COPULAR AND EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

by

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DECLARATION

I, Daniel Joseph Wilson, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the Doctoral Degree, Doctor of Philosophy with specialisation in Hebrew, at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education. I also cede the copyright of this thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

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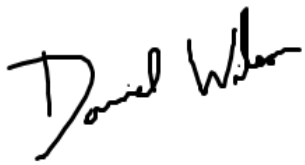

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ABSTRACT

This study provides an analysis of copular and existential sentences in Biblical Hebrew (BH). Biblical Hebrew uses three constructions for copular predication. One construction utilises a finite form of the BH copula *hyh.* The second construction — called the verbless (or nominal) clause — juxtaposes subject and predicate without any verbal form. A third construction is a verbless clause which contains a pronominal element (called PRON) and is found in very limited environments.

The traditional roles attributed to the BH copula are threefold. First, it has a copular function with which it licenses the tense, aspect, or mood (TAM) of a sentence by means of the verbal morphology and has no inherent semantic content. Second, it has been called a *true* verb which has semantic content meaning *become/exist/happen/occur*. Third, it has a function at the discourse level in which it is used to update the reference time or mark discourse boundaries.

BH existentials have not received much attention in the literature. Previous literature has focused primarily on the existential particles *yēš* and *ʾên*, but there has been little written about their syntactic structure or their relationship with existentials which use the verb *hyh*. The relationship between copular sentences using *hyh* and existential sentences using *hyh* has also been neglected in the literature.

This thesis aims to answer the following questions. If *hyh* licenses TAM agreement, which features does it license? Is it accurate to say that *hyh* is a polysemous verb form which has semantic content in some examples? Should PRON be considered a copula and what is its syntactic and semantic role in a sentence? Existential sentences which use *hyh* look similar to copular sentences. What distinguishes them and how do sentences which use the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* compare to those using *hyh*.

To answer these questions, I utilise the theoretical framework of Minimalist Syntax and the revisions made by Distributed Morphology. This framework informs how I view the nature

of lexical categorisation, predication, the predicational/existential distinction, and the underlying argument structure of sentences. This thesis examines every form of *hyh, yēš,* and *ʾên* in the Hebrew Bible taking note of its syntactic and semantic environments. Every verbless clause in Joshua through 2 Kings as well as many throughout the Pentateuch and books which have been labelled as examples of Late Biblical Hebrew have been analysed in order to note their role as compared to sentences which utilise *hyh.*

Within the framework adopted for this study, I demonstrate that the variation of uses of *hyh* and its alternation with the verbless clause is not due to multiple verbs that are homonyms of *hyh* in the Lexicon, nor to polysemy inherent to *hyh* itself, but rather it is due to the semantics of adjacent heads in the derivation. The verbless clause is the *otherwise* case which exists because there are no conditions causing an overt lexeme to be spelled out. I also analyse the so-called "discourse marker" function of *hyh* and demonstrate that it is actually a case of dislocation which is utilized in order to introduce a thetic judgment. I demonstrate that the underlying syntax and semantics of BH existential sentences is fundamentally different from that of BH copular sentences. Additionally, the alternation between existential sentences using *hyh* and those using the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* can be explained via a diachronic cycle. I also provide a syntactic analysis of PRON and demonstrate why it is inaccurate to label it a copula.

The critical contribution of this thesis is the first comprehensive syntactic and semantic description of the verb *hyh* which utilises the advancements made in modern linguistic theory. The demonstration that *hyh* is an auxiliary whose presence is obligatory in certain syntactic and semantic environments is a significant new contribution to the field of Hebrew linguistics. My analysis of the dislocation construction utilising *hyh* to convey a thetic judgment is also an important new contribution.

Key words: copular sentence; existential sentence; predication; thetic judgment; verbless clause; nominal sentence; copula; generative syntax; Biblical Hebrew.

To my wife, Kerry

"Every hard task…"

ABBREVIATIONS

∃P	Existential Phrase
&P	Conjunction Phrase
∅	Null Verb
A-P	Articulatory-Perceptual System
A	Adjective
ABS	Absolute
ACC	Accusative
ADJP	Adjective Phrase
Af	Affix
AGR	Agreement node
AGRSP	Subject Agreement Phrase
AP	Adjective Phrase
ART	Article
ASPP	Aspect Phrase
BDB	Brown, F. S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, electronic ed. (Oak Harbor, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2000).
BH	Biblical Hebrew
C	Complementiser
C-I	Conceptual Intentional System
CNC	Compound Nominal Clause
CP	Complementiser Phrase.
CONJ	Conjunction
COP	Copula
D	Determiner
DISLOCP	Dislocation Phrase
DM	Distributed Morphology
DP	Determiner Phrase
ED	Event Dislocation
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
Ev	Eventive
EX	Existential particle

EXIST	Existential
F	Functional Category
FinP	Finite Phrase
FocP	Focus Phrase
FocusP	Focus Phrase
ForceP	Force Phrase
FP	Functional Phrase
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* E. Kautzsch ed. translated by A.E. Cowley, 2nd English ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
GQ	Generalised Quantifier
HALOT	Koehler, L. W. Baumgartner, J.J. Stamm, and M.E.J. Richardson, 2000. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden: Brill.
HAB	Habitual
IMP	Imperative
INDIV	Individual level
INF	Infinitive
INFL	Inflectional node
IPFV	Imperfective
JUSS	Jussive
LD	Left Dislocation
LF	Logical Form
LOC	Locational constituent
Mod	Mood
ModP	Mood Phrase
N	Noun
NEG	Negator
NEGEX	Negative Existential Particle
NEGP	Negator Phrase
NENA	North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic
NNS	Non-Null Subject Verbs
NOM	Nominative
NP	Noun Phrase

NS	Null Subject verbs
OBJ	Object marker
P	Predicate
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfect Tense/Aspect
PF	Phonetic Form
PFV	Perfective
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PPC	Predicative Possessive Construction
Pred	A functional head which relates a complement to a subject
PRET	Preterite
PRON	The pronoun used in a tripartite clause
PTCP	Participle
Q	Question Particle
QH	Qumran Hebrew
QUANTP	Quantifier Phrase
REFL	Reflexive
S	Subject
SC	Small Clause
SG	Singular
SPEC	The specifier
STAGE	Stage level
ΣP	Polarity Phrase
T	Tense
TAM	Tense, Aspect, and Mood
Th	Thematic category
TOP	Topic
TOPP	Topic Phrase
TopicP	Topic Phrase
TP	Tense Phrase. A maximal projection in the Inflectional domain.
TRANS	Transitive
V	Verb
*v*P	Little-v Phrase. The maximal projection which introduces an eventuality variable.

VoiceP	Voice Phrase. The highest maximal projection in the thematic domain.
VOL	Volitive Mood
VP	Verb Phrase
WHP	WH-word Phrase
WQTL	*Wəqatal*
XP	A phrase which can be a noun phrase, adjective phrase, or prepositional phrase

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At the outset I wish to thank my adviser, Cynthia Miller-Naudé, for accepting me as a student over 6 years ago and modeling for me unparalleled excellence in scholarship and work ethic. I sought her out as an adviser because of her reputation as one of the most recognised and distinguished Hebrew scholars of our time. I have only increased in my respect and esteem for her as a scholar. I owe her a great debt of gratitude.

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Finally — and ultimately — I thank my God, the Alpha and Omega. The last Word.

Soli Deo Gloria.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Biblical Hebrew (BH) copular sentences may be constructed utilising several different formal structures. One structure — labelled the verbless or nominal clause — juxtaposes subject and predicate with no verb (1). A second structure utilises a copular verb *hyh* which can agree with the subject and inflect for Tense, Aspect, and Mood (TAM) (2). A third structure is far less common than the other two and is composed of a verbless clause which positions a pronominal element (PRON) with defective agreement between subject and predicate (3). Copular sentences are fundamentally a predication relation between a subject and a nonverbal constituent (NP, AP, or PP).

(1) 2 Samuel 17.8
וְאָבִיךָ אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה
wə -ʾāḇîḵā ʾîš milḥāmâ
CONJ - father.2MS man.GEN war
Your father (is) a man of war.[1]

(2) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיִיתִי נָע וָנָד בָּאָרֶץ
wəhāyîṯî nāʿ wā - nāḏ bā -ʾāreṣ
CONJ.COP.WQTL.1S stranger.PTCP CONJ -foreigner.PTCP in.ART -land
But I will be a stranger and a foreigner in the land.

(3) Isaiah 37.16[2]
אַתָּה־הִוא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ
ʾattâ hûʾ hā -ʾĕlōhîm ləḇaddəḵā
2MS 3MS ART –god alone.2MS
You are God, you alone

[1] In constructions with a zero copula, the tense of English *be* must be inferred from context. This will be indicated by parentheses around the English copula.

[2] In transcription, the BH *maqqeph* will not be rendered so as to avoid confusion with the hyphens separating morphemes.

BH existential sentences may use the verbal copula *hyh* as well (4), or may utilise the special existential particle *yēš* (5). Negative existentials use *hyh* with the verbal negator *lōʾ* immediately preceding it (6) or the special negative existential particle *ʾên* (7). Existential sentences are fundamentally a predication relation between a pivot NP and the contextual domain.

(4) Judges 17.1
וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מֵהַר־אֶפְרָיִם וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָיְהוּ
wayhî ʾîš mē - har ʾep̄rāyîm û - šəmô mîḵāyəhû
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS man from- hill.GEN Ephraim CONJ - name.3MS Micah
There was a man from the hill country of Ephraim and his name was Micah.

(5) 1 Samuel 17.46
יֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל
yēš ʾĕlōhîm lə - yiśrāʾēl
EX God to - Israel
There is a God in Israel

(6) Numbers 20.2
וְלֹא־הָיָה מַיִם לָעֵדָה
wə - lōʾ hāyâ mayim lā - ʿēḏâ
CONJ – NEG COP.PFV.3MS water to.ART - congregation
There was no water for the congregation.

(7) Jeremiah 14.6
כִּי־אֵין עֵשֶׂב
kî ʾên ʿēśeḇ:
for NEGEX vegetation.
For there was no vegetation

One additional type of sentence, the predicative possessive, has also been analysed alongside these other sentence types because in many languages they are conveyed with identical structures. Verbless clauses (8), sentences with the copular verb (9), and sentences with the existential particle (10) can all convey predicative possession.

(8) 2 Samuel 3.7
וּלְשָׁאוּל פִּלֶגֶשׁ וּשְׁמָהּ רִצְפָּה
û - lə -šāʾûl pileḡeš û - šəmāh riṣpâ
CONJ- to -Saul concubine CONJ - name.3FS Rizpah
Saul (had) a concubine and her name (was) Rizpah.

(9) Genesis 12.16
וַיְהִי־לוֹ צֹאן־וּבָקָר
wayhî lô ṣōʾn û - ḇāqār
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS to.3MS sheep CONJ - cattle
He had sheep and cattle.

(10) Numbers 5.8
וְאִם־אֵין לָאִישׁ גֹּאֵל
wə - ʾim ʾên lā - ʾîš gōʾēl
CONJ- if NEGEX to.ART-man kin
If the man has no kin

1.2 Research Problem

Though there has been some disagreement, the broad consensus on the nature of *hyh* in previous research is that it has both a copular function with which it hosts TAM features and a verbal function which conveys a host of different semantic nuances (Joüon 1947, Bartelmus 1982, Niccacci 1999, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, Sinclair 1999). One additional function which has received a lot of attention in previous research has been called the "discourse function" in which *hyh* stands in clause-initial position in order to update the reference time (van der Merwe 1999) and/or mark discourse boundaries. The research questions which are addressed in this study are the following:

- If *hyh* licenses TAM agreement, which features does it license? Past tense does not appear to require *hyh* as illustrated in examples such as (11) and (12) which are clearly past but are verbless.

(11) 2 Samuel 23.14
וְדָוִד אָז בַּמְּצוּדָה
wə - ḏāwīḏ ʾāz bam - məṣûḏâ
CONJ- David then in.ART- stronghold
David (was) then in the stronghold

(12) 2 Samuel 5:4
בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ
ben šəlōšîm šānâ dāwīḏ bə - molḵô
son.GEN thirty year David when - reign.INF.3MS
David (was) thirty years old when he became king.

How do these sentences compare to those which use a form of *hyh* in a past temporal context such as (13)?

(13) Genesis 1.2
וְהָאָ֫רֶץ הָיְתָ֥ה תֹ֭הוּ וָבֹ֑הוּ
wə - hā - ʾāreṣ hāyṯâ ṯōhû wā - ḇōhû
CONJ - ART - earth COP.PFV.3FS formless.PTCP CONJ - void.PTCP
The earth was formless and void

- Is it accurate to say that *hyh* is also a polysemous verb which has semantic content giving rise to examples such as (14) and (15)?

(14) Judges 20.3
אֵיכָ֣ה נִהְיְתָ֔ה הָרָעָ֖ה הַזֹּ֑את
ʾêḵâ nihyəṯâ hā -rāʿâ haz -zōʾṯ
how COP.PFV.PASS.3FS ART-evil ART - this
How did these evil things happen?

(15) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִ֥י דְבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵֽל
wayhî dəḇar yhwh ʾel šəmûʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel
The word of YHWH came to Samuel

Existential sentences which use *hyh* look similar to copular sentences. What distinguishes them? How do existential sentences which use the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* compare with those which use *hyh*?

- Should PRON be considered a copula and what exactly is its syntactic and semantic role in a sentence?
- What is the underlying structure of verbless clauses and how does it relate to the structures with *hyh*?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

A discussion of copular and existential sentences fundamentally requires an understanding of the nature of predication. The nature of what constitutes predication has been debated for

centuries. Aristotle, in his work *On Interpretation* defined a proposition as an instance of predication which affirms or denies something of something (Aristotle 1952:26). Since Aristotle, scholars in philosophy, logic, metaphysics as well as linguistics have attempted to define the essential components of predication as well as what happens when they are joined (Stalmaszczyk 2017). Before the concept was taken up in linguistics, it was discussed thoroughly in the works of 19th century philosopher Gottlob Frege (Frege 2003). He is credited with defining a predicate into the bipartite division of a logical function and its arguments. Jespersen eschewed the term predication and instead described the relation between subject and predicate as a *nexus* (Jespersen 1937:120). Another concept which is used to describe predication is that of *saturation*. The predicate is an open function which needs to be saturated by its argument(s) (Rothstein 2001). When the predicate is saturated by its arguments it returns a truth value.

Since this thesis is concerned with certain types of predication (i.e. copular and existential), a relevant question is how the complement of a copular sentence — a simple NP, AP, or PP — can constitute an open function which needs to be saturated. To answer this question, I draw from the generative framework and assume a functional head Pred following Bowers (1993, 2001), Baker (2003), Benmamoun (2008), Roy (2013), and Markman (2008). This functional head is responsible for taking the complement XP and making a theta-assigning unsaturated predicate out of it. All linguistic expressions of "being" are copular sentences, which essentially assumes that in all copular sentences 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.

For my understanding of lexical categorisation, particularly how *hyh* should be categorised, I use the criteria of Baker (2003). For syntax, I adopt the Minimalist approach that

the language faculty is composed of the Articulatory-Perceptual System (A-P) and the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) system which have their corresponding interfaces: The Phonetic Form (PF) for the A-P interface and the Logical Form (LF) for the C-I interface (Chomsky 1995:3). In Minimalism sentences are formed as lexical items enter a computational system with certain features specified (interpretable) or unspecified (uninterpretable). These lexical items undergo syntactic operations in the course of the derivation in the computation at the LF interface before they are "Spelled-Out" at the PF interface.

The current understanding of argument structure within generative linguistics is divided between *lexicalist* and *constructivist* traditions. Those in the lexicalist tradition have argued that it is the role of the verb to project syntactic structure from the argument structure inherent in the verb (Chomsky 1970). Contrastively, the constructivist tradition, associated with Hale (1993) and Hale and Keyser (2002), argues that the meanings typically attributed to argument structure can be explained by syntax. Syntax is the single generative engine of grammar.

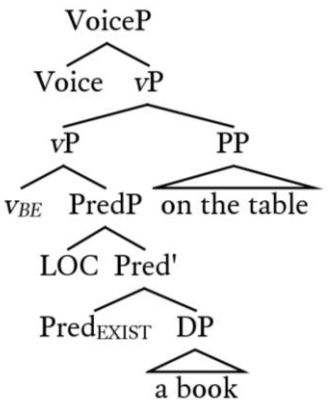
One framework which adopts the constructivist position is known as Distributed Morphology (DM). DM rejects the existence of a lexical inventory of words with features that enter into a syntactic derivation and instead argues for syntactic hierarchical structure all the way down (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999; Marantz 1997, 2013). DM presents the hypothesis of Late Insertion which argues that syntactic categories are abstract bundles of features with no phonological content. Only after syntax do phonological items called *Vocabulary Items* get inserted (at Spell-Out).

In this thesis, I adopt the syntactic machinery of Minimalism and the refinements of Distributed Morphology. It will be demonstrated that the variation of uses of *hyh* and its alternation with the verbless clause is not due to multiple verbs that are homonyms of *hyh* in the Lexicon, nor to polysemy inherent to *hyh* itself, but rather it is due to the semantics of

adjacent heads in the derivation. This is known as *conditioned allosemy* in the sense of Marantz (2013), Myler (2016) and Wood (2015).

Concerning existentials, I adopt the formal semantic approach of Francez who labels pivots as Generalised Quantifiers which are the main predicates of existential sentences (Francez 2009:3). He argues against a long tradition of viewing the pivots as arguments and the codas as predicates. Instead, the sole argument of the predicate in existentials is the contextual domain (an implicit argument) which can be valued by the coda, if one exists. For the syntax of existentials, I adopt the approach of Irwin (2016) and Myler (2016, 2017) who assume that another variant of the functional head Pred, i.e. $Pred_{EXIST}$ is selected by the pivot and asserts that the pivot is instantiated at a particular location: LOC. This is represented in (16).

(16) There is a book on the table



(Myler 2017:6).

This example illustrates the underlying structure of existentials. $Pred_{EXIST}$ is a functional head which enables the pivot *a book* to serve as an unsaturated predicate which is then saturated by its argument LOC which is further specified by the coda *on the table.*

1.4 Hypothesis

In this thesis, I hypothesise that the variation of uses of *hyh* and its alternation with the verbless clause is not due to multiple verbs that are homonyms of *hyh* in the Lexicon, nor to polysemy

inherent to *hyh* itself, but due to adjacent heads in the derivation or featural demands in the inflectional domain. I also hypothesise that PRON is not a copula, but a clitic which is the overt spell-out of Pred.

Additionally, I hypothesise that the zero copula construction (verbless clause) is the *otherwise* case which exists because there are no conditions causing an overt lexeme to be spelled out. The verb *hyh* should be considered an auxiliary and not a full verb whose different interpretations have to do with the syntactic structure surrounding it and not due to multiple "BE" verbs in the lexicon. The existential particles *yēš* and *ʾên* are semantically equivalent to existentials using *hyh* whose presence can be explained via diachronic cycles. The clause-initial *hyh* which has been labelled a "discourse marker" is actually a case of dislocation which is utilised in order to introduce a thetic judgment.

1.5 Corpus and Research Method

The corpus for the study includes every finite form of *hyh* in the Hebrew Bible as well as every instance of the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. To generate a sufficient sample size to analyse verbless clauses, every verbless clause in Joshua through 2 Kings have been analysed including many in both the Pentateuch and books which have traditionally been designated Late Biblical Hebrew: Qohelet and Ezra-Nehemiah. The data were collected by reading the corpus and cataloguing every copular and existential sentence, noting syntactic, semantic, and morphological features. The relevant research which has been done within the theoretical framework reviewed in section 1.3 was consulted to explain the formal distribution of copular and existential sentences. Where the data matched the theoretical assumptions, the analysis was adopted. Where the data did not match the theoretical assumptions, new analyses were formed.

1.6 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to understand the syntax and semantics of copular and existential sentences in BH. This requires an understanding of what constitutes predication and what factors influence the structure of sentences. An updated approach to BH syntax modelled on the formal linguistic literature will produce a better and more thorough understanding of these constructions. It is hoped that this thesis will make contribution within both the field of Hebrew and Near Eastern Studies, as well as the broader field of linguistics.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

The structure of this study is as follows:

In chapter 2, I review the previous literature which has focused on identifying subject and predicate in verbless clauses, taxonomy issues, PRON, the identity and role of *hyh*, the so-called "discourse marker" function of *hyh*, and existentials.

In chapter 3, I introduce and take a position on the theoretical issues of lexical categorisation, predication, the architecture of grammar, the domain of predication, the identity and role of a copula, and the existential/predicational distinction.

In chapter 4, I apply this theoretical framework to BH copular sentences. I evaluate the syntax of verbless clauses as well as sentences with *hyh*, demonstrating the syntactic environments which lead to different interpretations of these sentences. I demonstrate that the so-called "discourse marker" function of *hyh* is actually a case of dislocation which introduces a thetic judgment. I also argue that (in agreement with Naudé 1994, 1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) PRON is not a copula, but is instead a clitic which is the overt manifestation of the functional head Pred.

In chapter 5, I expand the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 3 and argue in favour of the semantic analysis of Francez (2009) and the syntactic analysis of Myler (2016, 2017) for BH existentials. I also demonstrate, following Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson (forthcoming) that different roles of the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* alongside the existential function of *hyh* can be explained via a diachronic cycle. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of BH predicative possessives.

Finally, in chapter 6 I review the major findings of the study and indicate areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2: OVERVIEW OF VIEWPOINTS ON BH COPULAR AND EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

2.1 Introduction

As with many other topics within BH linguistics, viewpoints on copular and existential sentences for BH have been alternatively labelled. The verbless clause — the dominant form for copular predication — has been studied primarily in comparison with verbal clauses, forming the nominal/verbal clause distinction which has been foundational in studies on Semitic syntax. The verb *hyh* has received extensive treatment regarding its role as a tense-marker, a full verb, and in many cases as a discourse-marker. Additionally, clauses which contain a pronominal element (PRON) — called tripartite nominal clauses — have been the subject of ongoing debate for decades. Existentials sentences in BH have mostly been discussed in lexical treatments of the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. A few studies have noted the existential function of the verb *hyh*.

In the following sections, these previous treatments of copular and existential sentences will be reviewed. In section 2.2 I review the history of research on copular sentences, including a review of theories on the verbless (nominal) clause. In the history of study on the BH verbless (nominal) clauses there have been a number of issues which have had both broad consensus as well as rigorous debate. In section 2.2.1 I address issues of taxonomy, which have enjoyed consensus but need updating. In section 2.2.2 I review the approaches to identifying subject and predicate in verbless clauses. In section 2.2.3 I review the debate on the identification and function of the pronominal element (PRON) in the so-called tripartite nominal clause. Section 2.3 will include a review of the so-called "discourse function" of the verb *hyh*. Section 2.4 will review the previous treatments of BH existential sentences.

2.2 Copular Sentences

2.2.1 Taxonomy Issues

A verbless predication which has as its predicate a noun, adjective, or prepositional phrase, has been called a "nominal clause." The origin of this expression is linked to a fundamental division of BH clause types between nominal and verbal clauses. This nominal/verbal clause division was adopted for BH syntax from a comparison to Arabic syntax of the Medieval Arabic grammarians (Groβ 1999). The first grammarian to apply this clause division to BH syntax was the hebraist E. Kautzsch in his revision of the 22nd edition of the influential grammar of Wilhelm Gesenius (Gesenius 1878). Originally, Gesenius 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. Instead, the view expressed in that work was that the verbless clause was the result of an omitted yet implied *hyh* (Gesenius 1853:262). The hebraist H. Ewald did not make the distinction either (Ewald 1827:632).

In the revision of Gesenius' grammar by Kautzch, every clause beginning with a verb was labelled a "verbal clause" and every clause beginning with a noun a "nominal clause." 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).

C. Brockelmann (1953) and C. Albrecht (1887) added refinements to Kautzsch's classification. Albrecht especially helped refine the classification (Albrecht 1887, 1888), stating that there are indeed two word classes — nominal and verbal — but their status is determined by the type of *predicate*, not subject. A verbal sentence 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 and included them in the 25th and later editions of Gesenius' grammar:

> Jeder Satz, dessen Subjekt und Prädikat in einem Nomen oder dem Äquivalent eines solchen (d.i. insbesondere einem Partizip) besteht, heiβt ein *Nominalsatz*…. Jeder Satz, dessen Subjekt in einem Nomen (resp. in einem *b* der Verbalform mit enthaltenen Pronomen), dessen Prädikat in einem Verbum finitum besteht, heiβt 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).

This nominal/verbal distinction 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 *ʿāmil* [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) reject the modifications of Albrecht and follow the division as articulated by Levin above.

Walter Groβ (1999) reviews the history presented above in more detail, addressing the irrelevance of the term "Compound Nominal Clause" (CNC) for BH syntax. The CNC was introduced as a way to explain clauses which started with a noun and yet had a verb. Groβ says,

> The question of whether a nominal constituent occurs before the verb…has nothing to do with the question of whether the clause-type of the utterance is to be termed a nominal clause, a verbal clause, or specifically a CNC. In short, because it contributes nothing toward our understanding of the structure and function of Hebrew sentences, the category of the CNC should be dismissed from Hebrew studies completely (Groβ 1999:49).

For exactly the same reasons cited by Groβ, the designation "nominal clause" for verbless clauses should equally be discarded. I will return to this issue of nomenclature at the end of this section.

Paul Joüon's grammar (Joüon 1947:466) and the revision by Muraoka (2000:561) codified Kautzsch's evolved distinction saying, "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 2000:561). This terminology is still common in descriptions of these constructions to this day.

The second major taxonomy issue has to do with distinguishing between clause types among verbless clauses. The work by Andersen (1970), who is credited with being the first to use the label "verbless clause" for these sentences, is frequently cited for his bipartite division of clause types.[3] One of the goals of Andersen is to provide a set of rules by which the order of subject and predicate in verbless clauses can be explained. He lists a number of previous studies whose explanations for constituent order are *ad hoc* and are "exegetical inferences and not grammatical categories" (Andersen 1970:17). By listing and categorising every verbless clause in the Pentateuch, he argues that it is possible to formulate a set of rules to describe all the possible types of verbless clauses in BH (1970:18). His parameters include clause-type (i.e. 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). All these

[3] See Linton (1983) for a detailed review of word order in the verbless clause according to Andersen, Albrecht, Hoftijzer, and Muraoka.

features, Andersen argues, contribute to an 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[ubject]-P[redicate]. The sequence P[redicate]-S[ubject] exists in about one third of the examples, which suggests that calling these examples exceptions is not accurate (1970:31).

One of the most influential components of Andersen's study is his bipartite taxonomy of clause types. 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 1970:31-34).[4] The typical word order of clauses of identification is S-P while the sequence of clauses of classification is P-S. Exceptions to these orders have to do with the degrees of definiteness of the predicate (i.e. both identifying and classifying clauses may have a suffixed noun as predicate depending on the intention of the speaker to highlight the identity or character of the referent) (Andersen 1970:32).

Zewi (1994) subdivides the clause of classification into four patterns called A, A2, B, and C. The clause of identification is called type D. Type A contains only one subject and one predicate in P-S order. This pattern is typically found with initial verbs of saying, *kî*, protasis and apodosis, the relative particle *ʾăšer*+negator, and interrogatives (Zewi 1994:154). Zewi divides her examples into those which have a personal or demonstrative pronoun as subject and those which have an NP as subject. Examples (17) and (18) are given as type A.

(17) Genesis 3.19
כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה
kî ʿāp̄ār ʾattâ
for dust 2MS
For you (are) dust

[4] Though this distinction is typically attributed to Andersen, Zewi (1994) mentions that it goes back to Praetorius (1881:755)

(18) Genesis 6.5
כִּי רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם בָּאָרֶץ
kî rabbâ rāʿaṯ hā -ʾāḏām bā -ʾāreṣ
that great evil ART - man in.ART- earth
that the wickedness of humankind on earth (was) great.

Type A2 sentences have the order S-P and are common in positive sentences after *ʾăšer* and in various interactions with the particle *waw* (Zewi 1994:157-158). Examples (19) and (20) are Zewi's type A2.

(19) Exodus 16.31
וְהוּא כְּזֶרַע גַּד
wə -hûʾ kə - zeraʿ gaḏ
CONJ-3MS like-seed coriander
It (was) like coriander seed.

(20) Genesis 27.22
הַקֹּל קוֹל יַעֲקֹב
haq - qōl qôl yaʿăqōḇ
ART-voice voice.GEN Jacob
The voice (is) the voice of Jacob

Zewi's type B sentences are extended patterns whose subject is in extraposition.[5] The predicate of the extraposed subject is of type A (P-S) and the internal subject is a personal pronoun (Zewi 1994:159) which resumes the subject and agrees with it in gender and number. Example (21) is provided as a type B pattern.

(21) 2 Samuel 21.2
וְהַגִּבְעֹנִים לֹא מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה
wə - hag - giḇʿōnîm lōʾ mibbənê yiśrāʾēl hēmmâ
CONJ -ART – Gibeonites NEG from-sons.GEN Israel 3MPL
Now the Gibeonites (were) not from the sons of Israel.

[5] It is important to note that Zewi's use of the term extraposition is not consistent with the typical definition in linguistics. Extraposition is "A term used in grammatical analysis to refer to the process or result of moving (or extraposing) an element from its normal position to a position at or near the end of the sentence" (Crystal 2008:182).

Type C according to Zewi also involves extraposition like type B, but in this type the extraposed subject stands at the end of the sentence. The predicate clause is of type A (P-S) whose subject is a pronoun or demonstrative and the extraposed subject can be a definite noun, participle, or subordinate verb (Zewi 1994:160). She gives (22) and (23) as examples of type C.

(22) Genesis 25.16
אֵ֚לֶּה הֵ֣ם בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׁמָעֵ֔אל
ʾēllê hēm bənê yišmāʿēʾl
these 3MP sons.GEN Ishmael
These (are) the sons of Ishmael.

(23) Song of Solomon 6.4
יָפָ֥ה אַתְּ רַעְיָתִ֖י
yāp̄â ʾat raʿyāṯî
beautiful 2FS friend.1S
You (are) beautiful, my love.

Finally, type D also involves extraposition but the resumptive pronoun functions as the predicate rather than as the subject of the nucleus clause as it does in type C (Zewi 1994:162). Example (24) is given by means of illustration.

(24) Genesis 42.6
וְיוֹסֵ֗ף הוּא֙ הַשַּׁלִּ֣יט עַל־הָאָ֔רֶץ
wə - yôsēp̄ hûʾ haš - šallîṭ ʿal hā - ʾāreṣ
CONJ-Joseph 3MS ART- ruler over-ART- land
Joseph (was) governor over the land.

In this sentence, Zewi says *yôsēp̄* is the extraposed subject of the whole sentence and *hûʾ haššallîṭ ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* is the predicate clause. Within this predicate clause *hûʾ* is the predicate and *haššallîṭ ʿal-hāʾāreṣ* is the subject. Zewi suggests the translation, "And Joseph, it was he who was the vizier of the land" (Zewi 1994:162). Adding to the perspectives already provided, others such as Niccacci (1990, 1993, 1999) provide more taxonomies which vary based on the order of constituents.

Another approach, which makes use of language typology, has been suggested by Cook (2008), Kummerow (2013), and Wilson (2015) based on the semantics of clause-types. Each of these works draws from the massive typological study of intransitive predication by Stassen (1997). In this study he makes a fundamental division between Identity predicates and Ascriptive predicates. Stassen's classification draws on the rich, but debated, tradition of Higgins (1979) who distinguishes four types of copular sentences which are illustrated in (25).

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

This classification has been critiqued since Higgins produced it (Rapaport 1987; Mikkelsen 2011), but a fundamental distinction between identity (or equative) and predicational (Ascriptive) constructions has received considerable consensus. To help describe these predicate types Stassen uses the metaphor of "mental files" which have their own labels and content. Identity predicates, composed of both specificational and equational clauses reorganise the files whereas predicational (Ascriptive) clauses only add new content to pre-existing files. There are several ways to classify Ascriptive predicates. Stassen subdivides all Ascriptive predicate expressions into four categories: event (or action/state) predicates, class-membership predicates, locational predicates, and property-concept predicates (Stassen 1997:18). These categories correspond respectively to the English syntactic categories: intransitive verbal predication, nominal predication, prepositional predication, and adjectival predication. A complete taxonomy of intransitive predicates according to Stassen is provided in (26).

(26) 1. Identity Predicates
a. Specification
b. Equative

2. Ascriptive Predicates
a. Event
b. Class-Membership
c. Property-Concept
d. Locational

Kummerow (2013) and Wilson (2015) have both argued that the bipartite distinction of nominal/verbal clauses in BH studies is not fine-grained enough. Analysis of BH copular constructions should adopt the taxonomy of predicate types which is common in typological analysis. For example, analysing property-concept predicates would compare predicate adjectives, stative verbs, and even participles side-by-side whereas with the nominal/verbal distinction these would not be compared.

2.2.2 Identifying Subject and Predicate

In the works on BH verbless clauses, one of the main subjects of inquiry is the correct identification of subject (S) and predicate (P). Take (27) for example.

(27) Exodus 9.27
יהוה הַצַּדִּיק
yhwh haṣ-ṣaddîk
YHWH $_{\text{ART}}$-righteous
YHWH is in the right
or
The one in the right is YHWH (Andersen 1970:63)

With the variable word order in BH, by what criteria should the subject and predicate be identified?

Hebraists have identified formal, semantic, and pragmatic features as the determiners of syntactic roles in these sentences including linear word order and the activation status of the constituents in the broader discourse (Andersen 1970; Hoftijzer 1973; Linton 1983; Cohen 1984; Michel 1994; Richter 1980; Niccacci 1990, 1993, 1999; Dyk and Talstra 1999; Zewi 1994; Muraoka 1985, 1991, 1999; Buth 1999; Revell 1999). Most hebraists who have written on this subject have utilised a combination of these features to make their determination.

One designation which some have listed as relevant is the pragmatic status of the constituents as discourse "old/known/given" information versus "new" information (Muraoka 1999:205; Zewi 1994:145; Michel 1994:217; Buth 1999:100). In this analysis, the subject is

the old/known/given information and the predicate is the new information.[6] Another important feature which is frequently cited as determinative is the notion of definiteness. According to many hebraists, the more definite constituent is typically the subject (Andersen 1970:32; Hoftijzer 1973:452-487; Zewi 1994:151; Muraoka 1999:188n6; Michel 1994:215; Buth 1999:100; Dyk and Talstra 1999:151-153; Lowery 1999:270; Revell 1999:307). Many of these same works also take into account the phrase type of the constituent as well. A very thorough paradigm of definiteness and phrase type which predicts the syntactic role in any clause in BH is reproduced in example (28).

(28)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
suf	demPro	persPro	defNP	PN	indefNP	interrPRO	Adj	PP	Loc
S	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
	S	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
		S	P	P	P	P	P	P	P
			S	P	P	P	P	P	P
				S	P	P	P	P	P
					S	P	P	P	P
						S	P	P	P
							S	P	P

suf= suffix on *yš, ʾyn, hnh, ʿwd,* Loc

demPro= demonstrative pronoun

persPro= personal pronoun

indefNP= indefinite noun phrase

interrPro= interrogative pronoun (NPs)

Adj= adjective

[6] Zewi (1994:145 n4) cites Jespersen (1924) for a general linguistic treatment concerning how subject and predicate are to be identified. For sentences which combine elements with a form of *be*, Jespersen makes a distinction between a predicate and a predicative. In the sentence *the man is a painter, is a painter* is the predicate while *a painter* is the predicative (Jespersen 1924:150 n1). Though this terminology has been updated in recent linguistic studies of predication, the important distinction between a predicate and a post copular XP (Jespersen's predicative) would have helped the BH studies under review in this section. A single XP cannot serve as a predicate by itself. More will be said about this in section 3.3.

defNP= definite noun phrase

PN= proper noun; name

PP= prepositional phrase

Loc= locatives; locative interrogative

(Dyk and Talstra 1999:152)

Example (29) combines column 2 (demPro) with column 4 (defNP) and demonstrates that the table is predictive for identifying subject and predicate.

(29) Deuteronomy 4.44
וְזֹאת הַתּוֹרָה
wə - zōʾt hat - tôrâ
CONJ- this ART - law
This (is) the law

This table and the subsequent examples in the work by Dyk and Talstra (Dyk and Talstra 1999:153-156) provide a predictive paradigm for identifying the subject based on a combination of relative definiteness and phrase type. Dyk and Talstra's paradigm will be considered in the present thesis to be the best guide for determining the subject in a verbless clause. The only improvement to be made concerns a more theoretically robust definition of the predicate and a different definition of S and P in existential sentences using the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. These issues will be taken up in section 3.3 and 5.2, respectively.

2.2.3 PRON

The so-called tripartite nominal clause has received extensive treatment in the literature on BH verbless clauses. The structure of this clause is a verbless clause with two noun phrases with an additional pronoun (PRON). All other features in this clause resemble a verbless clause except for the presence of this pronoun.

There are two primary positions on PRON which are summarised by Muraoka who says, "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). Newer studies have sought to find a mediating position between these views (Holmstedt and

Jones 2014). BH is not alone in allowing a pronominal element to mediate between subject and predicate. The analysis of this construction in other languages and a comparison to PRON in BH will be provided in section 4.4. The following paragraphs describe the copular, non-copular, and mediating viewpoints concerning this construction.

Gesenius originally suggested that PRON functioned as a copula 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 1878). 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). Kautzsch modified this statement and replaced it 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). The revisions of Kautzsch have remained in the current editions of GKC, so Gesenius' original perspective is lost to most readers.

A similar revision was done by Muraoka of the French original of Joüon's grammar. 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 3e personne; II) les adverbs d'existence יֵשׁ et אֵין; III) le verbe הָיָה (Joüon 1947:469-470).

In his description of the pronoun as copula he says:

> Le pronom de la 3e 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).

According to this statement, Joüon argues that the pronoun can be both a copula and be used for emphasis at different times. In the revision by Muraoka, however, this perspective is completely removed. 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 יֵשׁ and אַיִן; III) the verb הָיָה.
> (Joüon and Muraoka 2000:573; emphasis added).

In a note on the section concerning this pronoun, Muraoka 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 2000:573 n1). 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 2000:574). The revisions in these two reference grammars are an early form of the debate which has continued in current research.

In a separate article Muraoka challenges the idea that PRON function as a copula in BH. He states that even in Classical Syriac and Modern Hebrew, which both exhibit this construction much more frequently than BH, PRON is not functioning as a copula. The functions of this pronoun, according to Muraoka, are topicalisation, prominence, and *casus pendens* or extraposition. He further adds,

> 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).

Some familiarity with the typological research on copular constructions, including Semitic languages, would demonstrate that this comment is unfounded.

As mentioned above in section 2.2.1, Zewi has written extensively on the subject of the nominal clause (Zewi 1994, 1996a, 1996b 1999a, 1999b, 2013). In addition to her taxonomy of clause types 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 also 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. This retrospective pronoun appears in causal and object clauses referring to a time other than the present (Zewi 1999a:207).

Woodard (2009) is in agreement with Muraoka and Zewi and argues that the copular analysis is inconsistent with the biblical data. Woodard's argument is that the pronoun cannot be a copula, or even a pseudo-copula because there is no uniformity in its distribution (Woodard 2009:4). Furthermore, it 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 (e.g. *hyh*, *yēš*, and *ʾên*) (Woodard 2009:14-15). Ultimately, Woodard argues that the resumptive analysis satisfies the question of motivation for this pronoun in BH (Woodard 2009:17).

Naudé has devoted multiple articles to this topic for BH, Aramaic and Qumran Hebrew (QH). In his article on the pronoun in Aramaic (Naudé 1994), Naudé disagrees with the hypotheses that PRON functions as a copula, a resumptive pronoun, or a pleonastic pronoun. Instead, he argues that it 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 states that PRON does not have the same distribution as the verb *hwh* (e.g. *hwh*+participle construction as is found in Ezra 7:26) (Naudé 1994:79). He provides four reasons against a resumptive analysis: (1) a left-dislocated construction would necessitate a pause in the

Masoretic accents, a condition which is not present in the data;[7] (2) dislocated constituents do not occur in questions (cf. the tripartite nominal clause in Daniel 3:15); (3) resumptive pronouns cannot occur in relative clauses in which the subject has been extracted, which 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 refuting that PRON is a copula or resumptive pronoun, Naudé argues that PRON is a clitic that is required in certain circumstances. Utilising the assumptions of the Government and Binding approach within the generative tradition, a tense projection is not required in these sentences, leaving only an agreement projection. PRON realises the unattached agreement features for the referential noun phrases in the predicate.

Naudé also argues that PRON assigns a theta role in a referring predicate of a verbless clause (Naudé 1994:91). He says, "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). He argues that X (where X= N, A, or P) functions as the head of an XP in non-verbal predicates and 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 assigns the necessary theta-role to the referring NP. Therefore, PRON exists not as a copula or resumptive pronoun in present tense copular constructions, but rather as a saving device for referring NPs.

[7] This point has recently been argued for BH through an analysis of the Masoretic accent tradition which distinguishes between genuine cases of left dislocation and constructions with PRON (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2017).

With reference to PRON in QH (Naudé 2001, 2002a, 2002b), Naudé comes to the same conclusion. He labels the referring predicates as "specificational" and argues that feature checking for a specificational clause cannot happen without this clitic. The clause (with a specificational interpretation) will be ungrammatical without PRON assigning functions (e.g. EXPERIENCER, IDENTIFIER, or SPECIFIER) (Naudé 2002b:176). Example (30) is an illustration in QH.

(30) 1QpHab XII.7
הקרוח הוא ירושלם
the-city PRON 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 *hwʾ* would have no constituent to assign roles and check features. PRON serves as a saving device to yield a grammatical specificational verbless clause (Naudé 2002a:154). PRON, then, is a clitic which takes its agreement features from the preceding NP. Naudé's approach will be discussed again in section 4.4.

