumes that in every example of copular predication a copula is present whether it is overt or covert (Devitt 1994). In verbless clauses, there is an empty V node which satisfies the demands for a grammatical predication structure, even though it is not represented in the surface structure.

To structure the taxonomy of predicates, I depend on semantic categorisation. As a point of departure, I will assume the four classes of predicates in the parts-of-speech systems in traditional Western grammar: verbs, adjectives, nouns, and adverbials. BH uses nouns, adjectives, or adverbials (PP or adverb) as the predicate in a verbless clause, but these categories are not precise enough. For example, a verbless sentence made up of two NPs can either be a class-membership predicate (e.g. *John is a man*) or an identity predicate (e.g. *Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain*). There is a fundamental difference between these two types of predicates and they belong in separate categories.

The following semantic labels, then, will be used since they offer more specific and insightful categories: event predicates, property-concept predicates, class-membership predicates, locational predicates and identity predicates. (Stassen 1997:13-18). All the studies consulted for structuring a taxonomy of predicates utilise semantic categorisation even though they represent different schools of linguistic theory (Higgins 1979, Rapoport 1987, Hengeveld 1992, Devitt 1994, Stassen 1997, Pustet 2003, Mikkelsen 2011).

In order to describe the formal predication strategies in BH, I have adopted the language of the typological research by Stassen (1997) and Pustet (2003). Language typology has proven to be a trusted guide for discerning cross-linguistic patterns of copular predication. The typological research in Stassen (1997) and Pustet (2003) has demonstrated the usefulness of their semantic categories for describing and analysing copulas in a large cross-section of the world’s languages.

I have also utilised concepts such as polysemy and network semantics in order to describe the broad semantic function of copulas (Clancy 2010, Petré 2014). Finally, other well-known concepts such as Markedness Theory, time-stability, implicational hierarchies, and pragmatic information structuring are utilised.

This integrated approach is necessary because no single theory provides a framework for a comprehensive explanation of the data. The deep structure of generative grammar defined the copular construction (Devitt 1994); semantic categories and typological insight provided the structure for analysis (Stassen 1997) as well as a new perspective on the semantic role of copulas (Clancy 2010, Petré 2014); and functional concepts helped describe how the constructions related to the broader context of the discourse.

1.4 Hypothesis

In this dissertation I hypothesise that the presence or absence of a finite form of הִיָּה is attributed to the syntactic profile and semantic network of each form of copular predication and each form is connected to its function.

- A. The zero copular strategy (the verbless/nominal clause) is the unmarked strategy and does not indicate change-of-state.
- B. Sentences in which a finite form of the verbal root הִיָּה is preceded by a constituent are marked for aspect (perfective or imperfective) and do not indicate change of state.
- C. Copular sentences with וַיְהִי or וַהֲיָה as well as any finite form of the root הִיָּה with an obligatory prepositional phrase with לְ indicate change-of-state.

1.5 Corpus and Research Method

The corpus for the study is drawn from the books of Joshua through 2 Kings, a part of the Deuteronomistic History, and is a sufficient sample size because it is both reasonably extensive and relatively homogenous (Miller 1996:19). The dominance of prose in these books generates a high frequency of copular constructions and includes both narrative and reported speech. In the two classes of predicates analysed in this study (class-membership and identity predicates) there are 358 examples (listed in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2). The only other study which has exclusively documented similar predicate structures is the study by Andersen (1970) which analysed all 2,044 verbless clauses in the Pentateuch. The corpus was further chosen because this section of the Hebrew Bible has not yet been exhaustively analysed regarding copular predication.

The data were collected by reading the corpus and cataloguing every form of copular predication according to semantic, morphological, and syntactic features. These features were categorised based on the taxonomy presented in section 3.2. For every example, I noted the morphological type of predicate (nominal, adjectival, prepositional, participial), the formal strategy used for predication (if and how it uses the verb הִיָּה), the clause-type (main, relative,

interrogative, volitive), tense, aspect, and special features. Since this study does not evaluate every class of predication or every possible form of the verb *היה*, certain manifestations of this verb will not be addressed (e.g. the infinitive construct or participial predicates). When all the data were grouped together according to certain features and compared with cross-linguistic studies, certain patterns emerged and led to the resulting conclusions.

The major works on a third type of construction—the tripartite nominal clause—have also been reviewed. Example (11) is an example of this construction:

- (11) 2 Kings 19:15
אֶתְּהִי־הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדָּךְ
You (are) God, you alone.

This construction has been extensively studied by others (e.g. Naudé 1994, 2001, 2002a, 2002b, Muraoka 1999, Zewi 1999a, Khan 2005, Woodard 2009, Kummerow 2013, Holmstedt and Jones 2014). A new examination of this construction will be conducted in subsequent research but the relationship of this construction to the two main types of copular constructions will be considered.

1.6 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to understand how the different forms of copular predication in BH function. This requires first a categorisation of the different constructions. An updated approach to BH syntax modeled on the linguistic literature will produce a better and more thorough taxonomy of predicates in BH. The verbless/verbal distinction will be shown to be inadequate for categorising predicates in BH. Based on a semantics-based taxonomy of predicates, the formal strategies of copular predication in BH will be analysed and stratified in congruence with the typological literature. The data from BH will be examined in order to discern patterns consistent with the latest typological research.

At the end of this study, I will demonstrate from the data why different strategies are used for copular predication and explain the unique nuances in each strategy. This study both describes and explains the different manifestations of copular predication in BH so that the reader/translator/exegete can be confident about the distinct nuances conveyed by the various BH copular constructions.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The structure of this study is as follows:

In chapter 2, I review the previous literature that has analysed the various forms of BH copular predication.

In chapter 3, I explain and apply a theoretical framework for categorising copular predicates.

In chapter 4, I apply the theoretical framework to BH copular predicates, introduce new theoretical insights on the nature of copulas, and present a syntactic profile and semantic network for every form of class-membership predicate.

In chapter 5 I demonstrate that the new insights on the different forms of BH copulas analysed in chapter 4 are true of identity predicates as well. I also introduce a way forward on the study of PRON.

Finally, in chapter 6 I review the major findings of the study and provide a glimpse of future research that will build on the results of the present study.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF VIEWPOINTS ON COPULAR PREDICATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review the major studies of copular predication in BH that have been published to date. These studies demonstrate the previous attempts at explaining the relationship between the verbless clause and clauses with an overt copula in BH. I will also examine the history of the nominal/verbal clause division in BH studies.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: First, I recount the history of the nominal/verbal clause division in BH syntax to show its inadequacy (2.2). Second, I review the major studies which examine the verbless clause and clauses with a finite form of הִיָּה to demonstrate how my hypothesis builds on or rejects previous approaches (2.3). Finally, I review the major studies which have examined a third predicate structure known as the tripartite nominal clause, which adds a pronominal element (as in example (11)) (2.3.3). The review for this clause type will be divided between those studies which assign the pronoun in this construction either a copular function or a non-copular function.

2.2 The Nominal/Verbal Clause Division

A verbless predication which has as its predicate a noun, adjective, or prepositional phrase, has been called a “nominal clause” by Hebraists. The origin of this expression is linked to a fundamental division of BH clause types. This division is between nominal and verbal clauses.

The nominal/verbal clause division in BH syntax found its inception in the comparison of BH syntax to Arabic syntax as described by Medieval Arabic grammarians. The first grammarian to divide clauses based on the Arabic division was the hebraist E. Kautzsch.

Hebrew grammarian Wilhelm Gesenius and E. Rüdiger, Gesenius’ student and reviser, did not consider the “nominal clause” a unique syntactic category. The 1853 edition of Gesenius’ grammar, revised by Rüdiger, shows no explicit division between verbal and nominal clauses. They believed that the verbless clause was the result of an omitted yet

implied היה (Gesenius 1853:262). H. Ewald also made no explicit distinction between clause types. He only mentioned that there is no need for a copula in the clause to join subject and predicate (Ewald 1827:632).

Not until Kautzsch's revision was the Arabic grammatical distinction between nominal and verbal clauses introduced into BH syntax. Kautzsch introduced this distinction in the 22nd edition of Gesenius' grammar (Gesenius 1878). By introducing this structuring principle, he transplanted the definitions from the Arabic grammarians upon the Hebrew (Groß 1999:22), namely, the label "verbal clause" was used for every clause beginning with a verb and "nominal clause" for every clause beginning with a noun. Kautzsch explained the two clause types as follows:

Jeder Satz, der mit einem selbständigen Subject (Nomen oder Pron. separ.) beginnt, heist ein nominalsatz, und zwar a) ein *einfacher N[ominalsatz]*., wenn das *Prädicat* wiederum in einem *Nomen* (Subst., Adj. oder Partic.) besteht; b) ein *zusammengesetzter N[ominalsatz]*., wenn das *Prädicat* in einem *Verbum fin.* besteht (Gesenius 1878:308).

Hebraists such as C. Brockelmann (1953) and C. Albrecht (1887) followed Kautzsch in his structural division, though they added refinements. In two articles on the subject, Albrecht helped refine the classification (Albrecht 1887, 1888). He stated that there are indeed two word classes—nominal and verbal—but their status is determined by the type of predicate. A verbal sentence, he argues, is one that has a noun as its subject and a verb as its predicate. A nominal sentence is one that has a noun as both subject and predicate (Albrecht 1887:218).

Kautzsch agreed with Albrecht's refinements that the predicate determines the clause type and this viewpoint is reflected in the 25th and later editions of Gesenius' grammar:

Jeder Satz, dessen Subject und Prädikat in einem Nomen oder dem Äquivalent eines solchen (d.i. insbesondere einem Partizip) besteht, heißt ein *Nominalsatz*.... Jeder Satz, dessen Subject in einem Nomen (resp. in einem *b* der Verbalform mit enthaltenen Pronomen), dessen Prädikat in einem Verbum finitum besteht, heißt ein *Verbalsatz* (1909:470-471).

Every sentence, the subject and predicate of which are nouns or their equivalents (esp. participles), is called a *noun-clause*.... Every sentence, the subject of which is a noun (or pronoun included in a verbal-form) and its predicate a finite verb, is called a *verbal-clause* (1910:450).

The most recent edition of Gesenius (GKC) says:

The above distinction between different kinds of sentences—especially between noun and verbal-clauses—is indispensable to the more delicate appreciation of Hebrew syntax (and that of the Semitic languages generally), since it is by no means merely external or formal, but involves fundamental differences of meaning. Noun-clauses with a substantive as predicate, represent something *fixed*, *a state* or in short, *a being* so and so; verbal-clauses on the other hand, something *moveable* and *in progress*, an *event* or *action*. The latter description is indeed true in a certain sense also of noun-clauses with a participial predicate, except that in their case the event or action (as distinguished from that expressed by the verbal-clause) is of a fixed and abiding character (Gesenius 1910:450-451).

The binary division of clauses based on the predicate is a significant deviation from what the Arabic grammarians initially intended. As Levin says, “The classification of a sentence as either nominal or verbal is determined by the *‘āmil* [agent] which affects its subject, and not by the category of the part of speech to which its predicate belongs” (Levin 1985:124). Some BH scholars (e.g. Schneider 1974:159-67 and Michel 1960) followed the Arab grammarians in this regard, thus rejecting the modifications by Albrecht.

P. Joüon followed Kautzsch’s division (viz. that clause type is determined by the predicate) in his *Grammaire de l’Hébreu biblique* (Joüon 1947:466). Muraoka’s revision of Joüon codified Kautzsch’s evolved distinction and made the definitive statement, “A clause normally consists of a subject and a predicate. Depending on whether the predicate is a noun or a verb, a clause is said to be *nominal* or *verbal*” (Joüon and Muraoka 2005:561).

The nominal clause has also been called by some scholars a “verbless clause.” As the name implies, this clause is defined by the absence of a verb in the predication. The first major work to use this term instead of nominal clause was Andersen (1970), though he does not indicate why this term should be preferred over the label “nominal clause.” The term verbless clause is preferred over nominal clause in this study since the term “nominal clause” has been used in more than one way in the history of scholarship. Also, since the theoretical framework for the present study recognises a copular structure underlying these sentences, the terms verbless clause and zero copula will be used. The nominal/verbal clause division reviewed above is rejected as an insufficient way to classify predicates.

The next section outlines how scholars of BH have described the linguistic features of the two primary forms of copular predication: those with an overt copula and clauses with a zero copula.

2.3 Viewpoints on the Nature of Overt and Verbless Clauses

2.3.1 Overt Copula

A traditional linguistic definition of the copula is as follows:

A copula is a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when they function as predicate nucleus. A copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in (Pustet 2003:5).

Though newer research has suggested an updated definition of the overt copula (addressed in section 4.1) this definition represents how the scholars reviewed below have understood the term. I will now describe the dominant viewpoints concerning the linguistic features of sentences with the verb *היה* and its role as an overt copula.

2.3.1.1 Gesenius

In the 14th edition of Gesenius' grammar, the discussion of the verb *היה* is placed in a section entitled "Manner of expressing the Copula" in the chapter on "Connexion of the Subject with the Predicate" (Gesenius 1853:261). In GKC (1910), *היה* is described as, on the one hand, sometimes functioning as a normal verb meaning "to become, to fare, to exist" which functions as the predicate of a verbal clause. On the other hand, sometimes it is used in nominal clauses. In these cases *היה* only serves the purpose of indicating the time of the predication through the verbal morphology of *היה* (Gesenius 1910:454). These two uses of the verb *היה* will be important as we examine the different uses of this verb in chapter 4.

2.3.1.2 Joüon

Joüon also argues that the function of the copula in these sentences is to provide the temporal sphere of the predication. He says, "Le verbe *הָיָה* est employé, au sens faible d'*être*, comme copule, quand on veut préciser la sphere temporelle d'une proposition nominale. Ce n'est donc pas une simple copule, mais une copule avec sens temporel comme le verbe fr. *être*" (Joüon 1947:471). So Joüon agrees with GKC that the specification of time is an important factor for the use of *היה*. As will be shown throughout this review, most Hebraists recognize the morphological encoding of tense in the use of *היה* but, as Gesenius indicates, there are also multiple meanings which must be explained.

2.3.1.3 Bartelmus

Bartelmus' work (1982) was written primarily to contribute to the discussion of the verbal system in BH. In this work, Bartelmus devotes a large section to showing how *היה* fits into the verbal system. He notes that *היה* lacks a participial form and thus does not express contemporaneity or durativity, the two functions of participial forms in BH. Also, *היה* occurs in syntactical structures that closely resemble “nominal sentences.” Because of these facts, Bartelmus concludes that *היה* is not a true verb and only specifies temporality in copular sentences.

Many have relied on Bartelmus' conclusions to advance the idea that *היה* only functions to provide information concerning tense, aspect, and modality to a copular clause. For example, Schoors examines the use of *היה* in Qohelet and agrees with Bartelmus saying,

[Bartelmus] has convincingly demonstrated that *היה* has no independent lexical-semantic value. It is found only in texts where a verbless nominal clause is used with a non-simultaneous temporal reference or where the author wants to fix from the outset the temporal or modal character of a passage with an intrinsically neutral tense sign (e.g., *וַיְהִי* or *וַהֲיֶה*). This, however, does not preclude a contextual semantic nuance. Thus, when the verb refers to general facts, it carries a nuance of ‘happening’ (Schoors 2004:50-51).

He states that in Qohelet the verb *היה* frequently “has the function of a copula or, more correctly, it acts as a tense marker for a nominal clause” (Schoors 2004:51). To explain why *היה* does not occur in present tense situations, Schoors says, “With a nominal predicate, the ‘auxiliary’ verb expresses the modal or temporal nuance, and therefore in BH *היה* is normally not used as a copula, when the sentence has a present situation in view” (Schoors 2004:51). Schoors follows Bartelmus, then, in only highlighting the grammatical role of the copula and rejecting any lexical-semantic role.

Niccacci (1990, 1993, 1999) also relies on Bartelmus regarding the use of *היה* as a time indicator. He explicitly expresses that *היה* in a *qatal* form refers to the past; in a *yiqtol* form, it refers to the future (Niccacci 1999:243). Like Schoors, Niccacci rejects any semantic role for the copula.

Pardee carefully critiques Bartelmus' argument, producing several challenges to his analysis and offering his own opinion. He says, “B[artelmus]'s treatment of *hyh* appears very weak to me on one point: his failure to compare *hyh* extensively with the stative system in Hebrew” (Pardee 1985:108). Pardee argues that clauses with *היה* should be analysed alongside statives (e.g. *כָּבֵד*, be/become heavy), a point which will be addressed in section 3.3.

Pardee concludes his review by objecting to Bartelmus' definition of הִיָּה as only a "temporalizer." He provides four objections. First, he notes that הִיָּה does have an infinitive form and Bartelmus fails to show how this form, which is not marked for tense, can add tense to a nominal sentence. Second, he says that no certain example is available (especially in Bartelmus' examples) of a purely nominal sentence which expresses existence. Pardee says, "It appears (from B.'s examples, at least) that every *simple* predication of existence ... must be stated lexically: with *hāyāh* for completives, with particles and *hēyōt* for duratives and for non-marking of completive/non-completive, and with *yihyeh* for non-completives" (Pardee 1985:109). Third, stative verbs often do not appear in participial forms as frequently as fientive verbs since the *qatal* forms of stative verbs can express both perfect and present-perfect connotations (זָקַנְתִּי, "I was old/ I am [=have become] old"). Fourth, Pardee compares הִיָּה to English "to be" and German "*sein*" or "*werden*." These Indo-European verbs function as auxiliaries as well as independent predicators of existence.

Pardee concludes, "It appears plausible to me, therefore, that *hyh* meant 'to be' and functioned both as predicator of existence and as an auxiliary verb to mark aspect/tense when appropriate" (Pardee 1985:109). He repeats his argument that there is no participial form of הִיָּה because it is the most stative of stative verbs, and other lexical markers were sufficient when no aspectual marking was necessary. Pardee, then, acknowledges the multiple uses of the verb הִיָּה. The comparison he makes with statives is very important for recognising the multiple roles a copula can play.

2.3.1.4 Waltke and O'Connor

The current consensus about the role of הִיָּה is in agreement with Bartelmus' view. This perspective is perpetuated by Waltke and O'Connor in their *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. They appeal to Lyons' *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* saying, "In languages where the copula may be optional, it is usually required if the comment is set in past or future time in contrast to present time (or in some mood other than indicative), or if the situation is highlighted. The principal function of the copula is thus to mark in the surface structure tense, mood, or aspect" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:72). They quote Lyons who says,

[Any verb equivalent to] "to be" is not itself a constituent of deep structure, but a semantically-empty "dummy verb" generated by the grammatical rules of [certain languages] for the specification of certain distinctions (usually "carried" by the verb) when there is no other verbal element to carry these distinctions. Sentences that are temporally, modally and aspectually "unmarked"... do not need the "dummy" carrier (Lyons 1968:322-323).

This “dummy” hypothesis is the most common explanation for the use of הִיָּה in BH copular constructions. Though this term is not used to describe the position in every case, the “dummy” hypothesis is accepted by many scholars as the best explanation for the presence of הִיָּה in BH copular constructions.

2.3.1.5 Longacre

Longacre describes the nominal clause as being descriptive and providing background information. Concerning clauses with הִיָּה, he indicates that his model does not account for the precise function of this constituent. He does postulate, however, “Possibly the insertion of *haya* into a noun clause injects a modicum of dynamism into the construction (representing a state as a pseudo event?)” (Longacre 2003:82). This statement reveals that perhaps Longacre intuitively understood that the presence of הִיָּה affects the semantic nuance and time-stability of the construction.

2.3.1.6 Sinclair

Sinclair’s objective in his article (1999) is to classify nominal clauses in a different way from the traditional classification. He says, “I will argue that the simplest and most insightful way to describe nominal clauses is to regard them as essentially identical with a *subclass* of the clauses in which the verb הִיָּה can occur but has been omitted, thus creating the so-called nominal clause” (Sinclair 1999:52). Sinclair makes clear that he is referring only to the subclass of הִיָּה when it is used as a copula, not of any clause in which any form of הִיָּה appears.

Sinclair adopts Waltke-O’Connor’s description of the function of הִיָּה, but suggests some modifications (Sinclair 1999:52). Sinclair recognises that the verb הִיָּה, like the English verb *be*, can function in many ways beyond a mere copula. These different functions result in English glosses like *happen, occur, fall upon, come, come to pass, become*, etc. Rather than viewing these senses as “definitions” of the verb הִיָּה, Sinclair argues that we should understand them simply as translation glosses required for idiomatic English, an observation that is very important for this study. For example, he observes that the absence of an overt predicate complement with הִיָּה evokes the sense of *being* or *occurrence*. The multiple glosses in these situations are determined by the semantics of the subject:

When the subject is conceived of as an *event*, the gloss ‘occur’ would be most appropriate in English. When it is conceived of as a *state*, some expression of *existence* would be more appropriate in English (Sinclair 1999:53).

Sinclair labels the basic meaning of הִיָּה as “*occurrence, existence, or being of the notion expressed in the proposition*” and says that this analysis demonstrates its similarity with the English copula.

Sinclair then moves on to explain what accounts for the presence and absence of the verb הִיָּה. He cites the “dummy” hypothesis of Lyons (mentioned in section 2.3.1.4) and nuances it slightly. He says, “It is not clear ... that הִיָּה and English *to be* even in their function as copulas are merely dummy morphemes in the sense that they contain no information at all and are thus without representation in deep structure, as Waltke and O’Connor, following Lyons, indicate” (Sinclair 1999:56). He supports this claim by providing evidence in morphology and syntax in both Hebrew and English where an element is understood in the deep structure yet remains unexpressed in the surface structure. For example, English words like *sheep, fish, and deer* are unmarked for number in surface structure yet are understood to be either singular or plural based on the context. The same is true for the BH words קָהַל, חֵיל, בִּקְרָה, and צֹאן (Sinclair 1999:57). The ellipsis of direct objects and gapping of entire phrases of BH poetry are further examples of constituents that are not explicit in the surface structure yet are present within deep structure. Sinclair is simply arguing that an *understood* yet covert copula is not a problem within BH syntax. This view distinguishes him from those that strictly follow the dummy hypothesis and is consistent with the generative perspective adopted in this study. More evidence for a copula that is *understood* rather than explicit will be provided from the discipline of language typology in chapter 3.

The main piece of evidence that Sinclair uses for his argument is the variety of complement types. The verb הִיָּה takes a broad array of complement types. Nominal clauses permit an identical set of complement types, thus suggesting a relationship between them and clauses with הִיָּה. Sinclair demonstrates the congruence between these two clauses and concludes that “they are not really two clause-types at all but, rather, variants of a single type in which the verb occurs when it is needed to support various clausal morpheme markers but is otherwise omitted” (Sinclair 1999:75). Sinclair has made a very valuable observation in this article by questioning the arbitrary isolation of “nominal” clauses from a broader taxonomy of predication.

Sinclair argues, then, that a nominal clause is “a case of simple ellipsis of the copula when it is not needed to provide morphological information that would have to be attached to the overt verb הִיָּה, were it present” (Sinclair 1999:59). Consequently he says, “In its use as a copula, the verb הִיָּה exists primarily ... because it is often needed to support morphemes that

mark aspect and/or tense, as well as agreement and mood” (Sinclair 1999:75). Sinclair believes that there is a deep structure representation of הִיה even in nominal clauses, but he echoes the consensus that הִיה appears primarily for the sake of defining the tense and aspect of a clause. Even though he suggests that the motivation is strictly morphological, Sinclair does acknowledge all the possible “glosses” for the verb הִיה. Building on his generative framework, which understands a covert copula to be in the deep structure, Sinclair’s insights are a stepping stone to the conclusions reached in chapter 4.

Concerning the overt use of הִיה, scholars of BH agree that the presence of the verb arises from tense, aspectual, or modal demands in a clause. Several scholars acknowledge the different semantic nuances that are necessary to translate in order to maintain idiomatic English, but accept a semantically-empty definition of a copula. This definition will be challenged in chapter 4.

2.3.2 Verbless Clause

The verbless clause is the most common expression of nominal, adjectival, and prepositional predication in BH. The amount of literature devoted to the topic is an indication of how frequently this construction appears throughout the biblical text and how important it is to understanding BH syntax.