Doron analyses this construction in Modern Hebrew arguing against the theory that PRON is a present tense suppletive form of the copula. She says,

> I argue that the pronoun [in this contruction], 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 example.

(31) *Dani more*
Dani teacher
Dani (is) a teacher.

In (31), nominative case needs to be assigned to *Dani*. Doron argues that the second NP is not an argument, but a theta-role assigning predicate. The problem with this view 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 assigment and eventually comes to the S[entence]-structure in (32).

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

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

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

Rapoport also presents a perspective on the role of PRON in Modern Hebrew and demonstrates where Doron's analysis is weak. She says, "I too assume that H [PRON] 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 that in order for equative sentences to assign Case, PRON serves as this Case-

assigning governor. PRON 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; 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.

Rothstein (2001) evaluates 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, 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. Those predicative (i.e. non-equative) constructions in which PRON exists already have a theta-role assigner in the predicate. A third argument offered by Rothstein concerns the fact that PRON is not always obligatory in equational sentences. She offers three examples:

(34) PRON is optional in identity sentences with a pronominal
ani (hu) mar yosef
I (PRON) mr Yosef
I am Mr. Yosef.

(35) PRON is impossible with the negative particle *eyn*
*dani (*hu) eyno mar Yosef*
dani (*PRON) not-m.s. mr yosef
Dani is not Mr. Yosef.

(36) PRON can be dropped when the negative marker *lo* is used.
dani ?(hu) lo mar Yosef
dani ?(PRON) NEG mr Yosef
Dani is not Mr. Yosef (Rothstein 2001:213)

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.

The optional presence of PRON in certain predicational constructions also presents a challenge to Rapoport (1987) and others who argue that PRON exists in identity statements to assign case. 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 demonstrates predicational sentences that contain PRON. The argument is that PRON is obligatory not only in identity sentences but also in some predicational sentences. She provides the following examples:

(37) *orvim *(hem) Sxorim*
ravens Pron black
Ravens are black.

(38) *tel aviv *(hi) be -yisrael*
Tel Aviv Pron in- Israel
Tel Aviv is in Israel (Rothstein 2001:233).

Both (37) and (38) require PRON in order to be grammatical. Rothstein says, "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:

(39) *haSamaim (hem) kxolim*
the sky Pron blue
The sky is blue.

Without PRON, the interpretation would be that the sky is blue now as opposed to being overcast or some other possibility whereas with PRON the interpretation would assert that the sky has the general property of being blue. The pronoun is obligatory in (37) and (38) because the sentences can only coherently be spoken with a general timeless interpretation. Ravens are black generally (37) and Tel Aviv is in Israel always (38).

Naudé, Doron, Rapoport, and Rothstein all represent the non-copular perspective for these constructions and provide explanations for its function. A similar approach will be presented in section 4.4.

Khan (2005), Kummerow (2013), and Holmstedt and Jones (2014) represent a mediating view. Khan addresses PRON in BH, comparing 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 acquisition of the properties of a pronominal copula. The six features are generalisation of the third person, cliticisation, 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. These features are not completely present for BH because this was a gradual process, which is present to differing degrees in the

Northwest Semitic languages. In BH the shift had just started while in Syria the shift is more advanced. 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).

Using the typological findings of Stassen (1997) and Croft (2001), Kummerow (2013) argues in favour of the copular analysis, which is a development via reanalysis from a resumptive pronoun in a left-dislocation construction. He even claims that this construction could be possible outside of identity statements (2013:53, 84-85, 89). Kummerow, like Khan, argues 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 (Li and Thompson 1977; Stassen 1997; Croft 2001).

Holmstedt and Jones (2014) have produced both a distributional and typological defence of the copular/reanalysis perspective. Their argument is for a *via media* between a strictly resumptive analysis and a strictly copular analysis. They present four distributional features which PRON shares with the verb *hyh*. First, they both appear with the same predicate types (NP, PP, AP). Second, the pattern of verbal negation is similar in both. Third, both occur with participial clauses. Fourth, 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, tracing the development of the copular pronoun from Old Aramaic to Imperial Aramaic and from 3rd-2nd millennium Akkadian to Western Peripheral Akkadian in the second half of the second millennium. A pronominal element that has been identified as a copula is also attested in Neo-Assyrian, Classical Syriac, and Late Babylonian. Finally, they list Classical Ethiopic (Geʿez) and Classical Arabic as first

millennium C.E. languages which exhibit a pronominal copula. They use this comparative evidence to strengthen their claim that reanalysis has taken place in BH.

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, including the influential work of Li and Thompson (1977). 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 demonstrates that anaphoric pronouns serving as copulas develop 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 and that BH maintains both the anaphoric and copular uses of the pronoun.

2.2.4 Role of *hyh*

In the history of research on the verb *hyh* there has not been a significant amount of disagreement concerning its role in the sentence. In GKC (1910), *hyh* is described as functioning as a normal verb meaning "to become, to fare, to exist," which functions as the predicate of a verbal clause. The lexica present the following potential glosses of *hyh*: "come to pass, occur, happen, be, become, serve as, have, be with, have gone" (HALOT 243-244), "fall out, happen, occur, take place, come about, come to pass, come into being, become, arise, appear, come, exist, abide, remain, continue" (BDB 224-227). Gesenius summarises its other use saying it is used in nominal clauses to indicate the time of the predication through the verbal morphology of *hyh* (Gesenius 1910:454). Joüon also argues that the function of *hyh* 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 temporal comme le verbe fr. *être* (Joüon 1947:471).

Perhaps one of the most frequently cited works on the verb *hyh* is the study by Bartelmus (1982). This work was written primarily to contribute to the discussion of the verbal system in BH. Bartelmus sets out to demonstrate how *hyh* fits into the BH verbal system. He notes that *hyh* lacks a participial form and thus does not express contemporaneity or durativity, the two functions of participial forms in BH. Also, *hyh* occurs in syntactical structures that closely resemble "nominal sentences." Because of these facts, Bartelmus concludes that *hyh* is not a true verb and only specifies temporality in copular sentences.

Many have relied on Bartelmus' conclusions to advance the idea that *hyh* only functions to provide information concerning tense, aspect, and modality in a copular clause. Niccacci (1990, 1993, 1999) cites Bartelmus to buttress his own view, asserting that *hyh* in a *qatal* form refers to the past and in a *yiqtol* form, it refers to the future (Niccacci 1999:243).

Pardee carefully critiques Bartelmus' argument saying, "B[artemlus]'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 *hyh* should be analysed alongside statives (e.g. *kāḇeḏ*, be/become heavy) He objects to Bartelmus' definition of *hyh* as only a "temporalizer." 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).

Waltke and O'Connor say, "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 *hyh* in BH copular constructions. Though this term is not used to describe the role of *hyh* in all previous research, the "dummy" hypothesis is the consensus explanation for the presence of *hyh* in BH copular constructions.

Out of all the previous treatments of this verb, Sinclair (1999) comes closest to providing a fuller explanation beyond the dummy hypothesis. His article is devoted to demonstrating the semantic congruity between verbless clauses and clauses with *hyh.* 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 *hyh* can occur but has been omitted, thus creating the so-called nominal clause" (Sinclair 1999:52). The main piece of evidence that Sinclair uses for his argument is the variety of complement types. The verb *hyh* and nominal clauses permit an identical set of complement types. Sinclair demonstrates the congruence between these two clause types 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 says that the congruence is between verbless clauses and *hyh* when it functions as a copula, but there are other functions for *hyh* that go beyond its copular function. 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 *hyh,* Sinclair argues that we should understand them simply as translation glosses required for idiomatic English. For example, he observes that the absence of an overt predicate complement with *hyh* 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).

For the copular function of *hyh,* Sinclair agrees with the dummy hypothesis but nuances it slightly. He says, "It is not clear … that *hyh* 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 BH and English where an element is understood in the deep structure yet remains unexpressed in the surface 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.

As this review has demonstrated, there has been a degree of consensus regarding the TAM-licensing role of *hyh* in BH copular sentences. Alongside this agreement there have been intuitions that more is happening with this verb. The contribution of this thesis is to demonstrate which contexts require *hyh* for TAM-licensing and to explain the additional functions which have been noticed by hebraists for centuries. This will be done by demonstrating which semantic and syntactic environments require *hyh* in the thematic domain (4.3.2), inflectional domain (4.3.3), and left-periphery (4.3.5).

2.3 The "Discourse-Marker" Function

The so-called "discourse-marker" function of the verb *hyh* (which has received numerous other labels) occurs frequently (636 times) in the Hebrew Bible and thus has undergone extensive analysis.[8]

(39) Genesis 39.7
וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַתִּשָּׂא אֵשֶׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף
wayhî ʾaḥar had- dəḇārîm hā -ʾēllê wattiśśāʾ ʾ ēšeṯ
CONJ.COP.PRET after ART -things ART- these CONJ.lifted.3FS.PRET wife.GEN
ʾăḏōnâw ʾeṯ ʿênêhā ʾel yôsēp̄
master.3MS OBJ eyes.3FS to Joseph
It happened, after these things, the wife of his master lifted her eyes to Joseph.

The approaches to this form have mostly centered on their temporal or discourse function. Harmelink (2011) analyses all clause-initial forms of the verb *hyh* and identifies a verbal (copular) role and a temporal role. The verbal role includes equative, existential, deictic, and descriptive functions (Harmelink 2011:149-219). The temporal function is distinguished from the verbal in that it only has 3MS inflection and has no explicit subject or complement (Harmelink 2011:276). Harmelink suggests that the temporal function may have developed out of the verbal function (Harmelink 2011:275-276). The temporal function is labeled such because most of the occurrences of this construction are followed by a temporal adjunct. This fact has led to a debate concerning the dependency relation of the temporal adjunct. In example (39), for instance, is the expression *after these things* connected to the clause-initial *hyh* or is it a fronted temporal frame? Advocates for the second option include van der Merwe (1999), Harmelink (2011), and Cook (2012).

Connected to the temporal function is the hypothesis that this construction is used in order to update the reference time in the narrative (Hatav 1997:78; van der Merwe 1999:93-97; Cook 2012:312). Reference time mediates the relationship between speech time and event time

[8] In addition to discussions in the reference grammars, previous treatments of this form include Ogden 1971; Vanoni 1982; Isaakson 1995; Hatav 1997; Longacre 2003; Floor 2004; Heller 2004; van Hecke 2008, 2013; Harmelink 2011; Ber 2006; van der Merwe 1999; Cook 2012; Longacre 2014.

and serves as the temporal viewpoint from which the event is evaluated (Cook 2012:18). This verb then anchors the state-of-affairs to the narrative timeline and the temporal adjunct can update or provide further specification to the reference time (van der Merwe 1999).

Other perspectives assign the verb a feature of narrative progression (Vanoni 1982; Floβ 1985), macro-syntactic signaling (Schneider 1993; Niccacci 1990), or episode opening and closing (Longacre 2004; van der Merwe 1999). These perspectives have identified that frequently this construction is found in similar locations in a discourse. These observations will be addressed again in section 4.3.5 and reinterpreted according to the theory that this type of construction makes a unique utterance which is commonly found in these discourse environments cross-linguistically.

2.4 Previous Treatments of BH existentials

There have been surprisingly few studies on existentials in BH. The reason for this may be because hebraists are largely unaware of the theoretical linguistic conversation concerning existential sentences and how they are to be distinguished from predicative sentences. Additionally, most previous studies have been morphologically based and thus have concentrated on describing the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* and their distribution in BH. A few studies have acknowledged the role of *hyh* in existential sentences (Ogden 1971:451-452; Harmelink 2011:210; Moshavi 2010:45ff; van Hecke 2008, 2013; Andersen and Forbes 2012; Madasu 2015; Bar Asher 2009). Unfortunately, several of these previous studies use idiosyncratic definitions of what constitutes an existential in BH.

One of the most thorough accounts of existentials features the constituent order of existentials using *yēš* and *ʾên* in Qumran Hebrew (2008) and those using *hyh* (2013) by van Hecke. He recounts the tendency in BH for clauses with one of these "predicators of existence"

to have a PP with a nominal following the (pivot) NP and a PP with a suffixed pronominal preceding the (pivot) NP.[9] Examples (40) and (41) are two examples.

(40) 1 Samuel 17.46
יֵ֥שׁ אֱלֹהִ֖ים לְיִשְׂרָאֵֽל
yēš ʾĕlōhîm lə - yiśrāʾēl
EXIST God to - Israel
There is a God in Israel

(41) Genesis 11.30
אֵ֥ין לָ֖הּ וָלָֽד
ʾên lāh wālāḏ
NEG.EX to.3FS child
She had no child

The stated goal of van Hecke (2008) is to demonstrate that there is a functional opposition between NP-PP and PP-NP orders in QH existentials. After giving a brief statistical analysis of constituent order in BH existentials, he provides an analysis of QH constituent order.

His discussion involves the concepts of topic and focus from the perspective of Functional Grammar. Van Hecke states, "One needs to know what the clause is about…what the topic is — before one can start making assertions about it" (van Hecke 2008:69). Concerning the identification of the subject and the topic in existentials he says,

> Tentatively, one could argue that, if both the subject (NP) and the predicate (PP) are nominal, it is the subject, which is typically also the Topic, that precedes. If, on the other hand, the PP is pronominal, it usually is the clause's Given Topic with a high degree of referentiality and thus precedes the NP *if* establishing the referential connection with what precedes is necessary (van Hecke 2008:69).

For QH existentials with the particles he concludes that the default order is particle–NP–PP(nom), and particle–PP(pro)–NP. All deviations from this order are due to length/complexity of the constituent, the semantic properties of the existential construction as well as the preposition used, the degree of referentiality, and the pragmatic functions of individual constituents (van Hecke 2008:77-78). In those cases where the PP precedes the

[9] The definition of the pivot and its role in existential sentences is discussed in section 3.4 and chapter 5.

particle, it is marked for contrastive focus (van Heck 2008:76). Baasten says these constructions involve extraposition[10] (Baasten 1986:6-7) but van Hecke is not convinced. He says these can be compared to PP(nom)-NP order but in a "superlative" sense (van Hecke 2008:76).

In his second article on existentials in QH, van Hecke features the verb *hyh* stating that it can function both as a copula and as an independent verb of existence. The scope of his article features *hyh* as a verb of existence or as copula governing a subject and a (pro)nominal, adjectival, or PP predicate but not with *lamed*+infinitive or a participial predicate.

The article proceeds by providing two subsets of clauses where *hyh* is used in order to establish a default word order. In the first subset, van Hecke acknowledges the similarity of possession and existential sentences (van Hecke 2013:88). In the second subset, he comments on Jenni's "clauses of subjective classification" or "reclassification" which combine the verb *hyh* with the preposition *lamed* which is prefixed to the NP being reclassified. From these subsets, van Hecke then uses the frequency of distribution to decide that default order is VX (35 examples vs. 7 examples).

The smaller sample from the subset of clauses is confirmed in a broader analysis. Van Hecke finds that the majority of examples (118 examples vs. 56 examples) are verb initial when *hyh* is functioning as a copula (van Hecke 2013:93). SV order is employed for contrastive focus or when the information structure differs from what is expected (van Hecke 2013:94). He also states that word order may also be a matter of the particular style of the document (van Hecke 2013:96). One of the primary contributions van Hecke makes is that there is also semantically motivated word order that differentiates existentials from copular *hyh* clauses. Existentials in QH, then, can be identified by SV rather than the default VS order. He says, "A fronted S[ubject], and the subsequent (re)location of the verb in second position, could indicate that

[10] Once again with an idiosyncratic definition of extraposition, see note 4.

hyh functions as an existential rather than copular verb" (van Hecke 2013:96). He gives the following examples to demonstrate this hypothesis:

(42) 1QH^{a} 5.18-19
ואתה תהיה לעולמי עד
And you will exist forever and ever

(43) 1QH^{a} 14.30
וכול בני אשמה לא יהיו עוד
And all the sons of guilt will no longer exist

(van Hecke 2013:98)[11]

Van Hecke identifies two examples of existentials in QH which have a clause-initial *hyh*:

(44) 4Q385 6 9-10
והית[ה יד] אדם מחברת
And there wa[s a hand of] a man joined…

(45) 4Q385 6 12
והיה בתוך גחלים חיות כגחלי אש
And there [we]re living beings in the middle of the coals, like coals of fire.

Van Hecke summarises his argument saying, "It is my conviction that when the existential aspect of the clause is stressed, this is often marked by putting the verb *hyh* in non-clause-initial position" (van Hecke 2013:97).

By way of review, these articles by van Hecke demonstrate how a theoretically robust definition of existentials would aid in providing a more precise classification of existentials in ancient Hebrew. Van Hecke references Jespersen and a few typological comparisons which demonstrate that existentials depart from the default word order (van Hecke 2013:100-101). He even cites the influential work of Freeze (1992). He says,

[11] He also includes 1QM 18.10; 4Q88 10.14; 4Q386 1 ii 4; 4Q403 1 i 30-46 35; 4Q417 2 i 20; 11Q19 21.12-13.

> On the basis of this general linguistic observation, a similar difference in word order between clauses with copular and existential *hyh* is not unlikely. The main difference between Hebrew and the languages mentioned above, however, is that none of the latter is by default verb-initial. The question is therefore what the distinctive word order for existential clauses would be in a language like Hebrew in which the clause-initial position cannot mark the verb or the clause for a special semantic or pragmatic function. Is it likely that a verb-initial language would move the verb backwards in order to mark it as having existential meaning, by analogy to the fronting of the verb (or at least backward movement of the subject) in non-verb-initial languages? (van Hecke 2013:102).

Without engaging the debate about the VS default order in ancient Hebrew (and Van Hecke's idiosyncratic and highly doubtful claim that copular sentences are VS order), the theoretical claim of Freeze (1992) about what constitutes an existential would have aided these articles. Van Hecke provides the definition that is operative for him in discerning existentials: "the existence of the subject is semantically speaking more important than its relation to the PPs in the clause" (van Hecke 2013:100). This is not how existentials are determined in the theoretical and cross-linguistic literature. According to the theoretical descriptions of existentials, examples (42) and (43) are not classified as existentials, though (44) and (45) are. A more consistent and theoretically updated definition of existentials will be taken up in section 3.4 and 5.

In his published dissertation, Muraoka provides an exhaustive analysis of the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. He states,

> The positive *yēš* is essentially pleonastic…whereas that is not the case with *ʾên*, which is an indispensable element of a negative statement. Hence we believe that the construction with *ʾên* is to be kept apart from that with *yēš*. (Muraoka 1985:79).

The dissertation by Madasu (2015) provides an overview of the different ways the particle *yēš* has been classified. In this dissertation Madasu analyses each instance of the particle and concludes that it is a predicator of existence, though what is meant by "predicator" is not defined. Utilising the process types of Systemic Functional Grammar, he concludes that this particle is mostly used in existential clauses in conversational/speech type texts (Madasu 2015:397).

One study of BH existentials that has been thoroughly informed by the theoretical linguistic literature is found in the dissertation of Bar Asher (2009). A more thorough review of this dissertation is included in chapter 5.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has been devoted to reviewing the history of research on copular and existential sentences in BH. The history of research on the verb *hyh* revealed three functions for this verb: a true copula, a verb meaning *exist, occur, happen,* and a discourse function. The review in this chapter serves as the background to a main argument in this thesis: that the verb *hyh* is not homonymous or polysemous, but an auxiliary which appears in certain environments to satisfy formal feature requirements. In section 2.3, I reviewed the research of what has been called the "discourse function" of the verb *hyh*. This review provides the background to a novel analysis of this construction which will be given in section 4.3.5.

The history of research concerning these constructions includes several taxonomy issues. The nominal/verbal clause distinction which has been common in BH syntax is not consistent with the taxonomy distinctions in typological linguistic studies. Works such as Kummerow (2013), Cook (2008), and Wilson (2015) are examples which eschew this distinction in favor of a taxonomy of clause types which resembles those in broader linguistic research. Another taxonomy issue is how subject and predicate are identified in verbless clauses. The paradigm of Dyk and Talstra (1999) has proved to be the most reliable in identifying subject and predicate in these constructions. This chapter also reviewed the history of research and the different points of view concerning the pronominal element PRON which appears in some BH verbless clauses. This sets up the discussion in section 4.4 in which the syntax and semantics of these constructions are evaluated. Finally, in section 2.4 the history of research on BH existentials has demonstrated idiosyncratic definitions and a lack of

engagement with the theoretical research on existentials. The only exception to this is Bar Asher (2009), which will be reviewed further in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3: LINGUISTIC DISCUSSION OF COPULAR AND EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

3.1 Introduction

A discussion of copular and existential sentences requires an understanding of predication. A description of predication necessarily includes an understanding of lexical categorisation. This issue has led to considerable debate on universals of parts-of-speech systems (Hengeveld 1992; Pustet 2003; Stassen 2007; Baker 2003; Croft 1991a; Haspelmath 2007, 2012; Croft and Baker 2017). An understanding of BH copular and existential sentences, then, requires both a position on lexical categorisation as well as what constitutes predication.

In addition to the issues stated above, the nature of predication specifically in existential sentences has also been a subject of debate among linguists (Freeze 1992; Francez 2007, 2009; McNally 2011). Related debates surround the nature of possessive sentences, especially what have been called predicative possessives. A thorough study of BH copular and existential sentences must include a position on these theoretical matters, so the following sections provide a description of and argument for a position on these important matters. Section 3.2 outlines the position taken in this paper regarding lexical categorisation. Section 3.3 provides an argument for what constitutes predication in copular sentences. Section 3.4 provides an argument what constitutes predication in existential sentences. Section 3.5 reviews the claims made in the previous sections and connects these theoretical matters to BH.

3.2 Lexical Categories

Broadly speaking, constituents of language can be categorised into open classes and closed classes. Open classes, such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, have no limit to their ability to expand with new members. Closed classes, such as adpositions, determiners, complementisers, and auxiliaries generally do not accumulate additional lexical items. Languages differ to some extent with respect to which categories are open and which are closed. Closed class lexical items can be further classified into functional or grammatical categories; open class lexical items can be classified into lexical categories.

Within this broad classification, individual parts-of-speech have vast cross-linguistic variety leading to considerable debate as to how to define them. The lexical categories *verb, noun,* and *adjective*, often treated as categorical primitives, are deceptively complex when trying to identify features that are true of these categories across languages. Many attempts at segmenting the individual categories have been made based on syntactic, semantic, morphological, and pragmatic criteria.

One perspective in the functional-typological tradition defines lexical categories by prototypical representations with fuzzy boundaries (Pustet 2003, Stassen 1997, Croft 2001). Croft (1991a) uses a markedness matrix which relates the semantics of a lexical item to its pragmatic function as a way to explain the parts-of-speech issue. This matrix is reproduced in (46):

(46) Croft's lexical categorisation matrix

	Reference	Modification	Predication
Objects	UNMARKED NOUNS	genitive, adjectivalizations, PPs on nouns	predicate nominals
Properties	deadjectival nouns	UNMARKED ADJECTIVES	predicate adjectives
Actions	action nominals, complements, infintives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	UNMARKED VERBS

(Croft 1991a:67)

Givón argues that the difference between categories is found in the internal temporal quality of the constituents (i.e. time-stability) (1990: ch. 3). Verbs denote short-term dynamic events, adjectives depict states or properties of varying degrees of time-stability, and nouns are the most time stable and denote things.

Baker (2003) criticises this approach by citing the examples in (47).

(47) a. God exists.
b. God loves Abraham and Sarah.
c. God sustains the universe.
d. The square root of four equals two (Baker 2003:32).

The verbs in these sentences are not dynamic or unstable temporally. He presents counterevidence for nominal (48) and adjectival (49) predicates as well.

(48) Chris is the declarer.
(49) The traffic light is red (Baker 2003:32).

Baker acknowledges that these examples do not refute the functionalist claim, since the explanation of functionalists is that they are not prototypical. Baker provides a different system of classification, based on structural criteria, which account for each of the non-prototypical

examples, however. *Exist, sustain, and equal* are normally expressed with verbs cross-linguistically and they must have subjects (Baker 2003:33). Baker's approach is from the generative tradition.

According to the generative tradition, categories are not primitives of language, but are composites of grammatical features (Radford 1997). Jackendoff presents the following feature sets which correspond to the traditional parts-of-speech labels in (50).

(50) +N –V= noun
–N +V= verb
+N +V= adjective
–N –-V= adposition (Jackendoff 1977)

The representation in (50) demonstrates that adjectives have some noun-like features and verb-like features. Adpositions, however, have neither. Recently, Baker and Croft (2017) have reviewed the current status of lexical categorisation in both formal and function traditions and stated that both traditions have depended mostly on the structuralist practices of early 20th century linguistics (Baker and Croft 2017:1). In this article they feature the strengths and weaknesses in the approaches to lexical categorisation from both traditions. They conclude the article calling for consistency in distributional tests that are used within and across languages. This will demonstrate the strength or weaknesses inherent in individual parts-of-speech systems.

Miller-Naudé and Naudé (2013, 2017) have recently reviewed and evaluated the different approaches to lexical categorisation in generative grammar, functional grammar, cognitive grammar and typological linguistics. They utilise Baker's (2003) criterion for lexical categorization in order to address the vexing category of the adjective in BH. The BH adjective shares its inflectional morphology with nouns, differing only in not have a dual inflection, which is not fully productive in BH (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2017:289). They demonstrate that adjectives in BH are direct attributive modifiers of nouns and can function as predicates

with a covert or overt copula (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2017:289-290). Using the word *ṭôḇ* (good) they present several grammatically confusing contexts in which to test the categorical status of this word as an adjective in BH. The first context involves a verbal form. Their example is in the *hiphil* stem for ease of identification as a verbal form.

(51) 2 Kings 10.30
יַעַן אֲשֶׁר־הֵטִיבֹתָ לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי
yaʿan ʾăšer hĕṭîḇōṯā la-ʿăśôṯ hay - yāšār bəʿênay
Because which be.good.PFV.2MS to -do.INF ART - upright in-eyes.1S
Because you have acted well by doing what is right in my eyes…

A second problematic construction they present involves the expression "in the eyes of" as in (52).

(52) 2 Samuel 19.28
וַעֲשֵׂה הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ
wa -ʿăśê haṭ - ṭôḇ bə-ʿênêḵā
CONJ -do.IMP ART - good in - eyes.2MS
Do the good (thing) in your eyes.

They argue against the tradition of Hebrew grammarians who consider adjectives in contexts like these to be nominal (or substantival). Adjectives in these constructions modify a null noun which is phonologically unexpressed but grammatically present (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2017:293). They provide example (53) (their (18)) as evidence.

(53) 1 Samuel 11.10
וַעֲשִׂיתֶם לָּנוּ כְּכָל־הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֵיכֶם
wa -ʿăśiṯem lānû kə - ḵol haṭ - ṭôḇ bə-ʿênêḵem
CONJ- do.IMP to.1P like-all ART - good in- eyes.2MP
Do to us according to all that seems good in your eyes.

They argue, "Since nouns can be quantified but adjectives cannot, there must be a null noun which is quantified with *kol*" (Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2017:294). From these (and more) observations they illustrate the importance of moving beyond the morphosyntactic features to additional syntactic considerations. The third construction they present involves *ṭôḇ* which is followed by a PP with the preposition *lamed* as in (54).

(54) Deuteronomy 15.16
כִּי־טֹוב לֹו עִמָּךְ
kî ṭôḇ lô ʿimmāḵ
for good to.3MS with.2MS
Since it is good for him with you…

This example is ambiguous between reading *ṭôḇ* as a predicate adjective or as a verb. Miller-Naudé and Naudé provide several examples where there is no subject constituent, suggesting that *ṭôḇ* in these contexts is better read as a verb. They also provide (55) to demonstrate that *ṭôḇ+lamed* allows an overt subject, suggesting that it can also be a predicate adjective in these contexts.

(55) Psalm 119.71
טֹוב־לִי כִּי־עֻנֵּיתִי
ṭôḇ lî ḵî ʿunnêṯî
good for.1S that afflict.PFV.1S

They conclude saying that *ṭôḇ* is primarily an adjective, but there are also homonyms which must be classified as verbs. The article by Miller-Naudé and Naudé represents the kind of study which helps evaluate the usefulness of different approaches to lexical categorisation. The present thesis also follows Baker (2003) in its approach to lexical categories. Since this thesis is concerned with copular and existential sentences more broadly, the depth to which Miller-Naudé and Naudé have gone on the individual lexeme *ṭôḇ* cannot be replicated here. I will, however, consider whether or not the verb *hyh* can rightly be considered a verb based on Baker's criteria.

Baker defines the verb stating, "X is a verb if and only if X is a lexical category and X has a specifier" (Baker 2003:23). Both aspects of this definition must be true in order for the item in question to be considered a verb. Functional categories, for instance, have specifiers. Baker demonstrates that tenses, determiners, complementisers, and degrees can take specifiers but it is not an important characterising feature for them (56).

(56) a. I predict [Kate *will* eat spinach] (tense)
I prefer [(*Kate) *to* eat spinach]
b. I saw [Julia-'s picture of Paris] (determiner)
I saw [(*Julia) *the/a* picture of Paris]
c. I wonder when ø Julia went to Paris] (complementiser)
I think [(*when) *that* Julia went to Paris]
d. Nicholas is [two inches *too* tall] (degrees)
Nicholas is [(*two inches) *so* tall] (Baker 2003:25)

The way functional categories have specifiers is different from the way verbs have them as well. Tenses and complementisers acquire their specifiers via movement of some constituent within their complement, whereas verbs get their specifier from direct combination with some other independent phrase (Baker 2003:25). The second criterion in Baker's definition is that verbs are *lexical*. This is distinct from being a functional category. Lexical categories have their own internal semantics which affect their distribution and meaning.

This definition of a verb presents us with a theoretically-based definition with which to evaluate *hyh*. As section 2.2 illustrated, *hyh* has been assigned a "copular" function, but has also been called a true verb in certain contexts. The standard definition of a copula presents it as a semantically-empty constituent. Pustet says,

> 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).

If we accept this definition of a copula, then, a copula is a functional rather than lexical item and thus is not rightly called a verb. As will be demonstrated in section 3.3, copulas, like other functional items, acquire their specifier via movement rather than through an external merge operation like verbs. In the instances where *hyh* functions as a copula, then, it should not rightly be called a verb. What about the "verbal" function of *hyh*? In section 4.3.2, I will evaluate the contexts where *hyh* has been called a true verb and demonstrate, consistent with Baker's definition, that it is not a true verb but an auxiliary.

3.3 What is Predication?

After a description of what constitutes lexical categories, the next most fundamental concept to understand is predication. Bowers says, "There could hardly be a relation more fundamental to grammar than predication. Indeed, it could be argued that predication is, in a certain sense, *the* most fundamental relation in both syntax and semantics" (Bowers 2001:328).

Propositions are structured entities which are composed of constituents. The joining of these constituents to form a proposition with truth conditions is known as predication. The following example illustrates this phenomenon:

(57) a. The desert, a desolate wasteland
b. The desert is a desolate wasteland.

Example (57a) is an incomplete sentence fragment which has no truth conditions (i.e. it cannot be evaluated as a true or false statement). Example (57b), on the other hand, is a proposition which has truth conditions. The nature of what constitutes predication has been debated for centuries. Aristotle, in his work *On Interpretation* defined a proposition as an instance of predication which affirms or denies something of something (Aristotle 1952:26). Since Aristotle, scholars in philosophy, logic, metaphysics as well as linguistics have attempted to define the essential components of predication as well as what happens when they are joined.

Before the concept what taken up in linguistics, it was discussed thoroughly in the works of 19th century philosopher Gottlob Frege.[12] He is credited with defining a predicate into the bipartite division of a logical function and its arguments. A translation of Frege's *Function and Concept* is provided in Sullivan (2003):

> Statements in general, just like equations or inequalities or expressions in analysis, can be imagined to be split up into two parts; one complete in itself and the other in need of supplementation, or "unsaturated." Thus, e.g., we split up the sentence *Caesar conquered Gaul* into *Caesar* and *conquered Gaul*. The second part is "unsaturated" – it contains an empty space; only when this place is filled up with a proper name, or with an expression that replaces a proper name, does a complete sense appear. Here too I give the name "function" to what this "unsaturated" part stands for. In this case the argument is Caesar.

[12] For a detailed history of Frege's description of predication and how it compared with Aristotle's, see Bar Asher (2009), the recent monograph Stalmaszczyk (2017) and den Dikken (2006).

The notion of what constitutes a subject and a predicate began to be taken up by linguists and the pragmatic concept of *aboutness* was associated with subjecthood (Bar Asher 2009). In the bipartite structure of predication, the subject was known as that entity about which the predicate asserted some property. The problematic nature of this pragmatic definition is revealed in sentences such as *The rain washed out the football game, It's raining*, and *There's coffee in the kitchen*. In his outline of the history of the concept, Bar Asher says, "Later, by inventing other dichotomies such as Theme–Rheme (Prague school) and Topic–Comment (Sapir), linguists were finally able to separate two different levels of analysis, leaving the aboutness relation to pragmatics" (Bar Asher 2009:12).

As this concept began to be taken up as a subject of linguistic inquiry, the term "predication" was not embraced by all. Jespersen abandoned the term predication and introduced the term *nexus* — the joining of two concepts:

> It would probably be best in linguistics to avoid the word predication altogether on account of its traditional connexion with logical theories. In grammar we should, not of course forget our logic, but steer clear of everything that may hamper our comprehension of language as it is actually used; this is why I have coined the new term nexus with its exclusive application to grammar (Jespersen 1937:120).

Most strictly linguistic works on predication have applied a more structural definition, though semantics are integral to these analyses. Whether we adopt the term predication or *nexus*, it is uncontested that the study of predication is the study of a relation. The concept *saturation* has been applied most consistently to describing this relation (Rothstein 2001). The predicate is an open function which needs to be saturated by its argument(s). The two fundamental components of a predication relation are the subject argument which is of the type <e>

(denoting individuals) and the predicate which is of the type <e,t> (takes a proposition and returns a truth value). [13] It can be represented with the logical notation as in (58).

(58) λPλx[P(x)]

Each predicate has thematic properties which need to be licensed in a sentence. The verb *eat*, for example, comes with thematic roles (Agent: eater and Theme: eaten) which it must assign to its arguments. According to some, the assignment of these thematic roles (θ-roles) corresponds to the saturation relation in predication (Williams 1980, 1994).

Within the generative approach to syntax there have been multiple proposals to defining the predication relation in purely linguistic terms. Some focus on the semantic roles assigned to the arguments just described (Williams 1980, 1994) while others focus on the linking relationship and co-indexation between subject and predicate (Rothstein 2004, 2006). Others propose a functional head which accomplishes the relation (Bowers 1993, 2001; Baker 2003; den Dikken 2006; Roy 2013). Since this thesis focuses on a very specific type of predication — copular predication — the relationships between constituents in these constructions are the only relationships relevant for this analysis. What follows is an outline of the copular predicate relation as it has been worked out in different approaches to syntax.

3.3.1 Hengeveld and Functional Grammar

In his study of non-verbal predication, Hengeveld represents predication with the formula (59).

(59) $(e_i: [pred_\beta (\alpha_1)\ldots(\alpha_n)] (e_i))$ (Hengeveld 1992:25)

[13] In one other approach Roy (2013) utilizes neo-Davidsonian semantics and argues that the primary relation is not between individuals and propositions, but between individuals and events.

This means that $pred_{\beta}$ is a predicate and β is the category of the predicate (V, N, A, etc.) and $(\alpha_1)\ldots(\alpha_n)$ are the arguments required by that predicate. He gives the example (60):

(60) $(e_i$: [*read*$_v$ (d1x_i:*man*$_N$) (x_i)ø)$_{Ag}$ (i1x_j:*book*$_N$) (x_j)ø)$_{Go}$] (e_i))
The man read- a book (Hengeveld 1992:26)

The formulism in (60) may be read as the event (e) of the application of the predicate *read* to its two arguments: an individual (1), definite (d), Agent (Ag) (*the man)* to the individual (1), indefinite (i), Goal (Go)(*a book*.) Hengeveld represents non-verbal predication as (61):

(61) $(e_i$: [$pred_{\beta}$ $(\alpha_1)\ldots(\alpha_n)$] ($e_i$))
($\beta \neq V$) (Hengeveld 1992:26)

He explains,

> A non-verbal predication is not the same as a nominal or verbless sentence. A predication, as e.g. represented in [61], is a unit of semantic analysis, whereas a sentence is a unit of morpho-syntactic analysis. Thus, a non-verbal predication can be expressed by means of a verbal sentence, i.e. a copula construction…It follows from the definition of non-verbal predications as units of semantic analysis which may be expressed by either verbal or nominal sentences that the non-verbal predicate should be considered the main predication of a non-verbal predication, even in those cases in which it is accompanied by a copula (Hengeveld 1992:26).

He provides the following example of a predication based on a two-place non-verbal predicate:

(62) a. identical$_A$ (x_1)$_ø$ (x_2)$_{Ref}$
b. (e_i: [*identical*$_A$ (d1prox x_i:*book*$_N$) (x_i)$_ø$)$_ø$ (d1rem x_j:*book*$_N$) (x_j)ø)$_{Ref}$] (e_i))
This book (is) identical to that book
(Hengeveld 1992:30).

The non-verbal predicate in (62a) has two arguments. In (62b) the two arguments have the qualities of proximity (prox) and remoteness (rem), with the remote argument having the semantic role of reference (Ref). From this definition it is clear that Hengeveld identifies the predicate in non-verbal predications (i.e. copular constructions) as an individual constituent which needs its arguments filled.

A relevant question in light of this, then, is what function the copula serves. Hengeveld claims that (verbal) copulas form a subclass of auxiliaries. There are two types of auxiliaries in his system: one type is used in combination with verbal predicates only (Aux^{V}). The second type is used in combination with non-verbal predicates only (Aux^{-V}). Auxiliaries themselves can belong to different word classes as well. This creates a 4-way matrix of auxiliary types in combination with different predicates. The following examples demonstrate the possibilities:

(63) a. *John has$_{v}^{v}$ gone*
b. *Peter became$_{v}^{-v}$ill*
c. *Peter PAST$_{-v}^{v}$ speaks*
d. *David he$_{-v}^{-v}$ the thief.* (Hengeveld 1992:31).

The sentences in (63c-d) are ungrammatical in English, but (63c) is grammatical in Tongan and (63d) is grammatical in Hebrew. The copula, then, is an auxiliary whose role is fundamentally a supportive one which enables a non-verbal predicate to act as a main predicate.[14] This means that it is not a part of the predicate, but an auxiliary which accompanies a non-verbal predicate and its arguments (Hengeveld 1992:32). Like auxiliaries, copulas are semantically vacuous and serve primarily a structural function. The picture of copular predication in Functional Grammar, as represented by Hengeveld, is the function of a non-verbal predicate, supported by an auxiliary-like copula, satisfying its requirements for arguments.

Classifying copulas as auxiliaries which serve various functions in syntax is the approach I take in this thesis. I also agree that copular predication fundamentally is a function by which a predicate is satisfied by arguments. I depart from Hengeveld, however, in describing the underlying structure of how this takes place. For a better description of this, I turn to predication as described in generative syntax in the following section.

[14] He further refines the role of different types of copulas found in the world's languages, including zero forms (Hengeveld 1992:188-205).

3.3.2 Predication in Generative Syntax

Before introducing the syntactic structure of copular predication in generative syntax, I must introduce the architecture of grammar according to the generative tradition. Since this thesis takes as its point of departure the assumptions of generative grammar in its most recent form Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) as well as the additional refinements in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993), I will review these approaches and defend why they are useful for my analysis of BH copular and existential sentences. The terminology introduced in this section will be utilised throughout the thesis.

3.3.2.1 Architecture of Grammar

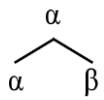
Any critical examination of language must adopt some assumptions about the processes and structures with which a language user generates new utterances. Since this thesis concerns sentences in BH which frequently utilise null forms (verbless clauses) and very subtle manipulations of the syntax-semantics interface (i.e. in the role of the verb *hyh*), the assumptions about syntax, semantics, and morphology found in the Minimalist Program and in Distributed Morphology (DM) are the best suited for it.

Language is classified into separate subsystems which operate with different aspects of human utterances. In a greatly simplified sense, phonology deals with sounds and signs which represent concepts; semantics deals with denotations and roles; and syntax deals with features and order of constituents. These systems (and others such as pragmatics, discourse representation, etc.) function and interact in various ways in what is called the Language Faculty (Chomsky 1995:2). The Language Faculty is a component in the human mind dedicated to language. Within this faculty the assumption is that there are two systems: The Articulatory-Perceptual (A-P) system and the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) system. These

systems each have their corresponding interface: The Phonetic Form (PF) for the A-P interface and the Logical Form (LF) for the C-I interface (Chomsky 1995:3).

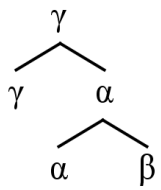
In Minimalism sentences are formed as lexical items enter a computational system with certain features specified (interpretable) or unspecified (uninterpretable). These lexical items undergo syntactic operations in the course of the derivation in the computation at the LF interface before they are "Spelled-Out" at the PF interface. According to Chomsky (2000) and (2001), there are two basic syntactic operations that affect the structure of clauses before spell-out: MERGE and AGREE (also known as INTERNAL MERGE). MERGE happens when two objects α and β are joined and one object "projects" and forms a new object α{α,β} which is often represented with a tree structure as in (64).

(64)



The object which projects is known as a *head*. There are both lexical heads (N, V, Adj, etc.) and functional heads (C, T, Voice, Pred, etc.) which will receive more comment below. Other objects can enter the derivation and MERGE with the complex structure (64) as in (65).

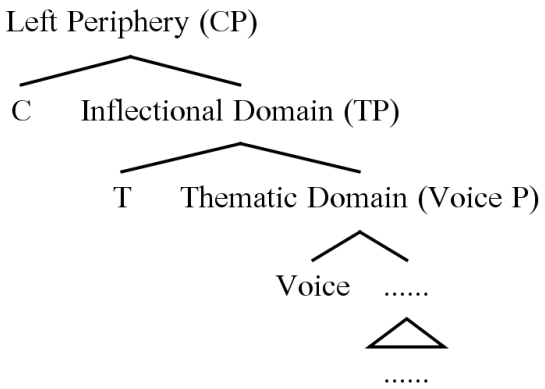
(65)



In the derivation, there are at least three domains. The lower domain is called the Thematic domain which represents argument structure; the middle domain is called the Inflectional domain and is typically associated with tense, aspect, mood, and negation; the

highest domain is called the Left-Periphery which is associated (at least) with clause-typing and information structure. The three domains are represented in (66).

(66)



The syntactic operations are active in each of these domains. Each of these domains is treated as a *phase* which completes its syntactic operations and is sent to Spell-Out (Chomsky 2001). The architecture in (66) and the syntactic operations of the Minimalist Program will be accepted in this thesis, but the concept of the Lexicon and the innate argument structure of lexical items in the Thematic Domain will be rejected in light of the explanations of Distributed Morphology, which will now be explained.

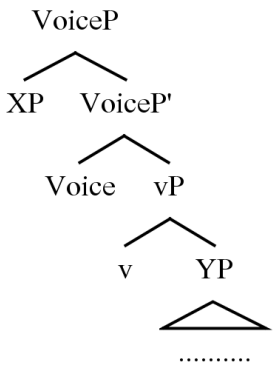
The current understanding of argument structure within generative linguistics is divided between *lexicalist* and *constructivist* traditions.[15] The lexicalist tradition traces back to Chomsky's *Remarks on Nominalization* (Chomsky 1970:190ff). Those in this tradition have argued that it is the role of the verb to project syntactic structure from the argument structure inherent in the verb. The argument structure properties on individual verbs are projected into the syntax via Theta-role assignment. Contrastively, the constructivist tradition is associated with Hale (1993) and Hale and Keyser (2002) and argues that the meanings typically attributed to argument structure can be explained by syntax (for a survey of the research see Ramchand 2008). A growing body of research is merging the syntactic assumption of the Minimalist

[15] See Marantz (2013) for a review.

Program (i.e. that syntax is the single generative engine of grammar) and applying it to the whole language faculty (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999; Marantz 1997, 2013; Doron 2003; Myler 2016, 2017; Irwin 2012; Kastner 2017). This is one of the distinguishing features of Distributed Morphology.

Taking as an example verbs such as *sink* which undergo a causative/inchoative alternation (*The captain sank the ship* vs. *The ship sank*), one can posit a lexicalist hypothesis and say there are two verbs in the Lexicon with different features or find another explanation. DM rejects the existence of a Lexical inventory of words with features that enter into a syntactic derivation and instead argues for syntactic hierarchical structure all the way down (Halle and Marantz 1993; Harley and Noyer 1999; Marantz 1997, 2013). DM proposes the hypothesis of Late Insertion which argues that syntactic categories are abstract bundles of features with no phonological content. Only after syntax do phonological items called *Vocabulary Items* get inserted (at Spell-Out). The best way to illustrate this is to demonstrate an example of how syntax works in each interface. The basic phrase structure in the thematic domain is represented in (67):

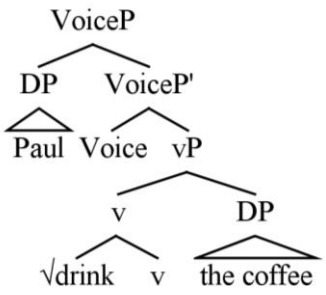
(67)



The possible syntactic varieties for the thematic domain (transitive, unaccusative, unergative, etc.) will be described in section 4.3.2. Based on Kratzer (1996), Voice is responsible for introducing an external argument in its specifier which functions in different ways depending

on the *v*P in its complement. Little-*v* according to Kratzer (1996) is different from the little-*v* proposed by Chomsky (1995). Syntactically, *v* categorises an uncategorised root (Halle and Marantz 1993). Semantically *v* introduces an eventuality variable by which the event in its complement receives different interpretations. Eventualities such as "causative," "inchoative," and "stative" are often attributed to *v* (Marantz 2013:161). The potential meanings in *v* are conditioned by the lexical semantics of a lexical root. This root is syntactically an adjunct and semantically a modifier of *v* in an event, as in (68).

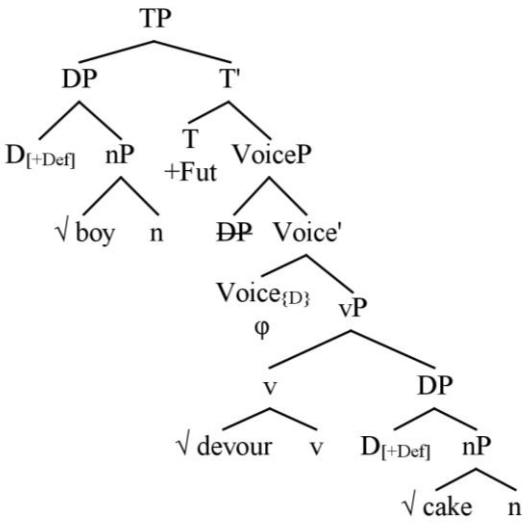
(68) Paul drank the coffee



It is important to note that the syntactic component is made up of abstract terminal nodes that only get their phonological content at the PF interface, which will be explained next.

The PF interface takes the hierarchical syntactic structure and outputs a linear and phonologically fulfilled utterance. This process is known as Late Insertion and is one of the distinctives of DM. Late Insertion takes the morphophonological pieces, called Vocabulary Items, and spells them out. Late Insertion (also called Vocabulary Insertion) does not happen all at once but starts from the most deeply embedded terminal node and works its way out, a fact that will be very important for our analysis. An example taken from Myler (2016) illustrates the process (ignoring that Voice defines a phase for the simplicity of exposition):

(69) The boy will devour the cake



(Myler 2016:32).

The Vocabulary Insertion proceeds according to the process in (70a) through (70g).

(70) Vocabulary Items for (69)

a. √*cake* ↔ /kejk/
b. n ↔ ø
c. $D_{[+def]}$ ↔ /ðə/
d. √*devour* ↔ /dəvaʊɹ/
e. v ↔ ø
f. Voice ↔ ø
g. $T_{[+Fut]}$ ↔ /wɪl/
h. √*boy* ↔ /bɔj

(Myler 2016:33).

The necessity of this order is not evident in examples like (70), but the concept of conditioned allomorphy demonstrates its viability. Conditioned allomorphy arises when there is more than one Vocabulary Item eligible for insertion at a terminal node, but structures surrounding the node favor one allomorph. The conditioning can come from either morphosyntactic conditions (71) or phonological ones (72).

(71) The Allomorphy of 'go'

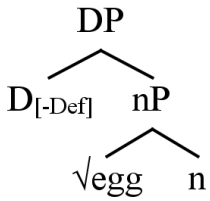
a. √go ↔ /wɛnt/ / ____ +Past
b. √go ↔ /goʊ/ (Myler 2016:34)

(72) Allomorphy of the English Indefinite Article

a. $D_{[-Def]} \leftrightarrow$ /ən/ / ____vowel
b. $D_{[-Def]} \leftrightarrow$/ə/ / ___consonant

The phonological example in (72) explains the ungrammaticality of **an cake* or **a egg*. These rules demonstrate why the emphasis in DM on the deepest–to–shallowest phonological spell-out of the syntax is important. Consider (73).

(73) an egg



(Myler 2016:35)

In order to generate (73) grammatically, it is necessary for the phonological form of √egg to be spelled out before the D head so the appropriate allomorph is used. One more common feature of DM is the notion of Impoverishment. First proposed by Bonet (1991), Impoverishment is an operation prior to spell-out which involves the deletion of morphosyntactic features from morphemes in certain contexts. When Impoverishment happens, the Vocabulary Items requiring the features which have been deleted will not occur and a less specified item — called the "Retreat to the general case" or *elsewhere* item (Halle and Marantz 1993:162) — will be inserted instead. A simple example (from Myler 2016:36) is the present tense of the English verb BE:

(74) The Present Tense of 'be'

a. I am here.
b. You are here.
c. S/he is here.
d. We are here.
e. Y'all are here.
f. They are here.

In (74) *am* and *is* are reserved for specific contexts. The word *are*, however is found in every other case, making it the *general* or *elsewhere* case. These allomorphs could be represented as in (75):

(75) Allomorphs of 'be'
a. v_{BE} ↔ æm/ ____ {1st person, singular, +Pres}
b. v_{BE} ↔ ɪz / ____ {3rd person, singular, +Pres}
c. v_{BE} ↔ aɪ / ____ {+Pres} (Myler 2016:37).

Myler identifies one environment where we would expect to find one of the very specified allomorphs, but we find the *elsewhere* form instead. Consider (76).

(76) a. Aren't I invited?
b. Not only aren't I invited, I'm not even allowed near the building.
c. *Are I invited?
d. *I aren't invited. (Myler 2016:37).

The sentence in (76a) meets the conditions of (75a) but we do not get the form *am*. There is a context, then, when the negative clitic *n't* and T-to-C movement has taken place which cause the verb to retreat to the general case. The following Impoverishment rule can be formulated to explain the deletion of the 1st person singular features from T in the relevant context:

(77) {1st, singular} → ø / v_{BE}___Neg-C (Myler 2016:37).

When Vocabulary Insertion happens, this rule states that only the +Pres feature will remain and the *elsewhere* case *are* will be realised.

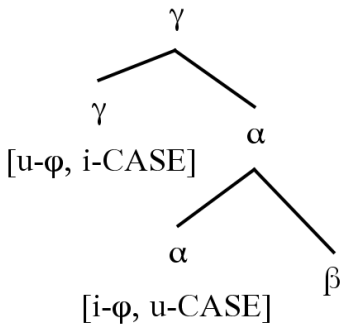
The preceding discussion of Late Insertion, conditioned allomorphy, and Impoverishment at the PF interface will be important for the treatment of BH copular sentences in section 4.3. DM also treats the LF interface in a similar fashion, demonstrating what takes place at the syntax-semantics interface in the Thematic Domain. An explanation of how previous research in DM on semantics as well a review of some recent innovations by Myler (2016) will be taken up in section 4.3 and 5.3.

Most linguistic analysis within the generative tradition has focused on certain "core" categories of C, T, v, and V, though this has been primarily due to convenience of exposition

rather than as a substantive hypothesis (Rizzi 2004:6). Much of the research on the Inflectional Domain has focused on agreement and movement on the functional heads of Mood, Aspect, Tense, and Negation.

AGREE is an operation between objects where one has interpretable features and another has uninterpretable features that delete after AGREE. One of the most common examples of this operation involves the licensing of person, number, and gender features (called φ-features) and Case. In the AGREE operation, one object functions as a *probe* and one as a *goal*. The probe has uninterpretable φ-features but an interpretable Case feature. The goal has interpretable φ-features but an uninterpretable Case feature as in (78).

(78)



If the features are strong, overt movement happens and a goal raises to the probe to match features. If the features are weak, the uninterpretable features are valued covertly and the objects remain in-situ (Chomsky 1995:232).

3.3.2.2 Domain of Predication in Generative Grammar

The preceding explanation of Minimalist Syntax with the revisions of DM provide us with a broad overview of the architecture of grammar. What we need for this thesis, however, is a narrower description of the type of predication in focus here. Since this thesis starts from a generative theoretical framework, it is important to explain what constitutes predication

within this tradition. The following sentences in (79) are traditionally recognised as being instantiations of predication.

(79) a. [$_{NP}$ Caleb][$_{VP}$ rode his bike]

b. [$_{NP}$ Kerry][$_{VP}$ is beautiful]

c. [$_{NP}$ Paul][$_{VP}$ is in the living room]

In the generative research on predication, examples such as the embedded sentences in (80) have also been labelled as a form of predication, called "small clause" predication. A small clause is a subject-predicate structure lacking tense (den Dikken 2006:60). This tenseless predication is commonly studied alongside predication that has a copular element.

(80) a. Daniel considers [$_{NP}$ Kerry][$_{AP}$ intelligent]

b. Levi saw [$_{NP}$ Caleb][$_{VP}$ take his toy]

c. We have [$_{NP}$ coffee][$_{PP}$ in the kitchen]

d. I consider [$_{NP}$ David][$_{NP}$ a good friend]

In these examples, it is clear that the second bracketed constituent bears some relation to the first which resembles the relations in (79). Mere adjacency of constituents cannot be what constitutes predication, however, as (81) demonstrates.

(81) a. I consider [$_{NP}$ David][$_{NP}$ a good friend]= David is a good friend

b. I gave [$_{NP}$ David][$_{NP}$ my favourite scarf] ≠ David is my favourite scarf

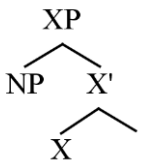
Reflecting on examples like those in (79) and (80) leads us to draw two tentative conclusions: (1) there must be a structural relation between constituents that defines the subject–predicate

relation and distinguishes it from other relations that adjacent phrases may bear to one another; (2) there must be some way of representing this predication (Bowers 2001:301).

The work of Bowers (1993, 2001, 2002) as well as many others (Bakir 1979; Fehri 1993; Moro 1997; Al Horais 2006; den Dikken 2006; Citko 2008; Benmamoun 2008; Balazs 2012; Roy 2013; Chomsky 2013) has sought to create a unified structure that demonstrates that "full clause" predications (79) and small clause predications (80) share a similar underlying structure. This is especially because many languages do not have or use a copula like English does. Adjacency like that in the bracketed constituents in (80), without any verbal copular element can serve as a full clause predication in many languages.

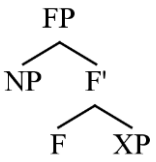
The unified structure underlying the subject–predicate relationship in these sentences has been reflected in two different models. One model (called the Specifier Hypothesis by Bowers 2001:301) places the subject of a predicative expression XP of a category X in [Spec, X] resulting in the structure (82).[16]

(82)



The second model (called the Functional Category Hypothesis, Bowers 2001:302) has a functional category F with XP as its complement and its subject in [Spec, F] as in (83).

(83)



[16] Earlier hypotheses (Rapoport 1972:72) suggested a symmetrical binary structure with no specifier.

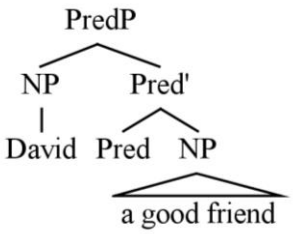
This functional head has been called Pr (Bowers 1993), π (Citko 2008), Pred (Baker 2003; Benmamoun 2008; Roy 2013) and RELATOR (den Dikken 2006).[17] Overt evidence for this functional head can been seen in the English sentence in (84).

(84) a. Imogene treats him *(like) a fool.

b. Imogene considers him (as) a fool (den Dikken 2006:64).

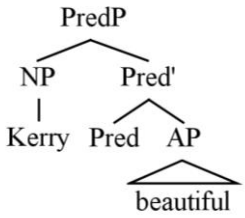
English can select *as, like, for,* or *ø* as the realization of the functional head in small clause complements (den Dikken 2006:64). There is also strong cross-linguistic evidence for the presence of this functional head (Bowers 2001:310-311; Balazs 2012). Under the Functional Category Hypothesis, (81a) would be represented as (85).

(85) I consider...



A "full clause" such as (79b) also has the structure represented in (86):[18]

(86)

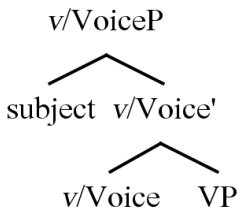


The advantage of this analysis is that it mirrors the structure that has been observed for verbal sentences. In recent analyses the subject of verbal sentences is not introduced by the lexical V head, but by a functional head above it. This functional head has been called little *v* (Chomsky

[17] It is important to note that not all these authors agree on the role of this functional head.
[18] The role of the verb *be* in these sentences will be described in section 3.3.3.

1995; Marantz 1997) or Voice (Kratzer 1996). These approaches present a strict specifier-head relationship between the head which projects the external argument and its recipient.

(87)



The subject, then, is the external argument which is in the specifier position of the functional head both for verbal predications and copular predications. The syntax of copular predication, then, is the same as verbal predication. The only main difference is the presence of the copula which will be treated in the following section.

3.3.3 Role of the Copula in Copular Predication

The question of the role of the copula in clauses like (79) is a central one. As noted in section 3.3.1, Hengeveld labels the copula an auxiliary which enables a non-verbal predicate to serve as the main predicate. In the generative tradition, some label copulas as the overt realisation of Pred (Citko 2008).[19] Some languages have multiple copulas (e.g. Spanish *ser/estar*) which are used in different contexts, leading some to conclude that there are two *be* verbs (Roy 2013:11). This position is strengthened by the different roles that copulas seem to play in logically different clauses like (88a) and (88b), demonstrated by their respective logical notations.

[19] See the recent criticism of this analysis in Balazs and Bowers 2017:123-124.

(88) a. Greg is tall=λPλx[P(x)]

b. Samuel Clemens is Mark Twain= λxλy[x=y].

An alternative to the "two *be*" hypothesis is the view that all occurrences of this verb can be reduced to a single notion. This notion is simply "apply predicate." Every instance of predication combines two arguments of type <e> and <e,t>, including equatives like (88b). Though the second DP looks like a referential argument, it has undergone a type-shifting operation that allows referential DPs of type <e> to become type <e,t> (Partee 1987).

Leaving aside the number of underlying *be*'s there are in natural language, there are a few perspectives on the role of the copula in examples like (88a). One perspective is that the copula is a raising verb and that a sentence like (88a) has the underlying form (89).

(89) [e [*be* [$_{SC}$ [*Greg*] [*tall*]]]]

In this analysis, the expression originates as a small clause where the subject DP receives its theta-role and then is raised to the empty subject position to the left of the copula. This analysis also explains equatives. Equatives are a case of "inversion" where instead of the subject being raised, the predicate is raised (Moro 1997). The difference is shown in (90) and the corresponding equative sentence with inversion in (91).

(90) Jeff is the professor

[Jeff$_i$ [is [$_{SC}$ [t$_i$] [the professor]]]]

(91) The professor is Jeff

[The professor$_i$ [is [$_{SC}$ [Jeff][t$_i$]]]]

One additional perspective denies that there is no lexical verb BE and all occurrences of the copula are realisations of inflectional features in a non-verbal predication which cannot support those features without an auxiliary (Partee 1998). This view simply stated is that the role of the copula is to license inflectional features. In languages like Arabic (92), Hebrew (93), and

Russian (94) copular predication can be accomplished by juxtaposition in the present tense without an overt copula.

(92) *Omar muʿəllim* (Arabic)
Omar teacher
Omar is a teacher

(93) *Dani nexmad* (Hebrew)
Dani nice
Dani is nice

(94) *Eto dom* (Russian)
This house
This is a house

This means that the predication relation is not dependent on the copula. The copula is an auxiliary which is necessary for licensing features on heads. According to Bjorkman (2011), auxiliaries function as a "last resort" strategy to realise features which need a host to be specified. The BE-verb in many languages is selected as an auxiliary because of its semantic vacuity. In verbal sentences, auxiliaries function as a repair strategy to realise stranded features which, for whatever reason, do not combine with the main verb (Bjorkman 2011:37ff). In copular sentences, they also are used to license strong features on functional heads. I believe this last view about the role of copulas is correct and will demonstrate in section 4.3 why I believe this is the role of *hyh* in BH.

3.4 Existential/Predicational Distinction

An existential construction may be defined as "a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something" (McNally 2011:1829).[20] Example (95) demonstrates an existential sentence in English.

[20] See Creissels (2014) for a detailed explanation of why the philosophical notion of existence/presence is inadequate and that an alternate figure-ground relationship is preferred.

(95) There is a mug on the counter.

Creissels compares existentials to locatives and says

> What distinguishes existential clauses from plain locational clauses is a different perspectivization of figure-ground relationships whose most obvious manifestation is that, contrary to plain locational clauses, existential clauses are not adequate answers to questions about the location of an entity, but can be used to identify an entity present at a certain location (Creissels 2014:2).

Example (95) is an existential sentence because it has a specialised structure which does not reflect the canonical Topic-Comment or Subject-Predicate form. *There* is classified as an expletive subject which is non-referential. The NP following the verb is called the pivot. The PP following the pivot is known as the coda and is optional in English existential sentences, such as (96).

(96) There is fresh coffee.

Cross-linguistically, existentials utilise some combination of the following constituents:

(Expletive) (proform) (copula) pivot (coda) (Bentley et al. 2013).

From a purely formal viewpoint, the only obligatory component of an existential construction is the pivot (Francez 2009; Cruschina 2012; Bentley et al. 2013). Other elements are either permitted or required to exist in these constructions depending on the individual language. Certain languages, such as English (*there/it*) and French (*Il*) require an expletive while others do not. Often existentials will contain a verb typically homophonous with the English verb *to be*. Some languages use a form of the verb *have* or, as in German *give* (*geben*) as in (97).

(97) *Es gab ein Kind in dem Garten* (German)
It gave a child in the garden
'There was a child in the garden' (McNally 2011:1831).

Reflecting different combinations of the elements above, (98) demonstrates the variability of existentials in other languages.

(98) a. There are some books on the table (English)
PROFORM COPULA PIVOT CODA
b. Ci sono dei libri sul tavolo (Italian)
PROFORM be.3PL some books on-the table
c. Il y a des livres sur la table (French)
EXPLETIVE PROFORM have.3SG some books on the table
d. Hay unos libros sobre la mesa (Spanish)
have.3SG-PROFORM some books on the table
'There are some books on the table' (Bentley et al. 2013:1).

In the literature dedicated to analysing existentials, the predicative versus existential distinction has been compared to the distinction between categorical and thetic statements (Partee & Borschev 2002). Partee and Borschev argue that this distinction is necessary but the critical distinction between these types of sentences is not in the Theme-Rheme structure but in the notion of Perspectival Structure. This notion compares existentials with locative constructions, distinguishing between them based on a Perspectival Centre. In a locative sentence, the THING is chosen as the perspectival centre while in an existential sentence, the LOCATION is chosen as the perspectival centre. They provide a helpful analogy to explain the difference:

> An analogy may be made with a video camera and "what the camera is tracking". A predicational sentence keeps the camera fixed on the protagonist as she moves around (THING as Center); and ES [Existential Sentence] is analogous to the way a security camera is fixed on a scene and records whatever is in that location (LOC as Center) (Partee and Borschev 2002).

The difference is represented in (99), with the underlined element functioning as the Perspectival Centre.

(99) a. BE(THING, <u>LOC</u>) Existential "There is a mug <u>on the table</u>"
b. BE(<u>THING</u>, LOC) Locative "<u>The mug</u> is on the table"

Applying the video camera metaphor to these examples, (a) provides the perspective from a stationary security camera which regards the table as the object of interest and records what is on it, while (b) assumes the mug as the object of interest and follows it to the table.

Partee and Borschev explain that Perspective Structure is not the same as information structure, though they share some similarities. Perspective Structure is also not directly syntactic, though it is regularly reflected in the syntax. Partee and Borchev say, "Perspective Structure is basically a structuring at the model-theoretic level, like the telic/atelic distinction, or the distinction between Agents and Experiencers" (Partee and Borschev 2002:158). One can choose whether to say that A is above B or B is below A. This is a diathetic alternation. The analysis above does not depend on the presence of a locative coda, however. For examples like (96) (There is fresh coffee), the location is presupposed in the universe of discourse and the perceptual space of the subject of consciousness (Jung 2011). More semantic and syntactic distinctions between existential and predicational predication will be made in chapter 5.

3.5 Summary

The preceding discussion has presented the view that verbs are lexical categories which have a specifier (Baker 2003). While copulas often have specifiers, they are not lexical categories and should be considered semantically empty. Instead they are functional categories which acquire a specifier via movement of a lower constituent and should be considered auxiliaries.

I have adopted the approach to syntax found in the Minimalist Program in the generative tradition with the refinements of Distributed Morphology. The language faculty is composed of two interfaces which represent the phonological form (PF) which is the domain of sounds and signs and the logical form (LF) which is the domain of semantics. The syntax feeds both of these interfaces and is composed of three domains: the thematic domain, the inflectional

domain, and the left-periphery. The refinements of DM which I adopt reject the notion of a lexicon which feeds the syntactic engine. Instead, terminal nodes are bundles of features which are assigned morphophonological content via the principle of Late Insertion at PF. These approaches provide an explanation for the different semantic nuances present in copular predications based on different syntactic environments.

I have also argued that predication is an open function of predicates which need arguments to satisfy them. When predicates are satisfied they become propositions with truth values. Copular predication happens when the complement XP (NP, AP, or PP) combines with the functional head Pred and is converted into an open function which needs a subject argument to create a proposition. There are overt manifestations of Pred in many languages.

I have also introduced in a preliminary fashion the difference between existential and predicational sentences based on the notion of Perspective Structure introduced by Partee and Borschev (2002). A more thorough description of the syntax and semantics of existential sentences will be provided in section 5. With this theoretical background, what remains is an analysis of copular and existential sentences in BH. Chapter 4 will provide an analysis of copular sentences in BH and chapter 5 will focus on existentials in BH.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF BH COPULAR SENTENCES

4.1 Introduction

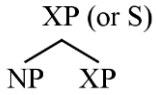
Having arrived at a linguistically-informed definition of copular predication as presented in the previous chapter, what remains is the description of copular sentences in BH. As reviewed in chapter 2, the previous approaches to this subject have added much to the collective knowledge of these sentences. The description in the present chapter will take the discussion forward by providing a theoretically up-to-date description of the different forms of BH copular sentences as well as some new insights for those constructions that have remained enigmatic for hebraists. Section 4.2 will describe the syntax and semantics of the BH verbless clause. Section 4.3 will provide the data and syntactic descriptions of the function of *hyh* in BH copular sentences, including a detailed description of the precise role of the so-called "discourse marker" of *hyh*. Section 4.4 will present a syntax of verbless clauses with PRON in BH and section 4.5 will summarise the arguments of the whole chapter.

4.2 Verbless Clauses

4.2.1 Full or Small Clauses?

In section 3.3 I described two views on the underlying structure of verbless clauses. One view is represented by Rapoport who argues that verbless sentences in Modern Hebrew are matrix small clauses which have the structure schematised in (100):

(100)



(Rapoport 1987:72)

Since there is morphological agreement between the two constituents in Hebrew, the agreement function is sufficient to assign Case. The second view, advocated by Bowers 1993, 2002; Citko 2008; den Dikken 2006; Moro 1997; Bakir 1979; Al Horais 2006; Fehri 1993; Benmamoun 2000, 2008; Balazs 2012; Chomsky 2013, Hazout 2010, and Roy 2013 has gained much wider acceptance. Those who hold this view differ from Rapoport because they argue for a (sometimes overt) functional head which relates the two constituents and serves additional roles in the successive derivation. The structure for this view was schematised in (83). The task now is to discern if BH verbless clauses resemble full clauses (the first viewpoint) or small clauses (the second viewpoint).

We can test the similarity between verbless and full clauses by checking to see if there is a tense projection. Small clauses are considered tenseless (den Dikken 2006:60), so if verbless clauses admit temporal adverbs, which are anchored by tense, then this will demonstrate similarity to full clauses. Example (101) demonstrates that verbless clauses are compatible with temporal adverbs.

(101) 2 Samuel 23.14
וְדָוִד אָז בַּמְּצוּדָה
wə - ḏāwīḏ ʾāz bam - məṣûḏâ
CONJ- David then in.ART- stronghold
David (was) then in the stronghold

The second test is whether or not constituents can undergo *Wh*-movement in verbless clauses, implying that they have a CP layer.[21] Examples (102) and (103) provide evidence that both subject (102) and predicate (103) can participate in *wh*-movement.

(102) 1 Samuel 3.17
וַיֹּאמֶר מָה הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלֶיךָ
way -yōʾmer mâ had - dāḇār ʾăšer dibber ʾēlêḵā
CONJ -said.PRET.3MS what ART - thing which spoke.3MS to.2MS
And he said, "What (is) the word that he spoke to you?"

(103) 1 Samuel 19.22
וַיִּשְׁאַל וַיֹּאמֶר אֵיפֹה שְׁמוּאֵל וְדָוִד
way -yišʾal way -yōʾmer ʾêp̄ô šəmûʾēl wə -ḏāwīḏ
CONJ -asked.PRET.3MS CONJ -said.PRET.3MS where Samuel CONJ-David
He asked and said, "Where (are) Samuel and David?"

The verbless clause can be headed by a relative pronoun, which also implies a CP layer (104).

(104) 1 Kings 18.3
וַיִּקְרָא אַחְאָב אֶל־עֹבַדְיָהוּ אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת
way - yiqrāʾ ʾaḥʾāḇ ʾel ʿōḇaḏyāhû ʾăšer ʿal hab - bāyiṯ
CONJ - called.PRET.3MS Ahab to Obediah who over ART - house
Ahab called to Obadiah who (was) over the household.

These examples all contrast with a BH small clause (105).

(105) Job 19.11
וַיַּחְשְׁבֵנִי לוֹ כְצָרָיו
way - yaḥšəḇēnî lô ḵə-ṣārâyw
CONJ - consider.PRET.3MS.1CS to.3MS as-enemy.3MS
And he considered me as his enemy

Benmamoun (2000) makes similar arguments for verbless clauses in Arabic and states that verbless clauses could not show these properties if they were small clauses. The evidence points to BH verbless clauses existing as full clauses. What remains, then, is a description of their syntax.

[21] Section 4.3 below will provide the full syntactic derivation for these sentences.

4.2.2 Syntax of BH Verbless Clauses

The syntactic structure of verbless clauses has been a continual source of debate. In addition to the debate about small versus full clauses one other debated subject is whether or not there is a null copula underlying verbless clauses. Some have argued that a null copula exists in Arabic (Bakir 1979, Fehri 1993). Fehri argues that there is a null copula in Arabic but a rule exists which states "Spell out the copula as *kwn* when Mood, Aspect, and/or Tenses are specified, otherwise spell it out as zero" (Fehri 1993:156). However, as Benmamoun points out, when a copula is present the predicate is assigned accusative case; when it is null, the predicate has nominative case. The V assigns accusative case to the predicate, so if V exists (even in null form), the nominative case of verbless predicates is problematic (Benmamoum 2008:112-113; also Al Horais 2006). González-Rivera also provides the criticism that in most languages verbless clauses are only used in the present tense. He says,

> If we assume the null copula analysis, we will be forced to assume the presence of a copula in the present tense that becomes deleted in the course of the syntactic derivation. In other words, a deletion rule must be assumed, one that deletes the copula only in the present tense (González-Rivera 2010:120).

No such rule follows from any property of the present tense, however.

To answer the question about the null copula in BH, we can employ a test. For Arabic, Benmamoun argues that if there was a null copular verb, then when there is sentential negation, the same ordering options should be available in both verbless and overtly copular sentences. The same test can be applied to BH. Examples (106) and (107) demonstrate the typical order in verbless clauses after the negative particle *lōʾ*: Predicate-Subject (P-S).

(106) 1 Samuel 15.29
כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהִנָּחֵם
kî lōʾ ʾāḏām hûʾ ləhinnāḥēm
for NEG man 3MS to.regret.INF
For he (is) not a man, that he should regret.

(107) 2 Kings 19.18
כִּי֙ לֹ֣א אֱלֹהִ֔ים הֵ֖מָּה
kî lōʾ ʾĕlōhîm hēmmâ
for NEG gods 3MP
For they (were) not gods

Example (108) demonstrates the typical Subject-Predicate (S-P) order after the *lōʾ*+copula construction:

(108) Numbers 14.43
וְלֹא־יְהְיֶה יהוה עִמָּכֶם
wə - lōʾ yihyê yhwh ʿimmāḵem
CONJ- NEG COP.IPFV.3MS YHWH with.2MP
YHWH will not be with you

Verbless clauses also commonly allow S-P order after the negative marker *lōʾ* when there is a clause-initial interrogative marker *hă*, as in (109).

(109) Genesis 37.13[22]
הֲלֹוֹא אַחֶ֥יךָ רֹעִ֖ים
hă- lôʾ ʾaḥêḵā rōʿîm
Q - NEG brothers.2MS shepherd.PTCP.PL
Are not your brothers shepherding?

Other examples which demonstrate that S-P order after the negative marker are given in (110)-(112).

(110) Job 33.9[23]
וְלֹ֣א עָוֹ֣ן לִ֑י
wə - lōʾ ʿāwōn lî
CONJ - NEG iniquity to.1S

[22] Other examples include Judg. 9.38, 15.2; 1 Sam. 1.8, 17.8, 20.37, 21.12, 23.19, 26.1, 29.3, 29.5; 1 Kings 11.41, 14.29, 15.7, 15.23, 15.31, 16.5, 16.14, 16.20, 16.27, 22.39, 22.46; 2 Kings 1.18, 6.32, 8.23, 10.23, 12.20, 13.8, 13.12, 14.15, 14.18, 14.28, 15.6, 15.21, 15.36, 16.19, 20.20, 21.7, 21.25, 23.28, 24.5; Jer. 23.29; Mic. 3.11; Hab. 1.12; Zech. 3.2; Job 7.1, 22.5, 22.12, 31.3; Esth. 10.2; 1Chr 21.3, 22.18; 2 Chr. 9.29, 12.15, 25.26, 32.11.

[23] Other similar examples include Jer. 2.19, 10.14, 51.17; Ezek. 7.11; Am. 5.20; Job 33.9; Num. 23.23; Job 16.7; 1 Chr. 12.17, 28.10.

I have no iniquity

(111) 1 Kings 22.17[24]
לְֹא־אֲדֹנִים לָאֵלֶּה
lōʾ ʾăḏōnîm lā-ʾēlleh
NEG masters to - these
These have no master

(112) 2 Kings 6.19[25]
וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם אֱלִישָׁע לָא זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ וְלָא זֹה הָעִיר
way -yōʾmer ʾălēhem ʾĕlîšāʿ lōʾ zeh had-dereḵ wə - lōʾ zō hā-ʿîr
CONJ- say.PRET.3MS to.3MP Elisha NEG this ART -way CONJ- NEG this ART-city
Elisha said to them, "This is not the way and this is not the city."

This negation test demonstrates that verbless clauses in BH are different from Arabic and there is a null *v* underlying verbless clauses. This presents a challenge to the arguments of Benmamoun (2008) and González-Rivera (2010). In Arabic, the post-copular NP is assigned accusative case when the copula is present, but in verbless sentences it is in nominative case. Benmamoun argues that case assignment is the role of the copula. In the present analysis, however, this argument is not problematic. There are other conditions which may account for the different case assignment in Arabic. Marantz (2000) has argued that accusative case is a "dependent case" which is affected when the verb moves into the inflectional domain. He says, "ACC is the name for the dependent case that is assigned downward to an NP position governed by V+I when the subject position governed by V+I has certain properties" (Marantz 2000:25). In Benmamoun's analysis, past tense has +V features on T which the verb licenses, so it makes sense that accusative case would appear on the object. In present tense, there are not strong +V features on T so in the analysis of Marantz, accusative case would not be expected. González-Rivera argues that there must be some deletion rule in present tense if there is a null *v*. There need not be any deletion rule in present tense either if the predication relation is already satisfied by Pred and an overt copula only appears to license TAM features in the inflectional

[24] Other similar examples include 2 Sam. 20.1; Job 18.17, 18.19; Ps. 22.2; Mal. 2.10; 2 Chr. 18.16
[25] See also Mic. 2.10.

domain. BH verbless clauses should be considered full clauses which license all their semantic and syntactic features, but do so without an overt verb. We now turn to describing their syntax.

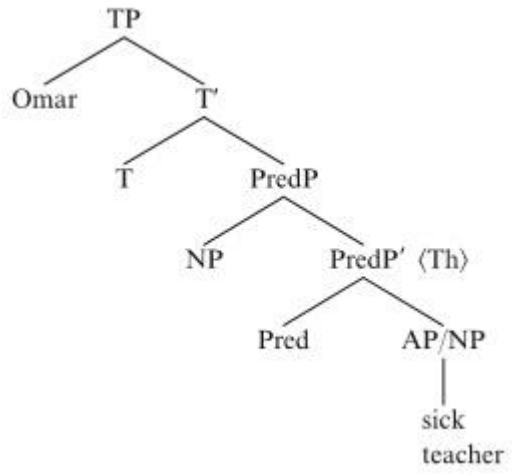
To describe the syntax of BH verbless sentences, I will first present the research of Baker (2003) and Benmamoun (2008) who have revised Bowers (1993, 2000) and then show how BH verbless clauses compare. As reviewed in section 3.3, in the analysis of Bowers, Baker, and Benmamoun there is a null functional head (Pred) which selects a small clause as its complement. Overt evidence for this functional head can been seen in the English sentence in (113).

(114) a. Imogene treats him *(like) a fool.
b. Imogene considers him (as) a fool (den Dikken 2006:64).

English can select *as, like, for,* or ø as the realisation of the functional head in small clause complements (den Dikken 2006:64). There is also cross-linguistic support for the presence of this functional head even in full clauses (Balazs 2012).

Baker presents a valued derivation in (115) for verbless clauses in Arabic:

(115)



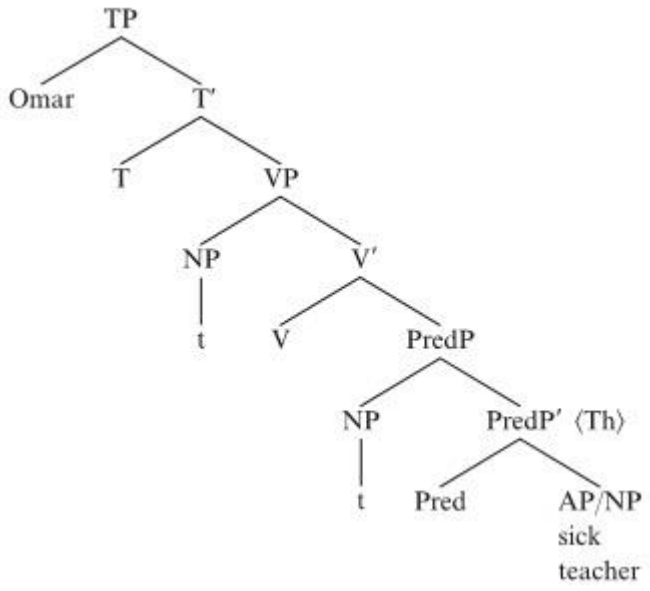
(Baker 2003:48).

Baker accepts Bowers' (1993) analysis which says that no category can license its own specifier, but needs a functional head to license it. He cites the work of Chierchia who explains that there is an up-operator which takes the AP/NP of (115) and joins it with Pred in order to

make an unsaturated predicate — a propositional function. This explains how a simple complement NP can become an unsaturated predicate. Pred does not assign the theta-role to the subject because then every subject would bear the same theta-role. Instead, Pred takes the NP or AP and makes a theta-marking category out of it. Baker reflects this process by putting <Th> (Theme) on the Pred' node. One of the features of this hypothesis is that a property-concept predicate could be generated either by a stative verb or by Pred + AP. Many languages (including BH) have this alternation.

Tense assigns nominative case to the subject and contains an EPP feature which moves the subject to (Spec, TP). For Arabic clauses with a copula he assumes the structure in (116):

(116)



(Baker 2003:49).

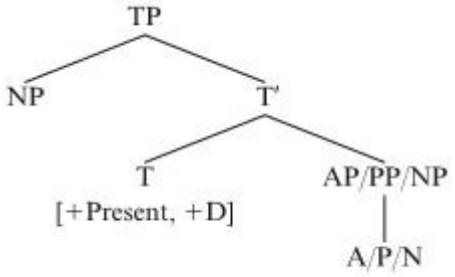
Baker explains that in past and future tense a copula is required because there is an unvalued affix feature [Af] on T which attracts a lexical head (V) to become its host. T(ense) in (116) does not contain [Af] and so no attraction is necessary and thus there is no V.

Benmamoun improves on Baker's explanation by reviving the notion that the dependency of T on V is due to the presence of a categorial feature (+V) on T that forces it to

be paired with the verb. There need not be a morphological affix in order to explain the movement of V to T (Benmamoun 2008:123). The use of categorial features to show the dependency between tense and verb is parallel to the dependency that exists between tense and subject. A subject NP is licensed because of a categorial feature (+D) in T that needs to be paired with a nominal element. Movement of the subject to check this feature of T can be overt or covert (as can +V) based on whether the feature is weak or strong. This is evident when the subject is allowed to remain lower than TP at Spell-Out, which has been argued for VSO languages (Benmamoun 2008).

With these categorial features in mind, Benmamoun argues that languages can differ as to whether a particular tense is specified for the verbal and nominal categorial features. English requires both features in all tenses, which explains the movement of the subject to check the nominal feature (and then movement again to Spec, TP to license an EPP feature) and the obligatory presence of the copula to check the verbal feature. In Arabic, however, the present tense is only specified for the nominal feature while the past tense is specified for both. These are represented as follows:

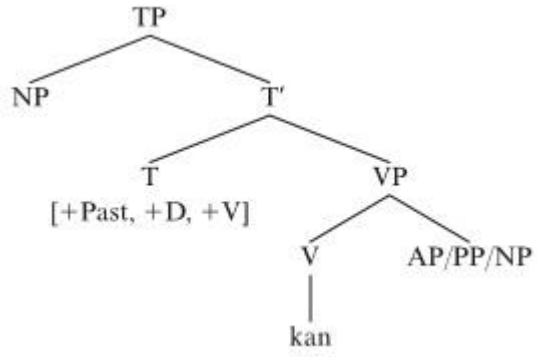
(117) Arabic present tense features



(Benmamoun 2008:115)[26]

[26] As I will demonstrate in section 4.2, my analysis differs from Benmamoun's and assumes that there is a null *v* in all copular sentences, even if it does not surface in present tense sentences.