In the introduction to *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Approaches*, Miller summarises the terminological challenges and the primary syntactic issues related to the analysing the verbless clause. The three primary syntactic issues she mentions are (1) the internal syntax of the verbless clause (e.g. identification and order of subject and predicate); (2) the external syntax, that is, how the verbless clause relates to verbal clauses and clauses with הִיה, יֵשׁ, and אֵין) and; (3) how verbless clauses function at the level of discourse (Miller 1999:10-11). What follows is a review of those who address these syntactic issues.

2.3.2.1 Gesenius

In Gesenius’ section on the connection of subject to predicate he says, “The union of the substantive or pronoun, which forms the subject of the sentence, with another substantive or adjective as its predicate, is most commonly expressed by simply writing them together without any *copula*” (Gesenius 1853:261). GKC adds that nominal clauses have no inherent time reference so this must be inferred from context (Gesenius 1910:453). Once again,

Gesenius intuitively anticipates the results of this research. Verbless clauses are unmarked with reference to time or any other feature except stativity, a viewpoint which will be defended in section 3.3.1.

2.3.2.2 Andersen

One of the goals of Andersen (1970) is to correct the view that the normal sequence for verbless clauses is Subject-Predicate. He lists and categorises every verbless clause in the Pentateuch and presents a detailed analysis of these data. He argues that it is possible to formulate a set of rules to describe all the kinds of verbless clauses which are possible in Hebrew (1970:18). He lists all the possible patterns of clauses distinguished by the function of the clause in relation to the sentence (namely independent, coordinate, subordinate, or adnominal), the presence or absence of “marginal” (adjunct) elements, the continuous or discontinuous nature of the subject and the predicate, as well as the internal structure of a compound subject or predicate (1970:28-30). The evaluation of all these features, Andersen argues, is necessary for a thorough explanation of the sequence of subject and predicate. Andersen’s data show that the majority of declarative verbless clauses in the Pentateuch have the sequence S[subject]-P[predicate]. The sequence P[predicate]-S[subject] exists in about one third of the examples, which suggests that calling these examples exceptions is not accurate (1970:31).

Andersen’s data lead him to believe that the external function of the clause affects the sequence of the subject and predicate. To find the patterns of correlation, Andersen examines clauses which have a pronoun as the subject. A correlation is found between the category of the predicate and the sequence of subject and predicate, specifically that the degree of definiteness of the predicate affects the sequence. Clauses with definite predicates have the sequence S[subject]-P[predicate] and clauses with indefinite predicates have the sequence P[predicate]-S[subject] in the majority of cases. When the predicate is a suffixed noun the sequence statistics are divided exactly in half: P[predicate]-S[subject] thirteen times and S[subject]-P[predicate] thirteen times (1970:32). Clauses in which the predicate has entire semantic overlap with the subject—a definite subject and a definite predicate—Andersen calls clauses of *identification*. Clauses in which the predicate is indefinite are called clauses of *classification*. Andersen’s classifications are important for this study. The semantic classification of the types of copular predicates will be examined in section 3.1.

2.3.2.3 Joüion and Muraoka

Joüion and Muraoka describe the verbless clause as any clause whose predicate is a noun, participle, or other constituent that is non-verbal (Joüion and Muraoka 2005:564). They provide four additional “types” of nominal predicate including prepositional phrase, pronoun, adverb, or infinitive construct. The only verb that can be present in a verbless clause is הִיהַ.

The consensus with these earlier writers, then, is that the verbless clause includes any sentence whose predicate is anything except a verb. הִיהַ is the only finite verb that exists in a nominal clause. The description of these clauses as “nominal clauses” does not help explain their function or their relationship with other clause types.

2.3.2.4 Linton

Linton (1983) describes and evaluates the paradigms of Albrecht, Hoftijzer, Andersen, and Muraoka on the word order in the verbless clause. He uses the following criteria to evaluate how each paradigm handles the data: accuracy, consistency, scope, fruitfulness, and simplicity. Concerning Albrecht, Linton concludes that he is inconsistent in the emphatic status of the initial position and does not provide a definition of emphasis (Linton 1983:135). Linton has similar criticisms for Hoftijzer’s model. He sees inconsistency in how Hoftijzer uses terminology and exposes weaknesses in some of his idiosyncratic labelling of the core constituents in a verbless clause (Linton 1983:155-158). Linton does not criticise inconsistency in Andersen’s model, but is hesitant to embrace the implications of Andersen’s model for other grammatical areas (Linton 1983:170). Finally, Linton criticises the consistency of Muraoka’s categories of identification and description for clauses. Just as he criticised Albrecht’s position on the emphatic nature of the clause-initial position he also criticises Muraoka’s position on this same issue (Linton 1983:172-173).

Linton concludes that Andersen’s theory is “relatively best” for describing the verbless clause. Andersen’s model reflects the most consistency by Linton’s standards. After evaluating these four models, Linton concludes his dissertation with some general observations. First, he says, “Hebraists can expect the number of ‘solutions’ offered to grammatical problems to increase.” By this he means that the multiple linguistic approaches to Hebrew grammar will likely increase the number of solutions to grammatical problems. Second, he says, “Grammatical theories have exegetical consequences.” By this he means that Hebraists interested in the interpretation of texts will need to become conversant with more nuanced theoretical concepts in order to interact with future research. Finally, he says,

“Students of advanced Hebrew grammar should have experience [*sic*] ‘gestalt-switching.’” This means that any claim to an objective observation of facts should be scrutinised (Linton 1983:181-182). Linton is recommending a recognition that grammatical study cannot solve all difficulties in a language but this does not mean progress is impossible. The contribution Linton’s research claims is this: “We have arrived at certain modest but original insights regarding the scholarship of each of the authorities.” (Linton 1983:183). His original insights are his critiques of the four studies reviewed above. He also states that his research will benefit future research on the verbless clause because it shows the strengths and weaknesses of these important works. In his dissertation, Linton certainly shows some of the weaknesses of the works mentioned, but he fails to provide a better system of evaluating the nominal clause.

2.3.2.5 DeCaën

DeCaën (1999) applies the Government and Binding framework of generative grammar to provide a theory of how verbless clauses fit into a broader scheme of predication. This framework provides DeCaën with a model of how sentences spell out the different modal, aspectual, and tense features through movement of constituents. Where there are inflectional demands, movement occurs to license those demands. DeCaën says that the verbless clause results when there are no inflectional demands in a clause of Tense, Aspect, or Mood. Where no inflection needs realisation in a predication, no verb is necessary (DeCaën 1999:125). DeCaën’s perspective on this point is very important for the hypothesis of this study.

DeCaën concludes the article saying, “This model posits an explicit, direct relationship between the verbless clause, on the one hand, and clauses with *hyh*, on the other, which might reasonably be expected on semantic grounds” (DeCaën 1999:131). These semantic grounds are precisely what Sinclair observed in his article and are precisely what this dissertation builds upon. Sinclair and DeCaën represent a unique perspective on the external syntax of verbless clauses and how they relate to clauses with הִיָּה. Their general observations are a starting point for the present study.

2.3.2.6 Longacre

Longacre’s (2003) approach to analysing the function of verbless clauses is driven by text-linguistic considerations. Longacre refers to the traditional Arab grammarian distinction between nominal and verbal clauses saying,

Another important clue in GKC was its passing on to us a certain insistence of the Arab grammarians that any clause that starts with a noun should be regarded as a noun clause (whether or not it has a finite verb), while any clause that starts with a verb should be regarded as a verb clause. In effect, the claim here is that when a clause starts with a noun, it is talking about the participant or prop represented by the noun; but when it starts with a verb, it is talking about the action represented in the verb (Longacre 2003:64-65).

In this reference, Longacre finds precedent for his discourse-driven manifestation of different clause types. Concerning verbless clauses without *היה*, Longacre says, “Nominal clauses are depictive and descriptive. They portray background situations” (Longacre 2003:76). This observation from Longacre is more profound than perhaps he intended. Verbless clauses never express change-of-state semantics. This will be very important for the conclusions reached in chapter 4.

2.3.2.7 Dyk and Talstra

Dyk and Talstra (1999) pursue paradigmatic categories by which they can parse nominal clauses and build computer programmes for analysing them. Important for this study is their suggestion that nominal clauses with and without the verb *היה* be analysed together. They criticise Niccacci (1993) for “ignoring the similarities between the nominal clause structures ... and the clauses containing the verb *hyh*” (Dyk and Talstra 1999:177). They say “Without going into the function and effect of the presence of the verb of being in a construction, we would argue for a unified formal treatment of structures with and without the verb of being” (Dyk and Talstra 1999:178). This dissertation builds on this unified formal treatment and addresses precisely the first part of the quote above: the function and effect of the presence of the verb of being in copular constructions.

2.3.2.8 Zewi

Zewi has written extensively on the nominal clause (Zewi 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2013) and especially the role of the pronoun in the tripartite nominal clause (to be discussed in section 2.3.3). She also discusses in detail how to discern subject and predicate in nominal sentences. In her latest article, she discusses the issue of time in nominal sentences and says, “Time and aspect in nominal clauses are commonly expressed at all stages of the language by the finite verb *הָיָה*. ... In Biblical Hebrew its use in nominal clauses for the expression of time and aspect is optional” (Zewi 2013:836; see also Zewi 1999a).

She continues to say,

Indeed, the expression of time in Biblical Hebrew is sometimes left to the context, as in the following example, whose latter part has already been mentioned above: וְנָח בְּן־שֵׁשׁ וָמֵאוֹת שָׁנָה וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מִיָּמָיו עַל־הָאָרֶץ ... ‘Noah was six hundred years old when the flood waters came upon the earth’ (Gen. 7.6), in which the time of the first clause וְנָח בְּן־שֵׁשׁ וָמֵאוֹת שָׁנָה... is expressed by the second temporal clause וְהַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מִיָּמָיו עַל־הָאָרֶץ ... whose time is expressed by the verb הָיָה... The lack of an overt expression of time is essentially common in circumstantial and other subordinate clauses (Zewi 2013:836).

The present study agrees that time is one feature encoded by the verb הָיָה, but what accounts for the translation of the verb הָיָה as “came” in Zewi’s example? The semantic nuances of הָיָה in copular constructions will be examined in chapter 4.

2.3.3 Tripartite Nominal Clause

This last predication structure is really a subcategory of the verbless clause because it does not have a full verbal copula. The formal criterion for this structure is a verbless clause in which one of the constituents is a pronoun that does not serve as subject or predicate. All other features in this clause resemble a verbless clause except for the presence of this pronoun.

There are two primary positions on this pronoun, which Muraoka summarises as follows: “One school regards it as a copula, which is here defined as an overt and formal means of indicating the logical relationship of equation between the subject and the predicate, and the other assigns it to some other function, such as emphasis or prominence” (Muraoka 1999:198). Copular views and non-copular views of the pronoun will be reviewed in the sections that follow. Whether this construction exhibits a unique form of copular predication or forms a subcategory of a larger copular predication construction will determine the level at which it needs to be analysed in the present study.

2.3.3.1 Copular Views

2.3.3.1.1 Khan

In an article titled “Some Aspects of the Copula in North West Semitic,” Khan addresses the issue of the tripartite nominal clause in BH and compares it with a living language from the same family as BH: North Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA). He uses language typology in order to discern if the pronoun was originally understood more as an extraposed constituent or as a copula. Khan analyses the development of the NENA copula

and lists six features that reflect its loss of pronominal properties and its development of the properties of a pronominal copula. The six features are generalisation of the third person, cliticization, verbal inflection, regular unmarked use, use with a pronominal subject, distributional equivalence with past/future copula (Khan 2005:173). BH does not reflect all six of the features present in NENA, but he argues that generalisation of the third person, use with a pronominal subject and distributional equivalence with past/future copula are all present in BH. He says the degree to which the pronoun displays these features reflects the degree to which it has shifted away from being interpreted as a pronoun towards being interpreted as a copula. This was a gradual process, which is attested to differing degrees in the Northwest Semitic languages. In BH the shift was beginning and in Syria the shift is more advanced. However, “neither in Biblical Hebrew nor in Syriac, however, has the pronoun acquired the full complement of copula properties” (Khan 2005:175). He concludes that, “We should not regard the categories of ‘pronoun’ and ‘copula’ as completely discrete and mutually exclusive. It is likely that the historical development from one to the other was gradual involving a transitional stage that shared properties from both categories” (Khan 2005:175).

2.3.3.1.2 Kummerow

Kummerow (2013) provides arguments in favour of the copular analysis which resembles Holmstedt and Jones’ argument. Utilising the typological findings of Stassen (1997) and Croft (2002), Kummerow argues for the view that reanalysis of the pronoun comes from a left-dislocation construction. He even claims that this construction could be possible outside identity statements (2013:53, 84-85, 89). Kummerow, as well as Khan and Holmstedt and Jones, argue that a copular analysis does not preclude the existence of this construction serving in a left-dislocation construction. The reanalysis present in the typological literature shows this change affecting individual classes of predicates, not the entire syntax of the language. The evidence from the typological research shows that it is possible for a limited number of predicate classes adopt to this reanalysed pronoun while retaining its anaphoric function.

2.3.3.1.3 Holmstedt and Jones

Recently, Holmstedt and Jones (2014) have produced both a distributional and typological defence of the copular perspective. Their argument is for a *via media* between a strictly resumptive analysis (described below in 2.3.3.2) and a strictly copular analysis. They argue that the verbal copula הִיָּה and the pronominal constituent (PRON) share distributional symmetries and structural parallels. Firstly, they both appear with the same predicate types (NP, PP, ADJP). Secondly, the pattern of verbal negation is similar in both. Thirdly, both occur with participial clauses. Finally, both are subject to V-raising which results in Subject and Verb inversion (Holmstedt and Jones 2014:62).

They also provide evidence from comparative Semitics. They mention that Old Aramaic lacks the pronominal copula but it becomes evident by Imperial Aramaic (e.g. Daniel 2:38 אַנְתָּהּ הוּא רִאשָׁה דִּי דְהַבָּא “you pron.3ms(are) the head of gold”). They list Classical Syriac as displaying the pronominal copula. They also explain that Akkadian did not use the pronoun in this way in the third or second millennium but developed it in Western Peripheral Akkadian in the second half of the second millennium. The pronominal copula is also used in Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian. Finally, they list Classical Ethiopic (Ge’ez) and Classical Arabic as first millennium C.E. languages which exhibit a pronominal copula. From this evidence, they agree that BH is similar to a lot of the related languages in its development of a pronominal copula.

Their final argument in favour of a copular analysis is from language typology. They cite seven different typological studies that provide evidence of the use of a pronoun as a copula in many of the world’s languages. They write, “Dozens of languages with verbal and non-verbal copulas have been studied in the last thirty years of typological linguistics and a small set of paths of grammaticalization has emerged” (Holmstedt and Jones 2014:74). One path of the copular use of the anaphoric pronoun develops from a topic-comment construction which includes left-dislocation. Another path develops out of demonstrative pronouns. Holmstedt and Jones argue that the dominant path for BH is out of the anaphoric pronoun. Though some languages reflect a completed grammaticalisation process in which the constituent no longer functions as an anaphor, some languages retain the anaphoric function in many contexts alongside the copular function. They argue that BH is one of these languages and that their analysis represents a *via media* between a copular and non-copular analysis.

2.3.3.1.4 Summary

The studies reviewed above defend a copular analysis of the pronoun which categorises the predicate strategy in the tripartite nominal clause as unique among the other strategies of copular predication (overt and zero). Though the so-called pronominal copula may have started out in a verbless clause construction with an extraposed pronoun, it has become a copular tripartite predication structure. Before explaining the perspective of the present study, the non-copular views will be reviewed.

2.3.3.2 Non-Copular Views

2.3.3.2.1 Gesenius and Kautzsch

Gesenius, in the edition edited by Rüdiger, originally suggests a copular analysis saying, “The pronoun of the third person frequently serves to connect the subject and the predicate, and is then a sort of substitute for the copula or the verb *to be*” (Gesenius 1853:225). This sentence was removed in the revision by Kautzsch. Gesenius also states, “A personal pronoun of the third person, which refers to the predicate, frequently serves to make prominent the union of the subject and predicate” (Gesenius 1853:261). This statement was modified in the revision by Kautzsch and replaced with: “A connexion is established between subject and predicate [in a nominal clause] by adding the separate pronoun of the 3rd person singular or plural, expressly resuming and therefore strengthening the subject” (Gesenius 1910:453).

It seems that Kautzsch was in one camp and Gesenius was in another. Since the Kautzsch-Cowley revision and translation has become the definitive grammar, Gesenius’ original perspective is lost to most readers.

2.3.3.2.2 Joüon and Muraoka

A similar shift in perspective occurs between the French original of Joüon’s grammar and the revision by Muraoka. Joüon says:

La proposition nominale du type ordinaire est une proposition à deux membres: sujet et prédicat. En hébreu, comme dans d’autres langues sémitiques, elle devient proposition à trois membres par l’addition d’une copule, la quelle exprime formellement le lien logique qui unit le sujet avec le prédicat. La copule peut être I) le pronom de la 3^e personne; II) les adverbes d’existence ψ et אין ; III) le verbe היה (Joüon 1947:469-470).

In his description of the pronoun as copula he says:

Le pronom de la 3^e personne peut être copule en hébreu, comme par ex. en arabe. Dans certains cas, en effet, le pronom n'est ajouté que pour mieux faire ressortir le rapport qui existe entre le sujet et la prédicat, ce qui est précisément la fonction de la copule. Dans d'autres cas, il est vrai, le pronom ajoute une nuance emphatique; mais rien n'empêche qu'il n'ait en même temps la valeur de copule (Joüon 1947:470).

This is an explicit statement that the pronoun can be used for emphasis, its use as a copula is not precluded. Joüon held the opinion that the pronoun can be both a copula and be used for emphasis at different times. Muraoka, however, completely removed this perspective from Joüon's grammar and replaced it with his own view. In Muraoka's revision of Joüon's three-way division of copular clauses he says,

The nominal clause of the standard type is a clause with two members: subject and predicate. In Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, it may become a three-member clause with the addition of a third constituent which can be I) the pronoun of the third person; II) the adverbs of existence ψ and אָז ; III) the verb הָיָה (Joüon and Muraoka 2005:573; emphasis added).

The translation follows Joüon's original except Muraoka does not use the word *copula* (in the underlined portion above) as Joüon had, and eliminates the phrase "la quelle exprime formellement le lien logique qui unit le sujet avec le prédicat." In a note on the section concerning this pronoun, Muraoka explicitly says, "In other words, the pronoun thus used is not a mere 'copula' in the sense of the term as used in Indo-European grammars" (Joüon and Muraoka 2005:573 n. 1). In his revision of the paragraph where Joüon allows for both uses of the copula, Muraoka says, "In most cases such a pronoun gives prominence to the immediately preceding clause constituent, occasionally in the manner of a 'cleft sentence' like *It is this man that I want to see*" (Joüon and Muraoka 2005:574). The revisions of these two grammars of BH by Kautzsch and Muraoka demonstrate the debate about the nature of this pronoun.

Muraoka writes again on this subject in another article saying, "I doubt that one could prove the existence of the copula in any Semitic language. The notion undoubtedly originated with Indo-European languages in which a nominal clause without a copula in the present tense is virtually non-existent" (Muraoka 1999:199). Muraoka reviews the positions of some who have advocated that the pronoun is a copula, showing how their analysis fails to account for certain features that he has discerned in these constructions (e.g. suprasegmental or prosodic features as well as distinguishing between determinate and indeterminate predicates). He also challenges the idea that in Classical Syriac and Modern Hebrew, which both exhibit this construction much more frequently than BH, the pronoun functions as a

copula. The functions of this pronoun, according to Muraoka, are topicalisation, prominence, and *casus pendens* or extraposition.

2.3.3.2.3 Zewi

As mentioned above in section 2.3.2.7, Zewi has written extensively on the subject of the tripartite nominal clause (Zewi 1994, 1996a, 1996b 1999a, 199b, 2013). In Zewi 1994, she identifies five different nominal sentence types. Two of them are basic and have no pronominal element. Three of them contain the pronominal element and are distinguished by the order and role of this constituent.

In Zewi 1999a, she argues that the personal pronoun is not needed as a copula since predication can be accomplished by simple juxtaposition. She argues against its analysis as a present tense copula by providing examples of present tense nominal clauses in BH, Biblical Aramaic, and Classical Arabic (Zewi 1999a:197). She states that nominal sentences in Semitic languages do not need any element other than a subject and a predicate, and they usually do not indicate time. Though they are not used for the purpose of expressing time, nominal clauses can refer to time with means other than a finite verb of existence. Zewi lists these two means: “(1) Nominal clauses in subordination to principal sentences: the subordinate nominal clauses depend on the time reference mentioned in the principal sentences, but lack any time reference themselves. The subordinate clause types involved in this usage are mostly circumstantial and causal and object clauses. (2) Adverbs of time and time particles assume the role of time reference in nominal clauses” (Zewi 1999a:203). In Zewi 1996, she argues that the copula is actually a late development in BH and is an unnecessary constituent since predication can be accomplished without it (Zewi 1996:41-42).

Zewi is adamant that the pronoun in BH is not a copula; it is merely a retrospective pronoun that is indifferent to time. She explains that this retrospective pronoun appears in causal and object clauses referring to a time other than the present (Zewi 1999a:207). Her articles present different insights about this construction but all maintain that the copular interpretation is incorrect.

2.3.3.2.4 Woodard

Woodard (2009) provides an argument against the copular analysis and upholds the resumptive analysis presented above by Muraoka (section 2.3.3.2.2) and Zewi (section 2.3.3.2.3). He argues that the copular analysis fails to provide coherence among all the biblical data. As a thought experiment, Woodard assumes that the pronoun is a copula or is

copula-like. He compares the similar statements “I am happy” and “I feel happy.” Since he adopts the standard definition that a copula is a semantically empty constituent, “feels” would not be considered a copula, but perhaps a pseudo-copula. He assumes that perhaps the BH pronoun in these constructions is playing a role similar to a pseudo-copula. Woodard expresses doubt that modern readers could discern such semantic nuance. After showing some examples of minimal pairs he shows that a pseudo-copula interpretation is highly unlikely in many examples. Woodard’s argument here is that the pronoun cannot be a copula, or even a pseudo-copula because there is no uniformity in its distribution (Woodard 2009:4). Though the copula or pseudo-copula interpretation might work in some sentences, it does not work in all of them and must be ruled out. The intuition that copulas are not semantically empty will be important in chapter 4 as we examine newer research on network semantics in copular predication, although the pronoun in the tripartite nominal clause is not part of that discussion.

Woodard also argues that the pronoun does not share many similarities with a copular verb. The pronoun has limited morphology, is never preceded by a negating particle, and does not share complementary distribution with the other copular constituents (eg. *היה*, *יש*, and *אין*) (Woodard 2009:14-15). Ultimately, Woodard argues that the resumptive analysis (similar to Muraoka) satisfies the question of motivation for this pronoun in BH (Woodard 2009:17).

2.3.3.2.5 Naudé

Naudé has written numerous articles on the independent personal pronoun in Qumran Hebrew (QH) as well as in Aramaic. Though his articles concern QH and Aramaic, his analysis from generative syntax equally applies to BH. In his article on the pronoun in Aramaic (Naudé 1994), Naudé argues against the hypotheses that this pronoun functions as a copula, a resumptive pronoun, or a pleonastic pronoun. Instead, he argues that this pronoun (PRON) is a clitic whose presence is obligatory in referring noun phrases as a last resort when theta-role assignment fails to be grammaticalised (Naudé 1994:75-76). He dismisses the role of PRON as a suppletive of *הוה* by arguing that PRON cannot replace *הוה* in a *הוה+participle* construction as is found in Ezra 7:26 (Naudé 1994:79). He argues against a resumptive analysis for four reasons: (1) a left-dislocated construction would necessitate a pause in the Masoretic accents, a condition which is not present in the data; (2) dislocated constituents do not occur in questions contrary to the example of the tripartite nominal clause in Daniel 3:15; (3) resumptive pronouns cannot occur in relative clauses in which the subject

has been extracted, and this occurs in Ezra 6:15; (4) resumptive pronouns agree in person, number, and gender with the dislocated element, which the data also contradict (Naudé 1994:80-81).

After dismissing these two popular hypotheses, Naudé argues that PRON is a clitic that is required in certain circumstances to represent agreement. Since, according to him, verbless clauses only exist in present tense contexts, a tense projection is not required, leaving only an agreement projection. PRON is introduced to accomplish the grammaticalisation of agreement in referential noun phrases in the predicate.

Naudé also argues that PRON is employed to assign a theta role in a referring predicate of a verbless clause (Naudé 1994:91). He argues that since there is no VP in verbless clauses, XP (where X= N, A, or P) functions as the head of the predicate rather than as a complement of some non-existent verb. Since the predicate assigns theta-roles, the NP, AP, or PP must be able to assign a theta role to the subject. In referring predicates (necessarily a NP), however, no theta role can be assigned since the NP merely denotes a specific entity in the universe of discourse. Referring NPs are arguments and must receive a theta role; they cannot provide one. This presents a problem, then, for referring NPs that exist in the predicate of a verbless clause. This situation, Naudé argues, is where the clitic PRON functions as a saving strategy. PRON can assign the necessary theta-role to the referring NP. Therefore, PRON exists not as a unique strategy in present tense copular constructions, but rather as a saving device for referring NPs in verbless clauses. Naudé concludes, “The pronominal clitic is obligatory in verbless clauses with determined (referring) NPs in predicate positions, where the pronominal clitic fulfils the role of a theta role assigner” (Naudé 1994:91).

In subsequent articles (Naudé 2001, 2002a, 2002b), Naudé comes to the same conclusion about this clause in QH. He labels the referring predicates as “specificational” and argues that PRON is necessary in these clause types in order to make them grammatical. Naudé argues that the checking features for a specificational clause cannot be met without this clitic-functioning pronoun. The clause (with a specificational interpretation) will be ungrammatical without PRON serving to check the V-features on AGRS and AGRSPECS. The example he uses will illustrate.

(12) 1QpHab XII.7

הקרוח הוא ירושלם

the-city she Jerusalem

The city is Jerusalem. (Naudé 2002a:154).

According to Naudé, this sentence is specificational. This means that the subject and the predicate both refer to entities in the universe of discourse and do not assign functions in a clause. Since both nouns in the clause are arguments and do not assign theta roles, a verbless clause without the *hy*’ would have no constituent to assign roles and check features. PRON, then, serves to mark the verbless clause as specificational and check the feature of subject agreement and assign the theta roles. Without PRON, Naudé, argues this sentence would be ungrammatical as a specificational sentence (Naudé 2002a:154). Naudé’s collection of articles is a good representation of the formalist approach to analysing this construction. His approach will be readdressed in chapter 5.

2.3.3.2.6 Doron

In Doron’s 1983 MIT dissertation concerning this construction in Modern Hebrew she argues against the theory that PRON is a present tense suppletive form of the copula. Instead she says, “I argue that the pronoun [in this construction], which I will call Pron, is a clitic that is the phonological realization of ‘unattached’ agreement features that have absorbed Case. I show that the properties of this clitic fall out from the principles of the theory of Government and Binding” (Doron 1983:70-71). This means that PRON is not an independent NP node, but merely a realisation of the feature bundle {[person][number][gender][Case]}. Consider the following.

(13) *Dani more*

Dani teacher

Dani is a teacher.

In (13), Dani must be assigned the nominative case. Doron argues that the D[eeP]-structure for a nominal sentence like (13) is [INFL NP NP]. The second NP is not an argument, but a theta-role assigning predicate, so the S[entence]-Structure of (13) should be

(14) ^{[INFL}AGR^{[3rd][sing][masc]]} dani_i^[Nom] more.

The problem with this S[entence]-Structure is that the AGR features in INFL are not specified in the grammatical sentence *Dani more*. Doron suggests, then, that perhaps the feature bundle AGR includes Case assignment and eventually comes to the S[entence]-structure in (15).

(15) $dani_i$ $[[INFL [AGR^{[3rd][sing][masc]]_i [Nom]}]]$ e_i more^l

PRON, then, become the phonological realisation of these AGR features. It is a clitic which is part of INFL and satisfies the specification of AGR as follows:

(16) *dani hu more*
 Dani he teacher
 Dani is a teacher (Doron 1983:70-79).

2.3.3.2.7 Rapoport

Rapoport also presents a perspective on the role of PRON in Modern Hebrew. Rapoport shows where Doron's analysis is weak. She does, however, agree with some of Doron's basic assertions. She says, "I too assume that H [the pronoun] is the realization of the features of AGR, although Case is not a condition of such realization under my approach" (Rapoport 1987:61).

First, Rapoport argues why the pronoun cannot be analysed as a verb. She says,

The features of AGR, which are generated under INFL, attach to the nearest verbal element and then surface attached to the verb. Thus, when the copula is present (in the past and future tenses), the AGR features will attach to it, and so will not be realized as H. In the present tense, the only element in INFL is AGR. Since this is the only tense with no tense feature, this is the only tense which does not require a verb. When there is no verb (or no copula), the AGR features surface as they are, that is they are realized as H.... It is clear too why H has number and gender features only, i.e. the features of present tense agreement: H is AGR of the present tense (Rapoport 1987:62-63).

After establishing that the pronoun provides agreement features in the present tense, Rapoport demonstrates how equative sentences require a governor to assign Case. The pronoun is this governor and is required in all equative sentences in Modern Hebrew. The pronoun is AGR and assigns nominative case to both NPs in an equative sentence. In

predicational sentences, however, the pronoun is not required and thus there is no agreement. This presents a problem for Rapoport because Case still needs to be assigned. Rapoport suggests that predicational sentences are matrix small clauses where the predicate XP (NP, AP, or PP) not only assigns the theta-role, but also assigns Case. The predicate becomes the governor of the subject and nominative case is assigned to the subject by the predicate. Rapoport's perspective of PRON, then, is that it serves as AGR (agreement) and assigns Case to both NPs in an equative sentence.

2.3.3.2.8 Rothstein

Rothstein (2001) begins by examining the claim that sentences are essentially binary, being composed of a subject and predicate. Her goal is to define what a subject is and how the subject is determined in a sentence. She critiques the "aboutness" notion which says that the subject is the entity about which the predicate speaks. In pragmatics the name "topic" has been given to such a constituent. She also critiques the idea that the subject is the main argument of a sentence. She concludes that "neither the pragmatic notion of "topic" nor the thematic/semantic notion of primary argument of a predicate can be used to explain either the structure of the proposition or the distinguished nature of the subject" (Rothstein 2001:26). She then declares that it is critical to find a structural basis for the definitions of proposition and subject. This is the central concern of her book.

Rothstein describes her "grammatical theory of predication" as follows: "The grammatical theory of predication assumes that a predicate is a structurally open syntactic constituent; predication is a relation between a predicate and a structurally closed constituent in which the latter closes the former by filling the open position in it. The element which closes a predicate is its subject" (Rothstein 2001:42).

Rothstein turns to Modern Hebrew as a case study for her syntax of predication. She begins by describing Modern Hebrew as a language which allows small clauses to make up matrix clauses. Whereas in English, small clauses are restricted to complements of ECM (Exceptional Case Marking) verbs like *consider* and *make* (e.g. *I consider John/him dangerous*), in Hebrew they can form the matrix sentence (e.g. *dani nexmad* "Dani is nice") (Rothstein 2001:49, 205). The same observation is made by Doron (1983) and Rapoport (1987) which have been reviewed in sections 2.3.3.2.6 and 2.3.3.2.7 above.

Rothstein reviews the claims of Doron and Rapoport and shows how their conclusions fall short of an accurate analysis of PRON in Modern Hebrew. Starting with Doron's theory which describes PRON as the necessary theta-marker in clauses with two referential NPs

(identity clauses), Rothstein shows the inconsistency in the theta-marking relation. She says, “Theta-marking is by lexical heads, and the theta-marking properties of the head reflect the semantic function denoted by that head. It is conceptually wrong to allow PRON to assign theta-roles, since it is only a spell-out of formal agreement features in Infl and not a lexical head” (Rothstein 2001:212). She also challenges Doron by noting that PRON would be inconsistent in its theta-marking role since it is optionally present in predicative constructions, which already have a theta-role assigner in the predicate. A third argument offered by Rothstein concerns the fact that PRON is not obligatory in every type of identity sentence. She offers three examples:

(17) PRON is optional in identity sentences with a pronominal subject (Rothstein 2001:213)

ani (hu) mar yosef

I (PRON) mr Yosef

I am Mr. Yosef.

(18) PRON is impossible with the negative particle *eyn* (Rothstein 2001:213)

*dani (*hu) eyno mar Yosef*

dani (*PRON) not-m.s. mr yosef

Dani is not Mr. Yosef.

(19) PRON can be dropped when the negative marker *lo* is used. (Rothstein 2001:213)

dani ?(hu) lo mar Yosef

dani ?(PRON) NEG mr Yosef

Dani is not Mr. Yosef

In addition to these challenges, Rothstein also argues from her grammatical theory of predication that the theta-criterion is not the primary rule governing predication. Many expressions are licensed without being theta-marked. These arguments significantly challenge Doron’s analysis.

In contrast to Rapoport (1987) and others who argue that PRON exists in identity statements to assign case, Rothstein again shows the inconsistency of the optional presence of PRON in predicational clauses. In predicational clauses with an ADJP in the predicate, it is easy to see why PRON could be absent, since the gender and number of the subject would agree with the adjective. But in predicational clauses with a PP in the predicate, PRON is still not obligatory, even though case has not been assigned (Rothstein 2001:214).

Again, Rothstein argues:

Predication ... is a primitive saturation relation between an open syntactic constituent, which, crucially, does not necessarily assign a theta-role, and a closed constituent [i.e. the subject]. In small clauses, Pron is optional because the predicate can be directly predicated of the subject and there is no obligation for Infl to be present. I argue that in identity sentences, Pron is obligatory because we cannot form a [sic] instance of predication without it (Rothstein 2001:214).

At the end of her treatment on Modern Hebrew Rothstein cites Greenberg's (1998, 1999) analysis of predicational sentences that contain PRON which argues that PRON is obligatory not only in identity sentences but also in some predicational sentences. For example,

(20) *orvim *(hem) Sxorim*

ravens Pron black

Ravens are black.

(21) *tel aviv *(hi) be-yisrael*

Tel Aviv Pron in Israel

Tel Aviv is in Israel (Rothstein 2001:233).

Both (20) and (21) require PRON in order to be grammatical. Understanding the cases in which PRON is optional helps make sense of these examples where its presence is obligatory. Greenberg's theory is summarised by Rothstein, "Where Pron is optional in predicative sentences, its presence/absence often correlates with a difference in meaning: when Pron is present, the sentence has a more individual level reading, and when Pron is absent, it has more of a stage level interpretation" (Rothstein 2001:233). The example she gives helps clarify this distinction:

(22) *haSamaim (hem) kxolim*

the sky Pron blue

The sky is blue.

With PRON, the interpretation would assert that the sky has the general property of being blue but without it, the interpretation would be that the sky is blue now as opposed to being overcast or some other possibility. The pronoun is obligatory in (20) and (21) because the sentences can only coherently be spoken with a general timeless interpretation. Ravens are black generally (20) and Tel Aviv is in Israel always (21).

Even though they do not analyse BH, Naudé, Doron, Rapoport, and Rothstein all represent the non-copular perspective on these kinds of constructions in related languages and make their case using models in the generative tradition. A full treatment of this construction in BH will evaluate the claims reviewed here.

Concerning the present study, the case for the non-copular analysis of Rothstein is convincing on a categorical level. In other words, the tripartite nominal clause is not a unique copular clause as the copular analysis would describe it. Instead, this clause is a subset of the verbless clause which contains a pronominal element motivated by various factors. Since the thesis of this study concerns the relationship between the overt and covert strategies of copular predication in BH, a fresh analysis of this construction will not be conducted at present.

2.4 Summary

This review of the literature has surveyed the predominant theories of the two primary forms of copular predication and reviewed the debate over the role of the pronoun in the tripartite nominal clause. Several scholars, such as Sinclair (1999), Decaën (1999), and Pardee (1985) exposed some of the areas where the traditional classification of nominal and verbal clauses is weak and many other scholars recognised certain semantically-nuanced interpretations of overt copular constructions.

The inadequacy of the verbless/verbal clause division will be addressed in the next section where I will suggest a different taxonomy of predicates that is in accord with broader linguistic theory. This will form the foundation for a more precise examination of the role of the verb *היה* in BH. The theoretical framework which follows restructures one of our most basic assumptions about BH syntax—the verbless/verbal clause division—and forms a comprehensive foundation for studying BH copular predication. Chapter 4 completes the theoretical framework by demonstrating a broader definition of the role of copulas.

CHAPTER 3

AN INTEGRATED MODEL AS THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical framework I will use to categorise predicates and to explain how I will structure the formal strategies for each predicate category. What follows is the definition of predication (3.2) and the presentation of a significant question in the categorisation of predicates (3.3). A survey of linguists that address this question from both generative and functional perspectives will demonstrate the general uniformity in modern linguistics for addressing the taxonomy of copular predicates.

This uniformity will provide us with the precedent for categorising BH copular predicates in the same way. When we see that modern linguistic research on copular predication categorises copular predicates based on the semantics of the predicate, the traditional form-based verbless/verbal clause distinction for BH syntax will be shown to be less than adequate for analysing predicates. After this semantically-based taxonomy has been introduced, a major work in language typology (Stassen 1997) will provide a way to understand how languages encode their different types of predicates (3.4). This formal stratification derived from language typology will provide a model for understanding the encoding strategies of BH copular predicates (3.5).

3.2 Defining Predication

Traditionally, a sentence is divided into two essential elements: subject and predicate. The relationship of these elements to one another constitutes predication.³ Research on predication in copular constructions, however, still wrestles with the most basic properties of these constructions. “The syntactic predication relation, the saturation of a (*sic*) open predicate expression by an argument, is a central relation in syntax” (Rothstein 2001:273). This statement by Rothstein represents her understanding of the essence of the syntactic relation of predication. Few would argue with her that predication, the association of some action, nature, or quality with a subject, is one of the most fundamental relationships in syntax. But the connection of the copula to predication is debated.

³ Some scholars also classify the relationships between other constituents as predication (i.e. a noun and its modifier), see Hengeveld (1992).

First, should the copula be understood as a linking element between the subject and the non-verbal predicate (whether noun, adjective, or prepositional phrase) as in (23a)? Or should the copula be understood as a part of the predicate as in (23b)?

- (23) (a) S—COP—Pred (NP, AP, PP)
(b) S—Pred (COP+NP, AP, PP)

Kahn (1973) suggests that both viewpoints are helpful. He suggests two definitions of a predicate: a broad definition and a narrow definition. The broad definition *excludes* the copula from the predicate, as in example (23a). The narrow definition *includes* the copula in the predicate, as in example (23b) (Kahn 1973:38-39). As we will see in this chapter, the answer to this question actually depends on the referential status of the complement.

Second, the nature of the copula itself is still debated. According to some (Hengeveld 1992:32, Rothstein 2001:273), copulas assign no thematic or semantic roles to the constituents flanking them on either side. In fact, most definitions of copulas assign to them merely a structural role with little or no semantic contribution to the sentence. Rothstein says, “In the analysis of copula constructions that I have presented ... copula *be* adds nothing to the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.... Instead its contribution is structural (Rothstein 2001:273).” Devitt says,

There is a widespread tradition in the thinking about copulas that they are a syntactic formative. A complete syntagmatic structure includes some element that serves as the predicate. This form is usually a verb. If forms other than verbs are used to fill the role of the predicate, a copula is used to mark this Predicative function. In this, the copula is distinguished from the verb, an acknowledgement of the fact that it is generally atypical of verbs in its morphosyntactic behaviour, indeed that (*sic*) does not have to be a verb all. At the same time, the copula is viewed as verb-like in this function of marking predication (Devitt 1994:9-10).

Rothstein asserts that the copula adds nothing to the meaning of the sentence and merely plays a structural role. Devitt argues that the copula marks a predicative function, and still others (Clancy 2010, Petré 2014) assert that the copula actually does contribute semantic information to the sentence.⁴ The discussion of the essence and role of the copula is further developed by examining the kinds of constructions in which a copula is found. Since copulas are found in a host of different kinds of constructions, what is needed is a thorough taxonomy of copular predication.

⁴ Clancy 2010 and Petré 2014 will be reviewed in chapter 4.

3.3 The Taxonomy Question

The quotation below from the philosopher Bertrand Russell demonstrates the confusion over how to classify copular sentences.

The proposition “Socrates is a man” is no doubt equivalent to “Socrates is human,” but it is not the very same proposition. The is of “Socrates is human” expresses the relation of subject and predicate; the is of “Socrates is a man” expresses Identity. It is a disgrace to the human race that it has chosen the same word “is” for those two such entirely different ideas as predication and Identity—a disgrace which a symbolic logical language of course remedies (Bertrand Russell 1920:172).

The examples in (24) are all copular sentences which have differing semantic functions, though they all use the same form of *be*.

- (24) John is a man.
Isaiah is tall.
Kerry is in the living room.
She is the professor.
Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain.
What Levi likes is to play with toys.
Greg is running slowly.

The linguistic studies on copular sentences are uniform in classifying such sentences based on their semantic criteria.⁵ These studies, however, differ in how they distinguish the various semantic categories.

3.3.1 Generative Approaches

In his MIT dissertation, Higgins (1979) has developed an important taxonomy of copular sentences. He distinguishes four types of copular sentences, namely, predicational, specificational, identificational, and identity (1979:204-293). Examples of these types are as follows:

- (25) (a) Predicational: John is tall.
(b) Specificational: What Levi likes is to play with toys.
(c) Identity: Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain.

⁵ This statement will be demonstrated as the various linguistic studies are reviewed below.

(d) Identificational: She is the professor.

Higgins places great importance on the concept of referentiality in distinguishing these sentence types. In a predicational sentence (25a), the subject will be referential (referring to an entity in the universe of discourse) and the predicate will be Predicational (1979:196). He says, “The paradigm examples of Predicational copular sentences are those of the kind John is tall, where the subject refers to a well-defined, non-abstract object and the predicate complement is an adjective” (1979:224). In other words, the subject has to be identifiable to the hearer and the predicate complement must project a property upon that subject. Higgins acknowledges the difficulty of identifying the sentence type when the predicate complement is a noun phrase. He says, “I still have discovered no satisfactory way of tackling this problem, and this may be a reflex of some deeper conceptual tangle.” (1979:224).

Higgins also examines the specificational sentence type (25b) in detail. He says, “The Specificational reading in a sense merely says what one is talking about: the Subject in some way delimits a domain and the Specificational Predicate identifies a particular member of that domain” (1979:198). He relates the subject of a specificational sentence to the heading of a list and calls it “Superscriptional” (1979:203). A specificational sentence, then, has neither a referential subject nor a referential predicate complement. In example (25b) *What Levi likes* is the subject and does not identify anything in the universe of discourse; thus it is non-referential. *To play with toys* is the predicate and is also non-referential. This is Higgins’ definition of a specificational sentence.

Concerning Identity sentences (25c), he says, “We see that the subject and the predicate complement of an Identity sentence must be Referential, that is, Deictics, proper names, pronouns, or certain kinds of Definite noun phrase” (1979:245). An Identity sentence, then, has two referential noun phrases which refer to the same entity. *Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain* is clearly an Identity sentence. Finally, he describes Identificational sentences (25d) as those which are used typically “for teaching the names of people or things,” such as, *That man is Joe* (1979:220). The subject of this sentence is usually a demonstrative of some kind (deictic, not anaphoric).

Higgins summarises the Subject-Predicate structure of his four copular sentence types in Table 1:

Table 1. Higgins' four copular sentence types (1979:246)

<u>Type</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Predicate</u>
Identificational	Referential	Identificational
Identity	Referential	Referential
Predicational	Referential	Predicational
Specificational	Superscriptional	Specificational

In another MIT thesis, Rapoport (1987) critiques Higgins' four-way classification of copular sentences and offers her own classification based on the theta-criterion.⁶ Rapoport challenges the theory that referentiality is the determining factor between copular sentence types. She first challenges Akmajian (1970) who distinguishes between Predicatives and Equatives (Higgins' Identity predicates) based on referentiality (Rapoport 1987:181). Rapoport reviews Akmajian's argument that the sentence, *What he threw away was a valuable piece of equipment* illustrates the importance of referential status. This statement can be taken two different ways and the determining factor is the referential status of *a valuable piece of equipment*. When the predicate NP "a valuable piece of equipment" is understood as referential, the sentence is specificational (contrasting with Rapoport's definition of a specificational sentence, which is not referential), but when the NP is understood as non-referential, the sentence is predicational (1987:181). Rapoport argues, however, "The semantic ambiguity is irrelevant in the syntax" (1987:182). Akmajian's division based on referential status, similar to Higgins', is not correct.

Rapoport demonstrates how Higgins' four-way classification is unnecessary and offers instead a two-way classification based on "syntactic Argumenthood" (1987:191). Sentences are either predicative or equative. The determining factor for sentence classification is the argument structure. Using the terminology of the theta-criterion, Rapoport defines an argument as "a phrase to which a theta-role has been assigned" (1987:192). In equative sentences, both NPs receive theta-roles and thus are both arguments.

⁶ The theta-criterion is an axiom which states that in a sentence (1) an argument can only have one function (theta-role) i.e. agent, patient, undergoer, etc., and (2) each argument in a sentence must have a theta-role (see Rapoport 1987:15-16 for different expressions of the theta-criterion).

In Predicative sentences, only the pre-copular NP is an argument, receiving its theta-role from the post-copular NP. In predicative sentences, the post-copular NP cannot receive a theta-role since it assigns one. Within this description, Rapoport argues that the copula *be* is not a theta-role assigner and has no semantic function in either predicative or equative sentences (1987:194). She says, “Be is inserted at PF [Phonological Form] (or perhaps at S[entence]-Structure) to support INFL’s features (and perhaps to assign Case)” (1987:194). Though she modifies and reduces Higgins’ original taxonomy, Rapoport maintains a basic distinction identified by the semantics of the predicate.

Most recently, Mikkelsen (2011) revisits Higgins’ taxonomy to describe and modify what Higgins proposed concerning copular sentences. Higgins viewed the differences between the four types of sentences as mere surface characteristics of copular sentences; he was not able to define the nature of these four sentence types in his taxonomy. The best explanation he could provide was that these are different “functions” of copular sentences (Higgins 1979:192). Mikkelsen provides a few updates and modifications, but maintains the major distinction between predicative and equative predicates.

3.3.2 Functional Approaches

Those in the functional-typological tradition typically divide predicates into two major classes: ascriptive and identificational.⁷ The distinguishing criterion between ascriptive and identificational sentences is once again the referential status of the predicate in the universe of discourse. Pustet says: “The criterion that differentiates between these two predicate types is that of uniqueness *vs.* non-uniqueness of extra-linguistic referents of predicate phrases in the universe of discourse” (Pustet 2003:29). This means that when the predicate has only one unique referent in the world (e.g. *Mark Twain*) which corresponds to the referent of the subject, this sentence is identificational. If the predicate ascribes some quality to the subject (e.g. *tall, a man*), this sentence is ascriptive.

Pustet says, “An Identificational predicate has only one possible referent in the specific universe of discourse it is embedded in” (2003:29). Ascriptive predicates, however, do not convey uniqueness in the universe of discourse. Pustet indicates that ascriptive predicates are usually semantically and structurally simpler than identificational predicates.

⁷ Hengeveld (1992:101-102), however, who belongs to this group, labels the identificational class “Equative.” Though these are the major classes, some of the functional linguists (e.g. Pustet) acknowledge other minor classes, mentioning existential, quantificational, adverbial, nominal plus “oblique case marker,” and temporal predicates (Pustet 2003:31-33). Pustet says there is no standardised checklist of predicate types and the terminological labels are chaotic (Pustet 2003:33).

Like identificational predicates, ascriptive predicates can be derived from any predicable lexeme (2003:30). Specifically, Pustet explains, “Ascriptive predicates with a nominal nucleus establish membership in a class of items that are characterized by the concept that figures as predicate nucleus. Ascriptive predicates with an adjectival nucleus profile the clausal subject as having the property denoted by the predicate nucleus” (2003:30).