(118) Arabic past tense features



(Benmamoun 2008:116)

Benmamoun then provides empirical evidence that the present tense in Arabic does not have the +V feature. He shows that in past tense, clauses with sentential negation must pass through a negative marker to check the +V feature on T. Negation is realised on the verb as a *ma* proclitic and an *š* enclitic as in (119).

(119) Omar ma-katab-š ig-gawaab
Omar $_{NEG}$-wrote-$_{NEG}$ the-letter
Omar didn't write the letter (Benmamoun 2008:117)

In present tense verbal sentences, however, it is possible to have the negative particles cliticise onto each other (120) just like they do in negative verbless clauses (121).

(120) ʔana mi-š ṭaalib
I $_{NEG\text{-}NEG}$ student
I am not a student (Benmamoun 2008:116).

(121) mi-š biyiktib
$_{NEG\text{-}NEG}$ writing
He isn't writing (Benmamoun 2008:118).

The present tense verb in (121) does not have to pass through the negative head because there is no +V feature on T attracting it (Benmamoun 2008:117-118).

Benmamoun also finds overt realisation of the nominal feature (+N) of tense with the so-called pronominal copula in present tense sentences. This pronominal element occurs between the subject and predicate in Arabic (and Modern Hebrew, Doron 1983; Rapoport 1987) only in present tense sentences. This pronominal element agrees with the subject in

number and gender but not person. Others have stated that this pronominal element is the realisation of agreement features of the functional head I (Doron 1983; Rapoport 1987 for Modern Hebrew; Naudé 1994 for Biblical Aramaic and 2002a, 2002b for Qumran Hebrew). Benmamoun agrees with this assessment (relabelling I as T) and says that the incomplete agreement is due to the absence of the verbal feature in the present tense. The +V feature displays the agreement pattern of verbs which is +person, +number, +gender. The +D feature displays the agreement pattern of nouns which is only +number and +gender. This leads Benmamoun to recognise the pronominal element in Arabic and Hebrew present tense sentences to be the overt realisation of the +D feature (Benmamoun 2008:125). I will revisit the analysis of this pronominal element for BH in section 4.4.

Benmamoun's analysis of verbless clauses in Arabic and Modern Hebrew is helpful for our own analysis of BH verbless clauses. (Naudé 1994:86) and Holmstedt (2002:196, 2016) have previously proposed a similar structure for verbless clauses. In agreement with Naudé and Holmstedt with the updated explanations of Baker and Benmamoum, the null PredP analysis explains the syntax of verbless clauses.

Like Arabic and Modern Hebrew, BH has no copula in the present tense. Unlike Arabic and Modern Hebrew, however, BH does not require a verbal element in past tense either.[27] This leads me to suggest that the features on T are the following for the tenses in BH copular sentences:

(122) Past: +D
Present: +D
Future: +D, +V[28]

[27] The verb *hyh* certainly exists in past temporal contexts, but the data do not support the hypothesis that past temporal reference requires a form of *hyh*. This will be explained thoroughly in section 4.3.

[28] The +V feature on future tense will be taken up in section 4.3.3.

Also unlike Arabic, BH has a covert verbal form *v* which remains null in present and past tense unless additional features cause it to spell-out overtly.

In this section I have presented the research which explains the structure of verbless clauses in Arabic and Modern Hebrew as examples for our analysis of Biblical Hebrew. Verbless clauses are not constructions in which a copular verb has been deleted; rather, certain tenses do not have +V features on T. Predication is still grammatical because of a null head Pred which takes a nonverbal constituent and makes it into an unsaturated predicate. Once the function has been saturated by its argument (the subject) through the valuation of features, a truth value has been created and predication has been instantiated. Arabic and Modern Hebrew reflect the absence of a +V feature only in the present tense while BH lacks this feature for both present and past tenses. What remains is to explain the presence of the verb *hyh* in copular sentences.

4.3 *hyh* Sentences

In section 2.2.4, it was demonstrated that the majority of research on the verb *hyh* has stated that it functions as semantically-empty copula which serves to license TAM as well as a full verb with a variety of interpretations. Examples (123) through (128) demonstrate some of the variety of the nuances of this verb noted in previous studies.

(123) Judges 17.1
וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מֵהַר־אֶפְרָיִם וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָיְהוּ
wayhî ʾîš mē - har ʾeprāyîm û - šəmô mîḵāyəhû
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS man from- hill.GEN Ephraim CONJ - name.3MS Micah
There was a man from the hill country of Ephraim and his name (was) Micah.

(124) Isaiah 66.2
וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשָׂתָה וַיִּהְיוּ כָל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם־יהוה
wə -ʾeṯ kol ʾēllê yāḏî ʿāśāṯâ wayyihyû ḵol ʾēllê nəʾum
CONJ- OBJ all these hand.1S made.PFV.3FS CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP all these word.GEN
yhwh
YHWH
"All these my hand has made and all these came to be" declares YHWH.

(125) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל
wayhî dəḫar yhwh ʾel šəmûʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel
The word of YHWH came to Samuel

(126) Genesis 9.18
וַיִּהְיוּ בְנֵי־נֹחַ הַיֹּצְאִים מִן־הַתֵּבָה שֵׁם וְחָם וָיֶפֶת
wayyihyû ḫənê nōaḥ hay -yōṣəʾîm min hat -tēḫâ
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP sons.GEN Noah ART -come.out.PTCP from ART- ark
šēm wəḥām wāyāpeṯ
Shem CONJ.Ham CONJ.Japeth
The sons of Noah who came out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth.

(127) 2 Samuel 9.9
כֹּל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְשָׁאוּל וּלְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ נָתַתִּי לְבֶן־אֲדֹנֶיךָ
kōl ʾăšer hāyâ lə-šāʾûl û -lə-ḵol bêṯô nāṯattî lə-ḫen ʾăḏōnêḵā
all that COP.3MS to-Saul CONJ-to-all house.3MS give.PFV.1S to-son.GEN master.2MS
All that Saul and his household had, I have given to the son of your master.

(128) Genesis 24.67
וַתְּהִי־לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה
wattəhî lô lə-ʾiššâ
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS to.3MS to-wife
She became his wife

BH manifests a complex copula system which conveys many different meanings in many different contexts. These data, combined with the fact that the verbless clause can be used as an additional strategy for encoding copular predication, present us with a challenge. What explanation could account for all these variances?

Myler (2016) sets out to solve a related puzzle concerning the variety of meanings and surface structures of possessives. He identifies two puzzles:

(129) *The Too-Many-Meanings Puzzle*.
How can one possession structure have so many different meanings in a given language?
(130) *The Too-Many-(Surface)-Structures Puzzle*
How can it be that the same set of possessive meanings is realized on the surface in so many syntactically different ways across languages? (Myler 2016:45)

Our analysis of these sentences presents us with a related puzzle for BH:

(131) *The Too-Many-meanings Puzzle* (BH)
How can one verb be used for so many different meanings?

One solution could ascribe the different meanings to different verbs in the Lexicon. This approach is especially common in research on copular verbs cross-linguistically. This approach claims that the two Spanish copulas *ser* and *estar*, which account for the stage-level/individual level distinction, are empirical evidence for multiple copulas in the Lexicon. Another solution could ascribe the different meanings to certain functional heads which need a verb to license them. The approach which Myler (2016) takes to solving his puzzles is the approach which will be adopted in this study of the BH verb *hyh*. As I reviewed in section 3.3.2.1, the combination of assumptions from the syntactic machinery of the Minimalist Program and the additional refinements of DM will be adopted for this puzzle. It will be demonstrated that the variation with this verb and its alternation with the verbless clause is not due to multiple verbs in the Lexicon, nor to polysemy inherent to the verb itself, but due to the semantics of adjacent heads in the derivation. This is known as *conditioned allosemy* in the sense of Marantz (2013), Myler (2016), and Wood (2015). The process of Late Insertion following Halle and Marantz (1993), Marantz (2013), Myler (2016) and Wood (2015) and including the ordered spell-out of the syntax into both PF and LF interfaces will demonstrate why this verb is introduced into the derivation.

The structure of the following section (4.3) will proceed as follows: I will first list the attested BH constructions which use a form of *hyh* for copular predication (4.3.1), I will then provide the explanation for such forms by demonstrating their role in the Thematic (4.3.2), Inflectional (4.3.3) and Left-Periphery (4.3.4) Domains including the semantics at LF and morphophonology at PF.

4.3.1 Data

The following list provides the contexts in which the BH verb *hyh* appears to be obligatory. All other contexts in which copular predication exists could be achieved with the verbless clause.

4.3.1.1 Mood

Hyh is inflected for volitive mood with both an imperative and jussive form. Examples (132) - (138) list the forms.

Imperative

הֱוֵה - MS: 15 examples

(132) Genesis 17.1
הִתְהַלֵּךְ לְפָנַי וֶהְיֵה תָמִים
hiṯhallēḵ ləp̄ānay we - hyê ṯāmîm
walk.IMP before.1S CONJ- COP.IMP.MS blameless
Walk before me and be blameless

הֱוִי- FS: 2 examples

(133) Isaiah 16.4
הֱוִי־סֵתֶר לָמוֹ מִפְּנֵי שׁוֹדֵד
hĕwî sēṯer lāmô mip - pənê šôḏēḏ
COP.IMP.FS shelter for.3MS from-face.GEN destruction.PTCP
Be a hiding place for him in front of destruction

הֱיוּ - MP: 9 examples

(134) 1 Samuel 4.9
הִתְחַזְּקוּ וִהְיוּ לַאֲנָשִׁים פְּלִשְׁתִּים
hiṯḥazzəqû wihyû la-ʾănāšîm pəlištîm
be.strong.IMP.MP CONJ.COP.IMP.MP to-men Philistines
Take courage and be men, Philistines!

Jussive

יְהִי-3MS: 67 examples[29]

(135) Genesis 1.3
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר
way - yōʾmer ʾĕlōhîm yəhî ʾôr
CONJ -say.PRET.3MS God COP.JUSS.3MS light
And God said, "Let there be light."

יִהְיוּ-3MP: 21 examples

(136) Qohelet 5.1
וְאַתָּה עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־כֵּן יִהְיוּ דְבָרֶיךָ מְעַטִּים
wəʾattâ ʿal hā-ʾāreṣ ʿal kēn yıihyû ḏəḇārêḵā məʿaṭṭîm
CONJ-2MS on ART-earth upon thus COP.JUSS.3MP words.2MS few
You are on the earth, therefore let your words be few.

תְּהִי-2FS: 28 examples

(137) 2 Samuel 24.17
תְּהִי נָא יָדְךָ בִּי וּבְבֵית אָבִי
təhî nāʾ yāḏəḵā bî û - ḇə - ḇêṯ ʾāḇî
COP.JUSS.2FS please hand.2MS against.1S CONJ-against- house.GEN father.1S
Please let your hand be against me and my father's house

תִּהְיֶינָה- 2FP: 4 examples

(138) Jeremiah 18.21
וְתִהְיֶינָה נְשֵׁיהֶם שַׁכֵּלוֹת וְאַלְמָנוֹת
wəṯihyenâ nəšêhem šakkulôṯ wə - ʾalmānôṯ
CONJ.COP.JUSS.2FP wives.3MP barren CONJ-widows
Let their wives be barren and widowed

The vast majority of these constructions have the verb *hyh* in clause-initial position.

[29] These data do not include the imperfective form יהיה (*yihyê*) which is sometimes interpreted as a Jussive. The discussion concerning the volitive status of clause-initial imperfectives is outside the scope of this thesis. See Niccacci 1987.

4.3.1.2 Aspect

BH also requires the verb *hyh* to license ingressive aspect. This function often is accompanied by the preposition *lə* prefixed to the predicate nominal as in (139) and (140).

(139) Genesis 24.67
וַיִּקַּח אֶת־רִבְקָה וַתְּהִי־לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה
wayyiqqaḥ ʾeṯ riḇqâ wattəhî lô lə-ʾiššâ
CONJ.took.PRET.3MS OBJ Rebekah CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS to.3MS to-wife
He took Rebekah and she became his wife

(140) 2 Samuel 5.2
וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה לְנָגִיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
wəʾattâ tihyê lə - nāḡîḏ ʿal yîśrāʾēl
CONJ.2MS COP.IPFV.2MS to- leader over Israel
You will become leader over Israel.

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 *lamed* "*Lamed revaluationis*" (Jenni 2000:26-53). The perfective/imperfective inflections of this verb are used to distinguish the temporal reference of the sentence.

Though it is far less common, the verb *hyh* also licenses a perfect nuance.[30] The perfective (suffixed) (141) and preterite (142) forms are used in these contexts. The additional temporal deictics in (141) and (142) demonstrate that these examples should have perfect readings rather than a simple past reading.

(141) Genesis 46.34
אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מִנְּעוּרֵינוּ וְעַד־עַתָּה
ʾanšê miqnê hāyû ʿăḇāḏêḵā min - nəʿûrênû wəʿaḏ ʿattâ
men.GEN livestock COP.PFV.3P servants.2MS from- youth.1P CONJ.until now
Your servants have been men of livestock from our youth until now.

(142) Joshua 4.9
וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
wayyihyû šām ʿaḏ hay -yôm haz -zê
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP there until ART - day ART - this
They have been there until this day.

[30] For a review about the perfect as a conflicting category in tense-aspect theories see Ritz (2012).

4.3.1.3 Tense

BH also uses the verb *hyh* in order to license future tense. The marking of future tense is either done with the *wəqatal* (143) or the *yiqtol* form (144) of the verb which can be used to indicate future tense.

(143) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיִיתִי נָע וָנָד בָּאָרֶץ
wəhāyîṯî nāʿ wā - nāḏ bā -ʾāreṣ
CONJ.COP.WQTL.1S stranger.PTCP CONJ -foreigner.PTCP in.ART -land
But I will be a stranger and a foreigner in the land.

(144) Samuel 13.13
וְאַתָּה תִּהְיֶה כְּאַחַד הַנְּבָלִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
wəʾattâ tihyê kəʾaḥaḏ han -nəḇālîm bə- yiśrāʾēl
CONJ.2MS COP.IPFV.2MS like.one ART - fools in- Israel
But you will be like one of the fools in Israel.

It will be argued in section 4.3.2 that the verbless clause is the default strategy in past temporal contexts and that if *hyh* is used in these contexts it is present for other reasons. There are some examples which appear to mark simple past in order to disambiguate the temporal reference. In these contexts, *hyh* is included because the tense has switched, as in (145).

(145) Joshua 1.17
רַק יְהִיֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ עִמָּךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיָה עִם־מֹשֶׁה
raq yihyê yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā ʿimmāḵ kaʾăšer hāyâ ʿim mōšê
only COP.IPFV.3MS YHWH god.2MS with.2FS as COP.PFV.3MS with Moses
Only YHWH your God will be with you as he was with Moses

4.3.1.4 Specificational Sentences

Specificational sentences have been described as performing a list function where the subject provides the heading and the predicate lists what belongs under that heading. There seems to be some consistency between the specificational status of clause types and the presence of *hyh*, though not all specificational sentences require an overt form of *hyh*.

Examples (146)-(149) illustrate BH Specificational sentences.

(146) Genesis 9.18[31]
וַיִּהְיוּ בְנֵי־נֹחַ הַיֹּצְאִים מִן־הַתֵּבָה שֵׁם וְחָם וְיָפֶת
wayyihyû ḇənê nōaḥ hay - yōṣᵓim min hat - tēḇâ
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP sons.GEN Noah ART - come.out.PTCP from ART- ark
šēm wəḥām wāyāpeṯ
Shem CONJ.Ham CONJ.Japeth
The sons of Noah who came out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth

(147) Genesis 5.4
וַיִּהְיוּ יְמֵי־אָדָם אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־שֵׁת שְׁמֹנֶה מֵאֹת שָׁנָה
wayyihyû yəmê ᵓāḏām ᵓaḥărê hôlîḏô
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP days.GEN Adam after give.birth.INF.3MS
ᵓeṯ šēṯ šəmōnê mēᵓōṯ šānâ
OBJ Seth eight hundred year
The days of Adam after he begat Seth were 800 years

(148) Genesis 5.11
וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־יְמֵי אֱנוֹשׁ חָמֵשׁ שָׁנִים וּתְשַׁע מֵאוֹת שָׁנָה
wayyihyû kol yəmê ᵓĕnôš ḥāmēš šānîm û -ṯəšaʿ mēᵓôṯ šānâ
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP all days.GEN Enosh five years CONJ-nine hundred year
All the days of Enosh were 905 years

(149) Joshua 19.25
וַיְהִי גְּבוּלָם חֶלְקַת וַחֲלִי וָבֶטֶן וְאַכְשָׁף
wayhi gəḇûlām ḥelqaṯ wa -ḥălî wā -ḇeṭen wə -ᵓaḵšāp
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS borders.3MP Helkath CONJ-Hali CONJ-Beten CONJ - Achshaph.
Their borders were Helkath, Hali, Beten, and Achshaph.

4.3.1.5 Directionals

One use of the verb *hyh* has a very different distribution than those reviewed above. This use shows up in context with Directional PPs as in (150) and (151) or with the directive particle *he* in (152).

(150) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל
wayhî dəḇar yhwh ᵓel šəmûᵓēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel

[31] Some of the genealogical records do not have this form, but it may be due to elision, since there are many lists consecutively. Other examples could also be due to the nature of the genealogy as an actual list which does not involve actual predication.

The word of YHWH came to Samuel

(151) Numbers 24.2
וַתְּהִי עָלָיו רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים
wattəhî ʿālāyw rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS upon.3MS spirit.GEN god
The Spirit of God came upon him.

(152) Joshua 16.8
וְהָיוּ תֹצְאֹתָיו הַיָּמָּה
wəhāyû ṯōṣʾōṯāyw hay-yāmmâ
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MP boundaries.3MS ART- sea.DIR
Its boundaries went to the sea.

4.3.1.6 Existentials

Though a much more thorough treatment of existentials will be provided in chapter 5, I list a few examples here. Existentials use the verb *hyh* as listed here or the existential particles *yēš* or *ʾên*.

(153) Judges 17.1
וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מֵהַר־אֶפְרָיִם וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָיְהוּ
wayhî ʾîš mē - har ʾeprāyim û - šəmô mîḵāyəhû
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS man from- hill.GEN Ephraim CONJ - name.3MS Micah
There was a man from the hill country of Ephraim and his name was Micah.

(154) Exodus 19.16
וַיְהִי קֹלֹת וּבְרָקִים וְעָנָן כָּבֵד עַל־הָהָר
wayhî qōlōṯ û - ḇərāqîm wə - ʿānān kāḇēḏ ʿal hā-hār
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS thunders CONJ- lightnings CONJ - cloud heavy on ART-mountain
There was thunder and lightning and a heavy cloud on the mountain.

The existential construction can be negated by the negator *lōʾ*.

(155) Genesis 9.11
וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל לְשַׁחֵת הָאָרֶץ
wə - lōʾ yihyê ʿôḏ mabbûl lə-šaḥēṯ hā - ʾāreṣ
CONJ- NEG COP.IPFV.3MS still flood to-destroy.INF ART - earth
There will never again be a flood that destroys the earth.

Examples (156) and (157) have been called “one-place existentials” because they convey the idea “exist” or “occur,” and do not specify a location (Gast and Haas 2011:146).

(156) Isaiah 66.2
וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשָׂתָה וַיִּהְיוּ כָל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם־יהוה
wə -ʾeṯ kol ʾēllê yāḏî ʿāśāṯâ wayyihyû ḵolʾēllê nəʾum yhwh
CONJ- OBJ all these hand.1S made.PFV.3FS CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP all these word.GEN YHWH
"All these my hand has made and all these <u>came to be</u>" declares YHWH.

(157) Genesis 1.3
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר
wayyōʾmer ʾĕlōhîm yəhî ʾôr
CONJ.say.PRET.3MS God COP.JUSS.3MS light
And God said, "Let there be light."

4.3.1.7 Predicative Possessives

One additional construction which utilises *hyh* is the predicative possessive construction. Predicative possessives in BH combine *hyh* with a prepositional phrase to indicate possession. Predicative possession in BH will be analysed in section 5.7.

(158) 2 Samuel 9.9
כֹּל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְשָׁאוּל וּלְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ נָתַתִּי לְבֶן־אֲדֹנֶיךָ
kōl ʾăšer hāyâ lə-šāʾûl û -lə-ḵol bêṯô nāṯattî lə-ḇen ʾăḏōnêḵā
all that COP.3MS to-Saul CONJ-to-all house.3MS give.PFV.1S to-son.GEN master.2MS
All that Saul and his household had, I have given to the son of your master.

(159) 1 Chronicles 2.26
וַתְּהִי אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת לִירַחְמְאֵל
wattəhî ʾiššâ ʾaḥereṯ l -îraḥməʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS wife another to -Jerahmeel
Jerahmeel had another wife

4.3.1.8 Clause-Initial Split-Structure

The label *clause-initial split structure* is used to describe the construction which has been labeled a "discourse marker" by hebraists which was reviewed in section 2.3. These constructions are characterised by the verb *hyh* in clause-initial position which is split from the

main predication of the sentence. These constructions will be labeled differently in section 4.3.5 after providing a description of their syntax and semantics.

(160) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיָה כָל־מֹצְאִי יַהַרְגֵנִי
wəhāyâ *ḵol mōṣʾî* *yaharḡēnî*
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS all find.PTCP.MS.1S slay.IPFV.3MS.1S
It will happen, all who find me will slay me!

(161) Genesis 39.7
וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַתִּשָּׂא אֵשֶׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף
wayhî *ʾaḥar had- dəḇārîm hā - ʾēllê* *wattiśśāʾ* *ʾēšeṯ*
CONJ.COP.PRET after ART -things ART- these CONJ.lifted.3FS.PRET wife.GEN
ʾăḏōnâyw *ʾeṯ ʿênêhā* *ʾel yôsēp*
master.3MS OBJ eyes.3FS to Joseph
It happened, after these things, the wife of his master lifted her eyes to Joseph.

(162) Exodus 1.21
וַיְהִי כִּי־יָרְאוּ הַמְיַלְּדֹת אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים
wayhî *kî* *yārʾû* *ha -myallәḏōṯ* *ʾeṯ hā - ʾĕlōhîm*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS because fear.PFV.3P ART-midwives OBJ ART- god
wayyaʿaś *lāhem bātîm*
CONJ.give.PRET.3MS to.3MP families
It happened because the midwives feared God, he gave them families.

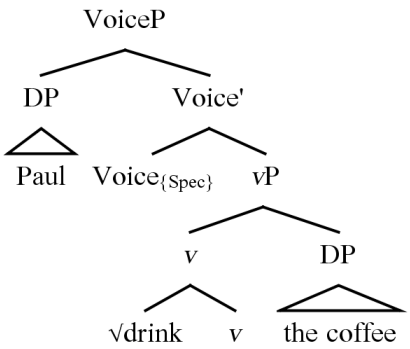
The examples listed above reflect the wide array of meanings associated with the verb *hyh*. The best way to demonstrate how this verb is incorporated into BH syntax and semantics is to demonstrate its function in each phase of syntactic derivation, including the semantics of the constructions in which it occurs. But first, there are a few more theoretical assumptions which must be explained to further the discussion that was begun in section 3.3. In the following section, I will start with the thematic domain, which accounts for most of the variation in BH copular sentences.

4.3.2 Thematic Domain of *hyh* Sentences

To show the representation of BH copular sentences, we must first understand how sentences are constructed in the thematic domain. Following Kratzer (1996) I believe the

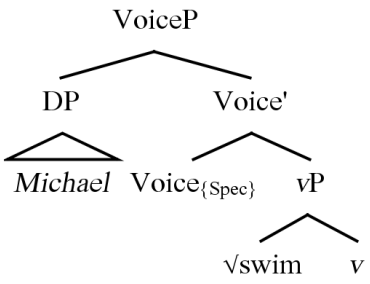
highest head in the thematic domain is Voice. The function of Voice is to introduce an external argument indicated by its specifier requirement {Spec} and influence the voice of the construction. Below Voice, *v* introduces eventuality variables such as *state* and *activity* (and possibly others [Marantz 2013:161]). The verbal root with its own unique lexical semantics merges with *v*. Example (163) is a typical transitive sentence (excluding the inflectional domain for now).

(163) Paul drank the coffee



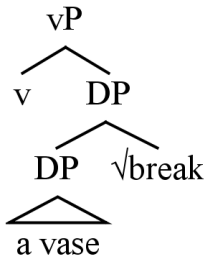
Since this thesis is concerned with copular sentences, the structure of intransitive sentences is more relevant than that of transitive sentences. Intransitive sentences are traditionally divided into two categories: unaccusative and unergative. Unergative sentences have a single argument which is typically the agent. The underlying structure of the unergative is represented in (164).

(164) *Michael swam*



Unaccusatives come in several forms but are traditionally identified by their lack of an external argument. Irwin (2012) represents a change-of-state unaccusative in (165).

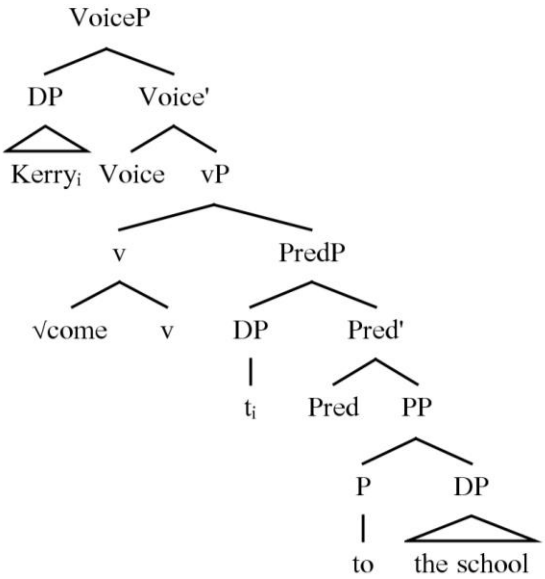
(165) *The vase broke*



(Irwin 2012:83)

The clear difference between this unaccusative and the unergative example is that the root adjoins to the DP, signaling the end state of its sister DP. In another type of unaccusative, *v* takes a small clause as its complement (Irwin 2012:94; Marantz 2013:157), which is headed by Pred, as we argued for BH verbless clauses. Irwin calls these "motion and existence unaccusatives" (Irwin 2012:94).

(166) *Kerry came to the school*



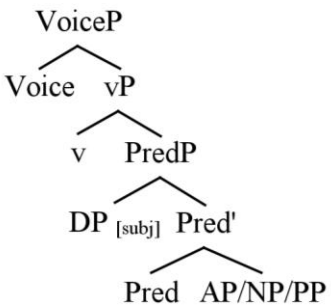
One advantage to approaching argument structure in this way is that there is some clarity for the debate about how to categorise unaccusatives (see Marantz 2013:162). In this approach,

"Verbs are not unaccusative; rather, there are unaccusative structures, ones in which the sole complement to a verbal head or the subject of a small clause complement to a verbal head appear in a construction in which no external argument is projected above the *v*P (no argument licensed in the specifier of voice)" (Marantz 2013:162).[32]

This approach to argument structure is unique in that the particular verbs do not project or generate structure; instead, the roots of verbs must find their position within structures such as (163), (164), and (165). These roots then may place constraints on adjacent structure based on the features they carry while adding some aspect of meaning to how the structures are interpreted (Marantz 2013:157).

Copular constructions, which are a type of intransitive sentence, may pattern off either the unergative or unaccusative structures in (164) and (165), respectively, depending on the clause-type and language (see Cinque 1990 and Harves 2002 for discussion). The difference manifests itself in whether the subject DP is inserted in the specifier of Pred or Voice. For BH, I will assume the underlying structure is the same as (166), which corresponds to Baker (2003) and Benamamoun (2008). For BH copular sentences, then, the thematic domain is minimally structured as in (167):

(167) Thematic Domain for BH Copular Sentences



[32] For the English example in (166), there is still an EPP feature on T which moves the subject higher than the verb before spell-out (Irwin 2012:91).

The structure in (167) inevitably begs the question about the precise role and location of the verb *hyh*, which is the foundation of the *Too-many-meanings* puzzle. The answer to this puzzle must be found in structural and semantic differences which are not spelled-out overtly. All the sentences in (168)-(170) have a *hyh*–NP–PP construction.

(168) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל
wayhî dəḇar yhwh ʾel šəmûʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel
The word of YHWH came to Samuel

(169) 1 Chronicles 2.26
וַתְּהִי אִשָּׁה אַחֶרֶת לִירַחְמְאֵל
wattəhî ʾiššâ ʾaḥereṯ l -îraḥmʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS wife another to -Jerahmeel
Jerahmeel had another wife

(170) Deuteronomy 28.26
וְהָיְתָה נִבְלָתְךָ לְמַאֲכָל לְכָל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם
wəhāyəṯâ niḇlāṯəḵā lə-maʾăḵāl lə-ḵol ʿôp haš - šāmayim
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3FS corpse.2MS to-food to-all bird.GEN ART - heavens
Your corpse will become food for the birds of the air

In order to find a solution to this puzzle, we must look at the semantics of these constructions which build off the syntactic structures reviewed earlier in this section. Following Halle and Marantz (1993), Wood (2015) and Myler (2016), the DM principle of Late Insertion applies at the LF interface in addition to the PF interface. Just as the principle of *Conditioned Allomorphy* — discussed in section 3.3.2 — takes place in PF, the principle of *Conditioned Allosemy* occurs in the LF interface (Myler 2016:40).

For this discussion, I must list the composition rules assumed. The two most important rules for this discussion come from Heim and Kratzer (1998:44) and Kratzer (1996:122), which are also used by Wood (2015) and Myler (2016). The first is the Functional Application Rule (171).

(171) *Functional Application*

If α is a branching node, {β,γ} is the set of α's daughters, and $[\![\boldsymbol{\beta}]\!]$ is a function whose domain contains $[\![\boldsymbol{\gamma}]\!]$, then $[\![\boldsymbol{\alpha}]\!] = [\![\boldsymbol{\beta}]\!]([\![\boldsymbol{\gamma}]\!])$.

The second composition rule is the Event Identification rule. This rule makes it possible to link various conditions for an event which is described in a sentence. According to Kratzer (1996:122), "[this rule] takes a function f and a function g (order irrelevant) as input and yields a function h as output," as schematised in (172).

(172) Event Identification

f	g	→	h
<e,<s,t>>	<s,t>		<e,<s,t>>

$\boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s$ [f(x)(e)& **g**(e)] (Krazter 1996:122).

These sets include individuals (e), events (s), and truth values (t). Kratzer explains, "Entities of the type <s,t> are functions from events to truth values. Entities of the type <e,<s,t>> are functions that map individuals to functions from events to truth values" (Kratzer 1996:122). The lambda notation under h defines the output of the two functions f and g. The example Kratzer gives is represented in (173).

(173) *Mittie fed the dog*

f	g	→
<e,<s,t>>	<s,t>	
$\boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s$ [Agent (x)(e)]	λe_s [feed(the dog)(e)]	

h
<e,<s,t>>
$\boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s$ [Agent (x)(e) & feed(the dog)(e)] (Krazter 1996:122).

Wood (2015) restates Kratzer with the following rule:

(174) *Event Identification Rule*

If α is a branching node, {β,γ} is the set of α's daughters, where $[\![\boldsymbol{\beta}]\!]$ is in $D_{<e<s,t>}$ and $[\![\boldsymbol{\gamma}]\!]$ is in $D_{<s,t>}$, then $[\![\boldsymbol{\alpha}]\!] = \boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s[\![\boldsymbol{\beta}]\!](x)(e)\&\ [\![\boldsymbol{\gamma}]\!](e)$. (Wood 2015:31).

This notation will guide the following explanation. Like Myler (2016:42) and Wood (2015:37), I identify three allosemes of the *v* head:

(175) Allosemes of *v*

a. $[\![\mathbf{v}]\!] \leftrightarrow \lambda e_s.\text{activity}(e)$

b. $[\![\mathbf{v}]\!] \leftrightarrow \lambda e_s.\text{state}(e)$

c. $[\![\mathbf{v}]\!] \leftrightarrow \lambda P_{<s,t>}.\lambda e_s.\exists e'_s.\text{activity}(e) \,\&\, \text{CAUSE}(e,e') \,\&\, P(e')/\_\_\_\_\_(\text{eventuality})$

The third alloseme in (175c) reflects that when the complement of *v* is an eventuality (dynamic or stative), then *v* will be causative. Myler states that there is another *v* alloseme — the copula *v* — which does not contribute anything to the thematic interpretation of the sentence. He states that its sole purpose is to link non-verbal predicates to function heads (like tense, aspect and clause typing) (Myler 2016:42). For this reason, there is no special semantics in copular constructions with the BE verb. I will return to this claim later in this section.

The Voice head also has several allosemes. As stated earlier in this section, the role of the Voice head is to introduce an external argument. The external argument introduced by this head is directly related to the semantics of the *v*P complement. If the *v*P is an activity, the external argument will be an Agent. If the *v*P is a state, the external argument will be the holder of that state which is called *Holder* following Kratzer (1996:123). These two allosemes are represented in (176).[33]

(176) Allosemes of Voice (Adapted from Myler 2016:43).

a. $[\![\mathbf{Voice}]\!] \leftrightarrow \boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s.\text{Agent}(x)(e) / \_\_\_\_$ (agentive, dynamic event)

b. $[\![\mathbf{Voice}]\!] \leftrightarrow \boldsymbol{\lambda x}_e.\lambda e_s.\text{Holder}(x)(e) / \_\_\_\_$ (stative eventuality)

[33] Other allosemes could be included in this list, but it has been simplified for exposition.

Predicational copular sentences belong to the class of stative *v* allosemes.[34] Their external head, then is interpreted as the Holder of the state defined in the complement of *v*P.

The picture is still incomplete, however, because the type of state in *v* is affected by the PredP in its complement. The PredP and the type of state it affects also dictate the type of external argument that is projected (patient, theme, etc.) This is another example of *Conditioned Allosemy*. Several allosemes of Pred have been suggested in recent literature. Among other distinctions, the so-called stage-level/individual-level distinction has been attributed to two different Pred heads: $\text{Pred}_{\text{STAGE}}$ and $\text{Pred}_{\text{INDIV}}$ (Adger and Ramchand 2003; Markman 2008; Myler 2017). Markman (2008) and Adger and Ramchand (2003) have identified a Pred head which introduces an eventive variable to its complement. Markman's hypothesis is that this Pred head (called Pred_{Ev}) explains the instrumental case in Russian copular sentences such as (177) and (178).

(177) *Dima ø/byl pisatel'.*
Dima is/was writer$_{NOM}$
'Dima is/was a writer.'

(178) *Dima byl/budet pisatelem*
Dima was/will be writer$_{INST}$
'Dima was/will be a writer.' (Markman 2008:188).

Example (177) with the nominative has an inherent or permanent property, but example (178), with the instrumental predicate denotes a temporary, transient, or changeable property (Markman 2008:188).

Harves (2002) provides (179) and (180) (her (159)) to illustrate the same phenomenon:

(179) *Anna byla professor, a potom stala dekanom*
Anna was professor-NOM and then became dean

(180) *Anna byla professorom, a potom stala dekanom*
Anna was professor-INST and then became dean
'Anna was a professor and then became a dean' (Harves 2002:258).

[34] Equative copular sentences have a *v* which Myler calls a copula *v* which does not contribute anything to the semantic interpretation of the sentence. Equative copular sentences in BH do not use *hyh* but instead utilise a verbless clause or PRON (Wilson 2015), which will be discussed in section 4.4. It has a neutral identity function λx.x (Myler 2016:42).

Example (179) implies that even though Anna has become a dean, she is still, in some sense, a professor. Example (180), however, implies that once Anna became a dean she stopped being a professor (Harves 2002:258). Note that the same copula *byla* is used in both sentences. This means that the semantic difference is not due to the copula in these sentences.

These differences have been attributed to different Pred heads that have some aspectual/eventive quality to them. Markman says the $Pred_{Ev}$ introduces a spacio-temporal (event) argument which licenses instrumental case in Russian (Markman 2008:196). Additionally, this eventive notion does not hold inherently to the individual but rather that the relevant eventuality which is true of the individual has ended (Markman 2008:198). Markman relates this event argument to what has been traditionally labeled *Aktionsart* or situation aspect (Markman 2008:199). Adger and Ramchand (2003) have identified something very similar for Scottish Gaelic as well.

Markman proposes that there is an AspP above $Pred_{Ev}$ which accounts for the run-time of the event of $Pred_{Ev.}$ This run-time introduced by AspP serves to individuate the event in the same way that determiners make it possible to refer to count nominals (Markman 2008:200). For the sentence in (178), Markman proposes the following LF spell-out from the most embedded constituent outward. The formalism in (181) should be read from the bottom up.

(181) $TP\rightarrow \exists t \exists e$ [writer (e, dima) & τ(e) o t & t < n]
$AspP\rightarrow \lambda t \exists e$ [writer (e,dima) & τ(e) o t]
$Asp\rightarrow Q_{<s,t>}\ \lambda t \exists e$ [Q(e) & τ(e) o t]
$Pred_{Ev}P\rightarrow \lambda e_s$(writer(e,dima))
Dima→ dima
$Pred_{Ev}'\rightarrow \lambda x_e.\lambda e_s.$(writer(e,x))
—*the NP is shifted from <e,t> to <e,<st>>*
$Pred_{Ev}\rightarrow \lambda P_{<e,t>}.\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s.$(P(e,x))
—*$Pred_{Ev}$ forced a type-shift of the NP*[35]

[35] This confirms the hypothesis of Baker (2003) mentioned earlier, that Pred combines with the complement and creates a theta-role for the subject.

NP(writer) → λy_e(writer(y))

She explains the notation saying:

> In [181] <i,t> stands for a set of instants — a time interval; <st> is a set of events; and "o" denotes overlap. The T (tense) provides existential closure over the interval t and locates it with respect to the utterance time *n*; thus t<n denotes future, and t o n denotes present (Markman 2008:200).

This alloseme, $Pred_{Ev,}$ is what I am proposing accounts for several of the uses of the verb *hyh* in BH. In the same way that $Pred_{INDIV}$ or $Pred_{STAGE}$ leads the phonological component to spell-out either *ser* or *estar* in Spanish and that $Pred_{Ev}$ leads to instrumental case marking in Russian, the presence of $Pred_{Ev}$ in BH creates the conditions by which the verb *hyh* is introduced at PF. The following examples will justify this claim. Take for example the ingressive aspect of example (182).

(183) 2 Samuel 8.2
וַתְּהִי מוֹאָב לְדָוִד לַעֲבָדִים
wattəhî *môʾāḇ* *lə-ḏāwīḏ* *la-ʿăḇāḏîm*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS Moab to-David to-ART.servants
The Moabites became servants to David.

It has been established in grammars of BH that the verb *hyh* plus the inseparable preposition *lamed* prefixed to the complement indicates the aspect of *becoming*. The semantics of these constructions differ from the copular predication indicated in BH verbless clauses because of the +telic, -durative eventive nuance which has run-time which must be accounted for. Example (184) demonstrates the LF spell-out for (183).[36]

(184) TP→ ∃t∃e [servants(e,moabites) & t > n]
AspP→ λt∃e [servants(e,moabites) & τ(e) o t]
Asp→ $Q_{<s,t>}$ λt∃e [Q(e) & τ(e) o t]
$Pred_{Ev}$P→ λe_s(servants(e,moabites))
The Moabites→ moabites
$Pred_{Ev}$'→ $\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s$.(servants(e,x))
$Pred_{Ev}$→ $\lambda P_{<e,t>}.\lambda x_e.\lambda e_s$.(P(e,x))

[36] I have excluded the adjunct *to David* to simplify the exposition.

NP(servants) → λy_e(servants(y))

This is similar to Vendler's situation aspect classification of *achievement* (Vendler 1957). The presence of this $Pred_{Ev}$ creates the conditions which necessitate the presence of *hyh*. This is additional evidence that *hyh* is not a true verb, but a context-dependent auxiliary. This hypothesis gains strength when one other construction is introduced: the Directional construction, as in (185) and (186).

(185) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל
wayhî dəḇar yhwh ʾel šəmûʾēl
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel
The word of YHWH came to Samuel

(186) Jeremiah 7.1
הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ מֵאֵת יְהוָה
had - dāḇār ʾăšer hāyâ ʾel yirməyāhû mē -ʾēṯ yhwh
ART - word which COP.PFV.3MS to Jeremiah from -with YHWH
The word which came to Jeremiah from YHWH

What is in view in this example is a + telic/– durative achievement. [37] These examples have a clear run-time which is captured by a similar AspP as the example in (183). Also, in this sentence we have a clear theme (word), source (YHWH) and goal (Jeremiah). The verb *hyh* is not sufficient to account for the semantics of theme-source-goal in this sentence, which renders questionable the lexicalist hypothesis that all potential semantic roles are contained in the verbs within the Lexicon. Instead, $Pred_{Ev}$ takes the PP complement and creates the thematic roles for the sentence.[38] Example (187) demonstrates that the directional particle *āh* may also be used instead of a preposition.

(187) Joshua 16.8
וְהָיוּ תֹצְאֹתָיו הַיָּמָּה
wəhāyû ṯōṣʾōṯāyw hay-yāmmâ
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MP boundaries.3MS ART- sea.DIR
Its boundaries went to the sea.

[37] This confirms the intuitions in Wilson 2015, who uses +change-of-state to describe these constructions.
[38] See Svenonius 2004 for a discussion of how adpositions participate in theta-assignment.

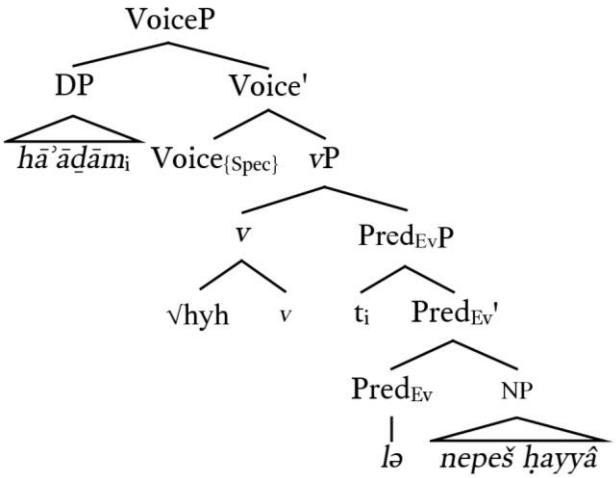
Within the present framework, then, we can state that the existence of $Pred_{Ev}$ creates the conditions in which *hyh* must be present in the phonological spell-out of these syntactic/semantic structures. The + telic/– durative semantics created by $Pred_{Ev}$ could not be expressed without the verb *hyh*. This is additional evidence that *hyh* is not a true verb, but a context-dependent auxiliary. The following rule is proposed for the *Conditioned allosemy* for the presence of *hyh*.

(188) HYH spell-out rule[39]
v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ __ [$Pred_{Ev}$]

Example (189) and the Vocabulary Insertion in PF (190)[40] are given below.

(189) Genesis 2.7
וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה
wayhî *hā - ʾāḏām lə - nep̄eš* *ḥayyâ*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS ART - man to - creature alive
The man became a living creature

(190)



[39] The AspP is implied in the notation from this point forward to simplify the exposition.

[40] The root √hyh will move out of this position in order to license a functional head in the inflectional domain. This will be covered in the next section.

Since spell-out happens from the most embedded item outward, $Pred_{Ev}$ is encountered before *v* and dictates that the root √hyh receives phonological spell-out. In contrast, the Pred head which exists in verbless clauses makes no such demands so *v* remains phonologically null.

In (190) I claim that the preposition *lə* is the overt spell-out of $Pred_{Ev.}$ This is supported by its use in other types of sentences. As I reviewed in section 3.3.2.2, Pred is overt in different contexts for different languages. Since overt Pred has been identified in other types of constructions cross-linguistically, such as those using causative verbs, if *lə* was the overt representation of Pred in BH, we would expect it to appear in some of these constructions as well. This is indeed what we find in BH. In the causative construction in (191), *lə* appears precisely where Pred would be expected to appear.

(191) Genesis 12.2
וְאֶעֶשְׂךָ לְגֹוי גָּדֹול
wĕ -ʾeʿeśḵā lə -gôy gāḏôl
CONJ - make.IPFV.1S.2MS to - nation great
I will make you a great nation.[41]

Overt manifestations of Pred in the form of prepositions are also attested in Polish (Bondaruk 2013:241-243). This preposition is not obligatory in these contexts, however, which is also true of overt Pred in many other languages. A more detailed discussion of *lamed* as the overt representation of $Pred_{Ev}$ is a topic for later research.

One additional context where $Pred_{Ev}$ conditions the presence of *hyh* is in what have been called "one place existentials" (Gast and Haas 2011:146).

(192) Isaiah 66.2
וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשָׂתָה וַיִּהְיוּ כָל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם־יהוה
wə -ʾeṯ kol ʾēllê yāḏî ʿāśāṯâ wayyihyû ḵolʾēllê nəʾum
CONJ- OBJ all these hand.1S made.PFV.3FS CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP all these word.GEN
yhwh
YHWH
"All these my hand has made and all these came to be" declares YHWH.

[41] This is called an "indirect object" *lamed* in Waltke-O'Connor 1990:209. Many of the other examples listed in this section can equally be explained as the overt representation of Pred.

Defining constructions like this as "existentials" will be called into question in section 5. In addition to their lack of locational specification, one of the primary differences between these constructions and existentials is that what is in view is the onset of the state — the event argument mentioned above. These constructions have the same + telic/– durative situation aspect as the other constructions reviewed above. The only difference is that they have no specified complement. Below are a few more examples.

(193) Qohelet 1.9
מַה־שֶּׁהָיָה הוּא שֶׁיִּהְיֶה
mâ še - hāyâ hûʾ šey - yihyê
What which - COP.PFV.3MS 3MS which - COP.IPFV.3MS
What has been is what will be.

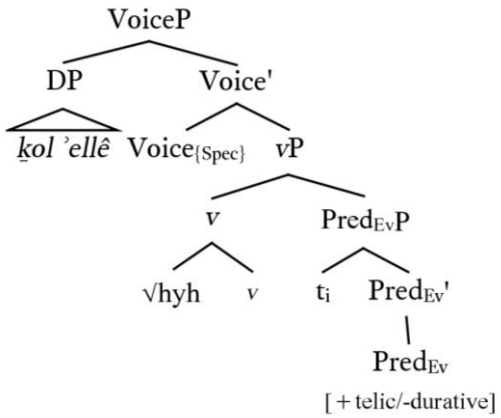
(194) Psalm 33.9
כִּי הוּא אָמַר וַיֶּהִי
kî hûʾ ʾāmar wayyehî
for 3MS speak.PFV.3MS CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS
For he spoke and it came to be.

(195) 1 Samuel 4.7
אַוי לָנוּ כִּי לֹא הָיְתָה כָזֹאת אֶתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם
ʾôy lānû kî lōʾ hāyəṯâ kā -zōʾṯ ʾeṯmôl šilšōm
woe to.1P for NEG COP.PFV.3FS like-this formerly yesterday
Woe to us! For nothing like this has ever happened to us before**.**

It is evident from the examples above that these constructions may also allow a null subject. While the subject may optionally be null, there is no complement, not even in null form. The underlying representation for these forms still raises the subject DP to Spec, VoiceP as the Holder of the state. The event argument introduced by $Pred_{Ev}$ with its + telic/– durative situation aspect creates the conditions where *hyh* is phonologically spelled-out, but there is no relationship to a complement DP. This is additional evidence that *hyh* is not a true verb, but a context-dependent auxiliary. The structure is represented in (196).[42]

[42] The structure here does not reflect the movement of *hyh* into the inflectional domain.

(196)



The $Pred_{Ev}$ analysis presented above accounts for one additional puzzling phenomenon about the verb *hyh*. In a very small number of examples in the Hebrew Bible, this verb exists in the *Niphal* stem.[43] This stem is used with other lexical verbs to form the passive (see Benton 2009). As a pure stative auxiliary, one would not expect *hyh* to passivise. Benton proposes that the *Niphal* of this form indicates "a Theme transferring into a state of being (existing) out of a state of non-being (non-existence)" (Benton 2009:337). This is very similar to the analysis I have proposed which includes $Pred_{Ev}$. The only difference is that *hyh* would need to receive some feature from Voice before raising to license Tense. The data present an interesting result: nearly every example of the *Niphal* form of *hyh* exists in one of the conditions which have an underlying $Pred_{Ev}$ head, which were discussed above. The occurrences of this form are categorised in the examples below.

Example (197) is the only instance of the *Niphal* of *hyh* combined with the preposition *lamed* to express the ingressive sense.

[43] Special thanks to Vincent DeCaen for an engaging discussion of these constructions.

(197) Deuteronomy 27.9

הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה נִהְיֵיתָ לְעָם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

hayyôm haz-zê nihyêṯā lə-ʿām la-yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā

ART-day ART-this COP.PFV.PASS.2FS to-people to-ART.YHWH god.2MS

This day you have become the people of YHWH your God.

Most of the instances of the *Niphal* of *hyh* have no complement, as in (198):[44]

(198) Judges 20.3

אֵיכָה נִהְיְתָה הָרָעָה הַזֹּאת

ʾêḵâ nihyəṯâ hā-rāʿâ haz-zōʾṯ

how COP.PFV.PASS.3FS ART-evil ART-these

How did these evil things happen?

Two examples are directionals, as in (199):[45]

(199) 2 Chronicles 11.4

כִּי מֵאִתִּי נִהְיָה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה

kî mēʾittî nihyâ had-dāḇār haz-zê

for from.with.1S COP.PFV.PASS.3MS ART-thing ART-this

For this thing has come from me.

One example functions as the subject phrase of a verbless clause with the added meaning of fulfilled potential as in (200).

(200) Proverbs 13.19

תַּאֲוָה נִהְיָה תֵּעֲרַב לְנָפֶשׁ

taʾăwâ nihyâ teʿĕraḇ lĕ-nāp̄eš

desire COP.PFV.PASS.3MS be.sweet.IPFV.3FS to-soul

Desire fulfilled is sweet to the soul

From these examples it is not clear what feature could be inherited from Voice which would lead to the phonological spell-out of a *Niphal* for *hyh*. One possible explanation is that a speaker intuitively recognised the underlying +telic eventive argument and treated it similarly to other verbs which receive passive morphology. One future avenue that can be pursued for these

[44] Ex. 11.6; Dt. 4.32; Judg. 19.30, 20.12; 1 Kings 1.27; Jer. 5.30, 48.19; Ezek. 21.7, 39.8; Joel 2.2; Prov. 13.19; Dan. 12.1; Neh. 6.8; Dan. 8.27.

[45] Also 1 Kings 12.24; Dan. 2.1.

constructions is a study of how Voice interacts with auxiliaries cross-linguistically. These examples pose no threat to the accuracy of the present hypothesis, but need further analysis.

This concludes our treatment of the thematic domain of *hyh* sentences. The next section will illustrate the conditions which license *hyh* in the inflectional domain.

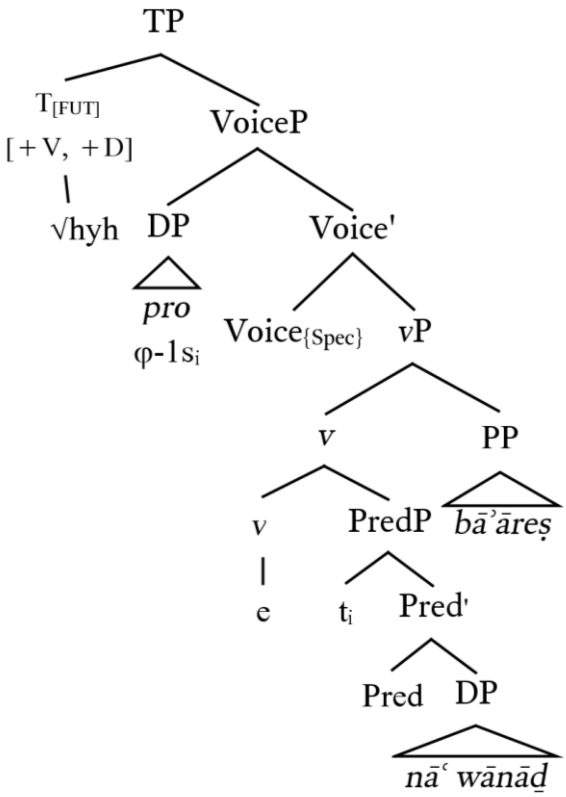
4.3.3 Inflectional Domain of *hyh* Sentences

In the overview of previous treatments of these sentences in section 2.3, I mentioned that the prevailing view is that *hyh* is used to license TAM features. The data demonstrate that there are clear examples of Tense motivating the presence of *hyh*. Examples of future tense as in (201) repeated from example (143) above, are frequent.

(201) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיִיתִי נָע וָנָד בָּאָרֶץ
wəhāyîṯî *nāʿ* *wā* - *nāḏ* *bā* - *ʾāreṣ*
CONJ.COP.WQTL.1S stranger.PTCP CONJ -foreigner.PTCP in.ART -land
But I will be a stranger and a foreigner in the land.

The work of Baker (2003) and Benmamoun (2008) which I reviewed in section 3.3.2 has already explained why a verb is obligatory in future tense. There is a +V feature on T for future tense which explains the presence of the verb. Doron (2005) has also demonstrated that V moves to T in BH. Combined with the results we found in the thematic domain, we can improve upon the analysis of Baker and Benmamoun in our analysis of BH. Without Pred_{Ev}, the root *hyh* has no reason to exist in the thematic domain. The root *hyh* must be inserted directly at T. This is represented in (202).

(202)



In (202) *v* is empty and *hyh* is inserted at T because of the +V feature. The subject (*pro*) moves to Spec-VoiceP to value the specifier feature on Voice. Following Naudé (2001) *hyh* acts like a null subject verb, not allowing the subject position to be filled by an independent pronoun since the +D-features are weak. Subject agreement on *hyh* happens through Spec-head agreement in covert syntax. [46]

Our list of rules for *hyh* spell-out can be expanded now to (203):

(203) HYH spell-out rules
a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ __ [$Pred_{Ev}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [T_{fut}] __

[46] Benmamoun (2000, 2008) and Fakih (2016) have developed a theory that the prefix and suffix inflections in Semitic languages such as Arabic and Hebrew are due to historic pronouns which developed into clitics over time. In this example, the theory would hypothesise that the 1st singular pronoun *ʾănī* remains below the moved verb and cliticises on the verb *hyh*. How agreement works in these constructions remains a subject for further research.

What is more difficult to explain, however, are the examples which are in the suffixed (perfective) or preterite conjugations with clear past temporal reference. If, as I claimed in section 4.2.2, past tense is not specified for +V features, why are there many examples of this verb in past tense contexts?

In her research on auxiliaries, Bjorkman demonstrates that auxiliaries occur as a repair to structures in which inflection is not realisable on the main verb (Bjorkman 2011:33).[47] Though most of her work explains how auxiliaries are inserted in verbal sentences, her approach is useful for explaining the distribution of *hyh* in certain contexts. Auxiliaries function as a "last resort" strategy to realise features which need a host to be specified. The BE-verb in many languages is selected as an auxiliary because of its semantic vacuity — it is inserted into the derivation wherever a functional head needs licensing. According to Bjorkman, functional heads such as Voice, Asp, and Mod also permit auxiliaries in order to value stranded inflectional features (Bjorkman 2011:37ff). I am suggesting that the inflectional features on Asp and Mod account for the overt manifestation of *hyh* in many contexts.[48] The examples in (204) and (205), repeated from (141) and (142), respectively, demonstrate the past perfect construction which is confirmed by the temporal deictics.

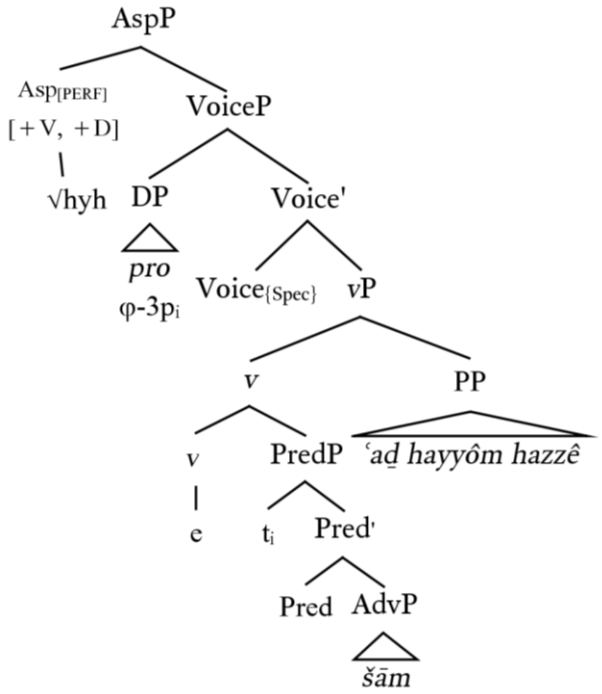
(204) Genesis 46.34
אַנְשֵׁי מִקְנֶה הָיוּ עֲבָדֶיךָ מִנְּעוּרֵינוּ וְעַד־עַתָּה
ʾanšê miqnê hāyû ʿăḇāḏêḵā min - nəʿûrênû wəʿaḏ ʿattâ
men.GEN livestock COP.PFV.3P servants.2MS from- youth.1P CONJ.until now
Your servants have been men of livestock from our youth until now.

(205) Joshua 4.9[49]
וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
wayyihyû šām ʿaḏ hay -yôm haz -zê
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP there until ART - day ART - this
They have been there until this day.

[47] Special thanks to Neil Myler for directing me to Bjorkman's research.

[48] This use of *hyh*, though from a different theoretical framework, has previously been suggested in the work of Zevit (1998:15) and Osborne (2012).

[49] See Ritz (2012) for a review of the complex relationship of the perfect with tense/aspect systems cross-linguistically.

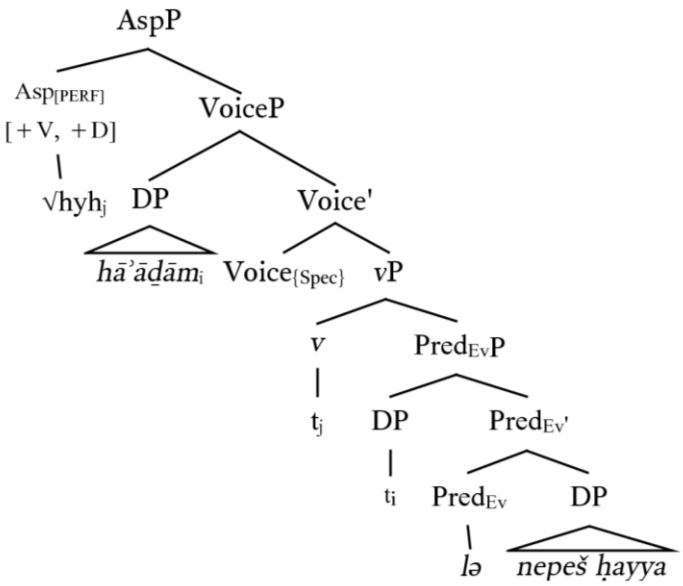


The raising of *hyh* in example (206), which uses an underlying $Pred_{Ev,}$ can be explained by an Asp head which also licenses perfective viewpoint aspect.

(206) Genesis 2.7
וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה
wayhî hā - ʾāḏām lə - nep̄eš ḥayyâ
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS ART - man to - creature alive
The man became a living creature

The syntactic representation is represented in (207).

(207)



One test which would confirm the hypothesis that *hyh* in past referring contexts exists to value aspectual features rather than tense is to see if there are any forms of the verb in past referring contexts which are unambiguously licensing aspect instead of tense. Such examples exist, such as shown in (208) and (209).

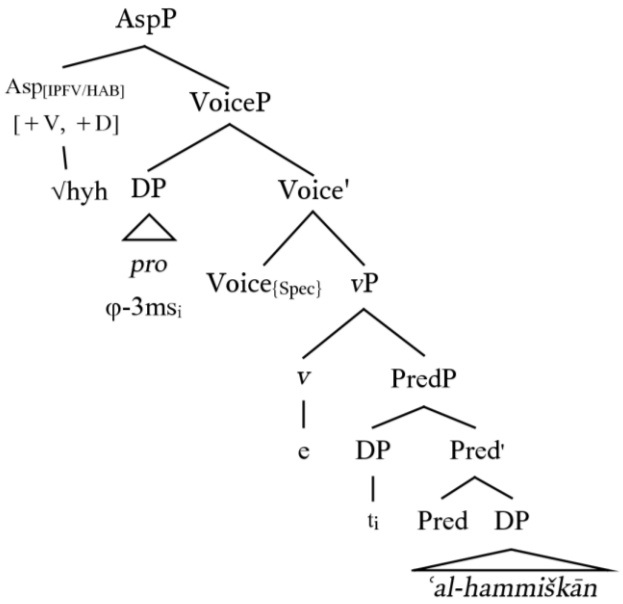
(208) Exodus 40.38
כִּי֩ עֲנַ֨ן יְהוָ֜ה עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּ֗ן יוֹמָם֙ וְאֵ֣שׁ תִּהְיֶ֤ה לַ֙יְלָה֙ בּ֔וֹ
kî ʿănan yhwh ʿal ham- miškān yômām wə -ʾēš tihyê
for cloud.GEN YHWH over ART - tabernacle days CONJ-fire COP.IPFV.3FS
laylâ bô
night in.3MS
For the cloud of YHWH was over the tabernacle by day and fire would be in it by night.

(209) Numbers 9.15
וּבְעֶ֣רֶב יִהְיֶ֗ה עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּן֙ כְּמַרְאֵה־אֵ֔שׁ עַד־בֹּֽקֶר
û - bāʿereḇ yîhyê ʿal ham - miškān kə - marʾê ʾēš
CONJ- in.ART.morning COP.IPFV.3MS over ART - tabernacle like-appearance.GEN fire
ʿaḏ - bōqer
until - morning

In the evening, it would be over the tabernacle like the appearance of fire until morning.

In these examples, the prefixed form of *hyh* is used in contexts with past temporal reference. This is contrary to the expected suffixed conjugation. There is, however, a habitual imperfective aspectual nuance in these examples. These examples demonstrate that it is not tense which motivates the presence of *hyh* in past tense contexts, but aspect. The core predication which is underlined in (209) is represented in (210).[50]

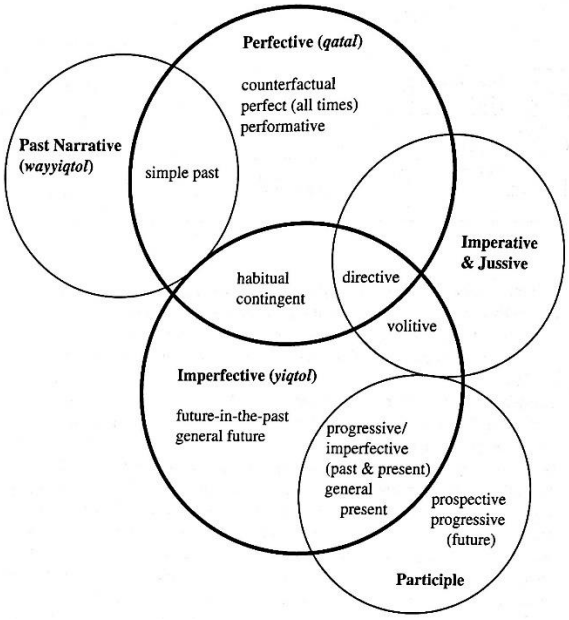
(210)



Cook (2012) notes that the TAM system in BH "competes" for limited inflectional possibilities. The prefixed conjugation is used in these examples to spell-out the imperfective aspect. Cook represents the competition between inflectional forms with the diagram in (211).

[50] Since we have not yet analysed the BH left-periphery, the topical frame is not represented in the following phrase structure. Also for the sake of expositional simplicity, the other adjuncts are left off the tree. The core predication is underlined.

(211)



(Cook 2012:270).

This is consistent with the Late Insertion hypothesis of DM in which the syntactic and semantic features of a terminal node are scanned in PF and then the vocabulary item which best fits the features of that node is selected. Though the prefix and *wəqatal* forms of *hyh* are often used for future tense, they are also best suited for the (more limited) contexts where an imperfective meaning is conveyed.

The perfect use of *hyh* helps explain the use of this verb in Genesis 1.2. Consider Genesis 1.1-3 in (212).

(212) Genesis 1.1-3
בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֵת הָאָרֶץ׃
וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְחֹשֶׁךְ עַל־פְּנֵי תְהוֹם וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם׃
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר
bərēʾšîṯ bārāʾ ʾĕlōhîm ʾēṯ haššāmayim wəʾēṯ hāʾāreṣ:
[2] wəhāʾāreṣ hāyəṯâ ṯōhû wāḇōhû wəḥōšeḵ ʿal pənê ṯəhôm
wərûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm məraḥepeṯ ʿal-pənê hammāyim:
[3]wayyōʾmer ʾĕlōhîm yəhî ʾôr wayhî ʾôr

Holmstedt (2014) has proposed the following translation, "In the beginning period that God created the heavens and earth (the earth was formless and void, and darkness was over the surface of the deep, and the wind of God was hovering over the surface of the waters), God said, "Let light be!" And light was" (Holmstedt 2014:147). This translation hinges on his interpretation of the initial word setting up an unmarked (asyndetic) relative clause within which the verb *bārāʾ* occurs. A central question he sets out to answer is the following: If the main verb is not *bārāʾ,* is it *hāytâ* in verse 2 or *wayyōʾmer* in verse 3? It is clear from his translation that he has decided *wayyōʾmer* is more likely and the sentence in verse 2 is parenthetical (Holmstedt 2014:143ff).

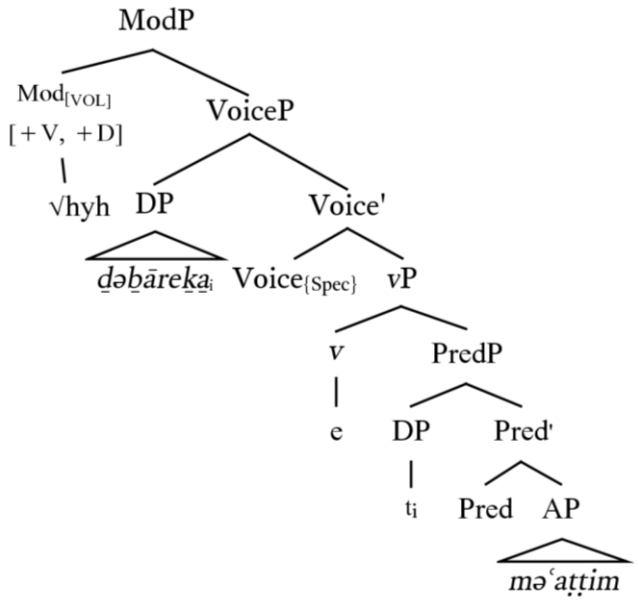
My analysis supports Holmstedt's perspective that verse 2 is, in fact, parenthetical. This verse does not need *hyh* in order to disambiguate the temporal reference of the clause and thus should be understood as past perfect. This would render the translation as, "In the beginning period that God created the heavens and the earth (Now the earth had been formless and void, and darkness had been over the surface of the deep,[51] and the wind of God had been hovering over the surface of the waters), God said, "Let light be!" And there was light."

One final example involves a Mood head (Mod) which accounts for the jussive and imperative forms listed earlier.[52] *hyh* is inserted directly at Mod which probes the subject in Spec, VoiceP for its agreement features as demonstrated in (213).

(213) Qohelet 5.1
וְאַתָּה עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־כֵּן יִהְיוּ דְבָרֶיךָ מְעַטִּים
wəʾattâ ʿal hā-ʾāreṣ ʿal kēn yîhyû ḏəḇārêḵā məʿaṭṭîm
CONJ-2MS on ART-earth upon thus COP.JUSS.3MP words.2MS few
You are on the earth, therefore let your words be few.

[51] The verbless clauses which follow the clause with *hyh* repeat the past perfective reference as they do with past and present temporal reference elsewhere (Zewi 1999a:203).

[52] This thesis only examines the volitive mood which has designated inflectional morphology as reviewed in (132)-(138). As one anonymous examiner has pointed out, the study of mood in BH has become more robust in recent years. An analysis of how these constructions interact with deontic and epistemic modality is a subject for further research.



We can expand our spell out rules to add aspect and mood:[53]

(214) HYH spell-out rules
a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ __ [$Pred_{Ev}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [T_{fut}] __
c. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{IPFV}]__
d. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{PFV}]__
e. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Mod_{VOL}]__

The final domain which completes our analysis of *hyh* sentences is the Left-Periphery, a topic which I take up in the following section.

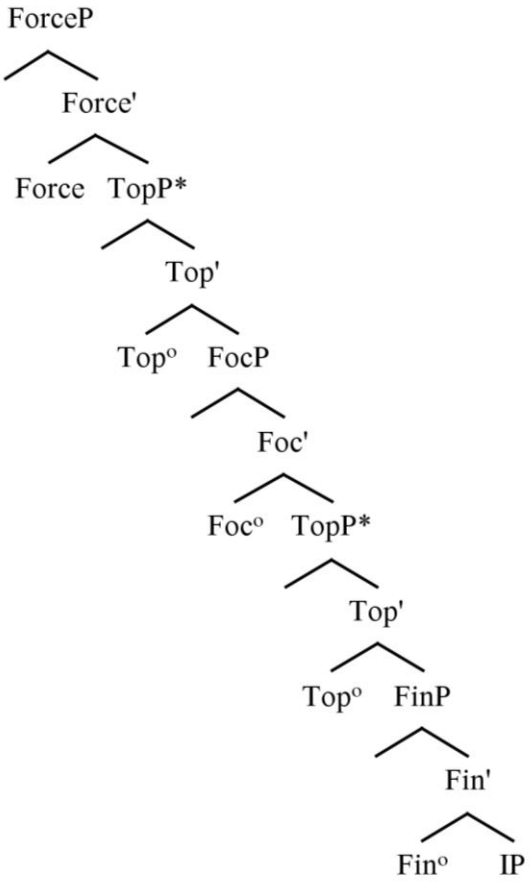
4.3.4 Left Periphery of *hyh* Sentences

The left periphery of BH has been demonstrated to be very rich (Naudé 1990, 2001; DeCaen 1995; Holmstedt 2002, 2009, 2011, 2014; Cowper and DeCaen 2017). The left periphery is traditionally the layer of syntax which accounts for clause-type (called ForceP),

[53] One anonymous reviewer pointed out several examples where the wider context or the clause itself had sufficient information to provide TAM, so a verbless clause was used. The suggestion was that perhaps TAM licensing on *hyh* is obligatory primarily for disambiguation. This is certainly the case for *hyh* in past temporal contexts and may also be for the aspectual examples. This is consistent with the present application of Bjorkman's (2011) *last resort* hypothesis on the role of auxiliaries and further supports the present analysis.

information structural nodes (TopicP and FocusP), and a Finiteness node (FinP). The Left Periphery is usually called CP (complementiser phrase) and is split (minimally) into the structure developed by Rizzi (1997) in (215):

(215) The Left-Periphery (CP)



(Rizzi 1997:297).

ForceP presents the type of clause (declarative, interrogative, comparative, etc.), TopP can attract an *aboutness* topic or framing topics; FocP can attract a new item set against a presupposition or a contrastive item; FinP reflects whether the clause is finite or non-finite. What (215) demonstrates is that there may be multiple topics, but only one Focus (Rizzi 1997).

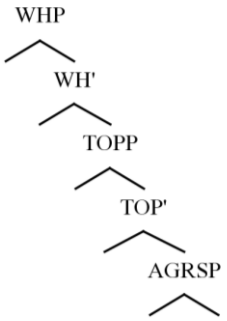
The left-periphery accounts for the greatest diversity in word order for BH sentences and thus has received the greatest treatment by hebraists out of all the domains of syntax. Naudé (1990, 2001) pioneered an analysis of the BH left-periphery from a generative perspective in his analysis of dislocated constituents such as (216).

(216) Psalm 89.13
צָפוֹן וְיָמִין אַתָּה בְרָאתָם
ṣāp̄ôn wə -yāmîn ʾattâ ḫ̲ərāʾṯ̲ām
north CONJ-south 2MS create.PFV.2MS.3MP
The north and south- you created them.

Naudé claims that dislocated constituents like those underlined in (216) are base-generated in a CP-adjunction position. In contrast to constituents that undergo *fronting* from a lower position in the syntax, dislocated constituents leave no gaps, but have a resumptive element lower in the clause (Naudé 1990:126). Naudé also demonstrates that the movement analysis does not work since the dislocated constituent can be assigned a different case from its co-indexed resumptive element (Naudé 1990:126). Naudé makes an important claim that CP-adjuncts can be full CPs that are recursive and allow stacking of multiple constituents (Naudé 1990:127). He demonstrates that independent personal pronouns can serve both as the dislocated or resumptive element in a left-dislocation construction.

Naudé (2001) provides a thorough treatment of pronouns in QH demonstrating that there are both null-subject (NS) and non-null-subject (NNS) verb forms in QH. NS verb forms restrict the distribution of independent personal pronouns while NNS verb forms do not have this restriction (Naudé 2001:97). This unique distribution is associated with the strength of certain features on functional heads and the movement of subjects to a TOPP in the left-periphery. He presents the cartography of the left-periphery as (217).

(217)



(Naudé 2001:106).

For NS verbs, the empty pronominal subject *pro* can undergo checking in covert syntax because of weak N-features on AGRS (Subject Agreement head), leaving it empty in overt syntax. The V-features for these verbs are strong and share the φ-features of *pro* via Spec-head agreement. The V-features on NNS verbs, on the other hand, are weak and the φ-features are not shared with *pro* so these unlicensed φ-features result in an independent personal pronoun in overt syntax (Naudé 2001:108). The canonical position of the subject is in Spec-VP where it is base-generated. The subject stays in this position unless it used as a topic in which case it raises to Spec-TopP. Even when V raises to check the strong V-features on AGRS, the verb remains lower than a topicalised subject. These facts account for the restriction against independent personal pronouns being utilised as postverbal subjects with NS verb forms in QH, but only as preverbal topics.

These facts explain the curious situation in age-referring expressions such as (218) and (219).

(218) 2 Kings 8.17[54]
בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה הָיָה בְמָלְכוֹ
ben šəlōšîm û - štayim šānâ hāyâ bə - molk̲ô
son.GEN thirty CONJ -two year COP.PFV.3MS when- reign.INF.3MS
He was 32 years old when he became king.

(219) 2 Samuel 5.4[55]
בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ
ben šəlōšîm šānâ dāwīḏ bə - molk̲ô
son.GEN thirty year David when- reign.INF.3MS
David (was) 30 years old when he became king.

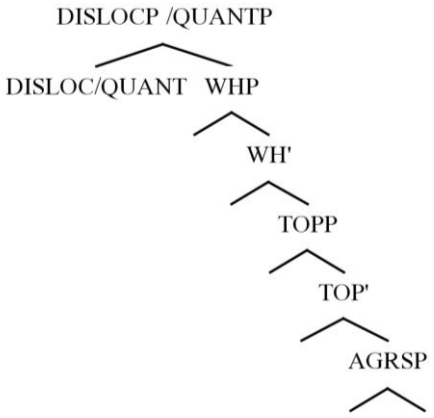
This is another case of environments where nominal subjects behave differently from pronominal subjects. Both examples feature predicate movement to the left-periphery for topicalisation, leaving the subject in its base-generated position. The nominal subject in (219)

[54] Also 2 Kings 14.2, 15.2, 15.33, 18.2; 2 Samuel 4.4.
[55] Also 2 Kings 12.1, 16.2, 21.1, 21.19, 22.1.

exists as part of a verbless clause while the pronominal subject in (218) remains null and the copula is expressed overtly.

Naudé adds one additional node higher than WHP in the left-periphery: DISLOCP. This is the site of a left-dislocated constituent which is not moved from a lower position but base generated, as he also stated in Naudé (1994). He also identifies a QUANTP to account for compound subject which serve as quantification phrases (Naudé 2001:107). This is represented in (220).

(220)

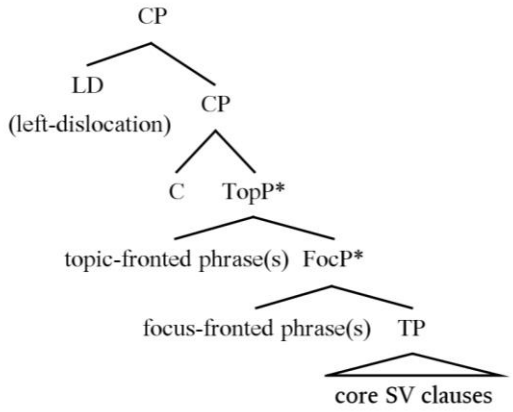


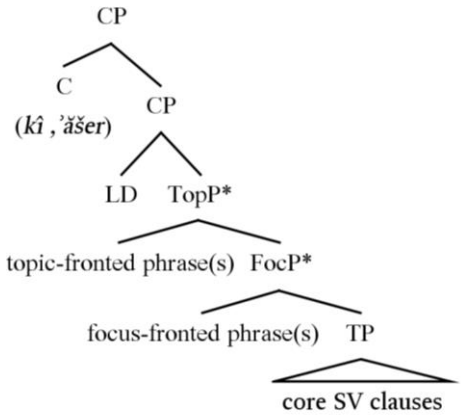
(Adapted from Naudé 2001:107).

Holmstedt (2014) also adds to the treatments of the BH left-periphery in his analysis of multiple "edge" constituents. He analyses four edge constituents in BH: fronting, left-dislocation (=*casus pendens*),[56] extraposition, and right-dislocation. Holmstedt, in agreement with Naudé, explains that the rich left-periphery is due to CP-adjunction. This left-periphery is also consistent in BH embedded constructions as represented in (221):

[56] For a critique of the label *casus pendens* and its applicability to BH, see Naudé 1990:115.

(221) Main clause Left-dislocation Subordinate clause left-dislocation





(Holmstedt 2014:124)

Holmstedt demonstrates that BH takes advantage of the recursive nature of CP by allowing many layers of stacking. He also provides an innovative analysis of what he calls extreme topic fronting, which can allow an additional topic above the embedding items *kî* and *ʾăšer* in (221) (Holmstedt 2014:149).

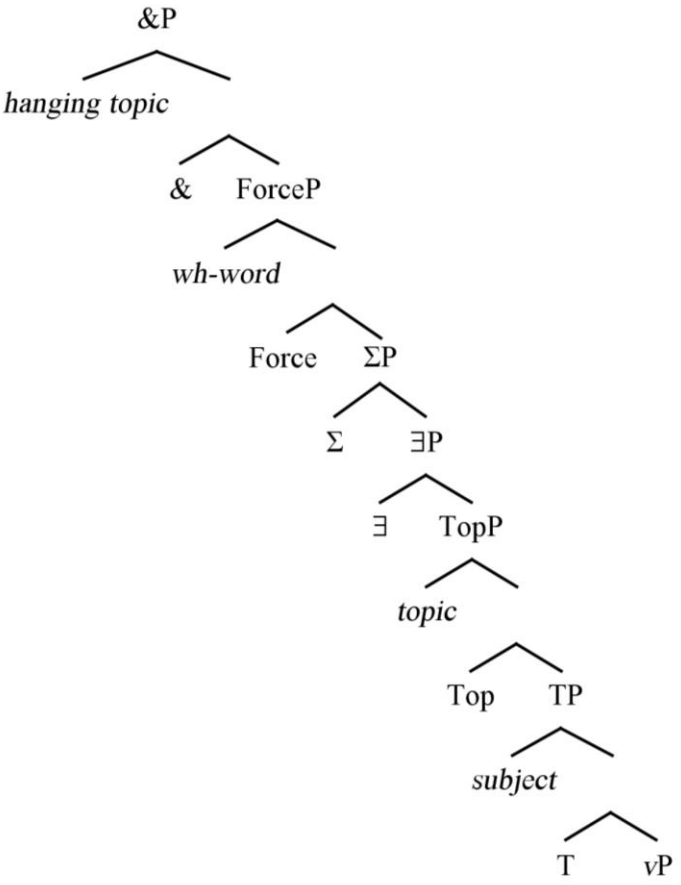
Cowper and DeCaen (2017) provide a different analysis of the BH left-periphery. One of the most fundamental differences between their approach and that of Naudé and Holmstedt is their denial of the recursivity of heads in CP as well as their insistence that there can only be one TopP (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:1). They also have more subtle differences with Holmstedt in the analysis of forms such as the complex form which combines interrogative *hă* with the negator *lôʾ* in sentences such as (222).

(222) Ezekiel 18.25
הֲלֹ֣א דַרְכֵיכֶ֔ם לֹ֥א יִתָּכֵ֖נוּ
hă-lōʾ ḏarḵêḵem lōʾ yîttāḵēnû
Q - NEG ways.2MP NEG be.just.IPFV.3MS
Is it not your ways that are unjust?

Cowper and DeCaen argue for high-negation which exists in the CP layer (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:17-18), while Holmstedt says that the negative particle has attached to the interrogative

hă and raised to CP with it (Holmstedt 2014:131 n43). Since Cowper and DeCaen do not believe in the recursivity of heads, they propose a number of individually labeled projections to account for the phenomena which occur in the left-periphery of BH sentences. They propose a polarity phrase (ΣP) between Force and Topic, an existential phrase (∃P) directly below ΣP, and a conjunction phrase (&P) above ForceP whose specifier is the site for Hanging Topics (e.g. Left Dislocation). Their cartographic representation of the left-periphery is reproduced in (223).

(223)

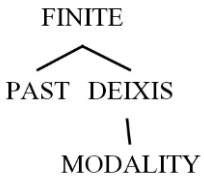


(Cowper and DeCaen 2017:2).

A thorough review of the full cartography of the BH left-periphery is not necessary for our analysis of *hyh* sentences. Since they propose an existential head ∃P as the site for the existential particles *yēš* and *ʾên* and make an argument about the verb *hyh* I will need to address these points. I will take up the claims they make about *hyh* in this section and defer the discussion of ∃P for section 5 in which I describe BH existentials.

In an excurses on *hyh,* Cowper and DeCaen use the same assumptions from DM as those used in this dissertation; namely, that vocabulary items which spell out the features on terminal heads may be underspecified and lead to polysemy. The features which they highlight have the dependency relations in (224).

(224)



(Cowper and DeCaen 2017:7).

To quote their own explanation:

> FINITE has purely syntactic content, licensing structural nominative case and agreement. DEIXIS anchors the clause to the deictic centre of the utterance (usually utterance time). MODALITY operates on DEIXIS, and encodes necessity or possibility (*must, shall, will/would, can/could, may/might*). PAST signals back shifting or temporal precedence relative to the deictic centre; in the absence of this feature, the interpretation is NONPAST (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:7).

The vocabulary items of *hyh* are inserted in the order listed in (225) according to the paradigm in (226), which is adapted from DeCaen (1999:124).

(225) *hāyâ* ↔ PAST
yihyeh ↔ MODALITY
yəhî ↔ DEIXIS

(226) Paradigm of auxiliary *hyh*

[PAST]	[MODALITY]	[DEIXIS]		
			ø	*is*
	+	+	*yihyeh*	*will be*
		+	*yéhî/yəhî*	*be*
+			*hāyâ*	*was*
+	+	+		*would be*
+		+		*were*

(Cowper and DeCaen 2017:8).