One of the unique aspects of the functional categorisation of copular predicates is the inclusion of intransitive verbal predicates. Hengeveld (1992), Pustet (2003), and Stassen (1997), under the label “ascriptive” include sentences like *He smokes* as well as copular sentences like *It is red*. Since the former includes a verb in the predicate, the formalist analysis places it in a different category. The functional analysis indicates that a verbal predicate can also ascribe properties to its subject, thus meriting the category “ascriptive.”

Stassen (1997) provides a metaphor for distinguishing all these types of copular expressions. He says that people organize their knowledge in different “mental files” which have their own labels and content. Identificational clauses, composed of both presentational and equational clauses ((26) and (27) respectively), reorganize the files whereas predicational (ascriptive) clauses only add new content to pre-existing files. For example, presentational clauses instruct the listener/reader to open a new file with a new label. The sentence,

(26) *That’s a sycamore tree you see there.*

instructs the listener to categorise what he sees under the label “sycamore tree.” (1997:101-102). Equational clauses, also called identity predicates, however, instruct the listener/reader to close down a mental file. For example, in the sentence

(27) *The Morning Star is the Evening Star*

the listener receives the instruction, “You may have thought before that you had to have two mental files, one labelled *Morning Star* and the other labelled *Evening Star*. This is not necessary. You can conflate the knowledge contained in these two files into one file” (1997:102).

Predicational sentences, however, are distinguished from the two identificational types above in that they only add new content to pre-existing files; they do not change the organization of file labels. So, from the sentence

(28) *Bill is a teacher*

“we are told to file a certain new piece of knowledge in the file labelled ‘Bill’, or, alternatively, we will add the referent known as ‘Bill’ to the set of referents already listed under (and therefore known to us as) ‘teacher’” (1997:102). The metaphor of mental files helps clarify the various types of clauses.

This extensive (though not exhaustive) examination demonstrates the complex but mostly uniform approach to copular sentences in the linguistic literature. There may not appear to be much uniformity in the treatments above but all the authors are working from semantic criterion to develop a taxonomy. It must be pointed out here that a taxonomy guided by the semantics of the subject and predicate is the pattern in contemporary linguistic literature. This is different from the traditional BH taxonomy reviewed in chapter 2 based on the formal classification of verbless/verbal clauses. Andersen’s (1970) division between identification and classification is the closest to the analysis.

Generative and functional treatments, though they have minor differences, agree on the fundamental division of equative and predicational clauses. For the purposes of this study, I will restrict myself to the two broad categories of equative and predicational predicates with a typological subdivision of the predicational category. In this study the terms “equative” and “identity” predicates as well as “ascriptive” and “predicational” predicates will be interchangeable. The remaining categories of ascriptive predicates are explained in the next section.

3.3.3 Categories of Ascriptive Predicates

In Stassen’s cross-linguistic typology of intransitive predication he subdivides all Ascriptive predicate expressions into four semantic predicate categories. These four categories are: event (or action/state) predicates, class-membership predicates, locational predicates, and property-concept predicates (1997:18). These categories broadly correspond to the English syntactic categories: intransitive verbal predication, nominal predication, prepositional predication, and adjectival predication respectively. These English categories are insufficient for cross-linguistic typological categorisation, however, since they are morphosyntactically specific. Stassen’s semantic categorisation is to be preferred since, for example, the semantic expression of locational predication is common to all languages even though it may not be expressed by means of prepositions as in English.

Stassen distinguishes these categories in large part by how sensitive they are to time. These categories occupy different positions on a scale of time stability. The least time stable category of predicates is made up of actions or events. These are usually lexicalised as verbs. On the other extreme, the most time stable category of predicates is made up of class-membership predicates. These are usually lexicalised as nouns. The noun *car* is a fixed concept that does not have any ingressive or transient notions. The verb *eats*, however, is a very transient word having very little time stability.

The category of property-concept predicates, according to Stassen, occupies an intermediate state between the two extremes of events and classes which is hard to describe. In fact, he suggests that these predicates may not form a semantic category at all. He says,

An alternative might be to split up the property-concept words, and to associate the various types of these items with either one of the extreme ends of the scale. For the less time-stable property-concepts (such as ‘ill’, ‘hungry’, ‘sad’, and the like) one might envisage a common classification with the most time-stable subcategory of events—that is, STATES such as ‘to sit’ or ‘to be called’. Alternatively, the more time-stable properties (such as, for instance, ‘wooden’, ‘English’, or ‘female’) might be viewed as constituting a subclass of class-membership predicates (1997:16-17).

Stassen concludes that the status of a property-concept category as a universal, homogenous, cognitive category like the event and class-membership categories. The data he has collected demonstrate this point. He says, “The cross-linguistic encoding properties of property-concept predicates clearly point to a status of a sort of ‘no man’s land’ between the two poles of event (‘verbal’) and class (‘nominal’) encoding” (1997:17). That being said, he still presents some identifying criteria for property-concept words. He presents this working definition:

- (29) A prototypical property-concept predicate is a predicate which
- (a) is intermediately time stable;
 - (b) is non-volitional; and
 - (c) does not refer to kinds (1997:17).

These criteria are helpful for distinguishing between property-concept words from subclasses of the other categories. (29a) has already been discussed above. (29b) distinguishes a property from what Stassen calls a state predicate. For example:

- (30) (a) *John is sitting on the couch*
(b) *John is sad*

Because (30a) involves a degree of volition on the part of the subject, it is closer to a state than a property. (30b) does not involve volition and can be labelled a property (1997:17).

Finally, (29c) keeps properties distinct from class-membership predicates. The examples Stassen uses to distinguish these are:

- (31) (a) *Bill is Irish*
(b) *Bill is an Irishman* (1997:18)

He explains, “Although both classes of predicates denote properties, they do so in a crucially different fashion” (1997:18). (31a) is a property-concept predicate because it is predicating one simple quality upon its subject. (31b), on the other hand, is saying much more than (31a). (31b) is specifying a set of complex features, a class of distinct qualities, into which the subject fits.

Though it seems the major categories of ascriptive predicates (event, property-concept, class-membership, locational) are already quite nuanced, there are multiple subclasses within these categories which receive formal encoding in the world’s languages. Stassen reports that within the category of events there are subcategories of actions, processes, and states (1997:19). It is necessary to distinguish these subclasses since they receive formal distinction in some languages. We will only discuss these subclasses as they become relevant to our study of BH copular constructions. What is most important is differentiating the most basic predicate types, namely: Identity predicates and Ascriptive predicates. Within the Ascriptive category there are four predicate types: event, property-concept, class-membership, and locational. This taxonomy is presented below:

1. Identity Predicates
2. Ascriptive Predicates
 - a. Event
 - b. Property-concept
 - c. Class-membership
 - d. Locational

The taxonomy above is a more precise approach to categorising predicates and is to be preferred over the traditional verbless/verbal clause division for BH. Having identified a comprehensive taxonomy of predicate types with which we can structure an analysis of BH predicate types, we can explore the formal encoding of these predicate types in cross-linguistic data. An analysis of the encoding strategies in languages around the world will demonstrate that BH is similar to other languages in the ways it encodes its various predicate types.

3.4 Formal Strategies for Encoding Predicates

3.4.1 The Stratification of Formal Encoding Strategies for Ascriptive Predicates

At the heart of Stassen's typology of intransitive predication is an identification of the patterns which languages use to accomplish predication. He describes the many different formal expressions of intransitive predication among the world's languages as *strategies*. For example, in Tagalog there appears to be one uniform strategy for encoding events, class-membership, property-concepts, and location: the topic constituent *ang*.

- (32) Tagalog (Stassen 1997:24)
- (a) *Kumanta ang mga bata*
sang TOP PL child
The children sang [=event]
 - (b) *Bago ang bahay*
new TOP house
The house is new [=property-concept]
 - (c) *Artista ang babae*
actress TOP woman
The woman is an actress [=class-membership]
 - (d) *Nasa kusina ang mesa*
LOC kitchen TOP table
The table is in the kitchen [=location]

In Guaraní, a Tupi language from Paraguay, however, there are three distinct strategies for encoding the various predicate types. Event predicates as well as property concepts require the prefixation of agreement markers, class membership predicates have no supporting item (i.e. zero copula), and locational predicates require the presence of a full lexical support verb:

- (33) Guaraní (Stassen 1997:25)
- (a) *O -puká*
3SUBJ- laugh
He laughs/laughed [=event]
 - (b) *Sé -rakú*
1OBJ -warm
I am warm [=property-concept]
 - (c) *Né soldádo*
2SG soldier
You are a soldier [=class-membership]
 - (d) *O -imé oké mé*
3SUBJ-be door at
He is at the door [=location]

In English, there are only two encoding strategies:

- (34) English (Stassen 1997:25)
- (a) *John walks* [=event]
 - (b) *John is tall* [=property-concept]
 - (c) *John is a teacher* [=class-membership]
 - (d) *John is at home* [=location]

The distribution in English is between verbal and non-verbal predicates. In these examples, the strategy employed by the event predicate allows subject agreement by adding the suffix–s while the other categories do not add this suffix. The other three categories utilise the same strategy which requires the presence of a supportive item, a copula, which assigns subject agreement and tense morphology.

Finally, in Biloxi, a Siouan language, there are also two encoding strategies:

- (35) Biloxi (Stassen 1997:26)
- (a) *Ay -toho*
2SG-fall
'You fall' [=event]
 - (b) *Ay -i^N hi^N tota^N*
2SG-brave
'You are brave' [=property-concept]
 - (c) *Nk -sito*
1SG- boy
'I am a boy' [=class-membership]
 - (d) *Éwa n -yukě' -di*
there 1PL-stand-DUR
'We were there' [=location]

The two strategies Biloxi uses have a different distribution than those in English. English splits the distribution of strategies based on the verbal and non-verbal distinction, but Biloxi splits at the locational and non-locational distinction. Example (35d) is separated formally from (35a), (35b), and (35c) because its predicate *Éwa* (*there*) cannot be encoded by prefixed agreement morphemes (Stassen 1997:26).

These different distributions lead to an important observation. Often English, or another prominent Western language, can function as a rule with which to measure other languages. Sometimes this can result in unwittingly adopting certain features as standard, such as a verbal/non-verbal distinction. This distinction may not be as important in other languages as it is in English, however.

The examples above illustrate that languages can vary both in the strategies they adopt for encoding various predicate types and in the distribution of these strategies. These two facts demonstrate that in order to make any typological observations about predication, detailed stratifications which specify the number and distribution of encoding strategies possible for predicate categories need to be identified. The prototypical stratifications for the different strategies will now be given.

3.4.2 Prototypical Encoding Strategies

The examples in (32) to (35) demonstrate that there are criteria which allow to us compare and contrast strategies between predicate categories and even between languages. These criteria consist of formal features. Stassen's study found three language-independent encoding strategies from which the four predicate categories in all languages are drawn. He calls these three strategies the Prototypical Encoding Strategies:

Thus, like other concepts in theoretical linguistics, an encoding strategy is seen as a restricted set of coherent (and sometimes interacting) formal parameters. In the realization of a prototypical encoding strategy, individual languages may differ in the number of parameters which they choose to define their encoding distinctions or in the kind of parameter(s) which they select for that purpose. However, the background assumption is that all languages select their individual strategy criteria from a universal repertoire or 'shortlist' of formal distinctions (Stassen 1997:28).

He adds,

Thus, for example, we find that the encoding of event predicates turns out to be cross-linguistically definable in terms of a specific, restricted, set of criteria, which are based on formal features which appear to be the 'prerogative' of that predicate category. This is why we can speak of THE PROTOTYPICAL STRATEGY OF CATEGORY X, i.e. the prototypical verbal strategy, the prototypical nominal strategy, and so on (Stassen 1997:29).

The bundle of formal features for Stassen's three prototypical strategies are as follows:

- Verbal strategy- "The verbal strategy is non-supported, and includes person agreement for languages which have this feature at all" (Stassen 1997:121).
- Nominal strategy- "The nominal strategy is supported, and employs zero copulas, pronominal copulas, or particle copulas (which may, by way of grammaticalization, have turned into verbal copulas)" (Stassen 1997:121).
- Locational strategy- "The locational strategy is supported, and employs fully verbal support items, typically chosen from a set of posture verbs" (Stassen 1997:121).

3.4.3 Strategy Takeover

Though there are definable prototypical encoding strategies for the various predicate types, there are also many examples of what Stassen calls “Strategy takeover.” He explains,

For all four predicate categories we can document instances of languages in which a given category *X* is encoded by a strategy which is prototypical for some other category *Y*. In such a case, we will say that (the encoding of) category *X* has been TAKEN OVER by (the prototypical strategy of) category *Y*. Thus, we will encounter cases of verbal takeover of adjectives, nominal takeover of verbs, locational takeover of nominals, and so on (Stassen 1997:29).

The concept of “takeover” is not a statement of diachronic development, but only a statement about the synchronic state of the category in question relative to the prototypical strategy. If a language encodes adjectival predicates using the prototypical verbal strategy, we could say that the language has a verbal strategy takeover for adjectival predicates.

As mentioned in section 3.4.3, Stassen found three prototypical strategies that encode the four predicate types. This is because property-concept predicates do not form a prototypical encoding strategy. The encoding strategy for property-concepts aligns with the verbal, nominal, or locational strategy (Stassen 1997:30).

Returning to our examples above, Tagalog (32) shows uniform encoding following the prototypical verbal strategy. The stratification of predicate categories can be represented as follows:

(36) Tagalog		
Event		V
Property		V
Class		V
Location		V

The other languages listed above in (33), (34), and (35) can be represented as follows:

(37) Guaraní		
Event		V
Property		V
Class		N
Location		L

(38) English		
Event	V	
Property	L	
Class	L	
Location	L	

(39) Biloxi		
Event	V	
Property	V	
Class	V	
Location	L	

All languages have a stratification of encoding strategies. Stassen has also identified geographical patterns in the stratification of predicate categories for the world's languages (Stassen 1997:121-151). Some languages have simple stratifications like those listed above, but other languages have additional layers of complexity to the encoding of their predicates. These additional layers are explained next.

3.4.4 External Pattern Switching

Many languages have more than one encoding pattern for the various predicate categories. Stassen calls this "pattern switching." Some of the categories are more prone to pattern switching than others. Property-concept predicates and class-membership predicates, for example, have many examples of pattern switching. An example of a language with class-membership pattern switching is the Austronesian language Fordat. Its stratification is as follows:

(40) Fordat (Stassen 1997:214-215)		
Event	V	
Property	V	
Class	L/N	
Location	L	

Fordat encodes class-membership through the use of both the prototypical nominal and locational strategies. There are many possible motivations for the use of one strategy over another, but these can only be explored with respect to a particular language.

3.4.5 Internal Pattern Switching

Another layer of complexity is the tendency within the nominal predicate category to have multiple patterns that still belong to their prototypical encoding type. The nominal

strategy has a number of different morphosyntactic manifestations: it may use zero copulas, nonverbal (pronominal or particle) copulas, and even verbal copulas (Stassen 1997:206). Most languages select one of these forms for their encoding of nominal predicates. There are some languages, however, which employ two or more of these devices for predication. These languages exhibit internal pattern switching. Stassen does not have conclusive evidence for what might cause internal pattern switching, however. In the analysis of the formal strategies of BH predicates in chapter 4, I will cite some new research which sheds light on why internal switching happens in BH.

The theoretical considerations above are essential for understanding the possible stratifications for a language in how it encodes its predicates. Language-independent, form-driven, prototypical encoding strategies help show the limited and measurable ways that a language can express its four predicate categories. What remains now is to show the stratification of BH and to analyse the data of my corpus in light of these theoretical considerations.

3.5 The Stratification of BH Predicate Categories

As chapter two indicated, there has been no small amount written about so-called “verbless clauses” and the BH copula. These prior studies largely have been done without a consideration of the typological findings presented above (excepting Kummerow 2013). By considering a cross-linguistically-informed methodology, we can approach BH first with a semantic rather than formal taxonomy as the foundation and second, with a greater understanding of how the language’s predicate encoding strategies should be stratified. I will list the full stratification below but will only perform a detailed study of class-membership predicates. A complete paradigm of identity predicates, property-concepts predicates, event predicates, and locational predicates, along with a study of existential expressions will be taken up in subsequent research.

(41) Biblical Hebrew	
1. Identity	N
2. Ascriptive	
a. <i>Event</i>	V
b. Property	N/V ⁸

⁸ The existence of the Hebrew stative is evidence of the verbal strategy in property-concept predicates. These predicates can be expressed through the zero strategy as well, thus resulting in N/V switching. Much more of this will be developed in subsequent research. This is a clear example of why the semantics-based

c. Class	N (with internal switching)
d. <i>Location</i>	<i>N</i>

The bold portions of this stratification will now be examined, beginning with Identity predicates. The label “zero copula” or “zero strategy” is preferred over “verbless clause” in order to be consistent with the broader linguistic literature. This label does not mean that a verbal element has been deleted; it is merely a descriptive label to help distinguish the various forms that certain predicates use.

3.5.1 Identity Predicates in BH

The first major distinction of predicate types listed above is that between identity predicates and ascriptive predicates. Identity predicates occupy an important place in the study of the overall system of intransitive predication. Stassen argues that the prototypical nominal strategy in ascriptive predicates relies on the formal manifestation of identity predicates for its inception. He says, “The typical features of the nominal strategy cannot be explained on the basis of (formal or semantic) characteristics of class-membership predicates. I will demonstrate that the zero/particle encoding of predicate nominals, and the possible constraints on this encoding, must be understood as one more case of strategy takeover” (Stassen 1997:100). The nominal strategy acquired its bundle of encoding features from the encoding of identity predicates.

To account for this strategy takeover, Stassen formulates the “Principle of Identity Pressure” which states, “Languages with a unique encoding strategy for predicate nominals derive this strategy from the encoding of Identity statements” (Stassen 1997:111). Stassen explains, “The fact that it is the category of predicate nominal (instead of, say, the category of predicate locationals) which is preferably taken over by the Identificational strategy derives from the close semantic relation (sometimes resulting in ambiguity) between class-membership predications and Identity statements” (Stassen 1997:111).

Stassen argues that iconic motivation accounts for zero encoding in identificational (identity) sentences—when the nominal strategy adopts the identificational strategy, zero encoding in nominal predication results. He revisits the Dummy Hypothesis, which he has already rejected, and argues that this hypothesis starts from a wrong estimation of the problem. Instead of “Why do languages have zero copulas?” the question should be “Why do

taxonomy is more helpful than the verbless/verbal distinction typically made. In the traditional verbless/verbal division, property-concept predicates utilising the zero strategy would be analysed separately from statives.

some languages lack zero copulas?” (Stassen 1997:111). If identity statements are the most time-stable and, thus, are iconically atemporal, and if class-membership predicates fall prey to strategy takeover by the identificational strategy, then we would expect that all languages should have zero encoding for their class-membership predicates. This conclusion is not supported by the data, however. There are many languages which employ a verbal and even a locational strategy for class-membership predication. Stassen does not have a conclusive explanation for why class-membership predicates display other strategies, but he does offer another principle that may be at work which clashes with the principle of identity pressure. This principle he calls, “The Economy Principle of Predicate Encoding” (Stassen 1997:112). This principle, which draws from the formalist notion of economy states, “Languages tend to minimize the number of different surface patterns in the encoding of their intransitive sentences” (Stassen 1997:112). Some languages may prefer to create a uniform surface structure of intransitive sentences over a reflection of semantic iconicity.

This discussion of zero copula constructions leads us back to the question of how BH encodes identity statements. With the two principles above, it is no surprise that BH encodes class-membership and identity predicates with the same strategy. The zero strategy (the prototypical nominal strategy) is evident in the following examples of identity predicates:

(42) Judges 21:11

זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּ

This (is) the thing that you will do.

(43) Judges 4:2

וְשָׂרָא צְבָאוֹ סִיסְרָא

The commander of his army (was) Sisera.

These two examples demonstrate that in both present (42) and past (43) time, the zero strategy is used for the encoding of identity statements. In the corpus of the books Joshua through 2 Kings, the zero strategy is the primary means for encoding identity statements.⁹ Kummerow also recognises and cites further examples that zero encoding is the primary default means of expressing copular predication (Kummerow 2013:66). Two examples of each encoding strategy which are semantically similar are given below:

⁹ See Appendix 1 for the full list of Identity predicates divided into the different encoding strategies.

Identity with Zero Strategy:

(44) Joshua 19:35

וְעָרֵי מִבְצָר הַצְּדִים צָר....

The fortified cities (are) Ziddim, Zer....

(45) Joshua 19:51

אֵלֶּה הַנְּחֻלֹת אֲשֶׁר נָחֲלוּ

These (were) the inheritances which they inherited.

Identity with Overt Strategy:

(46) 1 Samuel 14:49

וַיְהִיו בְּנֵי שָׂאוּל יוֹנָתָן וִישׁוּי וּמַלְכִי-שׁוּעַ

The sons of Saul *were* Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malchi-shua.

(47) Joshua 20:9

אֵלֶּה הָיוּ עָרֵי הַמּוֹעֵדָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

These *were* the cities which were appointed for all the sons of Israel.

There is one final construction used for encoding identity predicates. An example of this strategy is given in (48).

(48) 1 Samuel 4:8

אֵלֶּה הֵם הָאֱלֹהִים הַמַּכִּים אֶת-מִצְרַיִם

These (are) the gods that struck Egypt.

This construction was described in section 2.2.3 and further comment on this strategy will be given in chapter 5.

3.5.2 Class-Membership Predicates in BH

Having defined and demonstrated identity predicates in BH, the next category we will examine in the taxonomy of BH predicates is class-membership predicates, a subdivision of ascriptive predicates:

1. Identity Predicates
2. Ascriptive Predicates
 - a. Event
 - b. Property-concept
 - c. Class-membership**
 - d. Locational

Class-membership predicates are nominal predicates which place a referent—the subject—into the set of other known referents. In Stassen’s terms, the subject is being placed into a mental file already labelled by a broader category. For example, the sentence *John is a man* places the subject *John* into a set of referents which share the label *man*. In a majority of cases, BH uses the zero strategy for encoding class-membership predicates. These are provided in Appendix 2. Here are some examples:

(49) 1 Kings 11:17

וְהָיָה נֶעֱר קָטָן

Hadad (was) a young boy.

(50) 1 Samuel 17:33

וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְעָרָיו

He (was) a man of war from his youth.

(51) 2 Samuel 17:8

וְאָבִיךָ אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה

Your father (is) a man of war.

Here are some examples of class-membership predicates using the overt strategy:

(52) Judges 11:1

וַיִּפְתַּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גִבּוֹר חַיִל

Jephthah the Gileadite *was* a strong warrior.

(53) 2 Samuel 14:27

היא היתה אשה יפת מראה

She *was* a woman of beautiful appearance.

These examples are very similar to (50) and (51) which utilise the zero strategy. There is no obvious difference between the examples with and without the copula. In the next chapter I will argue that there are very specific semantic differences between these two types of constructions.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have described a taxonomy of predicates that follows the common linguistic approach of distinguishing predicates based on the semantic status of the predicate. This taxonomy represents a different way of analysing predicates in BH. I have also reviewed a useful approach to categorise the formal strategies of predication based on the typological findings of Stassen (1997).

Utilising this typological stratification, I have listed the various formal strategies found in BH. Now that I have described the typological stratification of intransitive predicates, defined and illustrated the encoding strategies for identity and class-membership predicates in BH, I will begin the analysis of these various strategies. The next chapter will provide this analysis of class-membership predicates.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF FORMAL STRATEGIES FOR BH CLASS-MEMBERSHIP PREDICATES

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the different formal strategies for BH class-membership predicates and display their unique syntactic profiles and semantic nuances. I will revisit the traditional definition of the verbal copula as a semantically-empty constituent utilising network semantics (4.2). I will also provide a brief review of Markedness Theory (4.3). After this I will demonstrate how each formal strategy of class-membership predicates in BH possess a unique syntactic profile and capacity for various semantic and discourse features. These profiles will demonstrate from the data why different strategies are used in copular predication for class-membership predicates in BH. Before analysing the data with the stratification presented in example (38) above, there are two concepts which must be explained. The first is the semantic network of “BE” (4.2) and the second is Markedness Theory (4.3).

4.2 Semantic Network of “BE”

In a recent monograph entitled *Constructions and Environments: Copular, Passive, and Related Constructions in Old and Middle English*, Peter Petré (2014) challenges the traditional notion that copulas are semantically empty constituents merely used to link a subject with a nonverbal predicate. He believes the copula contains certain semantic nuances that form a composite meaning when combined with the predicate. While agreeing with most of Stassen’s (1997) typological research on the importance of time-stability in copular constructions, he critiques it with the following:

Stassen did not observe the composite nature of time stability because he limited himself, in line with the tradition, to a lexical delineation of the category of copulas, only considering such items as copulas that are claimed to be ‘semantically empty.’ Stassen shares this limitation with most typological studies of copulas, in which copulas are very often seen as an atomic word class which can be defined universally without fully taking into account language-specific distributions. A clear example of this approach is the typological study of copulas by Pustet (2003), who gives the following definition of copula: ‘A copula is a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when they function as predicate nucleus. A

copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in (2003:5) (Petré 2014:67-68).

Petré refutes the notion that the most basic, unmarked copula is semantically empty saying,

Is is not semantically empty because it adds (lexically, not by means of morphology) the aspectual value of atemporality or stativity. In a similar fashion, other Copulas can also be distinguished on the basis of the lexical aspect they add to the predication....For instance, *was* in (85) adds durativity, while *got* in (86) encodes a punctual change.

(85) *He was scared (the whole movie long).*

(86) *He got scared (*the whole movie long).*” (Petré 2014:68).

Although a verb such as *got* is not usually viewed as a copula, Petré argues that there is a class of verbs whose role is to link subject and predicate yet add semantic information. Words such as *become* (a teacher), *turn* (pale), *grow* (old), *stay* (cool) belong in a discussion of copular constructions as well.

Clancy (2010) agrees with the notion that the semantic concept BE is not semantically empty, but may, in fact be among the heaviest of semantic concepts in language (Clancy 2010:252). Clancy argues for a semantic map that is represented on a network of BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING, which I will return to in this section below.

The thesis of Clancy’s work is that the semantic concepts BE and HAVE are related concepts and have a broad range of uses in many of the world’s languages. In English, for example, Clancy says

‘Be’ is a verb of existence (Engl *I am* ‘I exist’) and a copula (Engl *I am tall*...). As a copula, ‘be’ equates two items, assigns items to various categories, and establishes location. In its role as an existential expression, ‘be’ serves to express presence or absence (Engl *There is a book on the table*...) and location (*We are in Texas*).... Besides the many uses of ‘be’ as a main verb, it is also used as an auxiliary (Engl *I am reading*).... Instead of finding a simple verb with a straightforward usage, we have a polysemous lexical item which is both a main verb and an auxiliary. Its conjugation is irregular, its paradigm is suppletive, and it manifests both full and phonetically reduced forms (Clancy 2010:1).

The concept HAVE is also richly developed in its lexical and grammatical meaning in English. Clancy’s monograph is devoted to examining the networks of meaning of BE and HAVE in the Slavic language family, but his approach provides an important model for this study.¹⁰ His broad thesis is the following: “This study provides an analysis in which BE and

¹⁰ Clancy’s observations on HAVE expressions and their interaction with BE constructions will be applied to BH in subsequent research.

HAVE are understood as parallel, coherent concepts whose many meanings and functions spread out over multiple lexical forms is motivated by the semantics of these concepts and their interactions with semantic neighbors in a highly structured, language-specific system” (Clancy 2010:3).

The semantic neighbors he mentions include the synonymous and inter-related notions of GIVE-HAVE-TAKE-GET and MAKE/DO-BE-BECOME. BE and HAVE both represent states. The inter-related concepts either bring about or put an end to the states of BEING or HAVING. The network Clancy creates to encompass these concepts is BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING. The helpfulness of this network of concepts will be explained in section 4.4.1. Table 2 provides the full network of semantically-related terms according to Clancy:

Table 2. Clancy’s semantic network of being (Clancy 2010:26)

BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING			
<u>Existence</u>	Make/Do Become	Be	(Unmake)
<u>Possession</u>	Get	Have	Lose
<u>Creation</u>	Create	Exist	Destroy
<u>Life</u>	Be born	Live/grow	Die
<u>Visibility, presence</u>	appear show	Be visible Be visible	Disappear hide
<u>Accessibility</u>	Find	Keep	Lose, Leave
<u>Motion</u>	Come	Stay	Go/Leave
<u>Process</u>	Start/Begin	Continue	Finish/End
<u>Position</u>	Stand Up	Stand	Sit Down/Lie Down
<u>Manipulation</u>	Put Pick Up	BE in loc. Hold	Remove Put Down

Leaving aside the concept HAVE, Clancy provides some helpful analysis on the concept BE. Like other high frequency lexical items, lexemes expressing BE undergo grammaticalisation. Clancy explains how languages are subject to suppletisation and/or polysemitisation for all the semantically-related concepts in the BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING network (Clancy 2010:24). English, for example, has extensive suppletisation in its past and present paradigms (*was/were; is/am/are*). In Ancient Greek, on

the other hand, multiple separate but related concepts are communicated with a single polysemous verb (*eimí* “I am”) (Clancy 2010:22).

As will be fully explained in section 4.4.1, BH is a language that also exhibits polysemitisation. The single verb *היה* in different syntactic constructions can be used to accomplish a host of concepts in the semantic network of BE. Both Kummerow (2013:60-63) and Sinclair (1999:52-53) acknowledge the broad semantic range of *היה* but neither has produced a way to organise or anticipate these semantic nuances in specific examples. Longacre (2003:82), GKC (Gesenius 1910:454), and BDB (2000:224) have also noticed the multiple semantic nuances of *היה*.

In addition to these semantic nuances, each formal predication strategy has a unique syntactic profile. In order to understand these profiles, the language of Markedness Theory must be understood. The next section will give a brief overview of Markedness Theory to help frame the syntactic profiles of formal predication strategies in BH. The final section of this chapter will demonstrate the syntactic profile and unique semantic features of each copular predication strategy.

4.3 Markedness

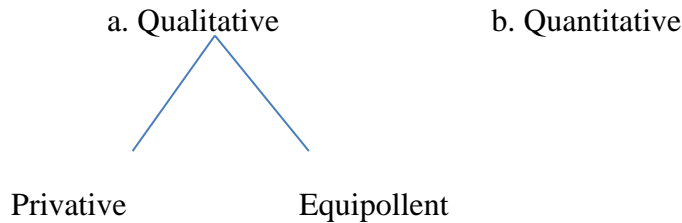
Though markedness has its roots in phonology, it has been applied to almost every subdomain of linguistics, as well as literature, semiotics, art and culture (Battistella 1990:xiii). However, the broad application of this principle has resulted in a complex and sometimes disconnected array of definitions of markedness. A brief explanation of the history of the concept will help make sense of present usage and show why it is valuable in the present study.

Markedness Theory began in the Prague School of linguistics of the 1920s and 1930s. The first scholars to develop and apply its principles were Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson. Trubetzkoy is well-known for applying markedness principles at the level of phonology and Jakobson extended its application to the levels of grammar and semantics (Newmeyer 2000:197). Contemporary linguists like Greenberg (1963) have extended the concept even further to the level of syntax and language typology.

The concept of markedness has been used to explain the phonological difference between *p* and *b*, the semantic difference between *horse* and *mare*, and the various word orders found in languages. Since the impact of this concept is so far-reaching, what is needed

is a broad-to-narrow, simple-to-complex explanation. The hierarchy in (51) will help us understand the different types of markedness.

(54) Markedness hierarchy



Under the qualitative heading there are two aspects of markedness. The first is the relationship of privative oppositions. Battistella represents this view saying, “Markedness is probably most easily understood as a relation between a very specific linguistic sign (the marked term) and a sign that is unspecified for the grammatical or conceptual feature in question. In this sense, marked and unmarked elements are not strictly opposite” (Battistella 1990:2). This kind of markedness is based on what is called a privative opposition. The marked term has feature A and the unmarked term either does not have feature A or says nothing about the presence of feature A. Privative oppositions can be represented by the contrast *A vs. not-A*

The second kind of qualitative markedness is based on equipollent oppositions. Equipollent oppositions can be represented by the contrast *A vs. B*, where *A= not B* and *B=not A*. The marked element has feature A and the unmarked element has feature B in equipollent opposition.

Battistella summarizes these two oppositions, “The unmarked element thus has two interpretations: it has a general interpretation in which the nonsignalization of the marked feature indicates the irrelevance of the poles of the opposition; and it has a specific interpretation in which the nonsignalization of the marked feature indicates the signalization of the opposite” (Battistella 1990:2). An example will illustrate the difference between these oppositions. When we want to ask generally about the age (52) or height (53) of a person in English we use the (a) sentences below:

- (55) a. How old are you?
- b. How young are you?

- (56) a. How tall are you?
- b. How short are you?

The questions in (55a) and (56a) do not presuppose or imply any specific information about the height or age of the addressee. The (b) examples, however, imply something about the addressee: that he or she is in fact young (55b) or short (56b). The concepts *old* and *tall* in questions (55a) and (56a) are unmarked in the sense that they make no statement about the height or age of the addressee (privative *A* vs. *not-A* opposition). In another context, however, these same words could be used in an equipollent opposition as the opposites of *young* and *short* respectively (*A* vs. *B*) (Battistella 1990:3).

The second major type of markedness is *quantitative* markedness. This type of markedness is usually found in typological and grammatical research and concerns a scale of markedness qualities. Typically a hierarchy of markedness is developed displaying a scale of relative markedness as in example (54).

(57) singular < plural < dual < trial/paucal (Newmeyer 2000:198).

This implicational hierarchy displays a language universal. Languages that contain a trial form necessarily contain a dual and plural form. Languages that contain a dual form necessarily contain a plural form. The converse is not necessarily true, however. The existence of a plural category does not necessitate the existence of a dual category.

Qualitative markedness is determined using a number of different criteria. Linguists such as Croft (1990), Greenberg (1966), and Givón (1990) have highlighted features such as formal complexity (complex = more marked) and frequency distribution (less frequent and more specific = more marked) to identify marked forms. Implicational hierarchies like this are usually used in connection with language typology and universals. Both quantitative and qualitative markedness are valuable for this study.

4.4 The Paradigm of Formal Predication Strategies for Class-Membership Predicates

The full stratification of BH predicates is repeated below from (38) above.

(58) Biblical Hebrew

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Identity | N |
| 2. Ascriptive | |
| a. <i>Event</i> | V |
| b. <i>Property</i> | N/V |
| c. Class | N (with internal switching) |
| d. <i>Location</i> | N |

As presented in section 3.5.2, class-membership predicates utilise several different strategies that belong within the prototypical nominal encoding strategy. The overt copula strategy (i.e. with a form of הִיָּה) and the nominal strategy (i.e. with a covert copula) are both used to encode class-membership predicates. Stassen does not give conclusive evidence for what causes the internal switching, however.

In working through the BH data, it became evident that there were certain syntactic and semantic features that were specific to each predication strategy. These features give us the evidence for discerning the internal switching that happens in class-membership predicates in BH. What follows are the syntactic profiles of each predication strategy and their semantic networks.

4.4.1 Semantic Network of BE in BH

As mentioned in section 4.2, both Clancy and Petré have identified something that is very important for my research: a study of copular constructions in a language is misguided and incomplete if it does not acknowledge the network of semantically similar and sometimes polysemous expressions of BE. In BH, there are many examples of semantically-encoded clauses which are in different places in this network but which nonetheless use the same verb (polysemitisation). Examples (59) through (62) provide some illustrations:

(59) 2 Samuel 8:14

וַיְהִי כָּל־אֲדוֹם עֲבָדִים לְדָוִד

And all the Edomites **became** David's servants.

(60) Joshua 19:14

וְהָיוּ תְּצַאֲתָיו גִּי יַפְתַּח־אֵל

And its edges **went** to the valley of Iphtahel.

(61) 1 Kings 21:17

וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־אֵלְיָהוּ הַתִּשְׁבִּי

The word of YHWH **came** to Elijah the Tishbite.

(62) 1 Kings 1:21

וְהָיִיתִי אָנִי וּבְנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה חֲטָאִים

I and my son Solomon will **appear** to be offenders

The copular verb היה in these sentences, combined with their semantic environment, contributes to a semantic nuance within the context of each sentence. There seem to be many different nuances throughout the corpus, however, and we need a comprehensive way to categorise these nuances. Petré's study provides a possible categorisation. He says, "The Copular Construction describes a state or a change of state" (2014:53). Clancy affirms this division (Clancy 2010:9-10). There are two kinds of copular constructions using a lexical verb of being: those that describe a state and those that describe a change in state. Utilising the markedness theory presented in section 4.3, these two categories will be presented with a qualitatively equipollent markedness relationship between +change-of-state and -change-of-state constructions. (63) presents this relationship.

(63)



These two categories represent the broadest categorisation in BH copular predication. Under these two categories fit each predication strategy. The +change-of-state constructions will be analysed first.

4.4.2 +Change-of-State Constructions in BH Class-Membership Predicates

4.4.2.1 וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה

The data reveal that every example of clause-initial וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה constructions in class-membership predicates is consistent with Petré's category of +change-of-state interpretations (Clancy's BECOMING). It is important to distinguish this construction from the so-called discourse-level וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה. The discourse-level וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה is distinct from the copular וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה by the absence of arguments (Cook 2012:310). The semantic network of this construction will be analysed first and the syntactic profile will follow.

Examples (59)-(62) utilise this form and can reflect an ingressive nuance (59) a "motion" nuance (60) and (61), and a "visibility" nuance (62) within Clancy's semantic network of BE. As these examples demonstrate, clause-initial וַיְהִי/וְהָיָה is used for many different types of change-of-state interpretations in this network. Repeated in Table 3 is the

full network of possible semantically-related nuances according to Clancy with the words in bold indicating concepts bolded which are present in the BH data corpus:

Table 3. Semantic network of clause-initial וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה constructions in BH class-membership predicates (adapted from Clancy 2010:26)

BECOMING --BEING----UNBECOMING			
<u>Existence</u>	Make/Do	Be	(Unmake)
	Become		
<u>Possession</u>	Get	Have	Lose
<u>Creation</u>	Create	Exist	Destroy
<u>Life</u>	Be born	Live/grow	Die
<u>Visibility,</u>	appear	Be visible	Disappear
<u>presence</u>	show	Be visible	hide
<u>Accessibility</u>	Find	Keep	Lose, Leave
<u>Motion</u>	Come	Stay	Go/Leave
<u>Process</u>	Start/Begin	Continue	Finish/End
<u>Position</u>	Stand Up	Stand	Sit Down/Lie Down
<u>Manipulation</u>	Put	BE in loc.	Remove
	Pick Up	Hold	Put Down

The attested examples of class-membership predicates with these nuances are presented in Table 4:

Table 4. Semantic nuances of וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה in BH class-membership predicates

Book	Ref.	Verb form	Text	Semantic Nuance
Joshua	15.21	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה הָעָרִים מְקֻצָּה לְמִטָּה בְּנֵי־הַיְהוּדָה אֶל־ גְּבוּל אֲדוֹם בְּנִגְבָּה קְבָצָאֵל וְעָדָר וַיִּגֹּר	Existence: become
Joshua	17.10	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה הָיִם גְּבוּלוֹ	Existence: become
Joshua	18.21	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה הָעָרִים לְמִטָּה בְּנֵי בְנֵימִן לְמִשְׁפְּחוֹתֵיהֶם וְרִיחוֹ	Existence: become
Joshua	19.14	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה תִצְאָתוֹ גַּי יִפְתַּח־אֶל	Motion: go

Book	Ref.	Verb form	Text	Semantic Nuance
Joshua	19.18	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה גְבוּלָם יִזְרְעֵאלָהּ	Motion: go
Joshua	19.22	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ תִצְאוֹת גְבוּלָם הַיַּרְדֵּן	Motion: go
Joshua	19.25	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה גְבוּלָם חִלְקַת וַחֲלֵי וּבִטָּן וְאֶכְשָׁף	Existence: become
Joshua	19.33	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה תִצְאוֹתָיו הַיַּרְדֵּן	Motion: go
Joshua	19.41	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה גְבוּל נַחֲלֹתָם צָרְעָה	Existence: become
Joshua	21.40	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה גוֹרְלָם עָרִים שְׂתִים עֲשָׂרָה	Possession: Accumulate
Judges	7.6	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה מִסְפַּר הַמַּלְקָקִים בְּיָדָם אֶל-פִּיהֶם שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ	Possession: Accumulate
Judges	8.26	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה מִשְׁקַל נֹזְמֵי הַזֹּהָב אֲשֶׁר שָׁאֵל אֶלְף וּשְׁבַע-מֵאוֹת זָהָב	Possession: Accumulate
1 Samuel	8.2	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה שָׁם-בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר יוֹאֵל	Life: Be born
1 Samuel	13.21	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָה הַפְּצִירָה פִּים לְמַחְרַשֵּׁת	Possession: Accumulate
1 Samuel	14.49	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ בְנֵי שָׂאוּל יוֹנָתָן וַיִּשׁוּי וּמִלְכִי-שׁוּעַ	Life: Be born
1 Samuel	27.7	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה מִסְפַּר הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר-יָשָׁב דָּוִד בְּשָׂדֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים יָמִים וְאַרְבַּעַת חֳדָשִׁים	Possession: Accumulate
1 Samuel	28.16	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה עֲרֹךְ	Existence: become
2 Samuel	3.2	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה בְּכוֹרוֹ אֲמִנּוֹן לְאַחִינוּעַם הַיִּזְרְעֵאלִית	Life: Be born
2 Samuel	8.14	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה כָּל-אֲדוֹם עֲבָדִים לְדָוִד	Existence: become
1 Kings	1.21	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָה אֲנִי וּבְנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה חֲטָאִים	Visibility: appear/seem
1 Kings	4.1	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ עַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל	Existence: become
1 Kings	5.2	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה לְחֵם-שְׁלֹמֹה לְיוֹם אֶחָד שְׁלֹשִׁים כָּר סֵלֶת	Possession: Accumulate
1 Kings	11.24	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה שָׂר-גְדוּד בְּהָרַג דָּוִד אֶתָם	Existence: become

Book	Ref.	Verb form	Text	Semantic Nuance
1 Kings	11.25	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה שָׁטָן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־יְמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה	Existence: become
1 Kings	11.37	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָ מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	Existence: become
1 Kings	12.7	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ לָךְ עֲבָדִים כָּל־הַיָּמִים	Existence: become
1 Kings	13.33	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה כְּהֵנִי בְּמוֹת	Existence: become
1 Kings	22.22	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָ רֹחַ שָׁקֵר בְּפִי כָּל־נְבִיאָיו	Existence: become
2 Kings	15.5	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה מִצָּרַע עַד־יוֹם מָתוֹ	Existence: become
2 Kings	17.3	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָ לוֹ הוֹשַׁע עֲבָד	Existence: become
2 Kings	20.18	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ סְרִיסִים בְּהֵיכַל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל	Existence: become
2 Kings	24.1	וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָ לוֹ יְהוּדִיקִים עֲבָד שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים	Existence: become

An example of each nuance from the above data will demonstrate the nuances.

(64) Existence: Become

2 Kings 20:18

וְהָיוּ סְרִיסִים בְּהֵיכַל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל

And they will **become** eunuchs in the temple of the king of Babylon

(65) Possession: Accumulate¹¹

Joshua 21:40

וְהָיָה גֹרְלָם עָרִים שְׁתַּיִם עֲשָׂרָה

And their lot **added up** to twelve cities

(66) Life: Be born

1 Samuel 14:49

וְהָיוּ בְנֵי שָׂאוּל יוֹנָתָן וְיִשְׁוִי וּמַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ

And the sons **born** to Saul were Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malchi-shua

¹¹ “Accumulate” (“total”) is not an expression used within Clancy’s network but the data presented this nuance. “Accumulate” resembles the nuance “get,” within the broader category of Possession. Clancy does not claim that his network is exhaustive of all possible semantic nuances of BE.

(67) Visibility: Appear

1 Kings 1:21

וְהִיָּיתִי אִנִּי וּבְנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה חַטָּאִים

I and my son Solomon will **appear** to be offenders

(68) Motion: Come

1 Kings 21:17

וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֶל-אֵלְיָהוּ הַתִּישְׁבִּי

The word of YHWH **came** to Elijah the Tishbite.

The semantic network of clause-initial וְהִיָּה/וַיְהִי constructions is represented in (69).

(69) **Semantic network for clause-initial וְהִיָּה/וַיְהִי in class-membership predicates**

BECOMING

Existence Become

Possession Accumulate

Life Be born

Visibility, Appear

Motion Come

The clause-initial וְהִיָּה/וַיְהִי also has a syntactic markedness profile which specifies how its features of tense and aspect are expressed by the form.¹² This markedness profile is presented in chart (70).

(70)

<u>+change-of-state</u>
וְהִיָּה/וַיְהִי
+tense
-aspect
+/-mode (become)

The examples in Table 4 reflect the marking of tense by the selection of וַיְהִי (past) or וְהִיָּה

¹² The marking of forms draws from Cook (2012:268-271). More specifically the forms are as follows: וַיְהִי = (past) +tense, וְהִיָּה = (future) +tense, וְהָיָה = +aspect (perfective), וְהָיָה = +aspect (imperfective).

(non-past). Since many of these examples convey an ingressive mood “become,” but many do not, this form has a privative opposition for mood. These forms are also marked for –aspect.

It is worth addressing at this point the sequential nature of so-called *waw-consecutive* form as it relates to this clause-initial form. Some may see an overlap between the majority view of the *waw-consecutive* as a macrosyntactic sign of sequence in a narrative (Harmelink 2011) and the change-of-state nuance advocated in this dissertation. This comparison conflates two levels of analysis, however. The observations above do not speak for or against the role of the *waw-consecutive* at the level of discourse since the observations here are restricted to the level of syntax. For a thorough review of וְיָהִי and its role at the level of discourse, see Harmelink 2011.

4.4.2.2 Any Form of לְ+הִיהַ

The second +change-of-state predicate strategy for class-membership predicates is the syntagm comprising any form of הִיהַ with a preposition לְ prefixed to the predicate nominal. The syntagm לְ+הִיהַ indicates “becoming” with the לְ indicating what the subject becomes. In his grammar, Blau writes, “If *hāyā* does not denote mere being, but rather becoming, the predicate may be introduced by *le*” (Blau 1976:90). Jenni labels this use of לְ “*Lamed revaluationis*” (Jenni 2000:26-53). This special syntagm is present in both initial and non-initial uses of the overt strategy.

In the data, this syntagm is marked for only one expression regardless of the form of הִיהַ: the concept “become.” Since it only expresses one nuance, it is marked for the modal concept “become” in its syntactic markedness profile and does not have a diverse semantic network.

לְ+הִיהַ also possesses a privative opposition for tense and aspect. Its status as an explicit modal marker of “become” leads us to recognize it as the marked +change-of-state expression. Since the clause-initial וְיָהִי/וְיָהִי can but does not always indicate “become,” it is the unmarked +change-of-state expression. This relationship is presented in (71).

(71)

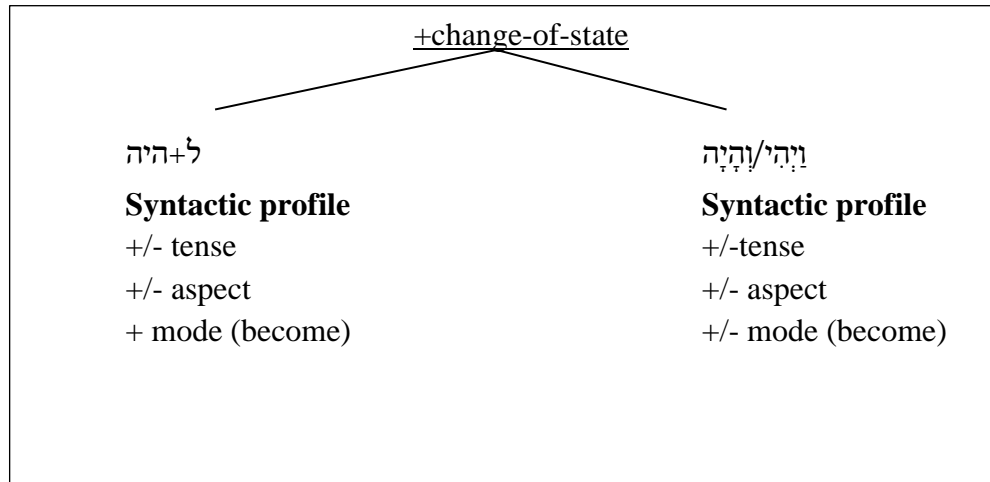


Table 5 provides the data that demonstrate the uniformity in the marked form, regardless of the verbal form.