This analysis is consistent with the analysis presented for the inflectional domain in section 4.3.3, except that in my analysis, I use the feature +future rather than non-past. As I demonstrated in section 4.2.2, past temporal reference in BH can be accomplished with a verbless clause. The vocabulary item *hāyâ,* then, is inserted for perfective aspect or for disambiguation. My analyses of *hyh* in the inflectional domain (which does not also include its role below TP) distinguishes itself from Cowper and DeCaen's in (227).

(227) *hāyâ* ↔ +PAST,+PERFECTIVE APSECT
yihyeh ↔ +FUTURE, +IMPERFECTIVE/HABITUAL ASPECT
yəhî ↔ +VOLITIVE

One would think an account of the left-periphery in BH must adopt either the non-recursive analysis of Cowper and DeCaen (2017) or the CP-adjunction analysis of Naudé and Holmstedt in order to account for the richness of the CP domain. However, given the systems of each viewpoint as articulated, it seems as though the two views (at least on a few points) can accommodate one another. Cowper and DeCaen say determinatively that recursion of individual functional projections is not possible, even TopPs (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:1).

Holmstedt, though stating that CP is recursive, adopts multiple functional heads within the CP layer. He mentions that multiple sub-types of focus are possible (e.g. identificational focus, exhaustiveness focus, contrastive focus, interrogative focus, etc.) (Holmstedt 2014:114 n5). A point of agreement could be reached between these analyses if it were acknowledged that Holmstedt is not claiming that a single functional projection is being extended via adjunction, but that a CP-layer is, which includes multiple sub-types of functional projections. Cowper and DeCaen could come closer to Holmstedt by analysing the left-periphery as a domain unto itself which can be extended via CP adjunction (of the layer). In fact, research on sentential particles like Cowper and DeCaen identify for BH has shown some clause-typing constraints. Munaro and Poletto (2003:135ff) demonstrate that sentential particles in dialects of Veneto are exclusively confined to interrogative, exclamative, or imperative clause-types and never in declaratives (much like what Cowper and DeCaen claim for BH). This indicates that there are sub-layers in CP that are only activated in certain clause types. There is both a uniform CP-layer which extends to accommodate different functional projections (i.e. multiple types of Topic and Focus) yet also differentiates them and dictates ordering and activation constraints. This in-between position, which allows for an expanding CP layer as well as a variety of functional projections within it, is what I adopt for the left-periphery in *hyh* sentences.

Examples are abundant for copular sentences, both verbless and those with *hyh*, being moved to fill topic or focus position. Buth (1999) evaluates the pragmatic marking of verbless clauses demonstrating that they move to fill these positions. Since verbless clauses theoretically only require two (overt) adjacent constituents (subject and complement), movement is underspecified in many cases. Buth provides the example in (228) to show the subject serving as topic in the left-periphery.[57]

[57] Buth never uses the term *left-periphery* to describe the landing site for topic or focus. In fact, he avoids using most of the normative labels for generative syntactic analysis. Even though he classifies his approach as generative-functional, the theoretical language is kept to a minimum. Even without terminological coherence,

(228) Qohelet 1.4
A generation goes and a generation comes...
וְהָאָרֶץ לְעוֹלָם עֹמֶדֶת
wə -hā - ʾāreṣ lə- ʿôlām ʿōmāḏeṯ
CONJ -ART- earth to-eternity remain.PTCP
but the earth remains forever (Buth 1999:82).

The default position of the subject for BH verbless clauses is the initial position.[58] Contextually, the subject in (228) seems like a candidate for a Topic which is reorienting the reader/listener to a new referent. Moving this subject to the Topic position in the left-periphery ends up making no structural difference after phonological spell-out. Another example is provided in (229).

(229) 1 Samuel 17.33

Saul said to David, "You are not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him...
כִּי־נַעַר אַתָּה וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְּעֻרָיו
kî naʿar ʾattâ wə - hûʾ ʾîš milḥāmâ min - nəʿurāyw
for youth 2MS CONJ- 3MS man.GEN war from- youth.3MS
for you are a youth, but (he) is a warrior since his youth."

This time there are two verbless clauses: the first with P-S order and the second with S-P. In the first clause, the predicate constituent has been fronted to Focus position. In the second clause the subject has been moved to Topic position to contrast it with the subject of the previous sentence. Example (230) demonstrates movement to FocP in one of the contexts where *hyh* is obligatory.

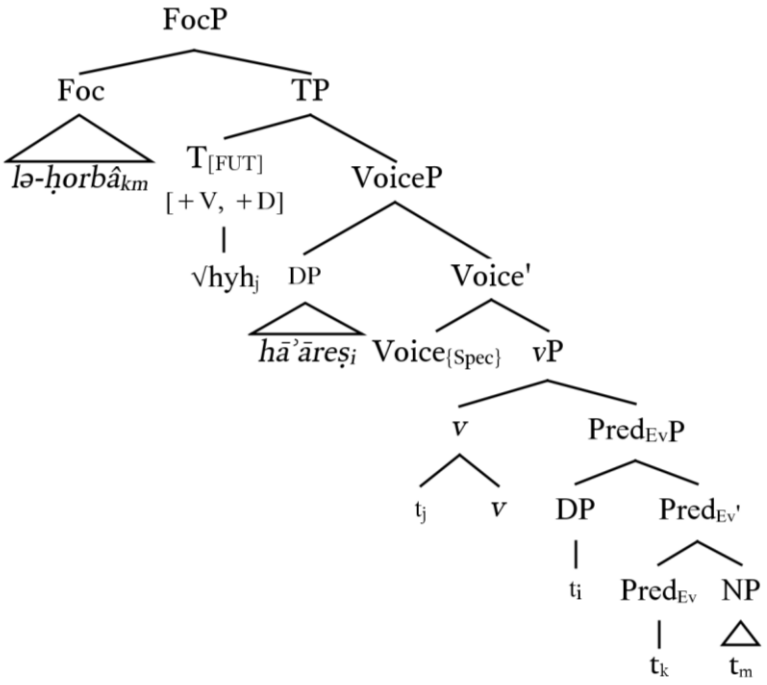
(230) Jeremiah 7.34
לְחָרְבָּה תִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ
lə - ḥorbâ tihyê hā -ʾāreṣ
to - waste COP.IPFV.3FS ART - land
[FOCA waste,] [TP the land will become ____a waste]

however, Buth's analysis is largely consistent with the feature-driven movement principles of generative grammar.

[58] There has been considerable debate about the default word order in finite verbal sentences in BH (for a representative sample *see* Moshavi 2010; Holmstedt 2009, 2011). The default S-P word order for verbless clauses, however, is a consensus view.

This example is interesting because overt $Pred_{Ev}$ (the preposition *lamed*) is pied-piped to Spec, FocP along with the focused constituent. The subject remains in Spec, $Pred_{Ev}$ when the verb raises to T as represented in (231).

(231)



Left-dislocation in addition to topicalisation is possible in verbless clauses (232). Contrastive focus and topicalization can also co-occur in *hyh* clauses (233).

(232) 2 Samuel 21.2
וְהַגִּבְעֹנִ֔ים לֹ֥א מִבְּנֵ֖י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל הֵֽמָּה
wə - hag - giḇʿōnîm lōʾ mib-bənê yiśrāʾēl hēmmâ
CONJ - ART - Gibeonites NEG from-sons.GEN Israel 3MP
[LD Now the Gibeonites,] [TOP not from the Israelites][TP they (were)____not from the Israelites]

(233) Genesis 39.22
וְאֵת֙ כָּל־אֲשֶׁ֣ר עֹשִׂ֔ים שָׁ֖ם הֽוּא הָיָ֥ה עֹשֶֽׂה
wəʾēṯ kol ʾăšer ʿōśîm šām hûʾ hāyâ ʿōśê
CONJ.OBJ all that do.PTCP there 3MS COP.PFV.3MS do.PTCP
[TOP Everything that was done there], [FOC he][TP had been the one who did it___was him]]]

There is one additional construction which features *hyh* in the left-periphery. Example (234) demonstrates that this verb can occur even higher than an LD constituent.

(234) Numbers 16.7
וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה הוּא הַקָּדוֹשׁ
wəhāyâ hā-ʾîš ʾăšer yiḇḥar yhwh hûʾ haq-qāḏôš
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS ART-man who choose.IPFV.3MS YHWH 3MS ART-holy
[??It will be], [LD the one whom YHWH chooses], [TP he (is) the holy one]]]

A full explanation of this construction will be provided in 4.3.5.

4.3.5 Event Dislocation

The label *event dislocation* is the new label I am proposing for these constructions because, as I will demonstrate, they fit the criteria of dislocations and what is in view is not a single participant, but the entire event. *Hyh* in clauses like (235) has been called a "macro-syntactic sign," or "discourse marker."[59]

(235) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיָה כָּל־מֹצְאִי יַהַרְגֵנִי
wəhāyâ ḵol mōṣʾî yaharḡēnî
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS all find.PTCP.MS.1S slay.IPFV.3MS.1S
It will happen, all who find me will slay me!

The role of this construction according to previous studies is to update the reference time of the sentence and/or mark discourse boundaries.[60] In this section I will begin with a syntactic description of these sentences and then provide an explanation for their semantic function at the sentence and discourse level.

[59] For previous treatments of this construction see Vanoni 1982; van Hecke 2008, 2013; Harmelink 2011; Isaakson 1995; Ber 2006; van der Merwe 1999; Longacre 2014.

[60] For a thorough review of previous theories see Longacre 2014.

The example in (234) demonstrates that the verb *hyh* is in the left-periphery. This is further confirmed by the data which demonstrate that this construction must always occur clause-initially. What is needed for a syntactic description of these constructions is a determination of whether the clause-initial verb has moved to its position from a lower node or if it is an example of dislocation which is base-generated in its position. Naudé (1990, 2001) provides a model for discerning if constituents in BH have undergone movement or are genuine cases of dislocation. First, when a constituent is fronted to the left-periphery from a lower position, there is a gap at the extraction site, whereas dislocated constituents have no such gap. Second, the linked clause contains an expression that is semantically associated with the dislocated constituent (Naudé 1990:125; 2001).

Example (235) has no discernible gap from which it could have been extracted. The semantic expression which is associated with the linked constituent is the main verb. In fact, the clause-initial *hyh* is notorious for possessing no φ-agreement with any constituents in the matrix clause as (236) - (238) demonstrate.

(236) Genesis 39.7
וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַתִּשָּׂא אֵשֶׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף
wayhî ʾaḥar had- dəḇārîm hā - ʾēllê wattiśśāʾ ʾ ēšeṯ
CONJ.COP.PRET after ART -things ART- these CONJ.lifted.3FS.PRET wife.GEN
ʾăḏōnāyw ʾeṯ ʿênêhā ʾel yôsēp̄
master.3MS OBJ eyes.3FS to Joseph
[It happened,] [after these things, the wife of his master lifted her eyes to Joseph.]

(237) Judges 2.19
וְהָיָה בְּמוֹת הַשּׁוֹפֵט יָשֻׁבוּ וְהִשְׁחִיתוּ מֵאֲבוֹתָם
wəhāyâ bə - môṯ haš-šôp̄ēṭ yāšuḇû wə - hišḥîṯû
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS when- die.INF ART -judge turn.IPFV.3MP CONJ-be.corrupt.WQTL.3P
mē - ʾăḇôṯām
from - fathers.3MP
[It would happen] [when the judge would die, they would turn back and be more corrupt than their fathers.]

(238) Deuteronomy 8.19

וְהָיָה אִם־שָׁכֹחַ תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַעֲבַדְתָּם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לָהֶם הַעִדֹתִי בָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבֹד תֹּאבֵדוּן

wəhāyâ ʾim šāḵōaḥ tiškaḥ ʾeṯ yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS if forget.INF.ABS forget.IPFV.2MS OBJ YHWH god.2MS
wə -hālaḵtā ʾaḥărê ʾĕlōhîm ʾăḥērîm wa -ʿăḇaḏtām
CONJ-go.WQTL.2MS after gods other CONJ-serve.3MP
wə - hištaḥăwîṯā lā-hem haʿiḏōṯî ḇā-ḵem hay - yôm
CONJ -worship.WQTL.2MS to-3MP warn.1S in -2MP ART - day
kî ʾāḇōḏ tō ʾḇēḏûn
that perish.INF.ABS perish.IPFV.2MP
[It will happen] [If you forget YHWH your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I warn you today that you will surely perish].

In example (236) the subject is feminine, yet the clause-initial *hyh* has 3ms inflection. Example (237) also presents 3ms inflection on *hyh* yet the subject is plural. In (238) *hyh* once again has 3ms inflection but the two potential subjects which could supply their agreement features are 1st person (I warn you..) and 2nd person (you will surely perish). The one consistent feature of these verbs is that they mirror the TAM inflection of the matrix verb. In (236) past temporal reference is present for the clause-initial *hyh* and the matrix verb *wattišāʾ*. In (237) the habitual imperfective aspect is represented by the prefixed main verb and then mirrored with the *weqatal* form of *hyh*.[61] In (238) future tense is reflected by both verbs. These features demonstrate a link between *hyh* and the matrix verb of the sentence. Since both criteria presented by Naudé have been met in these constructions I believe they are a type of dislocation. Their link to the matrix verb of the sentence leads me to propose the name Event Dislocation (ED) as a relevant label for these constructions.

As a dislocation construction, it is necessary to determine where in the left-periphery it is base generated. Example (239) is repeated in (234) representing that this verb can merge higher even than a left dislocated constituent.

[61] As one anonymous reviewer points out that another interpretation of the *weqatal* form, following Cook (2012), is that it is a habitual (irrealis) perfective. Under this analysis, what is mirrored from the matrix sentence in this construction is not the aspect but the irrealis habitual nuance. This possibility will be considered in future research.

(239) Numbers 16.7
וְהָיָה֙ הָאִ֣ישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַ֔ר יְהוָ֖ה הֽוּא־הַקָּד֑וֹשׁ
wəhāyâ hā -ʾîš ʾăšer yiḇḥar yhwh hûʾ haq- qāḏôš
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS ART- man who choose.IPFV.3MS YHWH 3MS ART - holy
[ED It will be], [LD the one whom YHWH chooses], [TP he is the holy one]]]

Example (240) also demonstrates the impressive distance that can be tolerated between this verb and its linked verb. The linked verbs are the first and last constituents in the entire sentence.

(240) Deuteronomy 8.19
וְהָיָ֗ה אִם־שָׁכֹ֤חַ תִּשְׁכַּח֙ אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהֶ֔יךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ֣ אַחֲרֵ֔י אֱלֹהִ֖ים אֲחֵרִ֑ים וַעֲבַדְתָּ֣ם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִ֣יתָ לָהֶ֔ם הַעִדֹ֥תִי בָכֶ֖ם הַיּ֑וֹם כִּ֥י אָבֹ֖ד תֹּאבֵדֽוּן
wəhāyâ ʾim šāḵōaḥ tiškaḥ ʾeṯ yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS if forget.INF.ABS forget.IPFV.2MS OBJ YHWH god.2MS
wə -hālaḵtā ʾaḥărê ʾĕlōhîm ʾăḥērîm wa -ʿăḇaḏtām
CONJ-go.WQTL.2MS after gods other CONJ-serve.3MP
wə - hištaḥăwîṯā la-hem haʿiḏōṯî ḇā-ḵem hay - yôm
CONJ -worship.WQTL.2MS to-3MP warn.1S in -2MP ART - day
kî ʾāḇōḏ tō ʾḇēḏûn
that perish.INF.ABS perish.IPFV.2MP
[It will happen] [If you forget YHWH your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I warn you today that you will surely perish].

Though not explicitly referring to this construction, Holmstedt has labelled constructions like these extreme topic fronting (Holmstedt 2014:144ff). Cowper and DeCaen make no mention of this construction in their structure of the left-periphery. There are several options for labelling this construction: (1) We could assume an event dislocation head (ED) exists in the highest node possible for BH (since nothing precedes this construction); (2) we could label it another type of hanging topic per Cowper and DeCaen (2017); or (3) we could assume it is a case of CP-adjunction where the same CP node is expanded one node even higher than what has already been proposed. I am proposing option 1 for these constructions: there is a functional projection in the BH left-periphery which base-generates *hyh.* Examples (236)-(239) above demonstrate that these constructions precede Left-Dislocation constructions, Topics, and the

protasis of a conditional sentence in the Left-Periphery. Hanging Topics and protases both occupy [spec, &P] in the analysis of Cowper and DeCaen, so the ED construction must exist in an even higher node ruling out option 2. The semantic uniqueness of these constructions makes it unlikely that the same CP node has expanded one node higher, though the CP layer certainly has. This rules out option 3. I am proposing, then, that there is an event dislocation head ED which exists in the highest node possible in BH.

Consistent with the Late Insertion rule of Distributed Morphology, I propose that this verb is spelled out in PF with the TAM features of the matrix verb it is mirroring in the same way that a Left-Dislocation construction mirrors the φ-features of its corresponding constituent in the matrix sentence. What is necessary now is an explanation of the semantic/pragmatic feature associated with this construction, which I am arguing is the notion of theticity.

The concept of theticity is relatively recent in linguistics. It was introduced in the field of philosophy and divides all human judgments into two categories: the categorical and the thetic. The logical axiom which held since Aristotle — that human judgment corresponds to two parts, i.e. a (logical) subject and a predicate — was called into question in the face of many propositions that did not correspond to this simple duality. For example, the sentence *There is hot coffee in the kitchen* does not seem to correspond to a simple subject-predicate structure. Only one type of judgment corresponds to the Aristotelian subject-predicate dichotomy: the categorical, while another type of judgment simply affirms the presentation of a proposition: the thetic judgment. Recently there has been an increasing number of linguists who acknowledge this distinction and provide syntactic, semantic, typological, and discourse-pragmatic analyses of sentences which convey a thetic judgment.[62] Some linguists have used different labels for these types of sentences calling them “anti-topic” sentences (Jacobs 2001),

[62] Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007; Lambrecht & Polinsky 1997; Shkapa 2012; Lambrecht 2000; Sasse 1987, 1996; Matic 2003; Casielles & Progovac 2010; Lambrecht 1994; Schwarz 2008; Ladusaw 1992; Breul 2004; Rosengren 1997.

or sentences with "sentence focus" (Lambrecht 1994, 2000; Lambrecht and Polinsky 1997) or "stage topics" (Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2007).

Broadly speaking, the thetic/categorical distinction belongs to the notion of communication perspective which is related to, but distinct from, information structure. Sasse defines this as "the general shape a speaker gives the state of affairs which he is about to convey in a sentence" (Sasse 1987:518). The distinction is found in two different types of assertion. A categorical judgment requires two acts: first, the recognition of the subject and second, a confirmation or denial of what the predicate expresses about the subject, otherwise known as the Topic-Comment structure. A thetic judgment only has one assertional act: the act of confirming or denying some type of eventuality. A categorical statement says something about an entity while a thetic statement merely asserts the existence of a state of affairs.[63] The following question-answer heuristic is helpful in distinguishing these two judgments.

(241) Categorical:
Q: What's wrong with the butter?
A: The butter MELTed.
(242) Thetic:
Q: What happened!?
A: The BUTter melted.

The discourse participants in the example (241) are both aware that the topic of this exchange is the butter. The butter is introduced and then commented on. Example (242), however, provides a single assertion to explain a particular state of affairs. The questioner in example (242) may have walked into the kitchen and seen a mess on the counter and asked, "What happened?" The response given explains the entire state of affairs rather than just predicating something upon a predefined topic.

[63] The use of the terms categorical statement/sentence and thetic statement/sentence should be understood to mean a statement or sentence which conveys either a categorical or thetic judgment.

There are several different formal methods cross-linguistically for conveying thetic as opposed to categorical judgments. The most common methods are VS word order (in default SV languages), prosodic inversion, subject incorporation, and/or split structures such as clefts or bi-clausal constructions (Sasse 1987). Many languages, such as English, use more than one method. Prosodic inversion as in (242) moves the prosodic stress to the subject in a thetic sentence whereas a categorical sentence would have it on the predicate as in (241). Another method is VS word order in languages with unmarked SV word order, as in (243).

(243) a. In came a police officer with his gun drawn. (thetic)

b. The police officer drew his gun as he came into the room. (categorical)

The sentence in (243a) is asserting the existence of an event; whereas the sentence in (243b) is predicating an action upon a subject (b).

Thetic constructions are made up of two types: entity thetics and event thetics (Sasse 1987). Examples (242) and (243a) are examples of event thetics. A subtype of event thetics represents states-of-affairs as in the impersonal sentence *It is raining*. Entity thetics are existentials whose categorical corollary is a locative expression. Example (244) illustrates the distinction between an entity thetic and a locative categorical sentence.

(244) a. Existential: There is a mug on the table (thetic)

b. Locative: The mug is on the table (categorical)

As mentioned above, thetic sentences are often syntactically distinct from categorical sentences. The different constructions mentioned above are all different means for accomplishing the same semantic goal: simply asserting the existence of an entity or state of affairs. To achieve this, the syntax of thetic sentences blocks the grammatical subject from being interpreted as the Topic. Early treatments of thetic judgments claimed that they are "topicless" (Sasse 1987) but later research has demonstrated that the topic of these sentences can be understood as the spacio-temporal context they are mapped onto (Rosengren 1997;

Basilico 2003; Ertischik-Shir 2007). The answer to the question "What happened?" selects the spacio-temporal context as the predication base (or stage) upon which the utterance is made.[64] Thetic sentences, then, are defined as sentences which assert an event or entity upon a spacio-temporal context blocking the grammatical subject from serving as the topic of the sentence through marked syntactic or prosodic structuring.

Japanese, Irish, Buli, several Romance languages, and ancient Sumerian have sentences which mark theticity with a split structure, either as a cleft clause or a bi-clausal construction.[65] In each language these constructions are ungramamatical unless combined with a matrix sentence. In a study of copular and focus clauses in ancient Sumerian, Zólyomi finds examples of thetic sentences in which the Sumerian copula attaches to a subordinate clause and functions as a focus marker to mark the entire sentence as thetic. He provides many examples of this form, translating these clauses with the English "It was the case that…." (Zólyomi 2014:152ff.)

The split structure which has been identified as a form for thetic sentences in other languages is similar to the Event Dislocation construction I presented above. As Zólyomi identified for Sumerian, there are two clauses in these constructions: a copular clause and a content clause which is subordinate to it. He says, "The subordination demotes the content clause, suppresses its topic-comment structure and transfers it into a single, pragmatically unstructured unit" (Zólyomi 2014:155).

This BH syntactic structure, I am arguing, is used in order to suppress the Topic-Comment assertion in the matrix clause and make it express a single assertion. The logic works this way: if a BH author wants to make a full verbal clause convey a thetic assertion, he can

[64] This is consistent with the description of the core predication of existentials as described by Francez (2009), which will be covered in section 5.2.

[65] See Deguchi 2012 for Japanese, Shkapa 2012 for Irish and Russian, Rigau 2001 for Romance, Shwartz 2008 for the West-African language of Buli, and Zólyomi 2014 for Sumerian.

use a form of *hyh* to keep the Subject from being interpreted as Topic. Take example (245) for instance.

(245) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיָה כָּל־מֹצְאִי יַהַרְגֵנִי
wəhāyâ *ḵol mōṣʾî* *yaharḡēnî*
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS all find.PTCP.MS.1S slay.IPFV.3MS.1S
It will happen, all who find me will slay me!

Pretend Cain was just asked "Why are you so worried?" His response makes a single assertion. If the question had been, "Cain, who will slay you?" his response would reflect a Topic-Comment structure. If the question was "Cain, what will those do to you who find you?" his response would also resemble a Topic-Comment structure and presumably not include this clause-initial *hyh*.

The ED construction in BH is a strategy for conveying a thetic judgment. The question remains, then, how it mirrors the TAM agreement of the matrix verb. The solution to this question is found in the principle of Late Insertion from DM. The principle of Late Insertion dictates that spell-out takes place from the most deeply embedded node in the syntax. So with ED as the highest constituent in the left periphery, the TAM of the matrix verb conditions which vocabulary item is inserted. Since it is the event which is the primary assertion, the verb *hyh* ignores the φ-features of the subject at spell-out. Vocabulary insertion below the ED spells out as it would in a sentence with no ED. In fact, most sentences with ED have a topicalised adverbial such as (246) and (247) repeated from (236) and (237):

(246) Genesis 39.7
וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַתִּשָּׂא אֵשֶׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף
wayhî *ʾaḥar had- dəḇārîm hā -ʾēllê* *wattiśśāʾ ʾ* *ēšeṯ*
CONJ.COP.PRET after ART -things ART- these CONJ.lifted.3FS.PRET wife.GEN
ʾăḏōnâw *ʾeṯ ʿênêhā* *ʾel yôsēp̄*
master.3MS OBJ eyes.3FS to Joseph

[ED It happened,][after these things, the wife of his master lifted her eyes to Joseph.]

(247) Judges 2.19

וְהָיָה בְּמוֹת הַשּׁוֹפֵט יָשֻׁבוּ וְהִשְׁחִיתוּ מֵאֲבוֹתָם

wəhāyâ bə - mōṯ haš-šōp̄ēṭ yāšuḇû wə - hišḥîṯû
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS when- die.INF ART -judge turn.IPFV.3MP CONJ-be.corrupt.WQTL.3P
mē - ʾăḇôṯām
more - fathers.3MP
[It would happen] [when the judge would die, they would turn back and be more corrupt than their fathers.]

The protasis of a conditional sentence (248) and a causal clause (249) may also occupy this position.

(248) Deuteronomy 8.19

וְהָיָה אִם־שָׁכֹחַ תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְהָלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַעֲבַדְתָּם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לָהֶם הֵעַדְתִּי בָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבֹד תֹּאבֵדוּן

wəhāyâ ʾim šāḵōaḥ tiškaḥ ʾeṯ yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3MS if forget.INF.ABS forget.IPFV.2MS OBJ YHWH god.2MS
wə -hālaḵtā ʾaḥărê ʾĕlōhîm ʾăḥerîm wa - ʿăḇaḏtām
CONJ-go.WQTL.2MS after gods other CONJ-serve.3MP
wə - hištaḥăwîṯā la-hem haʿiḏōṯî ḇā-ḵem hay - yôm
CONJ -worship.WQTL.2MS to-3MP warn.1S in -2MP ART - day
kî ʾāḇōḏ tō ʾḇēḏûn
that perish.INF.ABS perish.IPFV.2MP
[It will happen] [If you forget YHWH your God and go after other gods and serve them and worship them, I warn you today that you will surely perish].[66]

(249) Exodus 1.21

וַיְהִי כִּי־יָרְאוּ הַמְיַלְּדֹת אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים

wayhî kî yārʾû ha -məyalləḏōṯ ʾeṯ hā - ʾĕlōhîm
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS because fear.PFV.3P ART-midwives OBJ ART- god
wayyaʿaś lāhem bātîm
CONJ.give.PRET.3MS to.3MP familes
It happened because the midwives feared God, he gave them families.[67]

[66] Additional examples include Ex. 4:8; Num. 15:24; Dt. 11:13; 20:11; 28:15; Jdg. 4:20; 1 Sam. 3:9; 23:23; 2 Sam. 11:20; 1 Kings 11:38; Jer. 12:16; Am. 6:9.

[67] Additional examples include Dt. 7:12; Jdg. 6:27; Jer. 3:9.

According to the ED analysis, all the constituents following *hyh* in (246)-(249) should be treated as topicalised constituents occupying different functional projections within the CP layer and not as modifiers of the clause-initial *hyh* (as argued by Holmstedt 2014:144).

It is well documented that the so-called BH discourse marker serves a temporal function, updating the reference time for subsequent discourse (van der Merwe 1999). As I mentioned already, most previous work on what I am referring to as an event dislocation construction has labeled it as a sort of discourse marker. This construction has been recognised for its consistent position at the opening and closing of episodes, its role in updating the reference time of a narrative, and its contribution at the discourse level (Ogden 1971; Vanoni 1982; Isaakson 1995; Hatav 1997; Longacre 2003; Floor 2004; Heller 2004; van Hecke 2008, 2013; Harmelink 2011; Ber 2006; van der Merwe 1999; Cook 2012; Longacre 2014). As it turns out, many of the intuitions of previous hebraists are accurate, but only because these are precisely the discourse contexts in which thetic constructions are commonly found.

Sasse introduces five discourse settings in which thetic sentences are commonly found (Sasse 1996). It is important to note that thetic sentences appear in these discourse settings by virtue of the types of assertions they make and not because they are a special discourse or macro-syntactic device. The five discourse settings listed by Sasse correspond to many of the contexts listed by hebraists in which this form is often found. The critical distinction, however, is that though these constructions are frequent in certain discourse or temporal contexts, they are not obligatory. These constructions must be analysed as syntactic devices for differentiating an author's assertion and not as a special "discourse marker."

The annunciative function expresses "statements out of the blue" such as announcements or newspaper headlines. The introductive function expresses first mention

subjects as a text-opening strategy (Sasse 1996:33).[68] The English existential "Once there was…" is a common example. Other English examples of this function utilise unaccusative verbs and an expletive in a locative inversion structure such as: "There came a man from Galilee," or "There arrived three men…" BH existentials also appear in these contexts.

The interruptive function never continues statements about a particular topic in the preceding discourse but instead evokes a "sudden event" effect. Thetic statements serving this function are usually preceded by a series of events which become disrupted by the presence of a new situation marked by the thetic construction (Sasse 1996:34).[69]

The descriptive function usually describes environmental conditions presented as background to the main storyline. This function of thetics often has a scene-setting function. Event dislocations certainly accomplish this function. The interruptive and descriptive functions may occur within a text or paragraph and may occur in chains when constituting several states of affairs of a complex scene description (Sasse 1996:37-38).[70]

Finally, the explanative function of thetics requires a presupposed event which it then identifies and elaborates on. This function requires two parts: the first part which establishes the presupposition and the second which gives the explanation or elaboration. Example (250) gives a German example of this type.

(250) *Da trat ein jäher Wendepunkt in meinem Leben ein: meine SCHWESTER kam zur Welt.*
'Then, there was a drastic change in my life: My SISTER was born'
(Sasse 1996:36)

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68 The books which open with *hyh* (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Nehemiah, Esther, Ezekiel) are clear examples of the introductive function.

69 Sasse identifies the Hebrew particle *hinneh* as a thetic marker which is used in interruptive and annunciative discourse contexts. This particle exists in many of the same contexts as the clause initial *hyh*. This analysis of *hinneh* is compatible with the mirative analysis of Miller-Naudé and van der Merwe 2011. In a recent article, Korchin (2017) refers to what he calls "theticals" in BH following Kaltenböck et. al. (2011) which include vocatives, imperatives, formulas of social exchange (e.g. English *kindly*), interjections, and conceptuals (Korchin 2017). He includes the particle *hinneh* as an example of a BH thetical. It is important to note that though the terms *thetical* and *thetic* are similar, they refer to two different concepts, as noted in Kaltenböck et. al. (2011:882 n6).

70 This explains the rapid back-to-back use of *hyh* in Genesis 38-39 and other similar passages which have puzzled interpreters.

The similarity between the thetic utterances in these five discourse situations is that reference to the subject is not expected and new information about the subject is not expected by the addressee. The speaker acknowledges this by using a thetic expression.

All of the preceding discourse contexts which Sasse mentions have been postulated for the ED construction. So, the clause-initial *hyh* is a construction which disambiguates the perspective structure of a sentence and forces a thetic rather than categorical assertion. This type of assertion is ideal in specific discourse contexts which explains the patterns noted in the previous work of other hebraists.

4.4 PRON

The final construction I will analyse in this section is the so-called tripartite nominal clause, or clauses containing PRON. As reviewed in section 2.2.3, this construction has received extensive treatment in BH as well as similar constructions in other languages. The identifying feature of this construction is a pronoun which serves neither as the subject nor the predicate as in (251).

(251) 2 Samuel 7.28
וְעַתָּה אֲדֹנָי יהוה אַתָּה־הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
wə -ʿattâ ʾăḏōnāy yhwh ʾattâ hûʾ hā -ʾĕlōhîm
CONJ - now lord.1S YHWH 2MS 3MS ART - god
And now my Lord, YHWH, you (are) God.

This construction has received extensive treatment from hebraists for more than a century from philological and comparative Semitic approaches, functional-typological approaches, and (far more infrequently) generative-syntactic approaches. Debate about this construction in other languages has simultaneously occurred in broader linguistic circles. Among hebraists two major camps have emerged. One camp considers the pronominal element (PRON) a copula[71]

[71] Gesenius 1853; Joüon 1947; Khan 2005; Kummerow 2013; Holmstedt and Jones 2014.

while the other concludes that it is not a copula.[72] Most of those who argue that PRON is not a copula view it as a resumptive element in a left-dislocation construction. Recently, Holmstedt and Jones (2014) and Kummerow (2013) have advocated a perspective which accommodates both the copular and resumptive analysis by demonstrating from typology and grammaticalisation paths as well as comparative Semitics that the resumptive pronoun in the LD construction has been reanalysed as a copula. For a detailed review of the debate among hebraists, see Kummerow (2013: ch. 3) or Holmstedt and Jones (2014).

In broader linguistic circles, there are similar camps. Some have advocated the reanalysis view similar to Holmstedt and Jones (2014) and Kummerow (2013).[73] Others have labeled them real copulas.[74] There is also a tradition which has attributed the existence of PRON to various syntactic and semantic feature requirements.[75]

With so much written about PRON from multiple frameworks, there have been few who have approached this construction in BH utilising a theoretically robust syntactic framework. Exceptions include Naudé (1990, 1994, 1999) and Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2017) for BH, Naudé (1994) for Aramaic and Naudé (2001, 2002a, 2002b) for QH. The need for such an analysis is evident in the claims of those who label PRON a copula. There is a striking lack of syntactic descriptions of what predication is, what a copula is, and the role it plays in predication. A clear example is Holmstedt and Jones (2014), who cite the definition of Pustet (2003) (i.e. that copula as an element that has no lexical semantic content but licenses TAM features) but then do not apply this definition to PRON. In their own descriptions of PRON,

[72] Gesenius et. al. 1910; Joüon and Muraoka 2005; Zewi, 1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1999a, 1999b, 2013; Woodard 2009; Andersen 1970; Muraoka 1985, 1999, 2006.

[73] Edwards 2006 for Arabic; Adger and Ramchand 2003 for Scottish Gaelic.

[74] Greenberg 2002 for Modern Hebrew, Eid 1983 for Arabic, Citko 2008 for Polish.

[75] Doron 1983; Rapoport 1987; Rothstein 1995, 2001 for Modern Hebrew, Naudé 1990, 1994, 1999 for BH, 19994 for Aramaic, 2001, 2002a, 2002b for Qumran Hebrew, Benmamoun 2008 for Arabic, Wondem 2014 for Amharic and Geʿez.

PRON does not carry TAM features and thus is not a true copula. Even if PRON is the result of reanalysis, it is not appropriate to call it a copula.

Just as others have done for these constructions in other languages (Naudé for Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic, Benmamoun for Arabic, Doron, Rapoport, and Rothstein for Modern Hebrew, Citko 2008 for Polish), a thorough syntactic analysis of PRON in BH is necessary. What follows is such an analysis which builds on the previous analysis of Naudé (1994, 1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) and the syntactic analysis already proposed for BH copular sentences.

What are considered genuine examples of PRON in BH sentences is not uncontroversial. There are many sentences which fulfill the criteria for being genuine examples of LD with a resumptive pronoun such as (252).

(252) Genesis 2.4
וְהַנָּהָר הָרְבִיעִי הֽוּא פְּרָֽת
wə -han -nāhār hā -rəḇîʿî hûʾ p̄ərāṯ
CONJ - ART - river ART -fourth 3MS Euphrates
The fourth river, it (is) the Euphrates

Others, such as (253) and (254) do not fulfill the requirements for genuine LD constructions and must be classified as instances of PRON.

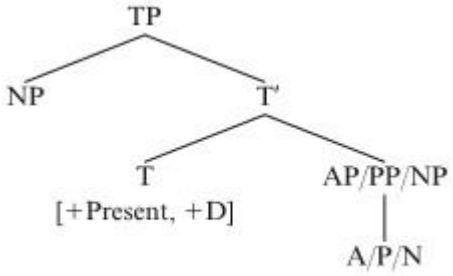
(253) 1 Chronicles 17.26
וְעַתָּה יְהוָֹה אַתָּה־הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים
wə-ʿattâ YHWH ʾattâ hûʾ hā -ʾĕlōhîm
CONJ-now YHWH 2MS 3MS ART-god
And now, YHWH, you (are) God.

(254) Isaiah 37.16
אַתָּה־הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ
ʾattâ hûʾ hā -ʾĕlōhîm ləḇaddəḵā
2MS 3MS ART –god alone.2MS
You (are) God, you alone

The lack of person agreement in (253) and (254) is the clearest indication that this is not a resumptive pronoun. Lack of person agreement is a cross-linguistic phenomenon for languages which have PRON. In section 4.2.2 I reviewed Benmamoun's syntactic description of Arabic

verbless clauses in which he proposed an explanation for the lack of person agreement in Arabic sentences with PRON.

(255) Arabic Present Tense Features



(Benmamoun 2008:115)

Since PRON only exists in present tense in Arabic and the copula *kwn* does not appear in present tense, Benmamoun proposes that the +D features on T are spelled-out as PRON. The +V feature of past and future tense displays the agreement pattern of verbs which is +person, +number, +gender. The +D feature displays the agreement pattern of nouns which is only +number and +gender. This leads Benmamoun to recognise the pronominal element in Arabic present tense sentences to be the overt realisation of the +D feature which defaults for 3rd person (Benmamoun 2008:125).

BH displays the same behaviour as Arabic. PRON only occurs in present tense and (254) demonstrates that person agreement is not realised on PRON. Example (256) demonstrates that BH does permit number agreement in PRON.

(256) 1 Chronicles 1.31
אֵלֶּה הֵם בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל
ʾēllê hēm bənê yîšmāʿēʾl
these 3MP sons.GEN Ishmael
These (are) the sons of Ishmael

The analysis of Benmamoun appears at first to explain the existence of PRON, but additional analyses on these constructions have revealed important findings.

In her analysis of PRON in Modern Hebrew, Rothstein (2001) explains that there are semantic distinctions between sentences with and without PRON. Examples (257) and (258) illustrate this distinction.

(257) *orvim *(hem) sxorim*
ravens PRON black
Ravens are black

(258) *tel aviv *(hi) be-yisrael*
Tel Aviv PRON in Israel
Tel Aviv is in Israel (Rothstein 2001:233).

Both (257) and (258) require PRON to be grammatical. In example (259), however, PRON is optional.

(259) *ha - samaim (hem) kxolim*
ART-sky PRON blue
The sky is blue

With PRON, example (259) would receive the interpretation that the sky has the general property of being blue. Without PRON, the interpretation would be that the sky is blue now as opposed to being overcast or some other possibility. PRON is obligatory in (257) and (258) because the only grammatical interpretations of these sentences have a general timeless interpretation. This is the stage/individual level distinction that has become a well-attested phenomenon in predication cross-linguistically. Rothstein says, "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). In section 4.3.2 we reviewed the claim that the stage/individual level distinction is attributed to the allosemes of a functional head Pred. There is a $\text{Pred}_{\text{INDIV}}$ and a $\text{Pred}_{\text{STAGE}}$ which cause different syntactic structures to develop. This means that PRON in Modern Hebrew could be the overt manifestation of Pred. In her analysis of similar constructions in Polish, Bondaruk makes precisely this claim for the pronominal clitic *to* (Bondaruk 2013, 2017). Polish is distinct from other languages by having

a pronominal element serving in this type of construction in addition to a verbal copula as in (260).

(260) *Warszawa jest to stolica Polski*
Warsaw-nom. is PRON capital.nom. Poland
Warsaw is the capital of Poland.
(Adapted from Bondaruk 2013:234)

Bondaruk labels PRON the overt realisation of Pred and the copula as *v* (Bondaruk 2017). Polish as well as other languages with this construction are notorious for having defective φ-agreement. This defective agreement is common in BH as well, deleting the person features. Instead of proposing that the defective φ-agreement of PRON is due to +D features on T (Benmamoun 2008), perhaps there is a case of Impoverishment in these constructions. Impoverishment is an operation proposed in DM which explains how certain features are deleted prior to phonological spell-out. Precisely how Impoverishment deletes the person feature only on these pronouns in BH will be taken up in later research.

There are some remarkable overlaps with this analysis and that proposed by Naudé. Naudé claims that PRON is necessary in in specificational clauses because the second NP cannot function as a predicate which assigns functions to the subject. PRON is then introduced as a *saving device* which can assign the requisite features to yield a grammatical sentence (Naudé 2001:110-111). This is precisely the function attributed to the functional head Pred. One will recall that Pred takes the predicate XP and forms an unsaturated predicate out of it which can assign theta-roles (Baker 2003). Pred is thus a clitic which is the overt manifestation of Pred in equative sentences. This Pred head need not be semantically vacuous, however. The data presented by Rothstein for Modern Hebrew indicates that PRON is the overt manifestation of $\text{Pred}_{\text{INDIV}}$ while $\text{Pred}_{\text{STAGE}}$ remains null.

The next task is to see if this distinction is present in BH. One of the most frequent expressions which uses PRON in BH is the attribution of deity to YHWH as in (254) or an equational construction such as (261).

(261) Genesis 36.8
עֵשָׂו הִוא אֱדֽוֹם
ʿēśāw hûʾ ʾĕḏôm
Esau 3MS Edom
Esau (is) Edom.

An individual level reading of these examples would mean that divinity for YHWH and Edom for Esau are abiding qualities rather than transient ones, an interpretation that is reasonable. A stage level interpretation would mean that YHWH is God sometimes, but other times he is something else, an interpretation that is clearly invalid. If PRON is spelled-out for an individual level property nuance, something should explain its absence in examples such as (262) and (263).

(262) Isaiah 37.16
אַתָּה־הִוא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ֖
ʾattâ hûʾ hā-ʾĕlōhîm ləḇaddəḵā
2MS 3MS ART–god alone.2MS
You (are) God, you alone

(263) Jeremiah 31.18
כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהָֽי
kî ʾattâ yhwh ʾĕlōhāy
For 2MS YHWH god.1S
For you, YHWH, (are) my God

In her analysis of PRON in another ancient Semitic language Geʿez, Wondem claims that the difference between sentences with PRON and without it has to do with an inherent/contingent relationship between the subject and complement (Wondem 2014:185ff). She illustrates what she means by the inherent/contingent relationship with the example (264).

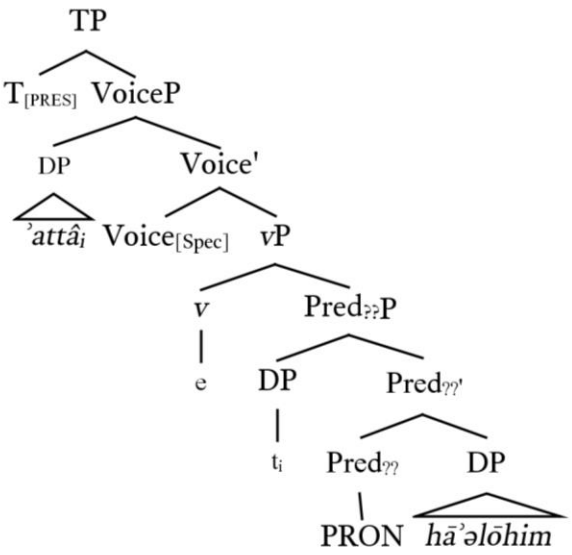
(264) a. John is a human being,

b. John is a man (Wondem 2014:186).

The predication relationship is inherent in (264a). Being a human being is an inherent property of John. In (264b), however, the predication relationship is contingent because John is not born a man, he must become a man. Manhood must be acquired in the course of his life. This seems very similar to the individual/stage level distinction Rothstein makes for Modern Hebrew, but Wondem provides specific examples to demonstrate why this distinction is different. Wondem makes an important point regarding the optional/obligatory nature of the pronoun in these contexts. There are certain contexts where PRON is optional in Geʿez, specifically in contexts where the predicate is necessarily interpreted as inherent or not (Wondem 2014:191). In the BH example (261) above, Edom is inherently (via metaphor) Esau. In the minimal pair (262) and (263) again, however, the optional presence of PRON means that the title "God" is not inherent, but contingent, a conclusion that seems very unlikely in the context of the specific prayers being offered. The precise semantic nuance that PRON adds (if any) remains an open question.

A syntactic structure can be proposed for BH sentences with PRON.

(265) Isaiah 37.16
אַתָּה־הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים לְבַדְּךָ
ʾattâ hûʾ hā -ʾĕlōhîm ləḇaddəḵā
2MS 3MS ART –god alone.2MS
You are God, you alone



The syntactic analysis presented above demonstrates that the manifestation of PRON in BH is not due to TAM licensing. Though it has not yet been demonstrated for BH, in many cases cross-linguistically, PRON is not semantically vacuous either. The traditional definition of copulas offered by those who present a copular analysis of PRON include semantic vacuity and TAM-licensing as essential properties of copulas. Thus, the data contradict the copular analysis and PRON should be understood as a clitic which is the overt manifestation of Pred in limited clause-types. Unfortunately, the term *pronominal copula* is used in the theoretical literature for similar constructions that occur in other languages, including the works which have labelled the overt manifestation of Pred. A concern for purer definitions of both copulas and clitics in the theoretical literature should lead to the abandonment of the term *pronominal copula,* not just for BH, but also for the other languages in which this construction exists.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter I introduced the syntax and semantics of BH verbless clauses and *hyh* sentences. I started with a defense that BH verbless clause should be understood as full clauses with a tense projection which does not carry +V features in present and past tense and not as a small clause. I then demonstrated that, contrary to the analysis of Benmamoun for Arabic, there

is a null *v* underlying all copular sentences. I agreed with the common assumption that a (sometimes overt) functional head Pred takes the predicate XP and makes a theta-marking category out of it which allows for grammatical predication without a verb.

I then provided an analysis of all the enigmatic meanings of *hyh* by explaining the syntactic environments in the thematic, inflectional, and left-periphery domains which require it. I explained that the root *hyh* merges with the stative alloseme *v* (except in equational sentences). In the thematic domain, there is a functional head $Pred_{Ev}$ which has + telic/– durative situation aspect which explains the ingressive, directional, and non-complement interpretations of *hyh*. In the inflectional domain, past tense (in disambiguating contexts), future tense, imperfective and perfective viewpoint aspect, and volitive mood require *hyh* to license their +V features. The following spell-out rules represent the conclusions reached in this chapter.

(266) HYH spell-out rules
a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ __ [$Pred_{Ev}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [T_{fut}] __
c. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{IPFV}]__
d. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{PFV}]__
e. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Mod_{VOL}]__
f. v_{BE} ↔ /ø/ *elsewhere*

Concerning the BH left-periphery, I reviewed the analyses of Naudé (1990, 2001), Holmstedt (2014), and Cowper and DeCaen (2017). I then hypothesised that *hyh* exists in a dislocation construction which I labelled *event dislocation*, which is positioned in the highest possible node in the BH left-periphery. This construction is used to create a thetic judgment and interfere with a categorical Topic-Comment assertion in the matrix sentence. I ended the chapter with a syntactic account of PRON which should be analysed as the overt manifestation of Pred in present tense equational sentences and not as a copula.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF BH EXISTENTIAL SENTENCES

5.1 Introduction

In section 3.4 I provided a description of existentials in cross-linguistic research including their essential anatomy and reviewed the popular analyses of Freeze (1992). The primary focus of this chapter is comparing the syntax and semantics of BH existentials — including predicative possessives — to the analyses of BH copular sentences which have already been analysed. I adopt the analysis of Francez (2007, 2009) and Myler (2016, 2017) in my description of the syntax and semantics of these constructions.

In section 5.2, I provide an overview of the semantic distinctions of existential and copular sentences made by Francez (2009). In section 5.3, I describe Myler's approach to complex copular systems and how existentials fit in. In section 5.4, I list the data of BH existential constructions and, following Myler and Francez, describe the syntax of existentials which use the BH verb *hyh*. In section 5.5, I describe the syntax of existentials which use the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. In 5.6, I incorporate a diachronic analysis following Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé and Wilson (forthcoming) to explain cyclical change in BH existentials. In section 5.7, I give a brief account of predicative possessives which utilise the same formal strategies as existentials. Section 5.8 provides a summary.

5.2 Semantics of Existential Sentences

The following example demonstrates the ambiguity between an existential interpretation and its copular counterpart.

(267) Genesis 41.54
וַיִּהְיִ֣י רָעָ֔ב בְּכָל־הָאֲרָצֹ֑ות
wayhî *rāʿāḇ* *bə - ḵol hā - ʾărāṣôṯ*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS famine in - all ART- lands
There was a famine in all the lands
or
A famine was in all the lands

The difference between these two options centres upon whether the post-copular NP should be interpreted as the pivot of an existential or as the subject of a PP predicate. The semantics of these two interpretations appear to be identical, but the analysis of existentials by Francez (2007, 2009) has demonstrated that in fact they are different. Francez traces the difference back to the debate about how to classify the individual parts of the existential — chiefly the pivot and the coda. Repeating the discussion in section 3.4, the pivot is NP which follows the copula in an existential sentence (e.g. *famine* in (267)) and the coda is the PP (*in all the lands* in (267)). Francez argues against a long tradition of viewing the pivots as arguments and codas as predicates (Francez 2009:2). Codas cannot be the predicates of existentials because of issues of quantifier scope and because of the semantic differences between existential codas and predicational PPs. Pivots, he argues, are not arguments, but main predicates. He states that pivots should be treated as second-order predicates expressing properties of sets, which are known as Generalised Quantifiers (GQ) in the tradition of formal semantics (Francez 2009:3). He defines this second order property in (268) (his (11)).

(268) GQs as predicates:

An NP of form [Det N] denotes a Property $\boldsymbol{P}_{<<e,t>,t>}$ of sets such that for any set P, P$\in \boldsymbol{P}$ iff P contains *d* elements of $[\![\mathbf{N}]\!]$, where *d* is a cardinality, an element in a set of cardinalities or a proportion determined by$[\![\mathbf{Det}]\!]$. (Francez 2009:8).

He provides an example of how a GQ analysis of the pivot fits in an existential sentence.

(269) $[\![\boldsymbol{there\ be\ NP}]\!] = [\![\mathbf{NP}]\!] = \lambda P_{<\tau,t>}[Q_{<<\tau,t>,<<\tau,t>,\tau>>}(N_{,\tau,t>},P)]$.

(270) $[\![\boldsymbol{there\ are\ three\ flowers}]\!] = \lambda P_{<e,t>}[three_{<<e,t>,<<e,t>,t>>}(\lambda x[flower(x)],P)]$

The meaning of BE is given in (269) where τ is any simple type, Q is a relation between sets which is determined by the determiner of the pivot and N is a set determined by the noun in the pivot (Francez 2009:9). In (270) the relation "three" holds between two sets P,Q if and only if the cardinality of their intersection is three.

The meaning of BE is applied to what Francez calls a *contextual domain* C through a process he calls *contextualization*. Example (271) is a contextualised version of (270).

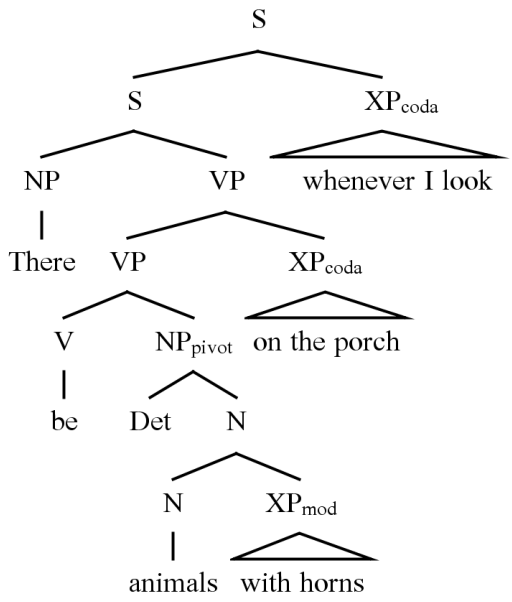
(271) $[\![\textbf{\textit{there are three flowers}}]\!]_{\text{contextualised}} = \lambda P_{<e,t>}[\text{three}(\lambda x[\text{flower}(x)], P)](C)$

$= \text{three}(\lambda x[\text{flowers}(x)], C).$

According to Francez, then, pivots are context-sensitive predicates (Francez 2009:9). The single argument of a pivot must be determined contextually by inference or by explicit contextual modifiers.

Francez classifies codas as sentential modifiers operating on bare existentials (i.e. having no coda) rather than as predicates taking the pivot as a subject (Francez 2009:3). Existential pivots can also have internal modifiers. An example of an existential with two codas and an internal modifier is given and represented syntactically in (272).

(272) There are animals with horns on the porch whenever I look



(adapted from Francez 2009:6).

In (272), the internal modifier of the pivot *animals* is *with horns.* This PP is not a coda because it is not modifying the contextual domain of the existential predication, but only the NP. In contrast, the two additional PPs *on the porch* and *whenever I look* do modify the primary predication and are therefore codas. Francez then turns to the alternation of existentials and

their copular counterparts to demonstrate that codas are modifiers. He demonstrates that not every sentence allows this alternation as in (273) and (274).

(273) There is room in the car

*Room is in the car

(274) There are penalty kicks in soccer

*Penalty kicks are in soccer (Francez 2009:35).

In sentences where there exists an alternation, one context where the semantics between existentials and their copular counterparts differ are in part-whole or *constitution* readings, as in (275).

(275) a. There is a/no prime minister in the U.S.

b. A/no prime minister is in the U.S. (Francez 2009:35).

The sentence in (275a) has a reading which indicates that the country that is called the U.S. does or does not have a prime minister. The sentence in (275b) lacks this reading and only asserts the location of a prime minister (from any country) as being in the U.S. Since both the readings in (275) are made of the same material, the difference in meaning must be from their configuration or from lexical ambiguity. Francez suggests that the preposition "in" in (275a) must be a sentential modifier which has a superset of meanings which are not available to it as a predicate. As a predicate, "in" in (275b) is restricted to mere location (Francez 2009:35). This distinction also provides a natural way of explaining how existentials interact differently from copular sentences with adverbs of quantification, as in (276).

(276) a. There is usually a zoo-keeper in a zoo.

$\text{USUALLY}_x[\text{zoo}(x)][a(\lambda y[\text{zoo-keeper}(y)],<_x])]$[76]

b. A zoo-keeper is usually in a zoo.

[76] The notation $<_x$ should be interpreted with the constitutive analysis "part-of x".

The sentence in (276a) means that most zoos have a zoo-keeper. The adverbial quantifier scopes over the pivot, but does not scope over the subject NP in (276b) which merely describes the typical location of a zoo-keeper.

Francez also demonstrates that there is semantic distinction with free-relative codas/predicates. Consider example (277).

(277) a. There is a toilet where we went camping ≠

b. A toilet is where we went camping (Francez 2009:40).

The sentence in (277a) clearly demonstrates that the existential coda is distinct from the predicative free relative. This is because the coda is a sentential modifier.

One final context where Francez demonstrates a distinction is in the durational vs. punctual interpretations of duration PPs, as in (278).

(278) a. There were no contracts for more than a year

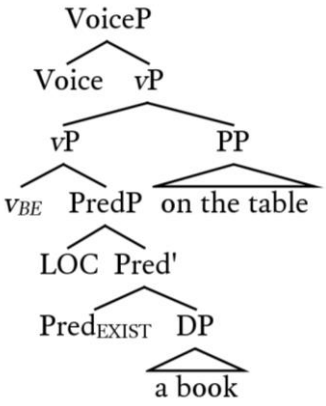
b. No contracts were for more than a year (Francez 2009:44).

The semantic evidence from Francez is compelling and will be adopted for the present analysis of BH existentials.

5.3 Syntax of Existential Sentences

Myler (2016, 2017) is in agreement with Francez that the pivot is the predicate of existential sentences. He also agrees that the semantic denotation of the pivot is a simple property and the coda is optionally included as a modifier to specify the content of a locative element (Myler 2017:6). Following Irwin (2016) he assumes that another variant of the functional head Pred, i.e. $Pred_{EXIST}$ is selected by the pivot and asserts that the pivot is instantiated at a particular location: LOC. A syntactic representation of an English existential is provided in (279).

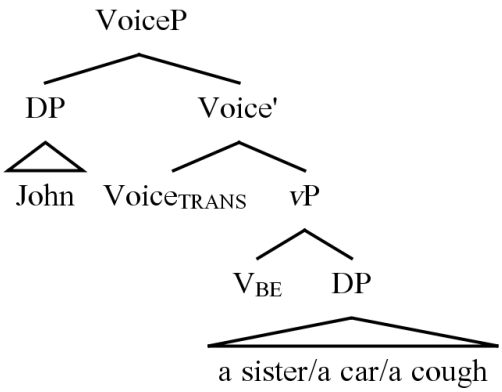
(279) There is a book on the table



(Myler 2017:6).[77]

A major innovation in the work of Myler is his analysis of HAVE-sentences. He states that the English verb *have* and verbs which correspond to this verb in other languages are a 'transitive' allomorph of BE (Myler 2016:10, 2017:4). This means that the Voice head has a specifier and bears a φ probe which licenses a DP. This is indicated by the head $\text{Voice}_{\text{TRANS}}$ in (280).

(280)



(Myler 2016:5).

The context conditions for English possession constructions compared to copular constructions is (290).

(290) English Possessives: v_{BE} ↔ /have// $\text{Voice}_{\text{TRANS}}$_____
English Predicatives: v_{BE} ↔ /be/

[77] Myler takes no position on the status of the expletive 'there' in his analysis. He mentions that it could be inserted into spec-VoiceP or (more likely) it could be the overt realisation of LOC which is identical to the analysis of Williams (1994) and Hazout (2004).

More will be said about predicative possession in section 5.7.

The data from French and Spanish supplement the variation of complex copula systems. Myler provides the following examples from French (Myler 2017:8).

(291) *Jean a {deux sœurs/une voiture rouge/de la toux}*
John has two sisters/a car red/ of the cough
'John has two sisters/a red car/ a cough.'

(292) *Jean est content*
John is happy
'John is happy'

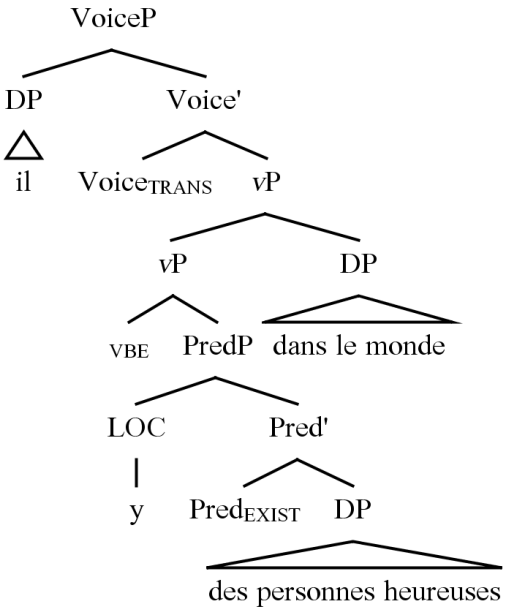
(293) *Il y a des personnes heueuses dans le monde*
it there has of.the people happy in the world
'There are happy people in the world.

Example (293) demonstrates that in French, existentials are formed with an expletive *Il* and the HAVE verb *avoir*. Myler provides the context conditions for the complex copula system in French.

(294) French Possessives: $_{VBE}$ ↔/*avoir* (have)// Voice$_{TRANS}$____
French Predicatives: $_{VBE}$ ↔ /*être* (be)/
French Existentials: $_{VBE}$ ↔ /*avoir* (have)// Voice$_{TRANS}$___Pred$_{EXIST}$

Myler proposes that the expletive *Il* is in the Specifier of VoiceP and that *y* is a manifestation of LOC as in (295).

(295)



(Myler 2017:9).

French is unique among languages in spelling out an overt expletive in both spec-VoiceP and LOC. Turning to Spanish, the situation is even more complex. There is a clear HAVE-verb *tener* for predicative possession (296), but additionally there is an allomorph *haber* used in existential sentences such as (297).

(296) *Juan tiene {dos hermanas/un carro rojo/tos}.*
Juan has two sisters a car red cough
'Juan has two sisters/a red car/a cough.'

(297) *Hay personas felices en el mundo*
EXIST people happy in the world
'There are happy people in the world.' (Myler 2017:9).

In section 4.3.2 it was already shown that the two Spanish copulas *ser* and *estar* correspond to two varieties of Pred: $Pred_{INDIV}$ for *ser* and $Pred_{STAGE}$ for *estar*. For Spanish, then, the context conditions for the complex copula system of Spanish are listed in (298).

(298) Spanish Possessives: $VBE \leftrightarrow$ /*tener* (have)// $Voice_{TRANS}$____
Spanish Predicatives: $VBE \leftrightarrow$ /*ser* (be)/____$Pred_{INDIV}$
$VBE \leftrightarrow$ /*estar* (be)/____$Pred_{STAGE}$
Spanish Existentials: $VBE \leftrightarrow$ /*haber* (have)// $Voice_{TRANS}$___$Pred_{EXIST}$
(Myler 2017:10).

The preceding analysis of the semantics of existential propositions of Francez and the syntactic presentation of complex copula systems of Myler provide the theoretical framework with which to evaluate the complex system of BH existentials and predicative possessives.

5.4 Data

Sentences which use the BH verb *hyh* in an existential construction are not immediately apparent. Example (299), repeated from (267), demonstrate the ambiguity.

(299) Genesis 41.54
וַיְהִי רָעָב֙ בְּכָל־הָאֲרָצ֔וֹת
wayhî *rāʿāḇ* *bə - ḵol hā - ʾărāṣôṯ*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS famine in - all ART- lands
There was a famine in all the lands
or
A famine was in all the lands

Examples such as (300) or, more famously (301), provide unambigous examples of existentials using the verb *hyh*.

(300) Exodus 8.11
וַיַּ֤רְא פַּרְעֹה֙ כִּ֣י הֶֽיְתָ֣ה הָרְוָחָ֔ה וְהַכְבֵּ֖ד אֶת־לִבּ֑וֹ
wayyarʾ *parʿō* *kî* *hāyṯâ* *hārwāḥâ* *wəhaḵbēḏ*
CONJ.see.PRET.3MS Pharaoh that COP.PFV.3FS respite CONJ.make.hard.WQTL.3MS
ʾeṯ *libbô*
OBJ heart.3MS
When Pharaoh saw that there was respite he hardened his heart.

(301) Genesis 1.3
וַֽיְהִי־עֶ֥רֶב וַֽיְהִי־בֹ֖קֶר
wayhî *ʿereḇ* *wayhî* *ḇōqer*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS evening CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS morning
There was evening and there was morning.

Existentials and their copular counterparts are similar but distinct in their syntactic composition and must also be distinguished based on the semantics proposed by Francez in section 5.2. The existential clause in example (301), may be analysed as follows. Each pivot NP, *ʿereḇ* (evening)

and *ḇōqer* (morning), is the predicate which is a property of sets which is applied to the context as in (302) and (303).

(302) $\lambda P_{<e,t>}$[**a**(λx[evening(x)], P)](*C*) = **a**(λx[evening(x)], *C*).

(303) $\lambda P_{<e,t>}$[**a**(λx[morning(x)], P)](*C*) = **a**(λx[morning(x)], *C*).

The indefinite quantifier ***a*** is null but implied in BH and C (context) is the implicit argument — the *contextual domain* — of the pivot. Francez says, "In a sense then, contextual domains are the semantic subjects of existentials" (Francez 2007:71). This is similar to the "stage topic" in Erteschik-Shir (1997). Francez gives the example (304) to illustrate the concept of a contextual domain or context set.

(304) Coli endotoxin caused death in all animals within 16 to 29 hours

(Francez 2007:71).

This sentence is not understood to mean that every animal in the world is now extinct. Rather, in the interpretation implies a contextually supplied set which restricts the quantified NP. Something like a covert PP *in the experiment* is understood from the contextual domain (Francez 2007:71).

Applied to examples (302) and (303), then, the contextual domain which functions as the sole argument of the pivot *evening/morning* is something like *for the first time* and/or *in creation*. The contextual domain for example (300) would be something like a(λx[respite(x)], *for the Israelites*). With this basic understanding of unambiguous BH existentials using *hyh*, we can move on to the more ambiguous examples.

The examples given above do not have a coda. Francez argues that the role of codas can be seen simply as setting the value of the contextual domain that is the implicit argument of the pivot (Francez 2007:74). Codas do not play a role in the main predication; rather, they are contextual modifiers similar to frame adverbials (Francez 2009:9).

The addition of a coda in examples (305)-(307) creates some ambiguity concerning the proper interpretation of these sentences. The existential interpretation is followed by a copular counterpart in each example.

(305) Judges 17.1
וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מֵהַר־אֶפְרָיִם וּשְׁמוֹ מִיכָיְהוּ
wayhî ʾîš mē - har ʾep̱rāyîm û - šəmô mîḵāyəhû
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS man from- hill.GEN Ephraim CONJ - name.3MS Micah
There was a man from the hill country of Ephraim and his name was Micah.
or
A man was from the hill country of Ephraim and his name was Micah.

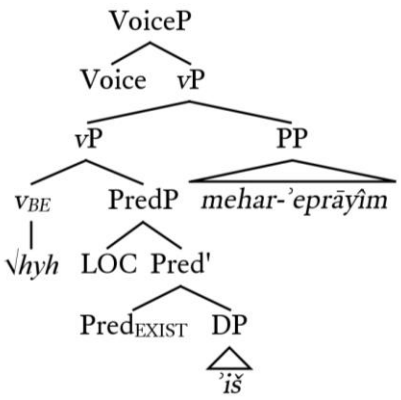
(306) Genesis 13.7
וַיְהִי־רִיב בֵּין רֹעֵי מִקְנֵה־אַבְרָם וּבֵין רֹעֵי מִקְנֵה־לוֹט
wayhî rîḇ bên rōʿê miqnê aḇrām
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS strife between shepherds.GEN livestock.GEN Abram
û - ḇên rōʿê miqnê lôṭ
CONJ- between shepherds.GEN livestock.GEN Lot
There was strife between the herdsmen of Abram and the herdsmen of Lot.
or
Strife was between the herdsmen of Abram and the herdsmen of Lot.

(307) Isaiah 11.16
וְהָיְתָה מְסִלָּה לִשְׁאָר עַמּוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׁאֵר מֵאַשּׁוּר
wəhāyṯâ məsillâ li-šʾār ʿammô ʾăšer yîššāʾēr mē - ʾaššûr
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3FS highway to-remnant people.3MS who remain.IPFV.3MS from- Assyria
There will be a highway from Assyria for the remnant of his people who remain,
or
A highway will be from Assyria for the remnant of his people who remain

The first argument in favour of interpreting these as existentials is the presence of *hyh*. Based on the discussion in section 4.3, these examples do not have any discernible aspectual nuances which would trigger the presence of *hyh* in past temporal context. It was demonstrated that past tense in BH is not specified for inflectional features, though features on an Asp head were demonstrated. Second, the work by Francez (2009) demonstrated that the two interpretations provided for each example are not semantically equivalent. The important question to answer for each of the examples (305)-(307) is what type of predication is taking place. Example (305)

for instance, is introducing a character into the narrative for the first time and specifying his name. If this is an instance of copular predication, then the only predication taking place is the specification of previously unmentioned referent (*a man*) as being from a particular location (*from the hill country of Ephraim*). If, by contrast, this is an existential construction, the pivot (and therefore the predicate) is *a man* and the "subject" is the contextual domain which is valued by the PP *from the hill country of Ephraim*. The main predication in this interpretation is that the pivot NP is asserted into the contextual domain which is modified by the PP. Considering that this is the first mention of the referent into the discourse, the existential semantics are more probable than the copular semantics. Similar analyses can be done for each of the examples listed above. Since we have determined that example (305) is an existential, the syntax can be represented as (308).

(308)



The syntactic representation in (308) underlies the semantic hypothesis that the primary predication in existentials is the relation between the pivot and the contextual domain. Spec-PredP is the base position for subjects in copular constructions. Consistent with Myler and Francez, the notation LOC indicates that the subject argument in existential predication is the contextual domain, which can then be specified with an adjunct phrase as in (308).[78] Examples

[78] Francez does not use $Pred_{EXIST}$ in his work, though Myler does.

(309) and (310) demonstrate that the pivot of an existential can move to the left-periphery, presumably to become topicalised.

(309) Ezekiel 23.2
בֶּן־אָדָם שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים בְּנוֹת אֵם־אַחַת הָיוּ
ben ʾādām šətayîm nāšîm bənôṯ ʾēm ʾaḥaṯ hāyû
son.GEN man two women daughters.GEN mother one COP.PFV.3P
Son of man, [TOP two women, daughters of one mother][Voice there were___two women, daughters of one mother]]

(310) 2 Kings 7.3
וְאַרְבָּעָה אֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְצֹרָעִים פֶּתַח הַשָּׁעַר
wəʾarbāʿâ ʾănāšîm hāyû məṣōrāʿîm peṯaḥ haš - šāʿar
CONJ-four men COP.PFV.3P lepers opening ART - gate
[TOP Four men][Voice there were___four men who were lepers at the entrance to the gate.]]

A coda may also be topicalised as in (311).

(311) Exodus 16.13
וּבַבֹּקֶר הָיְתָה שִׁכְבַת הַטַּל סָבִיב לַמַּחֲנֶה
û - ḇabbōqer hāyṯâ šiḵḇaṯ haṭ - ṭal sāḇîḇ lam- maḥănê
CONJ - in.ART.morning COP.PFV.3FS layer ART - dew around to - ART.camp
[TOPIn the morning] [Voice there was a layer of dew around the camp____in the morning]].

The GQ analysis of Francez also helps explain the semantics of negative existentials as in (312).

(312) Numbers 20.2
וְלֹא־הָיָה מַיִם לָעֵדָה
wə - lōʾ hāyâ mayim lā - ʿēḏâ
CONJ - NEG COP.PFV.3MS water to.ART - congregation
There was no water for the congregation.

(313) 1 Kings 17.7
לֹא־הָיָה גֶשֶׁם בָּאָרֶץ
lōʾ - hāyâ ḡešem bā-ʾāreṣ
NEG -COP.PFV.3MS rain in-ART.land
There was no rain in the land.

The negative particle *lōʾ* in (312) functions as the quantifier which scopes over the whole predication as in (314).

(314) $\lambda P_{<e,t>}$[no(λx[water(x)],P)](*C*) = no(λx[water(x)], *C*).

Since *no* scopes over C (the contextual domain), the coda *in the land* which specifies C provides the context where no(λx[water(x)] is true. Negative existentials will receive further analysis in section 5.6.

5.5 Particles *yēš* and *ʾên*

Yēš and *ʾên* are classified as particles because they are "invariable items with grammatical functions...which do not readily fit into a standard classification of parts of speech" (Crystal 2008:352). These particles do not inflect for TAM and they are used in varying temporal contexts as (315) demonstrates.

(315) Genesis 42.1-2
וַיַּ֣רְא יַעֲקֹ֔ב כִּ֥י יֵ֖שׁ־שֵׁ֣בֶר בְּמִצְרָ֑יִם וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יַעֲקֹ֜ב לְבָנָ֗יו לָ֚מָּה תִּתְרָאֽוּ׃
וַיֹּ֗אמֶר הִנֵּ֤ה שָׁמַ֙עְתִּי֙ כִּֽי־יֵ֣שׁ־שֵׁ֔בֶר בְּמִצְרָ֑יִם
wayyarʾ yaʿăqōḇ kî yēš šeber bə-miṣrāyim way -yōʾmer yaʿăqōḇ
see.PRET.3MS Jacob that EX grain in-Egypt CONJ -say.PRET.3MS Jacob
ləḇānāyw lāmmâ tiṯrāʾû way -yōʾmer hinnê
to-sons.3MS why look.IPFV.REFL.2MP CONJ -say.PRET.3MS behold
šāmaʿtî kî yēš šeber bə - miṣrāyim
hear.PFV.1S that EX grain in - Egypt
Jacob saw that there was grain in Egypt and he said to his sons, "Why do you look at each other?" He said, "Behold I heard that there is grain in Egypt.

In example (315) the first occurrence of *yēš* is in the past temporal context of the narrative. The second example is in reported speech in which Jacob is reporting to his sons that there is (currently) grain in Egypt.

Just as the particle *yēš* is used in positive existentials, the particle *ʾên* is used for negative existentials. The example in (316) demonstrates a minimal pair where the negative existential construction reviewed above is equivalent to the particle *ʾên*.

(316) Jeremiah 14.4-6

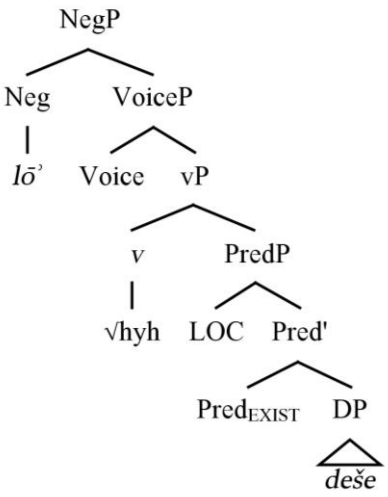
4 בַּעֲבוּר הָאֲדָמָה חַתָּה כִּי לֹא־הָיָה גֶשֶׁם בָּאָרֶץ
בֹּשׁוּ אִכָּרִים חָפּוּ רֹאשָׁם׃
5 כִּי גַם־אַיֶּלֶת בַּשָּׂדֶה יָלְדָה וְעָזַב כִּי לֹא־הָיָה דֶּשֶׁא׃
6 וּפְרָאִים עָמְדוּ עַל־שְׂפָיִם שָׁאֲפוּ רוּחַ כַּתַּנִּים
כָּלוּ עֵינֵיהֶם כִּי־אֵין עֵשֶׂב׃

baʿăḇûr hāʾăḏāmâ ḥattâ
kî lōʾ hāyâ gešem bā-ʾāreṣ
for NEG COP.PFV.3MS rain in- ART.land
bōšû ʾikkārîm ḥāp̄û rōʾšām:
5 kî gam ʾayyeleṯ baśśāḏê yolḏâ waʿāzoḇ
kî lōʾ hāyâ dešeʾ:
for NEG COP.PFV.3MS rain
6 ûp̄ərāʾîm ʿomḏû ʿal šəp̄āyim
šāʾăp̄û rûaḥ kattannîm
kālû ʿênêhêm kî-ʾên ʿēśeb:
for-NEG.EX vegetation.

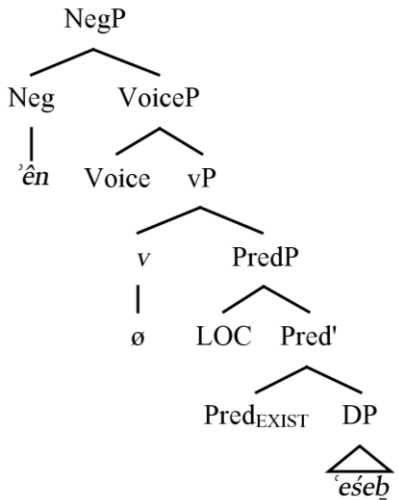
4 Because of the ground that is dismayed,
since there is no rain on the land,
the farmers are ashamed;
they cover their heads.
5 Even the doe in the field forsakes her newborn fawn
because there is no grass.
6 The wild donkeys stand on the bare heights;
they pant for air like jackals;
their eyes fail
because there is no vegetation. (ESV)

The syntax of these different existential forms is represented in (317) and (318).

(317) Negative Existential with *hyh*



(318) Negative existential with *ʾên*



An analysis of the particle *yēš* reveals some interesting contextual patterns that distinguish it from the existentials which use a form of *hyh*. An exhaustive analysis of every use of *yēš* reveals that this particle has a high percentage of usage with the interrogative particle *hă* (319) and (320)[79] and the conditional particle *ʾim* (321) which can also be used in rhetorical questions (322).

(319) Genesis 24.23
הֲיֵשׁ בֵּית־אָבִיךְ מָקוֹם לָנוּ לָלִין
hă-yēš bēṯ ʾāḇîḵ māqôm lānû lā-lîn
Q - EX house.GEN father.2MS place for.1P for-ART.night
Is there a place in your father's house for us for the night?

(320) Judges 4.20
אִם־אִישׁ יָבֹוא וּשְׁאֵלֵךְ וְאָמַר הֲיֵשׁ־פֹּה אִישׁ וְאָמַרְתְּ אָיִן
ʾim ʾîš yāḇôʾ û - šəʾēlēḵ wə - ʾāmar
if man come.IPFV.3MS CONJ - ask.PFV.3MS.2FS CONJ - say.PFV.3MS
hă - yēš pō ʾîš wə - ʾāmartə ʾāyîn
Q - EX here man CONJ -say.PFV.2FS NEG.EX
"If a man comes and asks you saying, "Is there anyone here?" Say "No."

(321) 1 Samuel 20.8
וְאִם־יֶשׁ־בִּי עָוֹן הֲמִיתֵנִי אַתָּה
wə - ʾim yeš bî ʿāwōn hămîṯēnî ʾattâ
CONJ -if EX in.1S guilt kill.IMP.1S 2MS
If there is guilt in me, kill me yourself.

(322) 1 Kings 18.10
חַי | יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אִם־יֶשׁ־גֹּוי וּמַמְלָכָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁלַח אֲדֹנִי שָׁם לְבַקֶּשְׁךָ
ḥay yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā ʾim yēš gôy û - mamlāḵâ ʾăšer lōʾ
life.GEN YHWH god.2MS if EX nation CONJ - kingdom which NEG
ʾăḏōnî šām lə - ḇaqqešḵā
šālaḥ send.PFV.3MS lord.1S there to - seek.INF.2MS
As YHWH your God lives, has there been a nation or kingdom where my Lord has not sent to seek you?

[79] Gen. 24.23, 43.7, 44.19; Ex. 17.7; Num. 13.20; Dt. 13.4; 1 Sam. 9.11; 2 Sam. 9.1; 2 Kings 4.13, 10.15; Isa. 44.8; Jer. 14.22,23.26, 37.17; Ps. 14.2, 53.3, 73.11; Job 5.1, 6.30, 25.3, 38.28.

The existential use of *hyh* never occurs with the interrogative particle *hă*.[80] In most conditional clauses with *hyh* the particle *kî* is used instead, as in (323) and (324).[81]

(323) 1 Kings 8.37
רָעָב כִּי־יִהְיֶה בָאָרֶץ
rāʿāḇ kî yihyê ḇā -ʾāreṣ
famine if COP.IPFV.3MS in.ART - land
If there is famine in the land

(324) Deuteronomy 22.23
כִּי יִהְיֶה נַעֲרָה[82] בְתוּלָה מְאֹרָשָׂה לְאִישׁ וּמְצָאָהּ אִישׁ בָּעִיר וְשָׁכַב עִמָּהּ
kî yihyê naʿărâ ḇəṯûlâ məʾōrāśâ lə -ʾîš û -məṣāʾah ʾîš bā -ʿîr wə -šāḵaḇ ʿimmah
if COP.IPFV.3MS girl virgin betrothed.PTCP to - man CONJ - meet.WQTL.3MS.3FS man in.ART - city CONJ -lie.WQTL.3MS with.3FS
If there is a betrothed virgin and a man meets her in the city and lies with her,

Other particles which combine with *yēš* include *ʾûlay* (325),[83] *pen* (326),[84] *kî-ʾim* (327),[85] *lû*,[86] and *kî* (328).

(325) Genesis 18.24
אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר
ʾûlay yēš ḥămiššîm ṣaddîqim bə - ṯôḵ hā - ʿîr
Suppose EX fifty righteous in - midst ART - city
Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city.

(326) 2 Kings 10.23
חַפְּשׂוּ וּרְאוּ פֶּן־יֵשׁ־פֹּה עִמָּכֶם מֵעַבְדֵי יְהוָה
ḥappəśû û -rəʾû pen yeš pō ʿimmāḵem mēʿaḇḏê yhwh
search.IMP CONJ -see.IMP lest EX here with.2MP servants.GEN YHWH
Search and see lest there are here among you any servants of YHWH.

[80] The four occurrences where *hə* is prefixed to *hyh*, the verb is being used in its complement-less function reviewed in section 4.3.2. Deut. 4.32; 2 Kings 7.2, 7.19; Joel 1.2.

[81] Other examples include Lev. 13.42, 13.47; Dt. 19.11, 25.4; 1 Kings 8.37 (3x). There are 2 instances of existentials using *ʾim*: Num. 12.6, Am. 3.6.

[82] Kethiv נַעֲר.

[83] Lam. 3.29

[84] Deut. 29.17 (2x); 2 Kings 10.23

[85] 1 Sam. 21.5

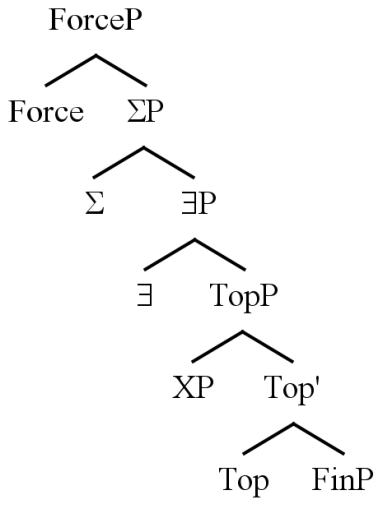
[86] Job 16.4. This example demonstrates a copular example of the particle, not an existential. These examples will be reviewed in section 5.6.

(327) Proverbs 23.18
כִּי אִם־יֵ֣שׁ אַחֲרִ֑ית
kî ʾim yēš ʾaḥărîṯ
surely EX future
Surely there is a future.

(328) Job 28.1
כִּ֥י יֵ֝שׁ לַכֶּ֗סֶף מוֹצָֽא
kî yēš lak - kesep môṣāʾ
that EX for - silver source
Surely there is a mine for silver.

Cowper and DeCaen (2017) place these "overt particles of illocutionary force" in a rich cartography of the BH left-periphery. The interrogative *hă* is in ForceP spelling out the feature [Q] (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:14). The irrealis/optative marker *lû* is also found in ForceP. The existential particles *yēš* and *ʾên* they locate in an existential head ∃. The particle *ʾim* forms rhetorical questions and is found in a Polarity head Σ (Cowper and DeCaen 2017:20). This cartography is represented in (329).

(329)

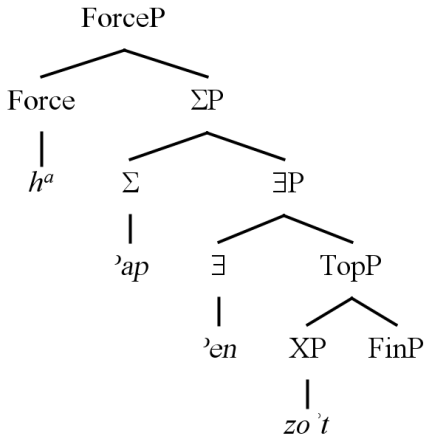


(Adapted from Cowper and DeCaen 2017:21)

This expansion of the left-periphery is helpful in understanding many of the particles mentioned by Cowper and DeCaen, but the proposal of an existential head below Polarity and

above Topic is not supported by the data. First of all, in the example they give, repeated in (330), *ʾên* is not being used as an existential particle.

(330) Amos 2.11
הַאַף אֵין־זֹאת
ha- ʾap ʾên zōʾt
Q - indeed NEG.EX these
Is this not true?



(Cowper and DeCaen 2017:21-22).

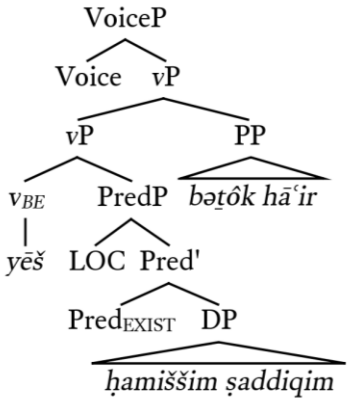
As will be demonstrated in section 5.6, both *yēš* and *ʾên* have non-existential roles. Example (330) is a clear case of one of these other roles. Second, existentials have a unique predicate relation between the pivot and the contextual domain. As explained in section 5.3, this relation is distinguished from the copular counterpart in the thematic domain, below VoiceP. It is not expected, then, that there would be a functional head in the left-periphery which hosts the existential distinction. Finally, there are cases where *hyh* in its existential function and these particles can have a topicalised constituent preceding them, as in (331) and (332), which is not allowed in the cartography of Cowper and DeCaen if there is a functional existential head above TopP.

(331) Exodus 16.13
וּבַבֹּקֶר הָיְתָה שִׁכְבַת הַטַּל סָבִיב לַמַּחֲנֶה
û - babbōqer hāyṯâ šiḵḇaṯ haṭ - ṭal sāḇîḇ lam- maḥănê
CONJ - in.ART.morning COP.PFV.3FS layer ART - dew around to - ART.camp
In the morning, there was a layer of dew around the camp.

(332) 1 Samuel 21.5
אֵין־לֶחֶם חֹל אֶל־תַּחַת יָדִי כִּי־אִם־לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ יֵשׁ
ʾên leḥem ḥōl ʾel taḥaṯ yāḏî kîʾ im leḥem qōḏeš yēš
NEG.EX bread common to under hand.1S rather bread holy EX
There is no common bread on hand, but holy bread there is.

I disagree with Cowper and DeCaen, then, about the necessity of an existential functional head in the left-periphery. Instead I am proposing that the tenseless nature of these particles make them well-suited to attract to functional heads in the left-periphery, which the tensed existential *hyh* does not do as often. As existentials, these particles have the syntax represented in (333).

(333) Genesis 18.24[87]
אוּלַי יֵשׁ חֲמִשִּׁים צַדִּיקִם בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר
ʾûlay yēš ḥămiššîm ṣaddîqim bə - ṯôḵ hā - ʿîr
Suppose EX fifty righteous in - midst ART - city
Suppose there are fifty righteous within the city.



While a complete cartography of the BH left-periphery is outside the scope of this thesis, there may be some feature in ForceP that attracts *yēš* when the irrealis particle *ʾulay* (and some of the other particles mentioned) occupies it. The analysis of Cowper and DeCaen (minus an ∃P)

[87] The particle *ʾûlay* is not reflected in this representation but it is likely that Cowper and DeCaen are correct in positing a Polarity head which hosts such particles.

combined with the previous analyses by Holmstedt (2014) and Naudé (1990, 2001) provide a good foundation for further research on the BH left-periphery.

I have already alluded to the non-existential functions of the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. The data reveal two patterns which are non-existential. The first involves the combination of these particles with a participle as in (334)-(335). The second pattern seems to resemble simple predication (336)-(339).

Particle + participle

(334) Genesis 24.49
וְעַתָּה אִם־יֶשְׁכֶם עֹשִׂים חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת אֶת־אֲדֹנִי
wə - ʿattâ ʾim yešḵem ʿōśîm ḥeseḏ we - ʾĕmeṯ ʾeṯ ʾăḏōnî
CONJ - now if EX.2MP make.PTCP love CONJ - truth with master.1S
Now, if you are going to show love and faithfulness to my master,

(335) Genesis 20.7
וְאִם־אֵינְךָ מֵשִׁיב דַּע כִּי־מוֹת תָּמוּת אַתָּה
wə - ʾim ʾênəḵā mēšîḇ daʿ kî môṯ tāmûṯ ʾattâ
CONJ - if NEG.EX.2MS return.PTCP know.IMP that die.INF.ABS die.IPV.2MS 2MS
If you do not return her, know that you shall surely die.

Particle + simple predication

(336) Exodus 17.7
הֲיֵשׁ יְהוָה בְּקִרְבֵּנוּ אִם־אָיִן
hă - yēš yhwh bə - qirbēnû ʾim ʾāyîn
Q - EX YHWH in - midst.1P if NEG.EX
Is YHWH among us or not?

(337) 1 Samuel 9.11
הֲיֵשׁ בָּזֶה הָרֹאֶה
hă - yēš bā - zê hā - rōʾê
Q - EX in - this ART - seer
Is the seer here?

(338) 1 Samuel 14.39
כִּי אִם־יֶשְׁנוֹ בִּיוֹנָתָן בְּנִי כִּי מוֹת יָמוּת
kî ʾim yešnô bə- yônāṯān bənî kî môṯ yāmûṯ
for if EX.3MS in - Jonathan son.1S that die.INF.ABS die.IPFV.3MS
Even if it is in my son Jonathan, he shall surely die.

(339) Genesis 37.29
וְהִנֵּה אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר
wə - hinnê ʾên yôsēp̄ bab - bôr
CONJ - behold NEG.EX Joseph in.ART - pit
Behold, Joseph was not in the pit.

Following the work of Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson (forthcoming), I am proposing that these patterns find their explanation in diachronic change.

5.6 Diachronic Change in BH Existentials

In research conducted by Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson (forthcoming), negative existentials in ancient Hebrew (including post-biblical Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew) demonstrate a cycle of change which corresponds to Croft's (1991) negative existential cycle. Before I feature how this cycle works in BH, a word is necessary about synchrony and diachrony. The synchronic vs. diachronic dichotomy has been challenged in recent research. Lass asks,

> How much of what looks like (synchronic) structure really is, and how much is rather detritus left behind by historical processes, that even if they leave notable residues have no particular present relevance?... In this sense a language-state as an object of academic scrutiny is no different in principle from a kidney, a mountain range, or an art style (Lass 1997:12).

The representation of stages in language change in formulations such as A>B is misleading. A more appropriate formulation has been presented by Croft (1991) in his work on cycles in negative existentials: A > A~B > B. Even this formulation is inadequate since patterns in language can become restricted or fossilised and not lost (Brinton and Traugott 2005:6). Brinton and Traugott propose the formulation in (340).

(340)

$$A > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} A \\ B \end{array} \right\} > (B)$$

This formulation means that a distinct stage B may never occur. Some newer forms may emerge but not completely diffuse throughout the language.

In his theory of language change and diffusion, Naudé (2012) lays out four dimensions that are relevant to analysing ancient Hebrew texts with historical linguistics. First, the individual dimension is the source of change. This is the idiolect that develops when the grammar of an individual differs from the input source (as in child and his parents). Much has been written on the different phenomena that typically lead to the mismatch between speaker and hearer in the process of language acquisition.

The second dimension is the sociological dimension. This relates to the diffusion of the change throughout the language community. Ringe and Eska describe this process as the following:

> Yet, should it be the case that a syntactic parameter changes its setting from one generation to the next via imperfect learning in the acquisition process, we have to ask why we find that change takes place only gradually in the documentary record. This seeming paradox has been solved by Kroch 1989, who points out that a parameter for which only a small amount of data is present in the primary linguistic data heard during the process of acquisition can lead two learners to acquire two different grammars. This has given rise to Kroch's Grammars in Competition Hypothesis, in which parameter settings, not entire grammars, compete; it is manifested in the variation found in the documentary record as the reflex of an innovative parametric setting competes with and eventually supplants the reflex of the older parametric setting (Ringe and Eska 2013:214).

Naudé adds that this sociological diffusion occurs gradually and in the shape of an S-shaped curve with the new option beginning slowly, accelerating, and finally leveling off once the competition is resolved.

The third dimension is the chronological dimension. In this dimension, newer forms exist and change side-by-side with older forms called "stylistic fossils." Naudé says, "These stylistic fossils are in competition — at certain stages they are dominant and at other stages they are dominated — and they may be present in the speech community for centuries" (Naudé 2012:73). As older forms erode and become limited in their use, newer forms pick up the slack and represent a renewal, a "diachronic cycle." This cycle is not a reversal of directionality, only a termination of one unidirectional process and the restarting of another in the same general direction. (Naudé 2012:73).

Naudé's fourth dimension acknowledges that we are working with written language. All historical linguistic studies that span more than a few generations must interact with written text. Writing is secondary to speech and often employs unique forms for unique purposes, but writing is and must be the object of diachronic study. The written dimension preserves a picture of the status of diffusion at the time of writing. If written texts are our data, then each text which gives evidence that a change has diffused represents a stage with respect to that construction. For this reason, syntactic structures in different corpora reflect different stages insofar as they have qualitative differences. A stage in diachronic syntax, then, is construction-specific and is discerned by observing the degree of diffusion between written texts. These stages are part of a cycle which is constantly being renewed.

Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) have observed such a cycle in the encoding of negative existentials in ancient Hebrew. This cycle corresponds to the one observed by Croft (1991) which has been refined in the work of Veselinova (2016). This cycle is a cross-linguistic pattern in which a standard verbal negator can be shown to evolve out of a negative existential particle. Croft identifies three types of languages which have no synchronic variation in their negative constructions. In type A, the negation of an existential construction is performed by the same negator used for verbal constructions. Type B has a special negative existential construction

which is distinct from the verbal negator. Type C has a special negative existential construction which is identical to the verbal negator (Croft 1991:6). Croft also identifies three types which have synchronic variation: A~B, B~C, C~A. Croft says, "Thus, we hypothesize a negative existential cycle, in which a special negative existential form arises (A>B), comes to be used as a verbal negator (B>C), and then is supplemented by the positive existential predicate in its existential function, restoring a 'regular' negative + existential construction (C>A)" (Croft 1991:6). Thorough cross-linguistic studies have confirmed this cycle as a typological universal for language change (Croft 1991; Veselinova 2013, 2016).

Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) have identified that this cycle explains the variation of the negative existential particle *ʾên* and the verbal negator *lōʾ*. They argue that BH exhibits a clear B~C stage in Croft's typology in which the negative existential particle is expanding its domain of use from existential sentences to verbal sentences (Naudé and Miller-Naudé 2016:850). The use of an existential particle to negate participles is one of the most common ways cross-linguistically for negative existentials to begin taking over the verbal domain (Veselinova 2016:157).[88]

Without making any claims about specific dates for individual books in the Hebrew Bible, this B~C stage is datable based on paleographic evidence from inscriptions:

(341) Silwan 1.1[89]
ʾyn *[p]h* *ksp*
NEG.EX here silver
There is no silver here

(342) Lachish 4.7-8[90]
ʾyn[*n*]*y* *šlḥ*
NEG.EX.1CS send.PTCP
I am not sending.

[88] Additional evolution has been observed in the existential *lōʾ+hyh* construction into Mishnaic Hebrew (Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson forthcoming).
[89] See also Lachish 4.5.
[90] See also Arad 40.13-14.

Examples (341) and (342) give evidence of the negative existential particle functioning both in a typical existential function and as a participial negator, which is what we observed in the BH data. For details about how these forms continue to evolve in Qumran Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew see Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson (forthcoming).

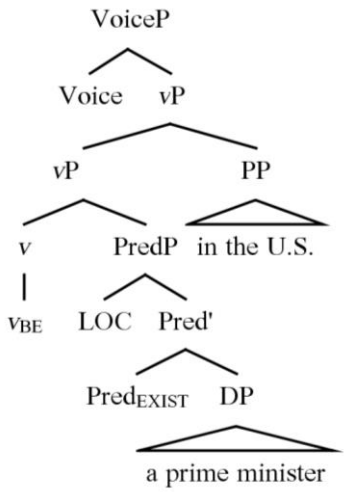
These insights from diachronic typology explain why the negative existential particle functions in a similar way to *lōʾ+hyh* (as a genuine existential) and in participial and simple predicational constructions. Though there are not equivalent diachronic studies of positive existentials, the same explanation is likely for the particle *yēš*. BH has two simultaneous and competing strategies for existentials: those involving *hyh* and those with the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. The explanation is diachronic. A relevant next question is what explanation there may be for the evolution of these particles.

According to Naudé, changes in language are "revisions and differences in the features of lexical items in the mental lexicon of the individual" (Naudé 2012:72). These changes create an idiolect which then diffuses into the linguistic community. Changes in underlying syntactic representations certainly qualify as potential sites for the creation of an idiolect. I am proposing that the source of the evolution of the existential particles is a change in the underlying syntactic representation. I have already demonstrated the syntactic similarity of existential and simple predicational sentences which use a form of *hyh*. The difference in interpretation between predicational and existential sentences has to do with the semantic demands of a functional head $\text{Pred}_{\text{EXIST}}$ which applies the pivot NP to the contextual domain as the primary relation. Predicational sentences, however, have a different functional head Pred which relates an external argument to a complement XP. Examples (344) and (345) demonstrate the difference between predicational and existential sentences in their underlying syntactic representation of (343).

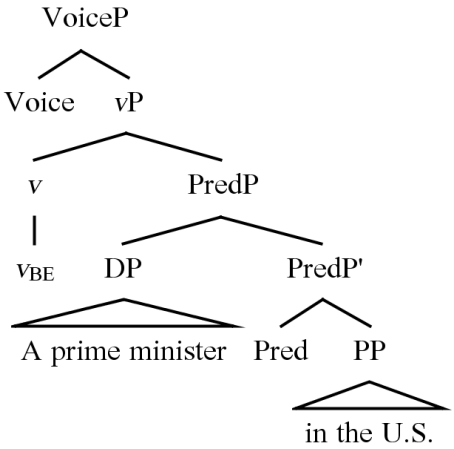
(343) There is a prime minister in the U.S. (344)

A prime minister is in the U.S. (345)

(344) Existential



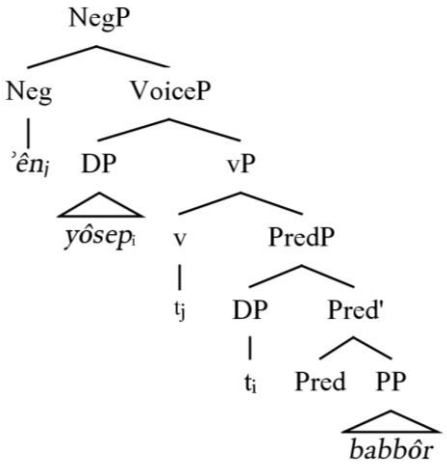
(345) Predicational



If an existential construction were to evolve into a predicational construction, it would need to begin with the functional Pred head. An individual language user would need to confuse the semantics of the underlying predication. This would create an idiolect which would need to diffuse throughout the language community. This is what I am proposing happened with the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. The participial predicates and simple predication patterns have developed in BH because of a reinterpretation of the underlying syntax and semantics of the functional head Pred. This change has even led to these particles licensing subject agreement, which they do not do as pure existentials. Since existential and copular predication existed in earlier stages of the language, and thus the underlying syntax of both constructions, what changed was the contexts in which the Vocabulary Items *yēš* and *ʾên* could be used.[91] Examples (346) and (347) and their underlying syntax are representative of the non-existential evolution of these particles.

(346) Genesis 37.29
וְהִנֵּה אֵין־יוֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר
wə - hinnê ʾên yôsēp̄ bab - bôr
CONJ - behold NEG.EX Joseph in.ART - pit
Behold, Joseph was not in the pit.

[91] Thanks to Neil Myler for his assistance on this section.



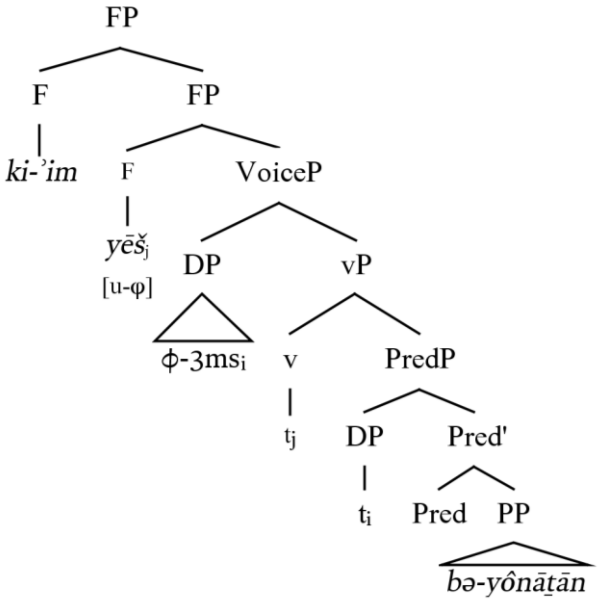
(347) 1 Samuel 14.39[92]

כִּֽי אִם־יֶשְׁנוֹ בִּיוֹנָתָן בְּנִי כִּי מוֹת יָמֽוּת

kî ʾim yešnô bə- yônāṯān bənî kî môṯ yāmûṯ

for if EX.3MS in - Jonathan son.1S that die.INF.ABS die.IPFV.3MS

Even if it is in my son Jonathan, he shall surely die.



One explanation for how $Pred_{EXIST}$ becomes Pred could come from the concept of Impoverishment in Distributed Morphology. Impoverishment has to do with the deletion of features before phonological spell-out (Bonet 1991; Halle 2000). This is a topic for further

[92] The FP maximal projection stands for some functional head in the left-periphery. More work needs to be done to define the full cartography of the left periphery in BH (see Cowper and DeCaen 2017, Holmstedt 2014, and Naudé 1990, 2001).

research. The final context in which these particles, as well as the verb *hyh*, are found is predicative possession.

5.7 Predicative Possessives in BH

In the tradition of Freeze (1992), reviewed in section 3.4, predicative possessives are similar to existentials. The primary difference between existentials and predicative possessives is that the coda is not a location but a person. This means that the possessor is the location of the possessee and the relationship between them is one of existence. The analyses by Myler (2016) and Francez (2007, 2009) refine the relationship between possessives, existentials, and predicate locatives.

The semantic relationship of predicative possession is schematised by Myler in (348):

(348) $\lambda P_{<e,t>}.\lambda y_{e}.\lambda x_{e}.\lambda e_{s}.P(x)\&Poss(y,x,e)$. (Myler 2016:258).

One critical difference between predicative possessives and existentials seen in (348) is that there are two obligatory arguments. The pivot in existentials is essentially a relation that takes the contextual domain as its sole argument, while the coda is optional. In possessives, the possessor functions as the coda but is obligatory.

Cross-linguistically, languages can be divided into HAVE-languages (e.g. English) or BE-languages (BH) in how they structure their predicate possessives, with a few languages using some form of a WITH adposition.[93] Myler's research demonstrates that this cross-linguistic phenomenon can be explained based on the idea of transitivity. What Myler means by transitivity is that HAVE-based languages require a transitive Voice head which has a specifier and bears interpretable φ-features with which some DP is licensed (Myler 2016:10). He says, "HAVE...is the form that BE takes when something is merged in the specifier of a

[93] The situation is more complex than this, but this broad generalisation is sufficient for our analysis. See Stassen 2009.

Voice head bearing phi-features — in other words, HAVE is the transitive form of BE" (Myler 2016:10). Since BH belongs to the class of BE-languages, Voice does not require a specifier and does not bear φ-features. The precise syntax and semantics of BH predicative possessives is complex enough to merit its own thesis and will not be expounded here.

Research of predicative possessives in BH has been done previously in the dissertation of Bar Asher (2009). His work also cites the work by Francez (2007, 2009), but departs from that analysis preferring instead a view of existential predication based on the concept of Instantiation.[94] Bar Asher identifies four different types of predicative possessives in BH which he calls *allosentences* of the same construction. These are constructions which have the same truth conditions and use the same conceptual strategies though not always sharing the same components (Bar Asher 2009:423). The first he calls dative-PPC (Predicative Possessive Construction). Example (349) (his (2)) demonstrates this construction.

(349) 1 Samuel 1.2
וְלוֹ֙ שְׁתֵּ֣י נָשִׁ֔ים ....וְשֵׁ֤ם הַשֵּׁנִית֙ פְּנִנָּ֔ה וַיְהִ֥י לִפְנִנָּ֖ה יְלָדִ֑ים וּלְחַנָּ֕ה אֵ֥ין יְלָדִֽים
wə - lô šətê nāšîm... wə -šēm haš - šēnîṯ pəninnâ
CONJ - to.3MS two wives…CONJ -name ART - other Peninnah
wayhî li - p̲ninnâ yəlāḏ̲îm û - lə - ḥannâ ʾên yəlāḏ̲îm
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS to -Peninnah children CONJ - to - Hannah NEGEX children
He had two wives… one was called Peninnah. Peninnah had children, but Hannah had none. (Bar Asher 2009:362)

The second type of predicative possession he calls Topic-PPC (Bar Asher 2009:369). He provides (350) (his (17)) to illustrate this type.

(350) 1 Samuel 25.6
וְאַתָּ֥ה שָׁל֛וֹם וּבֵיתְךָ֥ שָׁל֖וֹם וְכֹ֣ל אֲשֶׁר־לְךָ֑ שָׁלֽוֹם
wəʾattâ šālôm û - b̲êṯəḵ̲ā šālôm wə - ḵ̲ōl ʾăšer ləḵ̲ā šālôm
CONJ.2MS peace CONJ - house.2MS peace CONJ - all which to.2MS peace
Good health to you and your household! And good health to all that is yours.

[94] The notion of Instantiation in Bar Asher's dissertation is distinct from that of McNally (1992).

He argues that this is equivalent to the dative PPC and thus should also be an example of predicative possession (Bar Asher 2009:370). In these constructions he says that the possessor is the topic and the possessed is the grammatical subject of an existential sentences. This is clearly at odds with the analysis of Francez, who calls the pivot of an existential (i.e. the possessee in a predicative possessive) the predicate. Bar Asher also states that the topic is not part of the core predication or the argument structure (Bar Asher 2009:372). He acknowledges that the term *topic* is not the best term to describe the possessor constituent in these constructions though he still continues to use it (Bar Asher 2009:372). He goes on to explain that though there is no explicit representation of the existential predication, it is still there and then he gives the following example to illustrate:

(351) Topic main sentence
ʾattâ *šālōm*
2mp health/peace
Have good health!

He says that the main sentence is a verbless sentence with a single element. This sentence claims the existence of its only NP as its core semantic predication. The sentence in (351) could be paraphrased "as for you, may there be health." The predication in this sentence is existential and the topic transforms it into a PPC by providing the domain in which the predication should be applied. (Bar Asher 2009:373-374). Additionally, there is nothing in the predication which contains the lexical meaning of possession. The possessive interpretation is strictly pragmatic (Bar Asher 2009:378).

The third type of predicative possessive he lists is the Genitive PPC. Example (352) provides an example.

(352) Psalm 115.7
יְדֵיהֶם ׀ וְלֹא יְמִישׁוּן רַגְלֵיהֶם וְלֹא יֶהֱלֵכוּ
yəḏêhem wə - lōʾ yəmîšûn raḡlêhem wə - lōʾ yəhallēḵû
hands.3MP CONJ - NEG feel.IMPV.3MP feet.3MP CONJ - NEG walk.IPFV.3MP
They have hands but cannot feel; they have feet, but cannot walk.

This type appears to be a single constituent with a suffixed pronoun, rather than a full clause. Though these constructions are rare, Bar Asher considers them to be examples of predicative possession and says, "[they] can be considered as a subgroup of the topic-PPC, with the genitive pronoun anchoring the main predication to the topic-P[ossesso]R which provides the domain" (Bar Asher 2009:417).

The fourth type is called the Comitative PPC. He says that there are two possible types of comitative PPCs: one in which the possessor is the grammatical subject and the possessee is the complement following a WITH-preposition, and the other in which the possessee is the subject and the possessor follows the WITH-preposition as the complement (Bar Asher 2009:418). He identifies a construction similar to the second type in BH (353).

(353) 1 Samuel 9.7
מָה אִתָּנוּ
mâ ʾittānû
what with.1P
What do we have?

He states that the sentence in (353) could just be interpreted as the "regular use of 'with'" and is probably not an instance of comitative PPC (Bar Asher 2009:419). Bar Asher has offered the most thorough description of predicative possessives in BH. Since these constructions also make use of *hyh*, the existential particles, and verbless clauses, I will provide examples and make a few observations.

Examples (354) and (355) provide a minimal pair expressing predicative possession in several ways.

(354) 2 Samuel 6.23
וּלְמִיכַל בַּת־שָׁאוּל לֹא־הָיָה לָהּ יֶלֶד עַד יוֹם מוֹתָהּ
û - lə - mîḵal baṯ šāʾûl lōʾ hāyâ lah
CONJ - to -Michal daughter Saul NEG COP.PFV.3MS to.3FS
yāleḏ ʿaḏ yôm môṯah
children until day.GEN death..3FS
And Michal the daughter of Saul did not have children until the day of her death.

(355) 1 Samuel 1.2
וַיְהִי לִפְנִנָּה יְלָדִים וּלְחַנָּה אֵין יְלָדִים
wayhî li - P̱ninnâ yəlāḏîm û -lə - ḥannâ ʾên yəlāḏim
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS to- Paninah children CONJ -to - Hannah NEG.EX children
And Paninah had children but Hannah had no children

Examples (356)-(358) demonstrate predicative possession with the verb *hyh* with difference temporal reference and different word orders.

(356) Genesis 12.16
וַיְהִי־לוֹ צֹאן־וּבָקָר
wayhî lô ṣōʾn û - ḇāqār
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS to.3MS sheep CONJ - cattle
He had sheep and cattle.

(357) Genesis 11.3
וַתְּהִי לָהֶם הַלְּבֵנָה לְאָבֶן וְהַחֵמָר הָיָה לָהֶם לַחֹמֶר
wattəhî lāhem hal - ləḇēnâ lə - ʾāḇen
CONJ.COP.PRET.3FS to.3MP ART - brick for - stone
wə - ha - ḥēmār hāyâ lāhem la - ḥōmer
CONJ -ART - bitumen COP.PFV.3MS to.3MP for.ART - morter
They had brick for stone and bitumen they had for morter.

(358) Deuteronomy 28.41
בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת תּוֹלִיד וְלֹא־יִהְיוּ לָךְ
bānîm û - ḇānôṯ tôlîḏ wə - lōʾ yihyû lāḵ
sons CONJ - daughters bear.IPFV.2MS CONJ - NEG COP.IPFV.3MP to.2FS
You will bear sons and daughters but they will not be yours.

Examples (359)-(360) demonstrate predicative possession with the existential particles.

(359) Genesis 44.20
וַנֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֲדֹנִי יֵשׁ־לָנוּ אָב
wan - nōʾmer ʾel ʾăḏōnî yeš lānû ʾāḇ
CONJ - say.PRET.1P to lord.1S EX to.1P father
We said to my Lord, “We have a father.”

(360) Numbers 5.8
וְאִם־אֵין לָאִישׁ גֹּאֵל
wə ʾim ʾên lā - ʾîš gōʾēl
CONJ if NEG.EX to.ART-man kin
If the man has no kin

Examples (361)-(362) demonstrate that predicative possession, in contrast to existentials, may be accomplished with a verbless clause.

(361) 2 Samuel 3.7
וּלְשָׁאוּל פִּלֶגֶשׁ וּשְׁמָהּ רִצְפָּה
û -lə -šāʾûl pileḡeš û - šəmāh riṣpâ
CONJ-to-Saul concubine CONJ- name.3FS Rizpah
Saul had a concubine and her name was Rizpah.

(362) 2 Kings 10.19
כִּי־זֶבַח גָּדוֹל לִי לַבַּעַל
kî zeḇaḥ gāḏôl lî lab - baʿal
for sacrifice great to.1S for.ART - Baal
For I have a great sacrifice for Baal.

The following examples demonstrate that BH has a few examples which accomplish possession with a WITH-preposition combined with either *hyh* (363)-(364) or *yēš* (365)-(366).

(363) Joshua 8.20
וְלֹא־הָיָה בָהֶם יָדֵיִם לָנוּס
wə - lōʾ hāyâ ḇāhem yāḏayim lā- nûs
CONJ - NEG COP.PFV.3MS with.3MP hands to -flee.INF
They did not have power to flee.

(364) 2 Chronicles 9.4
וְלֹא־הָיָה עוֹד בָּהּ רוּחַ
wə - lōʾ hāyâ ʿôḏ bāh rûaḥ
CONJ -NEG COP.PFV.3MS still with.3FS breath
She no longer had breath.

(365) 2 Chronicles 16.9
כִּי מֵעַתָּה יֵשׁ עִמְּךָ מִלְחָמוֹת
kî mē - ʿattâ yēš ʿimməḵā milḥāmôṯ
for from - now EX with.2MS wars
For from now on you will have wars.

(366) 2 Chronicles 25.8
כִּי יֵשׁ־כֹּחַ בֵּאלֹהִים לַעְזוֹר וּלְהַכְשִׁיל
kî yeš kōaḥ bē -ʾlōhîm la -ʿzôr û - lə -haḵšîl
for EX strength with-god to -help.INF CONJ - to- cast.down.INF
For God has strength to help or to cast down.

The fact that BH predicative possessives utilise the same constructions as existentials is not surprising. What is surprising, however, is that they use verbless clauses without any form of *hyh* or existential particle. The underlying syntax of these constructions is a subject for future research. The conditions for BH existential sentences are provided in (367).

(367) BH Existential Spell-out rules

a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [$T_{fut/past}$] __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*yēš*/ __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]
c. v_{BE} ↔ /*ʾên*/ [NegP] __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]

5.8 Summary

In this chapter I examined the semantics of existential sentences according to Francez (2009). Francez states that the sole predication in existentials is a pivot whose sole argument is the contextual domain. Pivots are generalised quantifiers and their codas function as modifiers to the contextual domain. I also adopted the syntactic description of existentials which Myler (2016, 2017) presents. Existentials have another variation of the Pred head — $Pred_{EXIST}$ — whose specifier is a LOC argument which is further specified by the coda.

I presented the data of BH existentials utilising *hyh* as well as the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* noting the potential ambiguity that exists with their copular counterparts and suggesting a means of discerning the difference. I also presented the arguments of Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé and Wilson (forthcoming) who have discerned a diachronic cycle in BH negative existentials. This cycle explains why the existential particles have non-existential functions. I proposed that this development may find its root in a confusion of the underlying Pred head. Finally, I reviewed the analysis of Predicative Possession by Bar Asher (2009) and supplemented it with the data from my corpus. I noted the peculiar property of predicative possessives utilising a verbless clause as a subject for further research. This chapter provided a way to distinguish BH existentials from their copular counterparts and described

the primary predication in these sentences. The arguments in this chapter provide a novel description on how existentials in BH can be identified and thus interpreted/translated more accurately.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

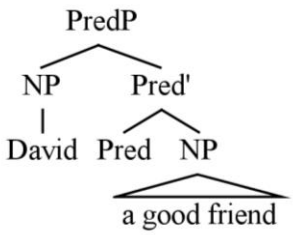
In this thesis I have presented a syntactic and semantic analysis of copular and existential sentences in BH. Chapter 1 introduced the research questions which I set out to answer and provided an abbreviated guide to the framework I used to answer these questions. This thesis aimed to answer the following questions. If *hyh* licenses TAM agreement, which features does it license? Is it accurate to say that *hyh* is a polysemous verb form which has semantic content in some examples? Should PRON be considered a copula and what is its syntactic and semantic role in a sentence? Existential sentences which use *hyh* look similar to copular sentences. What distinguishes them and how do sentences which use the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* compare to those using *hyh*.

In chapter 2 I reviewed the previous literature and included a rejection of the traditional bipartite division of BH sentences into verbal and nominal clauses. I reviewed the previous analyses of the BH verbless clause and the two primary functions ascribed to *hyh*: a copular function and a full verb meaning *happen* or *occur*. I reviewed the taxonomy issues in previous research on these constructions and accepted the analysis of Dyk and Talstra (1999) for how to determine Subject and Predicate in verbless sentences. I also reviewed the related discussion about the so-called "discourse function" of *hyh* and PRON. The chapter concluded with a review of previous studies on BH existentials, including those using *hyh* as well as the particles *yēš* and *ʾên*. Many of the issues related to these constructions have general consensus. The identity and role of the pronominal element PRON in tripartite verbless clauses has been the most debated topic among hebraists who have studied these constructions. This review demonstrated the need for a study of BH copular and existential sentences which is informed by the updated research in linguistic theory concerning these constructions. Previous research on these constructions often contains idiosyncratic terminology and provides conclusions that

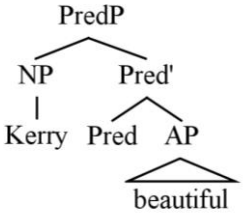
lack explanatory adequacy. The framework I introduce in chapter 3, and developed further in chapters 4 and 5, provides the updated analysis that is needed.

In chapter 3, I introduced the relevant theoretical issues involved in an analysis of these types of sentences. I agreed with Baker (2003) on the issue of lexical categorisation and demonstrated that *hyh* is not rightly called a verb when his criteria are adopted. I discussed some of the different views about what constitutes predication in copular sentences and stated that predication is fundamentally about a relation. This relation is between the predicate which is an open function and its argument(s) which saturate the predicate. Applied to copular predication, I embraced the approach to predication rooted in the generative tradition of Minimalism with the additional refinements of Distributed Morphology. Copular predication happens when the complement XP combines with the functional head Pred and is converted into an open function which needs a subject argument to create a proposition. I assume the underlying structure of copular sentences to be identical in both small and full clauses such as (368) and (369).

(368) I consider…



(369)



I argued that predication is not dependent on the copula. The copula is an auxiliary which functions as a last resort strategy to license features which need a host. I also reviewed the literature on the existential/predicational distinction, introducing the essential differences of their Perspective Structure and anatomy.

In chapter 4 I applied this theoretical framework to BH copular sentences. After analysing every occurrence of the finite form of *hyh*, every occurrence of *yēš* and *ʾên*, and all verbless clauses in Joshua through 2 Kings, including many in the Pentateuch and books which have been considered Late Biblical Hebrew (e.g. Ezra-Nehemiah), I made the following observations. Verbless clauses in Biblical Hebrew should be considered full clauses and not small clauses because they have a tense projection, undergo *Wh*-movement, and can be headed by a relative pronoun which implies a CP layer. Verbless clauses in BH are different from the analysis of Arabic by Benmamoun (2000) who says that there is not an underlying *v* in verbless sentences. The BH data indicate that there is a null *v* underlying all verbless sentences which remains null unless there are features or contexts which require its overt spell-out.

The conditions which lead to the overt spell-out of *hyh* are found in all three domains of syntax. This analysis equipped me to solve the *Too-many-meanings* puzzle which the data presented. I sorted the data to show every context in which *hyh* appears. I then demonstrated that in the thematic domain, there is an alloseme of the functional head Pred: Pred_{Ev} which has + telic/– durative aspect which accounts for *hyh*+directional PP's (370), the ingressive aspectual form *hyh*+*lamed* (371), and the non-complement constructions often translated as *happen*/*occur*/*come to be* (372).

(370) 1 Samuel 15.10
וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יהוה אֶל־שְׁמוּאֵל
wayhî *dəḇar* *yhwh* *ʾel šəmûʾēl*
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MS word.GEN YHWH to Samuel
The word of YHWH came to Samuel

(371) Deuteronomy 28.26
וְהָיְתָה נִבְלָתְךָ לְמַאֲכָל לְכָל־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם
wəhāyəṯâ niḇlāṯəḵā lə-maʾăḵāl lə-ḵol ʿôp haš - šāmayim
CONJ.COP.WQTL.3FS corpse.2MS to-food to-all bird.GEN ART – heavens
Your corpse will become food for the birds of the air

(372) Isaiah 66.2
וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשְׂתָה וַיִּהְיוּ כָל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם־יהוה
wə -ʾeṯ kol ʾēllê yāḏî ʿāśāṯâ wayyihyû ḵolʾēllê nəʾum
CONJ- OBJ all these hand.1S made.PFV.3FS CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP all these word.GEN
yhwh
YHWH
“All these my hand has made and all these came to be” declares YHWH.

In the inflectional domain, I demonstrated that future tense (373), past perfect (374), imperfective/habitual viewpoint aspect (375), and volitive mood (376) are all contexts which require *hyh*.

(373) Genesis 4.14
וְהָיִיתִי נָע וָנָד בָּאָרֶץ
wəhāyîṯî nāʿ wā - nāḏ bā -ʾāreṣ
CONJ.COP.WQTL.1S stranger.PTCP CONJ -foreigner.PTCP in.ART -land
But I will be a stranger and a foreigner in the land.

(374) Joshua 4.9
וַיִּהְיוּ שָׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
wayyihyû šām ʿaḏ hay -yôm haz -zê
CONJ.COP.PRET.3MP there until ART - day ART - this
They have been there until this day.

(375) Exodus 40.38
כִּי עֲנַן יְהוָה עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּן יוֹמָם וְאֵשׁ תִּהְיֶה לַיְלָה בּוֹ
kî ʿănan yhwh ʿal ham- miškān yômām wə -ʾēš tihyê
for cloud.GEN YHWH over ART - tabernacle days CONJ-fire COP.IPFV.3FS
laylâ bô
night in.3MS
For the cloud of YHWH was over the tabernacle by day and fire would be in it by night.

(376) Qohelet 5.1
וְאַתָּה עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־כֵּן יִהְיוּ דְבָרֶיךָ מְעַטִּים
wəʾattâ ʿal hā-ʾāreṣ ʿal kēn yihyû ḏəḇārêḵā məʿaṭṭîm
CONJ-2MS on ART-earth upon thus COP.JUSS.3MP words.2MS few
You are on the earth, therefore let your words be few.

This analysis confirmed my hypothesis that the variation of uses of *hyh* and its alternation with the verbless clause are not due to multiple verbs that are homonyms of *hyh* in the Lexicon, nor to polysemy inherent to the verb *hyh* itself, but rather to the semantics of adjacent heads in the derivation and featural demands in the inflectional domain.

In the left-periphery I demonstrated that the so-called "discourse function" of *hyh* is actually a case of what I called *event disclocation* which is used to introduce a thetic judgment. I also presented a syntactic description of PRON which demonstrates that it is not a copula but rather the overt manifestation of Pred in equational sentences.

In chapter 5, I provided a thorough analysis of the syntax and semantics of BH existentials and demonstrated how they are to be distinguished from their copular counterparts. Following Francez (2009), I argued that the fundamental predication in existential sentences is between the predicate (the pivot) and the contextual domain. I argued that there is another alloseme of Pred: $\text{Pred}_{\text{EXIST}}$ which relates the pivot to its subject LOC. The coda of the existential exists to specify LOC. Understanding pivots as Generalised Quantifiers following Francez (2009) and recognising the core predication in existentials helps distinguish BH existentials with *hyh* from their copular counterparts. I analysed the particles *yēš* and *ʾên* and argued that their tenseless nature make them well-suited to be used in conjunction with the many particles they appear with, contexts in which *hyh* does not appear. Concerning their non-existential function, I argued, following Naudé and Miller-Naudé (2016) and Naudé, Miller-Naudé, and Wilson (forthcoming), that these particles are used in copular constructions in limited environments according to the diachronic cycle identified by Croft (1991). Finally, I introduced predicative possessives in BH and made a few comments about their relationship with BH existentials. The spell-out rules in (377) summarise the conclusions reached in this thesis.

(377) BH Copular Sentence Spell-Out Rules
a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ __ [$Pred_{Ev}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [T_{fut}] __
c. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{IPFV}]__
d. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Asp_{PFV}]__
e. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [Mod_{VOL}]__
f. v_{BE} ↔ /ø/ *elsewhere*

BH Existential Sentence Spell-Out Rules
a. v_{BE} ↔ /*hyh*/ [$T_{fut/past}$] __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]
b. v_{BE} ↔ /*yēš*/ __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]
c. v_{BE} ↔ /*ʾên*/ [NegP] __ [$Pred_{EXIST}$]

I endeavoured to answer whether *hyh* is actually a polysemous verb and discovered that it is not. Instead, it should be considered an auxiliary. I endeavoured to discover which TAM features *hyh* licensed and found the answer, which is specified in (377). I endeavoured to discover how to distinguish existential sentences which use *hyh* from copular sentences which use *hyh* and was successful. These are novel contributions to the study of Biblical Hebrew. I also sought to explain how existentials which use the verb *hyh* relate to those which use the existential particles *yēš* and *ʾên* and found an explanation in linguistic diachrony. Utilising the preceding analysis of copular sentences, I confirmed that PRON is not rightly called a copula, but instead is an overt manifestation of the functional head Pred. Having thoroughly examined and answered the research question, the study has uncovered additional questions which represent subjects for further research.

It was demonstrated that the preposition *lamed* functions as the overt manifestation of the functional head Pred in some environments. An interesting study would analyse whether there is any way to predict when this preposition is required to function in this manner. One other study which is important for future research is the way different types of modality interact with the verb *hyh* and how the results of that study would affect the results proposed in this work. Additionally, the notion of Impoverishment from the framework of DM should be

applied to the defective agreement of PRON in order to discern why there is no person agreement in these constructions. Concerning the construction I have labeled *event dislocation*, it would be interesting to analyse other examples of this happening in other languages. The English pseudo-cleft *What happened was…* seems to be setting up a similar thetic assertion to that of BH. This would make an interesting typological study which would add to the growing list of formal means of conveying thetic judgments cross-linguistically. One additional subject for further research is how predicative possessives are related to existentials in BH and yet they can be conveyed with a verbless clause.

This thesis is a demonstration of what is possible when the advances of modern linguistics are applied to ancient languages, specifically BH. This language has been analysed for millennia and yet research on a subject as basic as copular and existential predication still renders exciting results. In Wilson (2015) I provided an analysis of one type of copular sentence. This thesis builds off that work and includes a more refined theoretical framework which is suitable for analysing all the construction types considered in this thesis. The motivation behind this research was to gain understanding and then provide a guide for readers of BH which would provide an explanation for every verbless clause and every form of *hyh* they encounter in this fascinating language. It is my sincerest hope that I have provided such a guide.

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