Table 5. Examples of the ל+היה syntagm in BH class-membership predicates

Book	Reference	Verbal form	Text
Joshua	4.7	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה לְזִכְרוֹן לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־עוֹלָם:
Joshua	16.10	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה לְמַס־עֶבֶד
Joshua	23.13	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לַפַּח וּלְמוֹקֵשׁ
Joshua	24.27	ל+היה+X	הִנֵּה הָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת תִּהְיֶה־בָנוּ לְעֵדָה
Joshua	24.32	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיוּ לְבְנֵי־יוֹסֵף לְנַחֲלָה
1 Samuel	23.17	ל+היה+X	וְאֶנְכִי אֶהְיֶה־לָּךְ לְמִשְׁנֶה
1 Samuel	29.4	ל+היה+X	וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה־לָּנוּ לְשֵׁטֶן בַּמִּלְחָמָה
2 Samuel	5.2	ל+היה+X	וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְנֹגֵיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
2 Samuel	7.24	ל+היה+X	וְאַתָּה יְהוּהָ הָיִיתָ לָּהֶם לְאֱלֹהִים

Book	Reference	Verbal form	Text
2 Samuel	8.2	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְתָהִי מוֹאֵב לְדָוִד לְעֶבְדִּים
2 Samuel	8.6	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְתָהִי אֲרָם לְדָוִד לְעֶבְדִּים
2 Samuel	15.33	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיְתָ עָלַי לְמִשָּׂא
1 Kings	9.7	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִשְׁלַל וְלְשִׁנְיָנָה בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים
1 Kings	12.30	ל+וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה	וְהָיָה הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה לְחַטָּאת

Examples of this syntagm utilizing the different syntactic arrangements are provided in (72) through (75).

(72) X+היה+ל

2 Samuel 5:2

וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְנֹגֵד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

You **will become** leader over Israel

(73) X+היה+ל

2 Samuel 7:24

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה יְהוּה הָיִיתָ לָהֶם לְאֱלֹהִים

And you, YHWH, **became** their God

(74) ל+וְהָיָה

1 Kings 9:7

וְהָיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִשְׁלַל וְלְשִׁנְיָנָה בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים

And Israel **will become** a proverb and a byword among all people

(75) ל+וְהָיָה

1 Kings 12:30

וְהָיָה הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה לְחַטָּאת

Then this thing **became** a sin

4.4.3 –Change-of-State Constructions in BH Class-Membership Predicates

The other major pattern of the overt copula, the X+הָיָה construction, seems to signify a state (Clancy's BEING) rather than a change-of-state. Every construction which has a finite

form of היה preceded by some constituent exists with –change-of-state semantic (unless it is the להיה syntagm). The other strategy used to signify a state is the zero strategy (verbless clause). The unique features and syntactic profiles for these forms will now be demonstrated.

4.4.3.1 X+היה

Just as the clause-initial וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה has a nuanced semantic network as well as a syntactic profile, the construction in which any non-verbal constituent precedes a form of היה is used for many different type of –change-of-state interpretations. Clancy’s network is reproduced in Table 6 with the nuances bolded which appear in the data.

Table 6. Semantic nuances of X+היה in BH class-membership predicates (adapted from Clancy 2010:26)

BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING			
<u>Existence</u>	Make/Do Become	Be	(Unmake)
<u>Possession</u>	Get	Have	Lose
<u>Creation</u>	Create	Exist	Destroy
<u>Life</u>	Be born	Live/grow	Die
<u>Visibility, presence</u>	appear show	Be visible Be visible	Disappear hide
<u>Accessibility</u>	Find	Keep	Lose, Leave
<u>Motion</u>	Come	Stay	Go/Leave
<u>Process</u>	Start/Begin	Continue	Finish/End
<u>Position</u>	Stand Up	Stand	Sit Down/Lie Down
<u>Manipulation</u>	Put Pick Up	BE in loc. Hold	Remove Put Down

Table 7 lists the other attested examples of constructions which use X+היה and their semantic nuances.

Table 7. Examples of X+היה in BH class-membership predicates with semantic nuances

Book	Reference	Verb Form	Text	Semantic Nuance
Joshua	4.6	X+היה	לְמַעַן תִּהְיֶה זֹאת אוֹת בְּקִרְבְּכֶם	Existence: be
Joshua	17.1	X+היה	כִּי הוּא הָיָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה	Existence: be
Judges	11.1	X+היה	וַיִּפְתַּח הַגְּלַעַדִּי הָיָה גְבוּר חֵיל	Existence: be
Judges	12.2	X+היה	אִישׁ רִיב הָיִיתִי אֲנִי וְעַמִּי וּבְנֵי-עַמּוֹן מְאֹד	Existence: be
Judges	18.30	X+היה	הוּא וּבְנָיו הָיוּ כֹהֲנִים לְשִׁבְט הַדְּנִי עַד-יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ	Process: continue
1 Samuel	8.11	X+היה	וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה יִהְיֶה מִשְׁפָּט הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיכֶם	Existence: be
1 Samuel	17.42	X+היה	וַיִּבְזְהוּ כִּי-הָיָה נָעַר	Visibility: be visible
1 Samuel	18.18	X+היה	כִּי-אָהָיָה חֹתֵן לְמֶלֶךְ	Existence: be
2 Samuel	4.2	X+היה	וּשְׁנֵי אַנְשִׁים שְׂרִי-גְדוּדִים הָיוּ בֶן-שָׂאוּל	Existence: be
2 Samuel	7.28	X+היה	וּדְבַר־יְיָ יְהִיו אָמֵת	Existence: be
2 Samuel	8.10	X+היה	כִּי-אִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת תַּעֲי הָיָה הַדֹּדְעָזָר	Existence: be
2 Samuel	8.18	X+היה	וּבְנֵי דָוִד כֹהֲנִים הָיוּ	Existence: be
2 Samuel	14.27	X+היה	הִיא הִיְתָה אִשָּׁה יֹפֵת מְרָאָה	Visibility: be visible
2 Samuel	15.34	X+היה	אָהָיָה עֶבֶד אַבִּיךָ	Process: continue
2 Samuel	19.29	X+היה	כִּי לֹא הָיָה כָל-בַּיִת אָבִי כִּי אִם-אַנְשֵׁי-מָוֶת	Existence: be
2 Samuel	20.26	X+היה	וְגַם עִירָא הַיָּאֲרִי הָיָה כֹהֵן לְדָוִד	Existence: be
1 Kings	3.21	X+היה	וְהִנֵּה לֹא-הָיָה בְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יִלְדָתִי	Existence: be
1 Kings	5:15	X+היה	כִּי אֶהֱבֶה הָיָה חִירָם לְדָוִד כָּל-הַיָּמִים	Process: continue
1 Kings	9.8	X+היה	וְהַבַּיִת הַזֶּה יִהְיֶה עָלְיוֹן	Visibility: be visible

Translated examples of each semantic nuance in Table 7 are provided in (76)-(78).

(76) Existence: Be

Joshua 17:1

כִּי הוּא הָיָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה

For he **was** a man of war

(77) Visibility: Be visible

2 Samuel 14:27

הִיא הָיְתָה אִשָּׁה יְפֹת מְרֹאָה

She **was** a woman beautiful in appearance

(78) Process: Continue

Judges 18:30

וַיְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־גֵּרְשֹׁם בֶּן־מָנַשֶׁה הוּא וּבָנָיו הָיוּ כַהֲנָיִם לְשִׁבְט הַדָּנִי עַד־יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ

And Jonathan, son of Gershom son of Manasseh, he and his sons, they **were** priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land.

In example (78) the semantic nuance can be understood as “continue” because of the temporal phrase “until the day of the captivity of the land.” Their status as priests continued for a duration of time and was terminated at the specified time.

Based on Table 7, the semantic network for this form is presented in chart (79).

(79) **Semantic Network for X+היה**

<u>Existence</u>	Be
<u>Visibility</u>	Be visible
<u>Process</u>	Continue

These semantic nuances are all possibilities which can be conveyed by the construction X+היה. Semantic nuances are not the only features conveyed by this strategy, however. As was already expressed in section 2.3.1, the prevailing view of the presence of the copula is that היה functions to specify tense, aspect, or mood instead of a verbless clause in which time and modality must be inferred from the context. This idea relates to the so-called “Dummy Hypothesis” which says that the copula is a “dummy” verb which serves merely to attach inflection and has no real semantic value. The data presented thus far, however, suggest that

the “Dummy Hypothesis” is only partially correct because it does not convey all the features expressed by the different forms of הִיהָ. The “Dummy Hypothesis” only provides the syntactic profile of the X+הִיהָ construction presented in chart (80).

(80)

<p><u>-change-of-state</u></p> <p>X+הִיהָ</p> <p>Syntactic profile</p> <p>-mode (become)</p> <p>+aspect</p> <p>+tense</p>
--

In addition to the semantic nuances presented in (79) and the syntactic profile presented in (80), there is a list of discourse features that are also conveyed by this form. These features will now be explained.

4.4.3.1.1 The Anterior Construction

Zevit argues that a pluperfect or preperfect sense in BH is conveyed with a particular clause structure: $w^e + S(\text{subject}) + qatal$ (Zevit 1998:15).¹³ He calls this the Anterior Construction:

When authors of narrative prose wished to indicate unambiguously 1) *pluperfect*, i.e., that a given action in the past had *commenced and concluded* before another action in the past, or 2) *preperfect*, i.e., that a given action in the past had *commenced but not necessarily terminated* in the past prior to the beginning of another action, they employed a particular construction to express this sequencing, a type of circumstantial clause. These clauses consist of a subject, noun or pronoun, followed by a *qatal* past tense (Zevit 1998:15).

There is one necessary condition, however, for this construction to indicate pluperfect or preperfect: a *wayyiqtol* or *qatal* verb in the narrative of the preceding clause (Zevit 1998:15). Zevit’s monograph is not a treatment of copular constructions; rather, it treats all verb forms involved in anterior constructions. He includes copular constructions in his sample, however, which is beneficial for this study. The data show that a pluperfect or preperfect (perfect)

¹³ This same concept was introduced earlier by Dempster (1985:75-78). See also Gentry (1998:14).

reading of many copular clauses utilising the overt strategy in my sample, which also correspond to Zevit's categories is plausible. An example from the data set will demonstrate this anterior use of the copula.

(81) 2 Samuel 8:10

כִּי־אִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת תָּעִי הָיָה הַדְּדַעְזֹר

For a man of war Hadadezer **had been** against Toi

Osborne (2012) analyses all the $w^e + S(\text{subject}) + \text{qatal}$ constructions in the book of Genesis and confirms the analysis of Zevit. He also uses copular constructions as examples of this syntactic formation functioning as pluperfect.

(82) Genesis 31:5

וְאֱלֹהֵי אָבִי הָיָה עִמָּדִי

But the God of my father **has been** with me.

The $X+\text{היה}$ construction, then, can add an anterior sense to the list of discourse features. The next feature this construction can convey is participant reference.

4.4.3.1.2 Activation of Participant Reference

Sentences referring to the age of a participant provide a striking difference between sentences with an overt copula and those with a zero copula, as illustrated in (83) and (84).

(83) 2 Kings 18:2

בְּזֶעֱשָׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 25 years old when he became king.

(84) 2 Kings 16:2

בְּזֶעֱשָׂרִים שָׁנָה אָחָז בְּמָלְכוֹ

Ahaz (was) 20 years old when he became king.

In the corpus there are six examples of this expression with the overt strategy and six examples of this expression with the zero strategy. These are listed below:

(85) Age expression—overt strategy

a. 2 Kings 8:17

בְּנֵי-שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 32 years old when he became king.

b. 2 Kings 14:2

בְּנֵי-עֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 25 years old when he became king.

c. 2 Kings 15:2

בְּנֵי-שֵׁשׁ עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 16 years old when he became king.

d. 2 Kings 15:33

בְּנֵי-עֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 25 years old when he became king.

e. 2 Kings 18:2

בְּנֵי-עֶשְׂרִים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה הָיָה בְּמָלְכוֹ

He was 25 years old when he became king.

f. 2 Samuel 4:4

בְּנֵי-חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים הָיָה בְּבֹא שְׂמֵעַת

He was 5 years old when the report came.

(86) Age expression—zero strategy

a. 2 Samuel 5:4

בְּנֵי-שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ

David (was) 30 years old when he became king.

b. 2 Kings 12:1

בְּנֵי-שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים יְהוֹאָשׁ בְּמָלְכוֹ

Jehoash (was) 7 years old when he became king.

c. 2 Kings 16:2

בְּנֵי-עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה אַחָז בְּמָלְכוֹ

Ahaz (was) 20 years old when he became king.

d. 2 Kings 21:1

בְּנֵי-שְׁתַּיִם עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה מְנַשֶּׁה בְּמָלְכוֹ

Manasseh (was) 12 years old when he became king.

e. 2 Kings 21:19

בְּזֶעֱשָׂרִים וְשָׁתַיִם שָׁנָה אָמוֹן בָּמָלְכוֹ

Amon (was) 22 years old when he became king.

f. 2 Kings 22:1

בְּזֶשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ בָמָלְכוֹ

Josiah (was) 8 years old when he became king.

The consistent difference between these two sets of examples is whether the participant is explicitly mentioned by name. In (85) the participant is referred to by the person inflection of the verb *היה*. The identity of the subject is already activated in the immediately preceding context. In (86) the participant is mentioned explicitly by name and an overt copula is not present.

Using these minimally contrastive examples, we can infer that when predication alone is in view, the inflectional morphology is utilised to maintain participant reference. The construction is used to disambiguate certain sentences by using the morphology. When a personal name is used in a copular predication, it must be the subject and the subject inflection on the verb is not necessary. This feature adds participant reference to the list of discourse features of this construction. The next feature relates to pragmatics and discourse-level specification.

4.4.3.1.3 Central Concept Specification

Another motivation for the presence of this form of copular predication can be found in information structure. Example (83) demonstrates this feature.

(87) Judges 11:1

וַיִּפְתַּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גִבּוֹר חַיִּל

Jephthah the Gileadite was a strong warrior

The discussion of participant reference in section 4.4.3.1.2 would lead us to wonder what is happening in this example. In (87) we see both a personal name and the copula *היה*. The copula appears to be redundant since the participant is already represented in the explicit

subject. The presence of the copula is explained by the information structure in the broader context.

This verse is the first mention of Jephthah in the context. The previous verses show the leaders of Gilead asking one another, “Who is the man who will begin to fight against the Ammonites? He shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.” The narrator then introduces Jephthah as a mighty warrior. This either represents a topic shift to Jephthah or the role Jephthah plays as the central concept in the sentence. Example (88) demonstrates a minimal pair using the zero strategy.

(88) 1 Kings 11:28

וְהָאִישׁ יִרְבֵּעַם גְּבוּר חָיִל

The man Jeroboam (was) a strong warrior.

This example does not use the copula even though it communicates very similar content as (87). The difference is that Jeroboam had been introduced two verses prior. This example indicates that we can add central concept to the list of discourse features. More detailed research on the information structure in these sentences holds promising results.

The discourse features described in these sections are listed in (89).

(89) **Discourse features of X+היה**

Anterior

Participant reference

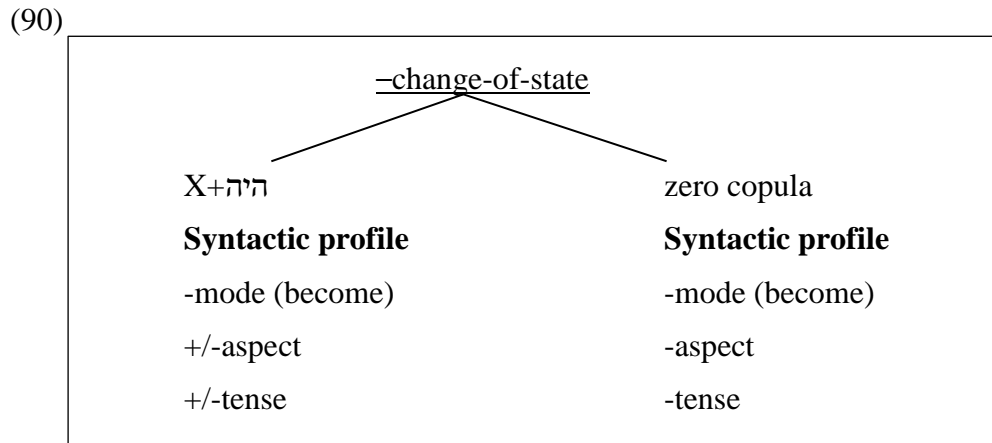
Central concept

4.4.3.2 The Zero Copula

Another element of our comprehensive evaluation of class-membership predicate strategies in BH is the function of the zero strategy. In section 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 I provided the evidence that the zero strategy in identity predicates and class-membership predicates corresponds to Stassen’s prototypical nominal strategy. This zero strategy is the default strategy for expressing mere predication in class-membership predicates. This construction belongs in the –change-of-state category like the X+היה construction. The zero strategy, however, does not convey the features that the X+היה construction conveys.

In the same way that the ל+היה construction served only one purpose for the +change-of-state predicates, the zero copula serves only one function for –change-of-state predicates: predication. This form is unmarked for all syntactic features and is only used to express

predication. The zero copula fulfills the function that the traditional definition of the copula describes. In section 3.2 the traditional definition of the copula was presented as a semantically-empty constituent whose only role was structural. This is the function of the zero copula. The syntactic markedness profile of the zero copula is presented in chart (90) alongside the profile of the X+היה construction.



The data in Appendix 1 show every example of a class-membership predicate in my corpus which utilises the zero strategy. The tense and aspect of every example must be inferred from the context. Also, there are no clear examples where +change-of-state semantics can be inferred. Additionally, there are no deictic indicators in the zero copula examples such as those in example (91) which lead to a specific semantic nuance in Clancy’s network of BE.

(91) Process: Continue

Judges 18:30

ויהוֹנָתָן בֶּן־גֵּרְשֹׁם בֶּן־מְנַשֶּׁה הוּא וּבָנָיו הָיוּ כַהֲנָיִם לְשִׁבְטֵי הַדָּנִי עַד־יּוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ

And Jonathan, son of Gershom son of Manasseh, he and his sons, they were priests to the tribe of the Danites **until the day of the captivity of the land.**

Examples (92) through (94) present some examples of class-membership predicates which utilise the zero strategy.

(92) 1 Samuel 25:3

וְהוּא כַלְבִּי

He (was) a Calebite.

(93) 2 Kings 19:35

וְהִנֵּה כָּל־מִתְּיָם מֵהֵמָּה

And behold, all of them (were) dead bodies.

(94) 1 Samuel 17:33

כִּי־נַעַר אַתָּה

For you (are) a youth.

Hebraists such as Longacre (2003), have argued that verbless clauses always serve a backgrounding function in discourse. This argument supports the current hypothesis that this form is –change-of-state, unmarked in tense, aspect, and mood, and semantically-empty. In section 3.5.1, zero copulas in identity predicates and class-membership predicates in BH were compared with Stassen’s prototypical nominal strategy. One of Stassen’s suggestions for why these predicates utilise the zero strategy so consistently in a cross-section of languages is because of the principle of iconicity. If there is nothing to encode, there is no need for an overt form. All these reasons substantiate the claim that the zero copula is exclusively used for predication and is not marked for any of the features conveyed by the other forms.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I have demonstrated the semantic network, syntactic profile, and unique features for every form of BH class-membership predicates. I started by demonstrating that network semantics challenges the traditional understanding of the copula as a semantically-empty constituent and can be divided into +change-of-state and –change-of-state. I then reviewed Markedness Theory and demonstrated from the data how there is a unique semantic network and syntactic profile for each formal strategy of class-membership predicates.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF FORMAL STRATEGIES FOR IDENTITY PREDICATES

5.1 Introduction

The fundamental division between +change-of-state and –change-of-state predicates presented in chapter 4 presented an equipollent markedness opposition between the formal strategies of class-membership predicates. If the analysis is correct, that opposition should be evident in other categories of predicates as well. In this chapter I provide an analysis of identity predicates in BH. This will strengthen the results of chapter 4 and provide the syntactic profiles for another category of copular predicates in BH.

5.2 Natural Semantic Limits of Identity Predicates

I discussed in section 3.1 that an identity predicate construction equates the subject and the predicate. In Stassen's terms, the subject and predicate are two mental files that should be filed into one. Example (95) illustrates below:

(95) Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain.

The semantic nature of this predicate category prohibits it from having any form which marks +change-of-state. If this sentence is rephrased with +change-of-state semantics as in (96), the sentence would cease to be an identity predicate.

(96) Samuel Clemens became Mark Twain.

(96) is not an Identity predicate because Samuel Clemens has entered the separate mental file of Mark Twain, thus making this an ascriptive, class-membership predicate.

With this semantic limitation we would expect to see only those formal strategies that have –change-of-state semantics in the data for identity predicates. This is precisely what we see in the data. The two strategies for –change-of-state—X+היה and zero copula—are the two strategies used for identity predicates. The two strategies used exclusively for +change-of-state semantics—ל+היה and וְיָהִי/וְהָיָה—do not appear in any identity predicates in my corpus. Table 8 presents the identity predicates which use the X+היה strategy.

Table 8. Identity predicates utilising X+היה

Book	Ref.	Verb form	Text
Joshua	1.4	X+היה	מָבֹאֹה הַשָּׁמֶשׁ יִהְיֶה גְבוּלְכֶם:
Joshua	14.4	X+היה	כִּי־הָיוּ בְנֵי־יוֹסֵף שְׁנֵי מִטּוֹת מְנַשֶּׁה וְאַפְרַיִם
Joshua	15.4	X+היה	זֶה־יְהִיֶה לְכֶם גְּבוּל נֶגֶב
Joshua	20.9	X+היה	אֵלֶּה הָיוּ עָרֵי הַמּוֹעֵדָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
1 Kings	18.31	X+היה	לְאמֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל יִהְיֶה שְׁמֶךָ

The following translations represent the constructions in Table 8.

(97) 1 Kings 18:31

יִשְׂרָאֵל יִהְיֶה שְׁמֶךָ

Israel *will be* your name.

(98) Joshua 20:9

אֵלֶּה הָיוּ עָרֵי הַמּוֹעֵדָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

These *were* the cities designated for the people of Israel.

The following examples represent the identity predicates which use the zero copula.

(99) Joshua 2:1

וַשְּׁמָהּ רָחַב

And her name (was) Rahab.

(100) 2 Kings 19:21

זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עָלָיו

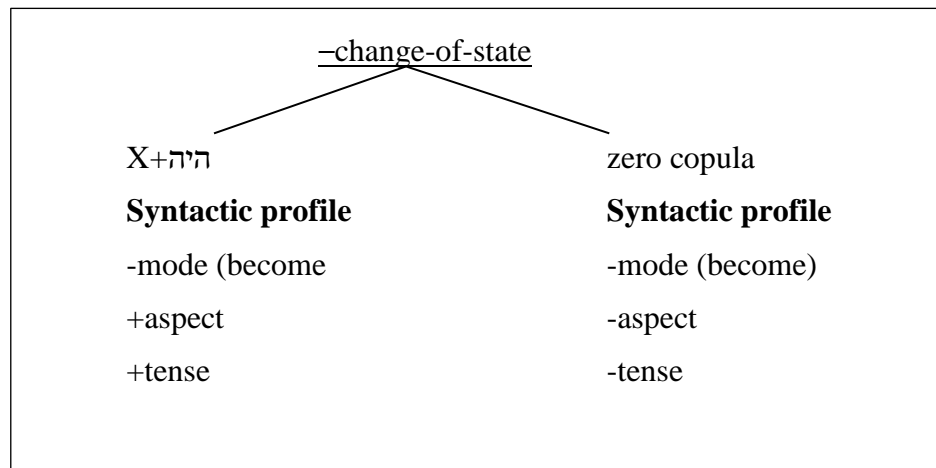
This (is) the word that YHWH spoke concerning him.

Appendix 2 lists all of the identity predicates in my corpus which utilize the zero copula. With so few examples of X+היה in identity predicates, it is difficult to discern if there are any semantic and discourse features that would compel an author to use this form instead of a zero copula. A broader corpus may help to discern why this form is used. For now, the

traditional explanation by Hebraists that the presence of the copula is motivated by its syntactic profile is the best explanation for this category of predicate.

If the syntactic profiles of the different formal strategies in class-membership predicates are correct, they should also be correct in identity predicates. The syntactic profiles for class-membership predicates are repeated in (100) and a comparison with examples (97)-(100) will confirm that identity predicates share the same syntactic profile.

(101)

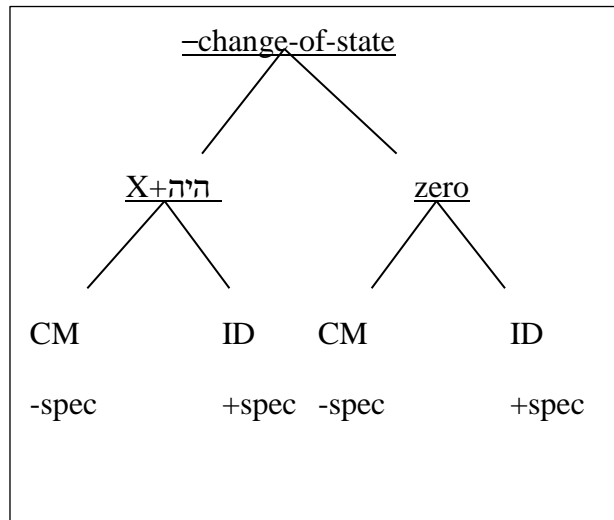


5.3 PRON in so-called Tripartite Nominal Clauses

This final predication structure was reviewed in section 2.2.3 but needs to be placed within this analysis. As Naudé (1994, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) argued, PRON is only found in specificational, referring (identity) clauses. The argument by Naudé (1994, 2001, 2002a, 2002b), that PRON is a last resort strategy to satisfy checking features in identity predicates is likely. The question needs to be answered, however, concerning how this strategy relates to the others in the paradigm of identity predicates. Placing this strategy in a markedness structure will help display its relationship with other identity predicates.

Since identity predicates and –change-of-state class-membership predicates utilise the same formal predication strategies, it is helpful to show their relationship with a markedness opposition such as (102).

(102)



In (102), the difference between the class-membership and identity predicates is the specificity of the predicate. When the predicate refers to the same entity as the subject in the universe of discourse it is +spec. When the predicate a class-membership predicate it is –spec. Pron is a subform of the zero strategy which only encodes identity predicates. For this reason, it is represented in chart (103).

(103)

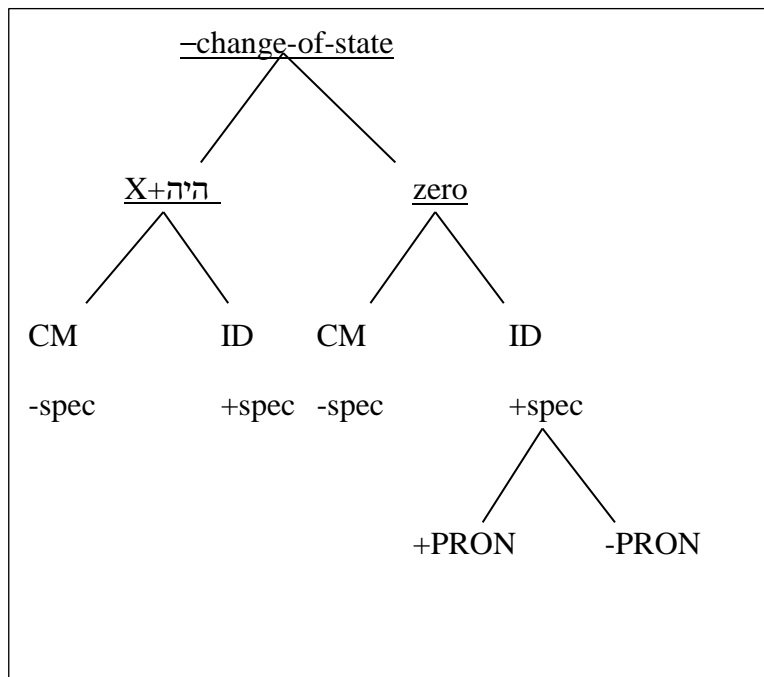


Table 9 provides all the predicates which incorporate PRON from my corpus.

Table 9. Identity predicates utilizing PRON

Book	Ref.	Tense	Text
Joshua	2:11	present	כִּי יְהוּה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהִים בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל וְעַל-הָאָרֶץ מִתַּחַת
Joshua	13.14	past	אֲשֵׁי יְהוּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא נִחַלְתּוּ
Joshua	13.33	present	יְהוּה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא נִחַלְתֶּם
1 Samuel	4.8	present	אֵלֹהִים הֵם הָאֱלֹהִים הַמְּבִיאים אֶת-מִצְרַיִם
1 Samuel	17.14	past	וַיִּדּוּד הוּא הַקָּטָן
2 Samuel	7.28	present	וְעַתָּה אֲדֹנָי יְהוּה אֲתָהּ-הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	8.60	present	לְמַעַן דַּעַת כָּל-עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כִּי יְהוּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	18.39	present	וַיֹּאמְרוּ יְהוּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	18.39	present	יְהוּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
2 Kings	18.36	past	כִּי-מִצְוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ הִיא לֹא-אָמַר לֹא תַעֲנֶהוּ
2 Kings	19.15	present	אֲתָהּ-הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ

Representative examples of identity predicates utilizing PRON are as follows:

(104) 2 Samuel 7:28

וְעַתָּה אֲדֹנָי יְהוּה אֲתָהּ-הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
 And now my Lord, YHWH, **you** (are) God.

(105) 1 Kings 18:39

וַיֹּאמְרוּ יְהוּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
 And they said, “YHWH **he** (is) God.”

The markedness profile in (103) and the data in Table 9 are matters for future research. Rothstein’s (2001) notion of individual level versus stage level interpretations is promising.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that the categories of +change-of-state and –change-of-state articulated in chapter 4 also prove true for identity predicates. Since identity predicates can never possess +change-of-state semantics, the two strategies used to convey this are not

used for identity predicates. Both the strategies for –change-of-state semantics are used for identity predicates and the syntactic profile is identical in both categories of predicate. I also introduced how Pron fits into the markedness structure of –change-of-state predicates and will analyse the role of this form in future research. I will compare the findings of this dissertation—that copular constructions have syntactic profiles and semantic nuances which motivate their existence—with the presence of Pron.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

New theoretical insight opens up fresh perspectives with which to look at old problems. The nominal/verbal clause division in traditional BH syntax has limited the questions that scholars have asked about copular constructions. The theoretical framework which restructures BH syntax in accordance with the dominant categorisations in modern linguistic literature helps us ask new questions. The taxonomy with which BH copular constructions are analysed is repeated in (106).

(106)

1. Identity Predicates
2. Ascriptive Predicates
 - a. Event
 - b. Property-concept
 - c. Class-membership
 - d. Locational

The typological findings of Stassen (1997) demonstrate that there exist prototypical encoding strategies that the languages of the world use to fill out a stratification of intransitive predication. Every language of the world utilises one or more of these strategies to accomplish predication in each category of its taxonomy. Some categories within the taxonomy switch between multiple strategies. BH features several different forms of switching. In its property-concept predicates, BH utilises the prototypical verbal strategy and the nominal strategy. This switching accounts for the presence of the stative alongside predicate adjectives in the language. Internal switching within the nominal strategy accounts for the multiple strategies used in class-membership predicates. The stratification of BH strategies for predication is repeated in (107).

(107)

1. Identity	N
2. Ascriptive	
a. Event	V
b. Property	N/V
c. Class	N (with internal switching)
d. Location	N

Stassen’s typological research does not provide any conclusive evidence for what motivates internal switching. To find the answer as to why class-membership predicates in BH utilise both the overt strategy (with *היה*) and the zero strategy (verbless clause), I turned to the recent works by Clancy (2010) and Petré (2014). These works challenged the traditional notion that copulas are semantically-empty structural devices and suggested that combined with the surrounding semantic environment, copulas participate in a semantically rich network of meaning. Copulas are used in two major categories of “state” and “change-of-state.” The semantics of “state” and “change-of-state” that copulas can express became the key to understanding why internal switching exists among class-membership predicates in BH. The data confirmed that some formal strategies for copular predication functioned exclusively with change-of-state semantics (+change-of-state) and some functioned exclusively with state semantics (–change-of-state). The paradigm in (108) displays these strategies:

(108)

	<u>+change-of-state</u>		<u>–change of state</u>
<i>וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה</i>	<i>לְהִיָּה</i>	<i>X+הִיָּה</i>	zero
	<i>לְהִיָּה</i>	<i>X+הִיָּה</i>	

Each of these forms has a unique syntactic profile and semantic network. The critical contribution of this dissertation is that these syntactic profiles exist under a broader categorisation of +change-of-state and –change-of-state semantics and that there is a semantic network of nuances that these forms are capable of conveying. Clancy (2010) provides this

semantic network of “BE” which displays a semantic map with degrees of semantic nuance structured by headings of “Being” (state) and “Becoming/Unbecoming” (change-of-state). This network is reproduced in (109):

(109)

BECOMING --BEING----UNBECOMING (Clancy 2010:26)

<u>Existence</u>	Make/Do Become	Be	(Unmake)
<u>Possession</u>	Get	Have	Lose
<u>Creation</u>	Create	Exist	Destroy
<u>Life</u>	Be born	Live/grow	Die
<u>Visibility,</u> <u>presence</u>	appear show	Be visible Be visible	Disappear hide
<u>Accessibility</u>	Find	Keep	Lose, Leave
<u>Motion</u>	Come	Stay	Go/Leave
<u>Process</u>	Start/Begin	Continue	Finish/End
<u>Position</u>	Stand Up	Stand	Sit Down/Lie Down
<u>Manipulation</u>	Put Pick Up	BE in loc. Hold	Remove Put Down

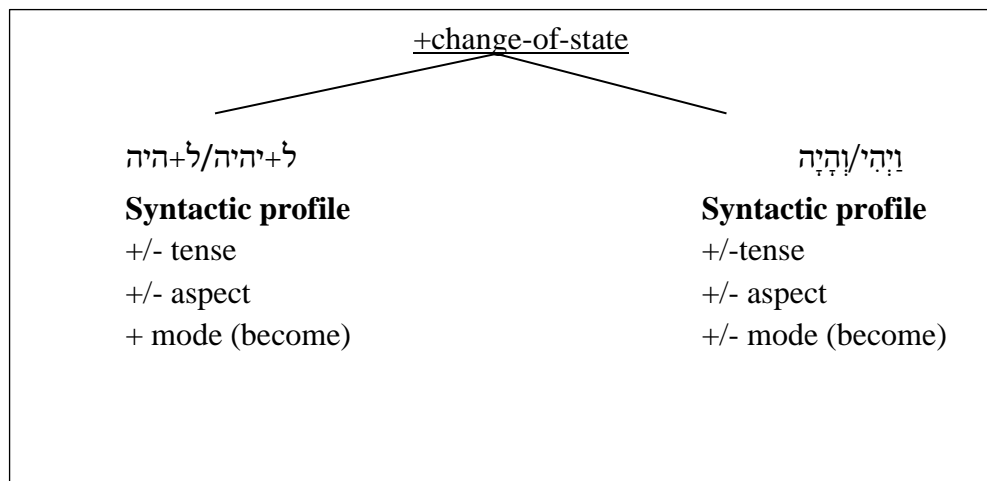
The data of BH class-membership predicates demonstrated that only one form of predicate in the +change-of-state category and only one form of predicate in the –change-of-state category had a multi-valent semantic network. The semantic network of the +change-of-state form is reproduced in example (110)

(110) **Semantic network for clause-initial וְהָיָה/וְהָיְתָה in class-membership predicates**

	BECOMING
<u>Existence</u>	Become
<u>Possession</u>	Accumulate
<u>Life</u>	Be born
<u>Visibility</u>	Appear
<u>Motion</u>	Come

The other +change-of-state construction ל+יהיה/ל+היה is marked exclusively for the modal nuance “become.” This is reflected in the syntactic profile of +change-of-state predicates in example (111).

(111)



Under the category of –change-of-state, the form X+יהיה/היה is the semantically rich form. The semantic network of this form is provided in (112).

(112) **Semantic Network for X+יהיה/היה**

<u>Existence</u>	Be
<u>Visibility</u>	Be visible
<u>Process</u>	Continue

The form in (112) also demonstrated markedness for grammatical and discourse features in the data. The traditional “Dummy Hypothesis” was partially correct in identifying the role of tense, aspect, and modality in the presence of יהיה/היה. The data demonstrated, however, that activation of participant reference, identifying the central concept, pragmatic devices, and nuances on the semantic network of “BE” are also features marked with this +static form. This paradigm is the most important contribution of my research.

The theoretical framework and fresh insight on the broader role of copulas in predication have paved the way for future research. Chapter 5 gives a brief look at how each predicate category in the taxonomy will need its own analysis. The semantic nature of identity predicates does not allow change-in-state semantics and so other influences will need

to be examined to discern the presence of multiple formal strategies. There has been considerable literature written from both generative (Naudé) and typological (Holmstedt, Kummerow) perspectives on the role of the pronoun in the tripartite clause and its role in a broader paradigm of copular predication. I believe these perspectives can be complementary and lead to a comprehensive analysis of the tripartite clause in BH. This will be the subject of future research. Below is a list of topics to be taken up in a future study:

1. A full paradigm of property-concept predicates which includes the verbal strategy (i.e. stative verbs).
2. An explanation of the function of PRON in Identity predicates as distinct from the other formal strategies.
3. A full paradigm of locational predicates.
4. The role of **ישׁ** and **אֵין**.
5. The relationship of HAVE to BE in BH.
6. An explanation of the non-copular **וְהָיָה/וְהָיָה** construction and how it relates to the other forms of **הָיָה**.
7. Diachronic change in copular predication throughout the corpus of the entire Hebrew Bible.

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APPENDIX 1: CLASS-MEMBERSHIP PREDICATES

This is an exhaustive list of all the class-membership predicates in Joshua-2 Kings arranged by their encoding strategy.

Class-Membership Predicates Utilising the Zero Strategy

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	5.14	וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא כִי אֲנִי שָׂר־צָבָא־יְהוָה
Joshua	10.2	וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁיהָ גִבֹּרִים
Joshua	11.10	כִּי־חֲצוֹר לְפָנִים הִיא רֹאשׁ כָּל־הַמְּמַלְכוֹת הָאֵלֶּה
Joshua	14.10	וַעֲתָה הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי הַיּוֹם בְּן־חֲמִשׁ וּשְׁמוֹנִים שָׁנָה:
Joshua	14.15	הָאָדָם הַגָּדוֹל בְּעֵנָקִים הוּא
Joshua	17.14	וְאֲנִי עַם־רָב
Joshua	17.15	אֶס־עַם־רָב אֶתָּה
Joshua	17.17	עַם־רָב אֶתָּה
Joshua	17.18	כִּי־יַעַר הוּא
Joshua	19.35	וְעָרֵי מִבְּצָר הַצְּדִים צָר
Joshua	22.14	וְאִישׁ רֹאשׁ בֵּית־אָבוֹתָם
Joshua	22.27	כִּי עַד הוּא בִּינֵינוּ וּבִינֵיכֶם
Joshua	22.28	לֹא לְעוֹלָה וְלֹא לְזָבַח כִּי־עַד הוּא בִּינֵינוּ וּבִינֵיכֶם
Joshua	22.34	כִּי עַד הוּא בִּינֵתֵינוּ כִּי יְהוּהָ הָאֱלֹהִים
Joshua	24.19	כִּי־אֱלֹהִים קִדְשִׁים הוּא
Joshua	24.19	אֱל־קְנוֹא הוּא
Joshua	24.22	עֲדִים אַתֶּם בְּכֶם
Judges	3.17	וַעֲגִלֹן אִישׁ בְּרִיא מְאֹד:
Judges	6.22	וַיֵּרָא גִדְעוֹן כִּי־מְלֹאֵךְ יְהוּהָ הוּא
Judges	6.24	וַיִּקְרָא־לוֹ יְהוּהָ שְׁלוֹם
Judges	6.31	אֶס־אֱלֹהִים הוּא יָרַב לוֹ
Judges	8.20	כִּי עוֹדְנוּ נָעַר

Book	Ref.	Text
Judges	8.24	כִּי יִשְׁמַעְאֲלִים הֵם
Judges	11.1	וְהוּא בֶן־אִשָּׁה זֹנָה
Judges	11.18	כִּי אֲרַנּוֹן גָּבֹל מוֹאָב
Judges	12.4	כִּי אָמְרוּ פְּלִיטֵי אֶפְרַיִם אַתֶּם
Judges	13.16	כִּי לֹא־יָדַע מְנוּחַ כִּי־מִלְאָךְ יְהוָה הוּא
Judges	13.21	אָז יָדַע מְנוּחַ כִּי־מִלְאָךְ יְהוָה הוּא
Judges	16.17	כִּי־נָזִיר אֱלֹהִים אָנִי
Judges	17.7	וְהוּא לֹוִי
Judges	20.17	כָּל־זֶה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
Judges	20.44	אֶת־כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי אַנְשֵׁי־חַיִל
Judges	20.46	אֶת־כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי אַנְשֵׁי־חַיִל
1 Samuel	1.15	אִשָּׁה קִשְׁת־רוּחַ אֲנֹכִי
1 Samuel	2.12	וּבְנֵי עָלִי בְנֵי בְלִיעֵל
1 Samuel	6.18	וְעַד אֲבָל הַגְּדוּלָה אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ עָלֶיהָ אֵת אֲרוֹן יְהוָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
1 Samuel	12.5	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם עַד יְהוָה בְּכֶם
1 Samuel	12.5	וְעַד מְשִׁיחוּ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
1 Samuel	15.17	רֹאשׁ שְׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אַתָּה
1 Samuel	15.29	כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהַנָּחֵם
1 Samuel	17.12	וְדוֹד בֶּן־אִישׁ אֶפְרַתִּי הַזֶּה
1 Samuel	17.33	כִּי־נָעַר אַתָּה
1 Samuel	18.23	וְאַנְכִי אִישׁ־רֶשׁ וְנִקְלָה
1 Samuel	20.31	וְעַתָּה שְׁלַח וְקַח אֹתוֹ אֵלַי כִּי בְּנִמּוֹת הוּא
1 Samuel	25.17	וְהוּא בֶן־בְּלִיעֵל
1 Samuel	25.3	וְהוּא כָּלְבוּ
1 Samuel	26.16	כִּי בְנֵי־מָוֶת אַתֶּם
1 Samuel	30.13	וַיֹּאמֶר נָעַר מִצְרֵי אֲנֹכִי עֶבֶד לְאִישׁ עַמְלִקִּי
2 Samuel	8.16	וַיְהוֹשֶׁפֶט בֶּן־אֲחִילֹוד מִזְבִּיר
2 Samuel	1.8	וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו עַמְלִקִּי אֲנֹכִי
2 Samuel	1.13	בֶּן־אִישׁ גֵּר עַמְלִקִּי אֲנֹכִי

Book	Ref.	Text
2 Samuel	2.10	בְּנֵי־אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה אִישׁ־בַּשֶּׁת בְּנֵי־שָׂאוּל בְּמָלְכוֹ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
2 Samuel	5.4	בְּנֵי־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ
2 Samuel	8.17	וּשְׂרָיָה סוֹפֵר
2 Samuel	8.17	וְצֹדִק בְּנֵי־אַחִיטוֹב וְאַחִימֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי־אַבִּיָּתָר כֹּהֲנִים
2 Samuel	9.12	וְכָל מוֹשֵׁב בֵּית־צִיבָא עֲבָדִים לְמַפִּיבֶשֶׁת
2 Samuel	9.12	וְכָל מוֹשֵׁב בֵּית־צִיבָא עֲבָדִים לְמַפִּיבֶשֶׁת
2 Samuel	12.5	כִּי בְנֵי־מֹות הָאִישׁ הִעֲשָׂה זֹאת
2 Samuel	13.2	כִּי בְתוּלָה הִיא
2 Samuel	14.5	אַבְל אִשָּׁה־אַלְמָנָה אָנִי
2 Samuel	15.19	כִּי־נִכְרִי אֶתָּה
2 Samuel	16.8	כִּי אִישׁ דָּמִים אֶתָּה
2 Samuel	17.10	כִּי־גִבּוֹר אָבִיךָ
2 Samuel	17.25	וְעַמְשָׂא בְּנֵי־אִישׁ
2 Samuel	17.8	וְאַבִּיךָ אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
2 Samuel	17.8	כִּי גִבְרִים הֵמָּה
2 Samuel	18.27	אִישׁ־טוֹב זֶה
2 Samuel	19.43	כִּי־קָרוֹב הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵלַי
2 Samuel	20.24	וַיְהוֹשֶׁפֶט בְּנֵי־אַחִילֹוד הַמַּזְכִּיר
2 Samuel	20.25	וּשְׂיָא סֵפֶר
2 Samuel	20.25	וְצֹדִק וְאַבִּיָּתָר כֹּהֲנִים
2 Samuel	21.1	וְהַגְּבַעֲנִים לֹא מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה
2 Samuel	23.18	וְאַבִּישִׁי אַחִי יוֹאָב בְּנֵי־צְרוּיָה הוּא רֹאשׁ הַשְּׁלִשִׁי
2 Samuel	24.9	וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה חֲמֵשׁ־מֵאוֹת אָלֶף אִישׁ
1 Kings	1.42	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲדֹנָיְהוּ בֹא כִּי אִישׁ חֵיל אֶתָּה
1 Kings	2.9	כִּי אִישׁ חָכָם אֶתָּה
1 Kings	2.11	וְהַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה
1 Kings	2.26	לֶךְ עַל־שְׂדֵיךָ כִּי אִישׁ מָוֶת אֶתָּה
1 Kings	3.7	וְאַנְכִי נֶעַר קָטָן
1 Kings	7.14	בְּנֵי־אִשָּׁה אַלְמָנָה הוּא

Book	Ref.	Text
1 Kings	7.14	וְאָבִיו אִישׁ־צָרִי
1 Kings	7.26	וְעָבִיו טָפַח
1 Kings	9.22	וּמִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־נָתַן שְׁלֹמֹה עֲבָד כִּי־הֵם אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה
1 Kings	11.17	וְהָדַד נָעַר קָטָן
1 Kings	11.28	וְהָאִישׁ יִרְבָּעָם גְּבוּר חָיִל
1 Kings	11.28	וַיֵּרָא שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־הַנָּעַר כִּי־עָשָׂה מְלָאכָה הוּא
1 Kings	13.18	גַּם־אֲנִי נָבִיא כְּמוֹךָ
1 Kings	17.24	עַתָּה זֶה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים אַתָּה
1 Kings	18.22	וּנְבִיאֵי הַבַּעַל אַרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת וַחֲמִשִּׁים אִישׁ
1 Kings	18.36	וְאֲנִי עֹבֵדְךָ
1 Kings	22.48	נֹצֵב מֶלֶךְ
2 Kings	1.10	וְאִם־אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים אָנִי תִרְדּוּ אִשׁ מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם
2 Kings	1.12	אִם־אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים אָנִי תִרְדּוּ אִשׁ מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם
2 Kings	8.27	כִּי חָתַן בֵּית־אֲחֻזָּב הוּא
2 Kings	19.3	יֹס־צָרָה וְתוֹכַחַה וּנְאֻצָּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
2 Kings	19.35	וְהִנֵּה כָּל־סוּפְרֵי מַתִּים

Class-Membership Predicates Utilising the Overt Strategies

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	4.6	לְמַעַן תִּהְיֶה זֹאת אוֹת בְּקִרְבְּכֶם
Joshua	4.7	וְהָיוּ הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה לְזִכְרוֹן לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־עוֹלָם:
Joshua	16.1	וַיְהִי לְמִסְעֵבֶד
Joshua	17.1	כִּי הוּא הָיָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
Joshua	17.10	וַיְהִי הַיָּם גְּבוּלוֹ
Joshua	19.14	וְהָיוּ תִצְאָתָיו גֵּי יַפְתַּח־אֵל
Joshua	19.18	וַיְהִי גְבוּלֵם יִזְרְעֵאלָה

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	19.22	וְהָיוּ תַצְאוֹת גְבוּלָם הַיַּרְדֵּן
Joshua	19.33	וַיְהִי תַצְאוֹתָיו הַיַּרְדֵּן
Joshua	23.13	וְהָיוּ לְכֶם לַפַּח וּלְמוֹקֵשׁ
Joshua	24.27	הִנֵּה הָאָבֶן הַזֶּה הָיָה הַבְּנוֹ לְעֵדָה
Joshua	24.32	וַיְהִיו לְבְנֵי־יוֹסֵף לְנַחֲלָה
Judges	11.1	וַיִּפְתַּח הַגִּלְעָדִי הָיָה גְבוּר חֵיל
Judges	12.2	אִישׁ רִיב הָיִיתִי אֲנִי וְעַמִּי וּבְנֵי־עַמּוֹן מְאֹד
Judges	18.30	הוּא וּבָנָיו הָיוּ כַהֲנִים לְשִׁבְט הַדָּנִי עַד־יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ
1 Samuel	8.11	וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה יִהְיֶה מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵיכֶם
1 Samuel	17.42	וַיִּבְזְהוּ כִּי־הָיָה נָעַר
1 Samuel	18.18	כִּי־אָהָיָה חַתָּן לְמֹלֵךְ
1 Samuel	23.17	וְאִנְכִי אֶהְיֶה־לְךָ לְמִשְׁנָה
1 Samuel	28.16	וַיְהִי עֶרְךָ
1 Samuel	29.4	וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה־לָּנוּ לְשֹׁטֵן בַּמִּלְחָמָה
2 Samuel	4.2	וַיִּשְׁנֵי אַנְשִׁים שָׂרֵי־גְדוּדִים הָיוּ בֶן־שָׂאוּל
2 Samuel	5.2	וְאֵתָה תִּהְיֶה לְנָגִיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
2 Samuel	7.24	וְאֵתָה יִהְיֶה הַיֵּיתָ לָהֶם לְאֱלֹהִים
2 Samuel	7.28	וַדַּבְּרִיךָ יְהִיו אָמֶת
2 Samuel	8.1	כִּי־אִישׁ מִלְחָמוֹת תֵּעִי הָיָה הַדְּדַעְזוֹר
2 Samuel	8.2	וַתְּהִי מוֹאָב לְדוּד לְעִבְדִים
2 Samuel	8.6	וַתְּהִי אַרְם לְדוּד לְעִבְדִים
2 Samuel	8.14	וַיְהִי כָל־אֲדוֹם עִבְדִים לְדוּד
2 Samuel	8.18	וּבְנֵי דוּד כַהֲנִים הָיוּ
2 Samuel	14.27	הִיא הָיְתָה אִשָּׁה יַפֵּת מִרְאָה
2 Samuel	15.33	וְהָיְתָה עָלַי לְמִשָּׂא
2 Samuel	15.34	אֶהְיֶה עֶבֶד אָבִיךָ
2 Samuel	19.29	כִּי לֹא הָיָה כָל־בֵּית אָבִי כִּי אִם־אֲנָשֵׁי־מָוֶת
2 Samuel	20.26	וְגַם עִירָא הַיִּזְרְיִי הָיָה כֹהֵן לְדוּד
1 Kings	1.21	וְהָיִיתִי אֲנִי וּבְנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה חֲטָאִים
1 Kings	3.21	וַתִּהְיֶה לֹא־הָיָה בְנֵי אֲשֶׁר יִלְדָתִי

Book	Ref.	Text
1 Kings	4.1	וַיְהִי הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
1 Kings	5.15	כִּי אֶהָב הָיָה חִירָם לְדָוִד כָּל־הַיָּמִים
1 Kings	9.7	וַהֲיָה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמִשְׁלַל וְלִשְׁנִינָה בְּכָל־הָעַמִּים!
1 Kings	9.8	וַתִּבְנֶת הַזֶּה יְהוָה עָלָיו
1 Kings	11.24	וַיְהִי שֹׁר־גְדוּד בְּהָרַג דָּוִד אֹתָם
1 Kings	11.25	וַיְהִי שָׁטָן לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־יְמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה
1 Kings	11.37	וַהֲיִיתָ מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
1 Kings	12.3	וַיְהִי הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה לְחֹטְאָת
1 Kings	12.7	אֲסִיּוֹת הַיּוֹם תִּהְיֶה־עֲבָד לְעַם הַזֶּה
1 Kings	12.7	וַהֲיוּ לָךְ עֲבָדִים כָּל־הַיָּמִים
1 Kings	13.33	וַיְהִי כַהֲנֵי בְמוֹת
1 Kings	22.22	וַהֲיִיתִי רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר בְּפִי כָּל־נְבִיאָיו
2 Kings	15.5	וַיְהִי מִצְרַע עַד־יוֹם מָתוֹ
2 Kings	17.3	וַיְהִי־לוֹ הוֹשֵׁעַ עֶבֶד
2 Kings	20.18	וַהֲיוּ סְרִיסִים בְּהִיכַל מֶלֶךְ בְּבֵל
2 Kings	24.1	וַיְהִי־לוֹ יְהוֹזָקִים עֶבֶד שְׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים

APPENDIX 2: IDENTITY PREDICATES

This is an exhaustive list of all Identity predicates in Joshua-2 Kings arranged by their encoding strategy.

Identity Predicates Utilising the Zero Strategy

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	2.1	וּשְׁמָהּ רָחַב
Joshua	5.4	וְזֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-מָלְ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ כָּל-הָעָם
Joshua	9.8	וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל-יְהוֹשֻׁעַ עַבְדֶּיךָ אֲנַחְנוּ
Joshua	9.11	וַאֲמַרְתֶּם אֲלֵיהֶם עַבְדֵיכֶם אֲנַחְנוּ
Joshua	13.28	זֹאת נַחֲלַת בְּנֵי-גֹד
Joshua	13.32	אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר-נָחַל מֹשֶׁה בְּעַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב
Joshua	14.1	וְאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר-נָחֲלוּ בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל
Joshua	14.15	וְשֵׁם חֶבְרוֹן לְפָנִים קָרִית אַרְבַּע
Joshua	15.5	וּגְבוּל קַדְמָה יָם הַמֶּלַח
Joshua	15.12	זֶה גְבוּל בְּנֵי-יְהוּדָה
Joshua	15.15	וְשֵׁם-דָּבָר לְפָנִים קָרִית-סֹפֵר
Joshua	15.20	זֹאת נַחֲלַת מֹטֶה בְּנֵי-יְהוּדָה
Joshua	16.8	זֹאת נַחֲלַת מֹטֶה בְּנֵי-אֶפְרַיִם
Joshua	17.1	כִּי-הוּא בְכוֹר יוֹסֵף
Joshua	17.2	אֵלֶּה בְנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה
Joshua	17.3	וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי-בְנֵי
Joshua	17.11	שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַנְּפֹת
Joshua	18.14	זֹאת פְּאֵתֵי
Joshua	18.19	זֶה גְבוּל נֶגֶב
Joshua	18.20	זֹאת נַחֲלַת בְּנֵי בְנֵי

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	18.28	זאת נחלת בני־בנימן לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם
Joshua	19.16	זאת נחלת בני־זבולן
Joshua	19.23	זאת נחלת מטה בני־יששכר
Joshua	19.31	זאת נחלת מטה בני־אשר
Joshua	19.39	זאת נחלת מטה בני־נפתלי
Joshua	19.48	זאת נחלת מטה בני־דן
Joshua	19.51	אלה הנחלות אשר נחלו
Joshua	19.8	זאת נחלת מטה בני־שמעון
Joshua	24.18	כִּי־הוא אֱלֹהֵינוּ
Judges	1.10	וְשֵׁם־חֶבְרוֹן לְפָנִים קְרִית אַרְבַּע
Judges	1.11	וְשֵׁם־דְבִיר לְפָנִים קְרִית־סֹפֶר
Judges	1.23	וְשֵׁם־הָעִיר לְפָנִים לֹז
Judges	1.26	וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמָהּ לֹז הוּא שְׁמָהּ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
Judges	3.1	וְאֵלֶּה הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחַ יְהוָה לְנִסּוֹת בָּם
Judges	4.14	קוֹם כִּי זֶה הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן יְהוָה אֶת־סִסְרָא בְיַדְךָ
Judges	4.2	וְשֵׁר־צַבָּאוּ סִסְרָא
Judges	6.10	וְאָמַרְהָ לָכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם
Judges	8.19	וַיֹּאמֶר אַחִי בְנֵי־אִמִּי הֵם
Judges	9.2	וּזְכַרְתֶּם כִּי־עַצְמְכֶם וּבְשָׂרְכֶם אֲנִי
Judges	9.3	כִּי אָמַרוּ אַחֵינוּ הוּא
Judges	9.18	כִּי אַחֵיכֶם הוּא
Judges	11.2	כִּי בְּרֵאשֵׁה אַחֲרַת אֶתָּה
Judges	11.34	וְרַק הִיא יְחִידָה
Judges	13.2	וְשָׁמוּ מְנוּחַ
Judges	16.4	וְשָׁמָּה דָלִילָה
Judges	17.1	וְשָׁמוּ מִיכָהוּ
Judges	18.29	וְאוּלַם לִישׁ שֵׁם־הָעִיר לְרֵאשֹׁנָה
Judges	19.16	וְאֲנֹשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם בְּנֵי יְמִינִי
Judges	20.9	וְעַתָּה זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר נַעֲשֶׂה לְגִבְעָה

Book	Ref.	Text
Judges	21.11	וְזֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּ
1 Samuel	1.1	וּשְׁמוֹ אֶלְקָנָה
1 Samuel	1.2	שֵׁם אַחַת חַנָּה
1 Samuel	1.2	וְשֵׁם הַשְּׂנִית פְּנִינָה
1 Samuel	1.26	אֲנִי הָאִשָּׁה הַנִּצְצֶבֶת עִמָּכָה
1 Samuel	3.18	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הוּא הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה
1 Samuel	4.8	אֱלֹהֵי הַמִּצְרַיִם הֵם הָאֱלֹהִים הַמְּצַרִּים אֶת־מִצְרַיִם
1 Samuel	6.17	וְאֵלֶּה טַחְרֵי הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר הֵשִׁיבוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֲשֶׁם לַיהוָה
1 Samuel	8.2	וְשֵׁם מִשְׁנֵהוּ אַבְיָה
1 Samuel	9.1	וּשְׁמוֹ קִישׁ
1 Samuel	9.2	וּשְׁמוֹ שָׂאוּל
1 Samuel	9.19	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲנֹכִי הָרֹאֶה
1 Samuel	12.12	וַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִלְּכֶכֶם
1 Samuel	14.4	וְשֵׁם הָאֶחָד בּוּצִיָּן
1 Samuel	14.4	וְשֵׁם הָאֶחָד סִנָּה
1 Samuel	14.5	וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתׁ שָׂאוּל אַחִינֹעַם בִּתְ-אַחִימֶעַץ
1 Samuel	14.5	וְשֵׁם שַׂר־צָבָאוּ אַבְיָנָר בֶּן־נֵר
1 Samuel	14.10	כִּי־נִתְּנָם יְהוָה בְּיַדְנוּ וְזֶה־לָּנוּ הָאוֹת
1 Samuel	14.49	שֵׁם הַבְּכִירָה מֶרֶב
1 Samuel	14.49	וְשֵׁם הַקְּטָנָה מִיכָל
1 Samuel	14.51	וְקִישׁ אַבְי־שָׂאוּל וְנָר אַבְי־אַבְנֵר
1 Samuel	16.12	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה קוּם מִשְׁחָהוּ כִּי־זֶה הוּא
1 Samuel	17.4	וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ־הַבָּנִים מִמַּחֲנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים גְּלִית שָׁמוּ
1 Samuel	17.12	וּשְׁמוֹ יִשִׁי
1 Samuel	17.13	וְשֵׁם שְׁלֵשֶׁת בָּנָיו אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ בְּמִלְחָמָה אֶל־יָאָב הַבְּכוֹר....
1 Samuel	17.23	גְּלִית הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי שָׁמוּ
1 Samuel	21.8	וּשְׁמוֹ דָּאָג
1 Samuel	22.20	וּשְׁמוֹ אַבְיָתָר
1 Samuel	24.11	כִּי־מָשִׁיחַ יְהוָה הוּא

Book	Ref.	Text
1 Samuel	24.7	כִּי־מָשִׁיחַ יְהוּהָ הוּא
1 Samuel	25.3	וְשֵׁם הָאִישׁ נָבָל
1 Samuel	25.3	וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ אַבְיָגַיִל
1 Samuel	25.25	נָבָל שָׁמוֹ
1 Samuel	28.12	וְאַתָּה שָׂאוּל
1 Samuel	28.14	וַיַּדַע שָׂאוּל כִּי־שָׁמוּאֵל הוּא
1 Samuel	30.20	וַיֹּאמְרוּ זֶה שְׁלַל דָּוִד
2 Samuel	3.3	וּמִשְׁנֵהוּ כָּל־אֲבֵינֵי אִשְׁתּוֹ נָבָל הַכַּרְמֶלִי
2 Samuel	3.3	וְהַשְׁלֵשִׁי אַבְשָׁלוֹם בֶּן־מַעֲכָה בַת־תַּלְמִי מֶלֶךְ גִּישׁוּר
2 Samuel	3.4	וְהָרְבִיעִי אֲדֹנִיָּה בֶן־חַגִּית
2 Samuel	3.4	וְהַחֲמִישִׁי שְׁפָטִיָּה בֶן־אַבִּיטָל
2 Samuel	3.7	וּשְׁמָה רַצְפָּה
2 Samuel	4.2	שֵׁם הָאֶחָד בַּעֲנָה
2 Samuel	4.2	וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִי רַכָּב
2 Samuel	4.4	וּשְׁמוֹ מְפִיבִשֶׁת
2 Samuel	5.1	הִנְנוּ עֹצְמֵךְ וּבִשְׂרָךְ אֲנַחְנוּ
2 Samuel	5.14	וְאַלֶּה שְׁמוֹת הַיְלָדִים לוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַם
2 Samuel	7.19	וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה
2 Samuel	7.26	יְהוּהָ צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהִים עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
2 Samuel	9.12	וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָא
2 Samuel	9.12	וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָא
2 Samuel	12.7	וַיֹּאמֶר נָתַן אֱלֹהֵי־דָוִד אֶתָּה הָאִישׁ
2 Samuel	12.30	וּמִשְׁקָלָהּ כִּכָּר זָהָב
2 Samuel	13.2	אָחִיךָ הוּא
2 Samuel	13.3	וּשְׁמוֹ יוֹנָדָב
2 Samuel	14.27	וּשְׁמָה תָמָר
2 Samuel	15.34	עַבְדְּךָ אָנִי
2 Samuel	15.34	וְעַתָּה וְאָנִי עַבְדְּךָ
2 Samuel	16.5	וּשְׁמוֹ שְׁמַעִי בֶן־גִּירָא

Book	Ref.	Text
2 Samuel	17.25	וּשְׁמוֹ יִתְּרָא הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִי
2 Samuel	18.20	לֹא אִישׁ בְּשָׂרָה אֶתָּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
2 Samuel	19.13	אֲחִי אַתֶּם
2 Samuel	19.13	עֲצָמֵי וּבָשָׂרֵי אַתֶּם
2 Samuel	20.1	וּשְׁמוֹ שֹׁבַע
2 Samuel	21.16	וּמִשְׁקַל קִינּוֹ שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת מִשְׁקַל נְחֹשֶׁת
2 Samuel	23.8	הוּא עֲדִינוֹ הֶעָצָנוּ
2 Samuel	23.8	אֱלֹהֵי שְׁמוֹת הַגִּבּוֹרִים אֲשֶׁר לְדָוִד
1 Kings	1.45	הוּא הַקּוֹל אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתֶּם
1 Kings	2.22	כִּי הוּא אֲחִי הַגָּדוֹל מִמֶּנִּי
1 Kings	3.4	כִּי הִיא הַבְּמָה הַגָּדוֹלָה
1 Kings	3.27	הִיא אִמּוֹ
1 Kings	4.2	וְאֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁרִים אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ
1 Kings	4.8	וְאֱלֹהֵי שְׁמוֹתֵם
1 Kings	4.19	וַיִּנְצִיב אֶחָד אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ
1 Kings	7.28	וְזֶה מַעֲשֵׂה הַמְּכוֹנָה
1 Kings	8.51	כִּי-עֲמֹד וְנִחַלְתֶּם הֵם
1 Kings	9.15	וְזֶה דְבַר-הַמַּס
1 Kings	9.23	אֱלֹהֵי שָׂרֵי הַנְּצָבִים אֲשֶׁר עַל-הַמְּלָאכָה לְשִׁלְמֹה
1 Kings	11.26	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ צְרוּעָה
1 Kings	11.27	וְזֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-הָרִים יָד בְּמֶלֶךְ
1 Kings	13.2	יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ שְׁמוֹ
1 Kings	13.26	וַיֹּאמֶר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים הוּא אֲשֶׁר מָרָה אֶת-פִּי יְהוָה
1 Kings	13.3	זֶה הַמּוֹפֵת אֲשֶׁר דָּבַר יְהוָה
1 Kings	14.2	וְלֹא יִדְעוּ כִּי-אֲתִי אֵשֶׁת יִרְבֵּעַם
1 Kings	14.20	וְהַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר מָלַךְ יִרְבֵּעַם עֶשְׂרִים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה
1 Kings	14.21	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית
1 Kings	14.31	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית
1 Kings	15.2	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ מַעֲכָה בֵּת-אֲבִישָׁלוֹם

Book	Ref.	Text
1 Kings	15.10	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ מַעֲכָה בֵּת-אֲבִישָׁלוֹם
1 Kings	18.21	אִם-יְהוּהוּ הָאֱלֹהִים לָכֵן אֲחַרְיוֹ
1 Kings	18.24	הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	18.27	וַיֹּאמֶר קְרָאוּ בְּקוֹל-גָּדוֹל כִּי-אֱלֹהִים הוּא
1 Kings	18.36	יִדְעוּ כִּי-אַתָּה אֱלֹהִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
1 Kings	18.37	וַיִּדְעוּ הָעָם הַזֶּה כִּי-אַתָּה יְהוּהוּ הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	20.13	וַיִּדְעֶתָ כִּי-אֲנִי יְהוּהוּ
1 Kings	20.23	אֱלֹהֵי הָרִים אֱלֹהֵיהֶם
1 Kings	20.28	וַיִּדְעֶתֶם כִּי-אֲנִי יְהוּהוּ
1 Kings	20.28	אֱלֹהֵי הָרִים יְהוּהוּ
1 Kings	20.28	וְלֹא-אֱלֹהֵי עַמֻּקִּים הוּא
1 Kings	22.42	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ עֲזוֹבָה בֵּת-שִׁלְחִי
2 Kings	1.8	וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ הַתְּשִׁבִי הוּא
2 Kings	3.23	וַיֹּאמְרוּ דָם זֶה
2 Kings	4.25	הִנֵּה הַשּׁוֹנְמִית הַלְזָה
2 Kings	6.19	וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם אֵלֵי־שָׁע לֹא זֶה הַדָּרֶךְ
2 Kings	6.19	וְלֹא זֶה הָעִיר
2 Kings	8.5	וַיֹּאמֶר גְּחִזִי אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ זֹאת הָאִשָּׁה
2 Kings	8.5	וְזֶה-בְּנָה אֲשֶׁר-הִחִיָּה אֵלַי־שָׁע
2 Kings	8.26	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ עֵתְלִיָּהוּ בֵּת-עַמְרִי
2 Kings	9.37	לֹא-יֹאמְרוּ זֹאת אֵיזָבֵל
2 Kings	10.13	וַיֹּאמְרוּ אַחֵי אַחִיזִיָּהוּ אֲנַחְנוּ
2 Kings	10.5	וְהָאֲמָנִים אֵל-יְהוּא לֹאמַר עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲנַחְנוּ
2 Kings	11.5	וַיִּצְוֶם לֹאמַר זֶה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּן
2 Kings	12.2	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ צְבִיָּה מִבְּאֵר שֶׁבַע
2 Kings	14.2	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ יְהוֹעֲדִין מִזִּירוֹשָׁלַם
2 Kings	15.2	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ יְכָלִיָּהוּ מִירוֹשָׁלַם
2 Kings	15.12	הוּא דְבַר-יְהוּהוּ אֲשֶׁר דָּבַר אֵל-יְהוּא
2 Kings	15.33	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ יְרוֹשָׁא בֵּת-צְדוֹק:

Book	Ref.	Text
2 Kings	16.7	לֵאמֹר עֲבַדְדָּךְ וּבִגְדָךְ אֲנִי
2 Kings	18.2	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ אֲבִי בֵּת־זִכְרִיָּה
2 Kings	19.18	כִּי לֹא אֱלֹהִים הֵמָּה
2 Kings	19.19	כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ
2 Kings	19.21	זֶה הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עָלָיו
2 Kings	19.29	וְזֶה־לְךָ הָאוֹת
2 Kings	20.9	זֶה־לְךָ הָאוֹת מֵאֵת יְהוָה
2 Kings	21.1	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חֲפְצִי־בָהּ
2 Kings	21.19	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת
2 Kings	22.1	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ יִדִּידָה
2 Kings	23.31	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חֲמוּטָל
2 Kings	23.36	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ זְבִידָה
2 Kings	24.8	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נְחֻשְׁתָּא
2 Kings	24.18	וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ חֲמִיטָל

Identity Predicates Utilising the Overt Strategy

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	1.4	מִבּוֹא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ יְהִי גְבוּלְכֶם:
Joshua	14.4	כִּי־הָיוּ בְנֵי־יוֹסֵף שְׁנֵי מִטּוֹת מְנַשֶּׁה וְאַפְרָיִם
Joshua	15.4	זֶה־יְהִי לְכֶם גְּבוּל גִּבּוֹן
Joshua	20.9	אֱלֹהֵי הָיוּ עָרֵי הַמּוֹעֵדָה לְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
1 Kings	18.31	לֵאמֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהִי שִׁמְךָ

Identity Predicates Utilising a Pronominal Clitic

Book	Ref.	Text
Joshua	2:11	כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהִים בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמֶּעַל וְעַל־הָאָרֶץ מִתַּחַת
Joshua	13.14	אֲשֵׁי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא נִחְלָתוֹ
Joshua	13.33	יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא נִחְלָתָם
1 Samuel	4.8	אֱלֹהֵי הֵם הָאֱלֹהִים הַמְכִּים אֶת־מִצְרָיִם

Book	Ref.	Text
1 Samuel	17.14	וְדָוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן
2 Samuel	7.28	וְעַתָּה אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה אֲתֶה-הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	8.60	לְמַעַן דַּעַת כָּל-עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	18.39	וַיֹּאמְרוּ יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
1 Kings	18.39	יְהוָה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
2 Kings	18.36	כִּי-מִצּוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ הִיא לֵאמֹר לֹא תַעֲנֶהוּ
2 Kings	19.15	אֲתֶה-הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְךָ