THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW:

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

by

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, for years of
unwavering support,
to my wife, for years of everlasting patience,
and to my daughter, for whom I waited so long.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation represents a comprehensive study of the structural (syntactic) and functional (pragmatic) features of the Biblical Hebrew relative clause within the linguistic framework of the Minimalist Program (as articulated in Chomsky 1995b, 1998, 1999). There are two purposes for this work. First, it is an exhaustive analysis of relative clauses in the Hebrew Bible. I examine every type of Biblical Hebrew relative word and every type of Biblical Hebrew relative clause in order to identify the salient structural and pragmatic features concerning this clause type. In particular, I introduce the linguistic issues of overt and covert antecedents/heads, overt and covert relative words, resumption, restrictiveness, and extraposition, and offer an analysis of these phenomena with regard to Biblical Hebrew.

The second purpose of this work is to demonstrate the value of a generative linguistic analysis upon the language of the Hebrew Bible by addressing one of the most common Biblical Hebrew clause types, the relative clause. The relative clause is particularly suitable in this regard for two reasons: 1) there has been no comprehensive modern linguistic analysis of the Biblical Hebrew relative clause, and 2) every Biblical Hebrew grammar contains a discussion of the relative clause. The former allows this work to provide a significantly new contribution to Biblical Hebrew studies. The latter allows this work to illustrate by comparison the contribution of generative linguistics beyond the results of the taxonomic, Latin-based philological approaches of most past and recent Biblical Hebrew grammars.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

.	(period) *Hebrew construct relationship*
-	(hyphen) *cliticization* (morpheme boundaries for verbal or nominal person-gender-number affixes are not indicated)
___	*"gap"*(used in chps. one and two for the lack of resumption; see also *t*(race))
*	*ungrammaticality*
**	*recursion*
Ø	*phonologically null constituent* (e.g., null head, null relative word, null resumptive)
X_i	*coindexation* (indicated by subscript)
1	*1st person*
2	*2nd person*
3	*3rd person*
a/*a*P	*adjective/adjective phrase* (functional category)
A/AP	*adjective/adjective phrase* (lexical category)
ACC	*accusative*
ADV/AdvP	*adverb*
ARG	*argument*
AUX	*auxiliary verb*
BH	*Biblical Hebrew*
C	*common*
-*C*	abstract *consonant* that assimilates to the adjacent consonant (e.g. *haC*- + *midbār* ⇒ *hammidbār*)
CAUS	*causative*
C/COMP	*complementizer*
COMPL	*completive*
CONJ	*conjunction*
CP	*complementizer phrase*
D/DP	*determiner/determiner phrase*
DEF	*definite marker* (not used with regard to the BH article)
DEM	*demonstrative*
e	*empty category* (used in chp. 2 to indicate the lack of resumption)
EVID	*evidential*
EXST	*existential*
F	*feminine*
F (sub)	*Focus*
FocP	*Focus Phrase*
I/IP	*inflectional node/inflectional phrase*
IMPF	*imperfective (i.e.,* BH *yiqtol)*
IMV	*imperative*
INF	*infinitive*
K (sub)	*Kontrast*
LF	*Logical Form*
M	*masculine*
MOD	*modal (i.e., jussive, cohortative;* also used following PERF to tag the *modal perfect/(*we)qatal*)*
N	*neuter*
NEG	*negative*
NOM	*nominative*
N/NP	*noun/noun phrase*
O/OBJ	*object*
OBL	*oblique Case*
Op	*O(perator)* (used to refer to the null relative operator in chp. five)
P	*plural*
PASS	*passive*
PAST	*past (i.e.,* BH *wayyiqtol)*
PERF	*perfective (i.e.,* BH *qatal)*
PP	*prepositional phrase*
PRED	*predicate*
pro	*phonologically null pronoun* (only used after chapter three)
ptcp	*participle* (functional category)
PTCP/PtcpP	*participle* (lexical category)/*participle phrase*
REFL	*reflexive*
REL	*relative word/complementizer*
R (sub)	*Rheme*
S	*singular*
SPEC	*specifier*
SUB	*subject*
t	*'trace' of a moved constituent*
T	*Theme*
T/TP	*Tense/Tense phrase* (functional category)
TopP	*Topic Phrase*
v./vv.	*verse/verses*
v/*v*P	*'light' verb/verb phrase* (functional category)
V/VP	*verb/verb phrase* (lexical category)
WH	*wh-word* (i.e., interrogative or relative words such as *when*, *what*, *which*, *who*)
X	*any head constituent*
XP	*any phrasal constituent*

Abbreviations of English Bible Translations:

NRSV	*New Revised Standard Version of the Bible*
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures, The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text*
NIV	*The Holy Bible: The New International Version Translation*
NAS95	*New American Standard Bible (1995 Update)*

TRANSCRIPTION OF HEBREW CHARACTERS

Consonants

א	ʾ
ב	b̲
בּ	b
ג	g̲
גּ	g
ד	d̲
דּ	d
ה	h
ו	w
ז	z
ח	ḥ
ט	ṭ
י	y
כ	k̲
כּ	k
ךּ	k̲
ל	l
מ	m
ם	m
נ	n
ן	n
ס	s
ע	ʿ
פ	p̲
פּ	p
ף	p̲
צ	ṣ
ץ	ṣ
ק	q
ר	r
שׁ	ś
שׂ	š
ת	t̲
תּ	t

Vowels

ְ	ə
ָ	ā
ַ	a
ֶ	e
ֵ	ē
ִ	i
ֻ	u
ֹ	o
ֹ	ō
ָה	â
ֵי	ê
ֵי	ê
ִי	î
וּ	û
וֹ	ô
ָה	o
ַה	a
ֶה	e

CONTENTS

PART I: INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

> The interpretation of texts and the deeper understanding of syntax are closely interwoven. New rules are the solid basis of new understanding, and vice versa. Without the lead of syntax, commentators could never be certain whether their suggestions are possible at all. Both modern biblical exegesis and syntax prefer to attack passages which are commonly admitted *cruces*. But just where the sense is well known and the text established is it possible to discover fundamental rules, which may pave the way for new interpretation when applied to difficult or poetic texts. (Goshen-Gottstein 1949:35)

Goshen-Gottstein's (1949) argument can be summarized rather simply: start by analyzing basic syntactic phenomena. If we accept this common sense proposal, to refine our understanding of the grammar of any given language by starting with the analysis of understood issues before addressing problematic ones, then the Biblical Hebrew (BH) relative clause is a prime candidate as the object of scrutiny. A perusal of grammatical studies of BH clearly suggests that there is nothing particularly noteworthy about the structure or function of the BH relative clause; it is a common subordinate clause, and, unlike many other BH grammatical phenomena (e.g., the tense-aspect-mood of the verbal system, word order in verbal or verbless clauses), the relative clause is apparently at the center of very few interpretative *cruces* within the biblical text.

However, the BH relative clause is anything but simple when analyzed from a linguistic perspective. Not only have the precise syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features of the relative clause *in general* been the subject of much debate among linguists,[1] we shall see in the following chapters that the *BH data* present us with more than the usual array of issues. For

[1] For example, compare Fabb 1990 and Borsley 1992.

example, the analysis of "independent" relative clauses, the identification of relative clauses positioned at a distance from their antecedent (often referred to as 'relative clause *extraposition*'), the phenomenon of restrictiveness in BH relative clauses, and the function of resumption within BH relative clauses—none of these issues has been adequately studied. Consider the issue of resumption within BH relative clauses: why are some heads (i.e., the constituent being modified by the relative clause, sometimes referred to as the 'antecedent') resumed inside the relative clause (1), and others are not (2)?

(1) bammāqôm ʾᵃšer yiḇḥar yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā **bô**
in-the-place REL choose(3MS IMPF) Yhwh god-your in-it
'*in the place **that** Yhwh your god chooses **it***' (Deut 12.18)

(2) ʾel hammāqôm ʾᵃšer yiḇḥar yhwh
to the-place REL choose(3MS IMPF) Yhwh
'*to the place **that** Yhwh chooses __*' (Deut 12.26)

In both examples, (1) and (2), the head of the relative is the same (the definite noun phrase 'the place'), the verb is the same (the imperfective 3MS of 'to choose'), and the subject is the same (the proper noun, *Yhwh*). Yet, in (1), the relative clause *resumes* the head by means of the clitic 3MS pronoun *-ô* in the prepositional phrase *bô* 'in it', whereas in (2) the head is not resumed (note also that the lack of resumption leaves the transitive verb 'to choose' without a complement).

Another basic feature of BH relative clauses that has not been addressed is the difference between examples with the head noun in the absolute state, such as in (1) and (2), and examples with the head noun in the construct state, as in (3) and (4):

(3) **kol yəmê ʾᵃšer yiškōn heʿānān ʿal hammiškān** yaḥᵃnû
all.of days.of REL dwell(3MS IMPF) the-cloud upon the-tabernacle camp(3MP IMPF)
'***all the days that the cloud would settle over the tabernacle**, they would camp*' (Num 9.18)

(4) ûnəṯattîḵā bəyaḏ məḇaqšê napšeḵā **ûḇəyaḏ ʾᵃšer ʾattâ**
and-give(1CS PERF MOD)-you in-hand.of seek(MP PTCP).of life-your and-in-hand.of REL you

yāgôr mippənêhem
fearful from-faces-their

'and I shall give you into the hand of those seeking your life and ***into the hand of (those) that you are fearful of them****'* (Jer 22.25)

Moreover, even though both the nouns preceding the relatives in (3) and (4) are in the *construct state*, the relationship of these nouns, *yəmê* 'days of' and *yaḏ* 'hand of', to their respective relative clauses differs significantly between the two. In (3), the noun *yəmê* 'days of' is the head of the relative clause; the construct state of the head is a strategy used in BH to indicate that the relative clause is restrictive (see 2.7 and 5.5). In (4), the noun *yaḏ* 'hand of' is not the head of the relative clause; the head of this relative is *covert* (i.e., phonologically absent but syntactically real; such relative clauses are often referred to as "independent" relatives) and the noun *yaḏ* 'hand of' is in construct with this covert head (see 2.3 and 5.2).

The two clauses in (3) and (4) illustrate the complexity of the BH relative clause. Thus, it is all the more surprising that this clause type has not been the object of any significant modern study. Although the relative clause is an extremely frequent clause in the Hebrew Bible (there are just under 5,500 *marked* relative clauses, making it the most common explicitly marked subordinate clause in BH), there has been no exhaustive analysis of the BH relative clause as a semantic clause type[2] (that is, an analysis that considers all of the ways that a BH relative clause is introduced and used in the biblical text), either from a philological[3] or modern

[2] The only study that approaches comprehesiveness is the traditional grammatical study of Peretz 1967; however, he does not discuss the issue of restrictiveness.

[3] Bodine (1987) distinguishes philology from linguistics in the following manner: "Philology gives attention to particular texts (usually of a literary nature and written), seeks to elucidate features of these texts which are more-or-less language specific, emphasizes the content of the texts, and draws implications that are related to the

linguistic perspective.[4] The extent, and limits, of the current understanding of the BH relative clause is illustrated by the presentations given within reference grammars (e.g., Davidson 1901:§§9, 142; Kautzsch 1910:§§36, 155; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:§19; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:§§38, 158).

In this work I intend to fill the gap in our understanding of the BH relative clause. This work constitutes an investigation of the BH relative clause in which the features of the relative clause are analyzed from the perspectives of both philology and modern linguistics. I will address the linguistic features of the relative clause with regard to both its syntactic structure and its pragmatic/discourse function. Though this clause cannot be considered "basic," if what is meant by the term is structural and functional simplicity, it is a very common clause type. As such, this work is in accordance with the spirit of Goshen-Gottstein's suggested methodology: I will describe the 'fundamental grammatical rules' of the BH relative clause, using this common clause type to provide a linguistic methodology for the analysis of any linguistic feature of BH.

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culture in which the texts were produced. Linguistics, on the other hand, studies speech with an eye to language qua language, attends more to features of its texts and other sources of information which are shared among languages rather than language specific, is concerned more with the structure of language than the content of texts, and is more theoretically than culturally oriented" (1987:40). (Also, see Barr 1969, Gleason 1974, and Bodine 1992 for further discussion of the interaction between philology and linguistics.)

In contrast to Bodine's distinction (given from the perspective how the two are used within Biblical Hebrew studies), Sampson (1980) describes the difference between philology and linguistics from the perspective of general linguistics: "in modern English usage *linguistics* normally means linguistics in the twentieth-century style—therefore primarily synchronic linguistics—while *philology*, if used at all refers . . . to historical linguistics as practised in the nineteenth century" (1980:243, fn. 1).

[4] While there have been no exhaustive works on the relative clause in BH as a semantic clause type (aside from the almost exhaustive work of Peretz 1967), there have been numerous philological studies on *individual relative words* in BH, e.g., Sperling 1876, Bergsträsser 1909, Gaenssle 1915, Qimron 1982, Schwarzschild 1990, Van Wyk 1992.

1.2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this section, I will present an overview of the contributions and shortcomings of the typical analyses of the BH relative clause from a representative selection of reference grammars (Ewald 1879,[5] Kautzsch 1910, Davidson 1901, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, Joüon and Muraoka 1993, and Gibson 1994). Also, I will briefly discuss the handful of linguistic treatments that constitute the scant attention paid to the relative clause in the last few decades.

It is not altogether easy to discern which issues grammarians have identified as basic and salient with regard to the BH relative clause. Even a cursory glance at most grammars reveals an often confusing order of presentation. For example, Kautzsch 1910 divides his discussion of 'relative clause matters' into two sections, one dealing with the relative pronoun (§138) and one dealing with relative clauses (§155). His section on the relative pronoun starts clearly, with a discussion of the etymology of *ʾašer*, but then proceeds well beyond etymology to various syntactic issues—material that better belongs to the section on the relative *clause*, not the relative *pronoun*. Furthermore, the issues of dependent/incomplete versus independent/complete relative clauses, the presence or absence of resumption/retrospective pronoun, and the presence or absence of a relative word are all presented in a rather unclear order. The presentations on the BH relative clause in most other grammars suffer similarly.

In the following sections, I have summarized salient points made by a representative selection of both older and recent reference grammars. The purpose is twofold: 1) to provide a

[5] When possible, I begin each section with a discussion of how Ewald dealt with the issue in question. It was Ewald's (1803-1875) grammatical study, along with the work of his older contemporary William Gesenius (1786-1842), that initiated the "modern" stage of Hebrew studies (see especially Barr 1971, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, and DeCaen 1996). It is a testament to their linguistic ability and incisiveness that few, if any, modern reference grammars can compare to either the depth or the breadth of their nineteenth-century works.

Although Gesenius and Ewald are equally admired for their grammatical works, Nöldeke offered the following comparison of the two grammarians in a letter to T. Witton Davies on December 22, 1902: "Bei Gesenius ist alles für den Anfänger bequem, aber aüsserlich und nach Kategorien aus dem Lateinischen und Deutschen: bei Ewald ist alles tief greifend, das Wesen der Sprache selbst erforschend" (Davies 1903:82, fn. 2).

clearer picture of what reference grammars have attempted to communicate; and 2) to provide an overview of the main issues that have traditionally been analyzed with regard to the BH relative clause. Although arranging this section in discreet segments chronologically by author would provide a historical overview of the study of the relative clause in the twentieth century, this type of arrangement would become needlessly repetitious. Instead, I have arranged this section by the various basic grammatical *categories* by which the BH relative clause has been analyzed: the etymology of the relative word *ʾašer* (1.2.1), the syntactic status of *ʾašer* vis-à-vis the antecedent and the dependent clause (1.2.2), the presence or absence of an antecedent (1.2.3), and finally, the presence or absence of a 'retrospective' or 'resumptive' pronoun (1.2.4).

1.2.1. The Etymology of ʾašer

In this section I will provide a detailed discussion of the etymology of *ʾašer*, the most common relative word used in BH. The etymology of *ʾašer* is, on the one hand, the simplest issue to discuss regarding BH relative clauses precisely because we cannot be certain how the word acquired a relative function (or even that it had a prior meaning or function in the Hebrew language). On the other hand, once we look to comparative data, reconstructing the history of *ʾašer* within Semitic becomes rather complex. The first obstacle in reconstructing the etymology of *ʾašer* is that, apart from its phonetic shape (i.e., it appears to be vocalized as a noun in 'construct'),[6] the word has apparently left no trace in the Hebrew Bible of its own history (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:332).

[6] Rather than viewing the phonetic shape (i.e., construct state) of *ʾašer* as *evidence* that it was once a noun (see, for example, Waltke and O'Connor 1990:332), it might be more natural and synchronically consistent to view the

The second obstacle is a lack of analogical development within cognate languages; that is, none of the identified cognates to *ʾᵃšer* exhibits the syntactic and semantic development into a relative word like BH *ʾᵃšer*. *ʾᵃšer* is most often connected to the Akkadian substantive *ašru*, (construct *ašar*) 'place', as well as the many West Semitic cognates of Akkadian *ašru*, e.g., Ugaritic *ʾaṯr* 'place' (Segert 1984:180; Sivan 1997:84, 198; Tropper 2000:798, 905); Old Aramaic *ʾšr* 'place', Imperial Aramaic *ʾtr* 'place' (Jean and Hoftijzer 1965:27-28; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:125-29); for further discussion of this issue, see also Kautzsch 1910:444, fn. 1; Gaenssle 1915:25-29; Bauer and Leander 1962:264; Moscati 1980:113; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:332, fn. 2; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:119, fn. 2; Lipiński 1997:324-26, 522; Koehler, Baumgartner et al. 1994-2000:98. However, none of these languages appears to use the noun 'step, place' as a relative word at any stage of development (see Garr 1985; cf. Tropper 2000:798, 905). Even so, the majority opinion has been to accept the etymological origin of *ʾᵃšer* as a noun meaning 'step, place' based on the cognate evidence and then posit that the development into a relative word occurred only in BH. The development of the noun 'step, place' into a relative word in BH becomes even more curious when we consider that BH, like most other Semitic languages (see Lipiński 1997:324-26, 522), was already marking relative clauses by means of a complementizer (i.e, *šeC-* in BH) as well as demonstrative pronouns (i.e., *zeh*, *zû,* and *zô* in BH).

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phonetic shape of the relative word as a result of its status as a function word. In other words, if we look at other functions words, such as the article *haC-*, the clitic prepositions *bə-* 'in', *kə* 'as', and *lə-* 'to', free standing function words such as *ʾaḥᵃrê* 'after', *mippənê* 'because of', *biglal* 'on account of, and *balᶜᵃḏê* 'except ', or the relative word *šeC-*, we see that within BH many function words exhibit a phonetic "dependence" upon their respective complements. Thus, instead of attempting to connect the phonetic form of many of these words to possible nominal etymologies, it might be better to recognize that both the construct state and the phonetic form of many function words are part of a more general phenomenon in BH: the phonetic form of non-verbal heads (e.g., prepositions, subordinating conjunctions, nouns) in BH tends to exhibit a prosodic 'dependence' upon their modifiers.

The most recent work to argue that the etymology of *ʾašer* is crucial for an accurate understanding of its function is Schwarzschild (1990). Schwarzschild's study represents a different approach to the syntax of *ʾašer* clauses: he proposes what he calls the 'Nominal Hypothesis' of the word *ʾašer*, in which he calls into question the typical analysis that *ʾašer* has the grammatical status of a relative word or complementizer. Instead, Schwarzschild argues that *ʾašer* should be analyzed as a noun rather than a relative word on the basis of its etymology, morphology, and syntactic characteristics.[7]

Before we consider Schwarzschild's hypothesis directly, it will be helpful to remind ourselves of the majority position, presented above, regarding the etymology, morphology, and syntactic characteristic of the word *ʾašer*. Waltke and O'Connor succinctly summarize the majority opinion:"[t]he most common *relative pronoun*, אשׁר, is etymologically a locative noun, 'a step, place,' and may be considered a noun always in the construct. There is no trace of the etymological sense, however, and the construct state is useful only in explaining the phonetic shape of the word" (1990:332).

Schwarzschild argues directly against the standard analysis of *ʾašer*. His argument that *ʾašer* maintains its nominal status rests on the observation that in the book of Qoheleth *ʾašer* appears in positions that appear to require an overt noun; thus, "*ʾašer* never ceased to be categorized as a noun in the syntactic component of the grammar of BH" (1990:7-8). His analysis of the syntax of *ʾašer* clauses is that, rather than functioning as a relative word introducing a subordinate clause, substantive *ʾašer* functions in a manner similar to that of an

[7] Schwarzschild (1990) employs the version of Chomskyan *generative linguistics* called 'Government and Binding Theory'. For a short list of other scholars using generative linguistic theories to analyze BH, see below 1.3.2, note 36.

adjective: *ʾašer* is imbedded within a larger noun phrase while heading its own noun phrase. Based on the Qoheleth data, Schwarzschild identifies four grammatical constraints which distinguish *ʾašer* from *šeC-* clauses (he analyzes the latter type as a true subordinate clause), summarized below (1990:9):

i. The function word *ʾeṯ*, which often precedes direct objects, can only introduce an object clause that is part of an noun phrase that is headed by an overt noun; thus *ʾeṯ* marks *ʾašer* object clauses, but never *kî* or *šeC-* object clauses.

ii. In BH, temporal relative clauses appear to require that they be governed by a noun in the construct state.

iii. In Qoheleth, a relative clause must have an overt antecedent noun or an overt resumptive.

iv. In Qoheleth, clitic prepositions may not subordinate a relative clause lacking an antecedent since the preposition requires an overt noun as an attachment site.

First, Schwarzschild considers the role of *ʾašer* in introducing object clauses. He claims that because *ʾeṯ* (the object marker that precedes noun phrases) precedes *ʾašer* but not other functions words, such as *kî* or *šeC-*, the data indicate that *ʾašer* is not a function word, but a noun. However, the *ʾašer* examples he presents are not *ʾašer* object clauses, but are 'headless'/null head *ʾašer* relatives with the covert head introduced by the function word *ʾeṯ* (see below, 2.2). The difference between the two is illustrated by the examples in (5) and (6), the first of which is a true *ʾašer* object clause, while the second, which Schwarzschild presents as an object clause (1990:9), is not.[8]

[8] The essential distinction between an object clause and a headless relative is that the object clause *cannot* be preceded by the accusative marker *ʾēṯ* (clauses cannot be marked for Case); in contrast, the head of a relative clause may be preceded by *ʾēṯ*. Furthermore, my analysis (using Chomskyan linguistics) of headless relatives is that they actually include a null (i.e., phonologically empty but syntactically real) head; thus, even in so-called "headless" clauses, *ʾēṯ* may (and often does) precede the null head**.** (See 2.2.2, for a detailed discussion of headless relatives; also see 5.4 for a discussion of *ʾašer* object/complement clauses.)

(5) wāʾaṯammēʾ ʾôṯām bəmattənôṯām bəhaʿaḇîr kol peṯer rāḥam
and-defile(1CS PAST) ACC-them in-gifts-their in-devote(INF) all firstborn.of womb

ləmaʿan ʾašimmēm ləmaʿan ʾašer **yēḏəʿû** **ʾašer ʾanî yhwh**
for-purpose horrify(1CS IMPF)-them for-purpose Ø REL know(3MP IMPF) REL I Yhwh

*'and I defiled them through their gifts when (they) devoted every firstborn in order to horrify them to the end that **they would know that I am Yhwh**'* (Ezek 20.26)

(6) **ʾattâ yāḏaʿtā ʾēṯ Ø ʾašer ʿaḇaḏtîḵā wəʾēṯ Ø ʾašer hāyâ**
you know(2MS PERF) ACC **Ø** REL serve(1CS PERF)-you and-ACC Ø REL be(3MS PERF)

miqnəḵā ʾittî
cattle-your with-me

*'**you know how (=the way that) I served you and how (=the way that) your cattle were with me**'*
(Gen 30.29)

What these two examples illustrate is that *ʾašer* can introduce an object clause, but when *ʾēṯ* (as in *ʾēṯ ʾašer*) is present, it unambiguously marks the *ʾašer* clause as a 'headless'/null head relative (i.e., the *ʾašer* functions as a relative word). Furthermore, if we look outside of Qoheleth, Schwarzschild's claim that *ʾēṯ* only precedes *ʾašer* and not other function words is incorrect (Van Wyk 1992). Van Wyk points to covertly headed relatives in the Late Biblical Hebrew book of Song of Songs to demonstrate that the relative word *šeC-* (which Schwarzschild agrees is clearly not nominal in origin) can also be preceded by *ʾēṯ* (Van Wyk 1992:202).

(7) ʿal miškāḇî ballêlôṯ biqqaštî **ʾēṯ šeʾāhaḇâ** nap̄šî
upon bed-my in-the-nights seek(1CS PERF) ACC REL-Ø-love(3FS PERF) soul-my

*'upon my bed at night I seek **who (=the man that)** my soul loves'* (Song 3.1; see also 3.2-4)

Therefore, if Schwarzschild's conclusion based on the *ʾašer* data were valid, we should also consider *šeC-* in Song of Songs to be a noun—a position that, as noted by Schwarzschild, has not been proposed and does not have any historical linguistic basis (1990:17).[9] The fact that

[9] The comparative Semitic data suggest that BH *ʾašer* and *šeC-* have etymologies that are independent from each other. *šeC-* probably derives from the Semitic relative **ṯu/ḏu* (Lipiński 1997:324), and is related to Akkadian *ša* (by the change *ṯu* > *šu*), Phoenician *ʾš* (Krahmalkov 2001:94-95), Imperial Aramaic *š*, and Ammonite *š* (Jean and Hoftijzer 1965:285-86; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995:1089-94). (See also Gaenssle 1915:25-29; Bauer and

both *ʾašer* and *šeC-* can be preceded by the object marker strongly suggests that we are dealing with null head relatives, rather than, as Schwarzschild argues, with substantive *ʾašer* (or *šeC-*).

The second issue Schwarzschild addresses regarding *ʾašer* is the syntax of *ʾašer* temporal clauses, that is, *ʾašer* relatives preceded by words such as 'days' or 'time' (1990:10-13). He asks why *ʾašer* "is never marked with the definite article in agreement with the noun that it modifies," since agreement in definiteness is exhibited in BH adjectival constructions. Schwarzschild's answer is to suggest that *ʾašer* is in construct. Note that he is not implying that *ʾašer* merely has a *construct form* (cf. the quote from Waltke and O'Connor 1990, given above), but that it is actually functioning as the first element in a construct relationship. In order to support this proposal, Schwarzschild appeals to the grammatical fact that "a noun in construct is never marked with the definite article" (1990:11) Thus he suggests that syntactically *ʾašer* operates exactly like attribute adjectives do except for the fact that *ʾašer* is in construct with the following clause and cannot take the expected definite article when the head noun is definite. There is, however, a problem with this piece of Schwarzschild's argument. *ʾašer* never carries morphological agreement features (e.g. masculine, feminine, singular, plural) and it would therefore be anomalous if it did reflect agreement in definiteness to the exclusion of other nominal grammatical features. The vocalization of *ʾašer* clearly reflects the phonological pattern of a noun in construct (e.g., vowel reduction); however, in the stage of the Hebrew language represented by BH, *ʾašer* is best viewed as a noun which has become grammaticalized as an indeclinable function word—in other words, it had become a frozen form by the time the

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Leander 1962:264; Moscati 1980:113; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:332, fn. 2; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:119, fn. 2.)

Hebrew language was used for the composition of the Hebrew Bible. This is not unlike the case of *lēʾmōr*, which has the shape of the preposition *lə-* 'to' prefixed to the infinitive construct of the verbal root [*ʾ-m-r*] 'to say'. In BH, however, *lēʾmōr* no longer functions primarily as an infinitive construct, but as a complementizer introducing direct speech (cf. Miller 1996:199-212).

In order to address the third issue concerning the status of *ʾašer*, Schwarzschild moves to the book of Qoheleth in order to compare the syntactic features of *ʾašer* and *šeC-*. His reason for using Qoheleth is that since "it is one of the later books of the Bible . . . if [*ʾašer*] can be shown to be 'nominal' in Qoheleth one might suspect that it was nominal throughout its history" (1990:8).

Based on the data from Qoheleth, Schwarzschild argues that the syntactic differences between *ʾašer* and *šeC-* relatives support his Nominal Hypothesis. In particular, he claims that the author of Qoheleth distinguishes the two relative words by the presence or absence of a resumptive pronoun within the relative clause. This conclusion that "in Qoheleth, a relative clause must have an overt antecedent or an overt [resumptive]" (1990:21) was reached by observing that *šeC-* relatives in Qoheleth always have either an overt antecedent or a resumptive pronoun, whereas *ʾašer* relatives do not require a resumptive pronoun even if there is no overt head to the relative. The inference that Schwarzschild draws from the *ʾašer* data is that *ʾašer* itself acts as a head, i.e., a noun, and hence there is no need for a resumptive in such relative. For instance, covertly headed *šeC-* relatives require a resumptive pronoun (8), whereas covertly headed *ʾašer* relatives do not (9) (examples taken from Schwarzschild).

(8) **ma** **še**hāyâ kəḇār niqrāʾ šəmô
what REL-be(3MS PERF) already call(3MS PERF PASS) name-its
*'**whatever (=what that)** has been, its name has already been called'* (Qoh 6.10)

(9) **ʾēṯ** **ʾᵃšer** tiddōr šallēm
ACC Ø REL vow(2MS IMPF) fulfill(2MS IMV)
*'**what** (the thing that) you vow, fulfill* (Qoh 5.3)

Furthermore, Schwarzschild claims that the only time in Qoheleth that *šeC-* relatives do not have resumptive pronouns is when they have overt heads, as in (10).

(10) ûp̱ānîṯî ʾᵃnî bəḵol **maʿᵃśay** **še**ʿāśû yāḏay
and-turn(1CS PERF) I in-all.of works-my REL-do(3CP PERF) hands-my
*'and I turned to all of **my works, which** my hands had done'* (Qoh 2.11)

The first problem with Schwarzschild's argument concerns his use of the term 'resumption'. Resumptive elements are typically considered to be *overt* syntactic constituents, such as pronouns or coreferential nouns (see 2.5, 5.3). In contrast, Schwarzschild includes in his treatment of resumptive pronouns "the subject inherent in the main verb (i.e., the agreement marking)" (1990:19), as in (8). In other words, in example (8), the only element that Schwarzschild can consider resumptive is the verb *hāyâ*, which is inflected for 3MS agreement features.[10] However, this "inherent subject" is not a syntactic entity; it is agreement marking and does not qualify as a resumptive constituent. Moreover, within generative linguistics (which is the theory that Schwarzschild employs), there is no such thing as an "inherent subject"; rather, when an overt subject noun/pronoun is not present, it is proposed that a *covert* subject exists which fulfills the necessary agreement relationship with the verb (see below,

[10] Notice that the only other element that one may consider resumptive, the suffixed possessive pronoun on *šəmô* 'his name', is actually outside of the relative clause and thus cannot be considered a resumptive constituent within the relative clause.

3.4.1.3, for a brief discussion of this *pro-drop* phenomenon). This covert constituent is not available to function as a resumptive element either.

The second problem with Schwarzschild's argument is that data outside of Qoheleth contradict his claim. Van Wyk (1992:204-5) points to examples in other Late Biblical Hebrew literature in which covertly headed *šeC-* relatives lack a resumptive constituent (even given Schwarzschild's definition of a resumptive pronoun), as in (11).[11]

(11) ʿal miškāḇî ballêlôṯ biqqaštî **ʾēṯ šeʾāhaḇâ napšî**
upon bed-my in-the-nights seek(1CS PERF) ACC REL-love(3FS PERF) soul-my
'upon my bed at night I seek ***who (=the man that) my soul loves****'* (Song 3.1)

These additional data outside of Qoheleth suggest that the differences between *ʾašer* and *šeC-* relatives in Qoheleth are either stylistic or coincidental—but not syntactic (that is unless we analyze the Hebrew of Qoheleth as a syntactically distinct dialect). If Schwarzschild's claim for the language of Qoheleth in which he points to the difference in resumption between *ʾašer* and *šeC-* relatives cannot be maintained outside of that book, then he cannot logically argue that the "nominal status" of *ʾašer* for Qoheleth (if accurate) suggests that *ʾašer* was always nominal. In other words, the distribution of the data, even if it did support his arguments (and I have demonstrated that this is not always the case), is the result of a limited corpus.

The final grammatical constraint that Schwarzschild advances to demonstrate the nominal character of *ʾašer* revolves around the ability of *ʾašer* to function as an attachment site for the clitic prepositions *bə-*, *kə-*, *lə-*, and *mē-*. He argues that while *ʾašer* can serve as the attachment site for these prepositions, *šeC-* cannot. The difference, he claims, lies in the nominal character of *ʾašer* and the non-nominal character of *šeC-* (1990:28). Foundational to

[11] See also Song 3.2, 3, 4; 1 Chr 5.20; 27.27.

this argument is the linguistic proposal that "empty or missing elements can interfere with syntactic or phonological processes that unite two morphemes" (1990:28). To make sense of this proposal, we must remember that Schwarzschild is operating within the Government and Binding theory of generative linguistics. This theory relies on the principle that some constituents may be phonologically empty and still have an effect on phonology, on syntax, or on both. The English phenomenon of '*wanna*-contraction' (a colloquial contraction of *I want to*) in (12)-(14) (taken from Ouhalla 1999:66) illustrates the syntactic reality of phonologically empty constituents.

(12) I **want to** read this novel *vs*. I **wanna** read this novel

(13) I **want** this novel **to** be considered for a prize *vs*. *I **wanna** this novel . . .

(14) This novel$_i$, I **want** **t**$_i$ **to** be considered for a prize *vs*. *This novel, I **wanna** be considered . . .

(12) illustrates how *want* and *to* are often contracted in colloquial English when they are immediately adjacent. (13) shows that when a constituent intervenes between *want* and *to*, the two words cannot be contracted. Finally, (14) demonstrates that when the noun phrase *this novel* is moved from its position after *want*, the result is the adjacency of *want* and *to*. However, because the movement leaves a *trace* (a phonologically empty but syntactically real sign that a constituent once occupied a position before it was moved elsewhere), the two words *want* and *to* only *appear* to be adjacent; syntactically they are not. Contraction of *want* and *to* is thereby prohibited.

Schwarzschild relies on this same principle for his last argument that *ʾašer* is a noun. His argument is as follows: all 'headless'/null head relatives have a covert (i.e. phonologically empty but syntactically real) head noun (Ø) (see below 2.2.2 and 5.2.2), and these covert nouns prohibit the attachment of the Hebrew clitic prepositions. Also, *šeC-* does not allow the

attachment of these prepositions; thus, *šeC-* itself must not be a noun but must follow and modify a covert head. Furthermore, since *ʾašer* does permit the cliticization of these Hebrew prepositions, it must be a noun and must not be subordinate to a covert head.

This proposal—Schwarzschild's fourth constraint—is as problematic as the previous three. First, because his data are drawn only from Qoheleth, he misses the examples in Genesis 6.3, 2 Kings 6.11, and Jonah 1.7, 12, where prepositions are clearly attached to *šeC-*. Moreover, to reconcile all the data in Qoheleth he makes a distinction between clitic prepositions and clitic conjunctions. He states that prepositions "govern noun phrases" while conjunctions "directly govern an S or S' [= clause] complement without any intervening NP node" (1990:30-31, note 17). On this basis, he excludes examples such as Qoheleth 9.12, provided in (15), since he categorizes this use of *kə* as a conjunction.

(15) kāhēm yûqāšîm bənê hāʾādām ləʿēṯ rāʿâ **kəšettippôl**
like-them snare(MP PTCP PASS) sons.of the-man to-time.of evil at-Ø-REL-fall(3FS IMPF)
ʿalêhem piṯʾōm
upon-them suddenly
'like them, the sons of man are snared at the time of calamity, ***at (the time) that it falls*** *upon them suddenly'* (Qoh 9.12)

However, it does not follow that the Hebrew word *kə* in (15) is a conjunction rather than a preposition. In fact, Schwarzschild's categorization of the prepositions in the examples he excludes is contrary to the judgments of reference grammars (e.g., Kautzsch 1910:375-76; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:490-91; see also Waltke and O'Connor 1990:202-5 on *kə*). Finally, Schwarzschild's assertion that prepositions only govern noun phrases cannot account for the cases in which clitic prepositions apparently govern other prepositional phrases, such as *mēʾaḥʾarê* 'from behind', *mēʾēṯ* 'from with', *mēʿim* 'from with', *mibbên* 'from between', *mēʿal*

'from above', and *mittaḥaṯ* 'from under'.[12] Thus he misses a significant generalization about BH prepositions: they are much less discriminate about their attachment site than he proposes.

In summary, while Schwarzschild has produced a novel theory regarding the categorial status of *ʾašer* as a noun rather than as a function word, his proposal does not adequately explain the BH data. His use of a current linguistic theory, though, distinguishes his work as the only significant attempt to reevaluate *ʾašer* from a non-traditional philological approach. Whatever the etymology of the word *ʾašer* is, it ceases to be important when its syntactic and semantic characteristics are examined from a synchronic perspective. Precisely because "there is no trace of its etymological sense" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:332) in the Hebrew Bible, we are free to investigate how it is used in BH without attaching significance to any hypothetical etymology or use the word may have had in stages of the Hebrew language prior to BH.

1.2.2. The Syntax of ʾašer in BH Relative Clauses

Most BH grammars offer a brief comment on the precise syntactic relationship between BH relative words, particularly *ʾašer*, and the following relative clauses. Like all who have followed him, Ewald 1879 observes that the Hebrew relative word is unlike the relative pronouns of many languages (particularly of Ewald's native German, or of Latin, which he

[12] Van Wyk also notes a few critical issues that Schwarzschild did not address but which follow from his Nominal Hypothesis: "Schwarzschild gives no explanation of the syntactic relation between a nominal [*ʾašer*] and the preceding noun (antecedent). [*ʾašer*] as a noun (originally meaning 'place') would only in a very few cases be understandable as apposition. Schwarzschild also fails to explain the syntactic relationship between a nominal [*ʾašer*] and the following relative clause. Since the noun preceding [*ʾašer*] almost always stands in the absolute, [*ʾašer*] can only be taken to represent an example of apposition. However, in the case of a noun in apposition, it must also be able to stand in apposition to the preceding noun *without* a following (relative) clause. This never happens, and therefore is (as far as we can tell from the available texts) not possible. At the same time the nominal hypothesis isolates [*ʾašer*] from the following clause. This clause in context makes no sense if it is not joined by [*ʾašer*] to an element of the main clause" (1992:207-8).

frequently uses for comparison): it is not inflected for case, person, gender, or number. Thus, he comments that syntactically the relative word "merely serves to gather up a thought and show the relation in which it stands, i.e., a conjunction, as, *gaudeo quod vales*" (1879:207).

In contrast, Kautzsch 1910 clearly views the relationship between the antecedent and *ʾašer* as one of apposition (1910:444), thereby excluding the possibility that *ʾašer* is merely a conjunction. Both views are apparently influenced by Kautzsch's understanding of the etymology of *ʾašer* as originally a demonstrative pronoun, an understanding that is reflected in glosses given to the examples presented (e.g., for Genesis 24.7 *yhwh ʾašer ləqāḥanî*, the gloss 'the Lord, *iste*, he took me' is given). Another result of his view of *ʾašer* as an original demonstrative is that he also claims that the *ʾašer* belongs syntactically to the main clause rather than to the subordinate relative clause (1910:444), whereas, presumably, a true relative pronoun (as well as "a mere *nota relationis*") belongs to the relative clause that it precedes.

Davidson's 1901 analysis represents a combination of Ewald's and Kautzsch's. On the one hand, Davidson views *ʾašer* as the *nota relationis*, i.e., as a simple conjunctive "connecting antecedent with relative clause" (8). On the other hand, Davidson goes on to claim that the syntactic relationship between the antecedent and *ʾašer* is also one of apposition (9). Reconciling these two views, however, is a difficult task. Apposition by definition is the juxtaposition of two constituents of the same syntactic class (e.g., two nouns, two verbs, two prepositional phrases); thus, it is not at all clear how *ʾašer* can be both a conjunction as well as a constituent that can be apposed (i.e., of the same syntactic class) with a noun; a nominal antecedent and a conjunction belong to different syntactic classes. Davidson also remarks that "the so-called relative clause is complete in itself apart from אשר, which has no resemblance to

the rel[ative] pron[oun] of classical languages" (11). However, even a cursory glance at a random selection of relative clauses suffices to contradict this claim. Quite often a relative clause with a transitive verb is missing an explicit verbal complement; this suggests (see below in 2.1) that in such cases the relative word fulfills an essential syntactic/thematic role *within* the relative clause.

Finally, Joüon and Muraoka 1993 suggest that "[w]hatever its origin may be, אשר is, from a syntactical point of view, first a relative conjunction: *that*" (1993:536, emphasis in original). They cite as proof for this view the fact that *ʾašer* can introduce relative clauses that are 'complete' (i.e., relative clauses that have resumptive pronouns). Joüon and Muraoka then suggest that the presence of *ʾašer* relatives clauses without resumptive pronouns indicates that "[l]ittle by little, the relative conjunction was perceived as a relative pronoun" (1993:537). Even though (or perhaps precisely because) they later qualify the use of the term 'relative *pronoun'* for *ʾašer* (1993:592), the distinction between *conjunction* and *pronoun* with regard to the syntactic status of *ʾašer* remains unclear. In fact, comparing *ʾašer* with English *that* (the choice of which has absolutely no bearing upon whether resumptive pronouns exist within English relatives) suggests that it is not valid to connect the categorial status of the BH relative word with the phenomenon of resumption (1993:537, fn. 2). Finally, there is a bit of confusion in Joüon and Muraoka's description of the basic syntactic relationship between the relative word and the head: "A relative clause is usually equivalent to an attribute of a substantive; it corresponds most commonly to an adjective or a participle in apposition" (1993:591-92). While the comparison to adjectives may in fact be a valid, since a relative clause (as a clause that fills a nominal slot) describes its antecedent much as an adjective does (see below, 2.1), apposition is certainly not an accurate description, since (as I mentioned above) apposition is

the juxtaposition of two items from the same syntactic class, and adjectives (and presumably relative clauses) are not from the same syntactic class as nouns.

With regard to the syntactic relationship between the relative word, most notably *ʾašer*, and the following relative clause, it is clear that the majority of grammars isolate two issues. First, there is disagreement about the essential nature of the relative word *ʾašer*: is it a conjunction (Ewald 1879; Joüon and Muraoka 1993), a pronoun, or perhaps still a demonstrative acting as a relative (Kautzsch 1910)? Second, the syntactic nature of how the relative word *ʾašer* modifies the head is a matter of contention: is the relationship one of apposition (Davidson 1901; Kautzsch 1910; Joüon and Muraoka 1993) or subordination (Ewald 1879; Waltke and O'Connor 1990)?

1.2.3. The Presence or Absence of an Antecedent in BH Relative Clauses

The third issue that grammars take up is the difference between relative clauses that have an explicit head noun and those that do not. Ewald 1879 labels the two types of relative clauses *independent* relatives and *dependent* relatives, respectively. Ewald's distinction, though, is not as clear as it may seem since he defines both types based on the function of the *relative word* rather than the function of the relative clause as a whole. Thus, an independent relative sentence is one that proceeds "from a word [e.g., *ʾašer*] which indicates a person or a thing (*qui*, or, with less indication of life, *quod* . . .)" (1879:207). In contrast, a dependent relative clause is one in which the relative word "merely serves to gather up a thought and show the relation in which it stands, i.e., a conjunction, as, *gaudeo quod vales*" (1879:207). It is difficult to ascertain precisely how Ewald can view the indeclinable BH *ʾašer* as both a conjunction and a referential word indicating "a person or thing" (1879:207).

Unlike Ewald, Kautzsch 1910 distinguishes between "complete" and "incomplete" relative clauses based upon whether the relative clause is dependent upon a noun or not, respectively (1910:485). In Kautzsch's view, the *ʾašer* preceding incomplete relative clauses (i.e., those not dependent on a governing substantive) is "in reality . . . still a demonstrative belonging to the construction of the main clause as subject or object . . . " (1910:445) (although note Kautzsch's bracketed qualification of this statement on page 446; it is not quite clear precisely how Kautzsch understands the syntax of *ʾašer*—as a demonstrative or as a relative pronoun).

Likewise, Waltke and O'Connor 1990 distinguish two types of relative clauses in BH: dependent (or attributive) relative clauses and independent relative clauses (1990:331). However, they qualify the label "independent relative" as a contradiction in terms—in their view, such relative clauses "are not relative to anything" (1990:331). Rather, this type of "relative" clause "functions as a principal part of the main verbal clause."

Finally, rather than providing neat categories or labels, Joüon and Muraoka 1993 merely present those *ʾašer* relative clauses that are used after nouns (1993:593-97) in contrast to those *ʾašer* relative clauses that are "substantivised" (1993:597-98). According to Joüon and Muraoka, "in all of these cases אשר has the effect of a relative pronoun used absolutely: *qui*, *quem*, *quod* etc.; the one who, that which, etc."

Though the style of presentation differs among all of the grammars, there does appear to be general agreement regarding BH relative clauses with antecedents and those without. Those relative clauses with an explicit antecedent function as normal (i.e., apposed or subordinated, depending upon the grammar) relatives, whereas those without an explicit antecedent function as substantives—they are not relative to anything.

1.2.4. Retrospective/Resumptive Pronouns in BH Relative Clauses

The issue of resumption[13] figures prominently in many reference grammars, which often provide a bewildering account of where and when resumption occurs in Biblical Hebrew relatives. However, as we shall see, neither the reference grammars nor more recent article-length studies have been able to provide a comprehensive explanation for resumption in relative clauses in the Hebrew Bible.

Ewald writes that the presence of a resumptive element is the result of the "dismemberment" of the relative word *ʾašer* (i.e., that the BH "relative pronoun" has "lost" its inflection). By implication, then, Ewald suggests that resumptive pronouns should be present in all BH relative clauses, since *ʾašer* had certainly "lost" its inflection by the biblical stage of the Hebrew language. He does allow, though, that the resumptive element is omitted for the sake of brevity in certain cases, as in many verbless clauses, e.g., *hāʾanāšîm ʾašer Ø ʾittô* 'the-men who Ø(they) (were) with-him' (where the Ø stands for the "absent"/null resumptive subject pronoun "they"). Ewald also proposes that the omission of a resumptive element is obligatory before finite verbs (which carry person, gender, and number morphological agreement features), as in *ʾašer Ø ʾāmar* 'who Ø(he) said' (1879:210-11).[14] Ewald does stipulate one case in which the resumptive element may never be omitted, however: "when the

[13] Resumption is the case where the noun being modified by the relative clause is referenced within the relative by an explicit syntactic constituent, such as a pronoun, as in ***those poems*** *that we do not know where* ***they*** *were composed* (English example taken from Suñer 1998:335). See 2.5 and 5.3 for further discussion.

[14] Contrary to Ewald's statement in this matter, the following verses contain relative clauses in which both the subject pronoun and the finite verb are present: Deut 9.2; 2 Kgs 22.13; Jer 1.17; 29.25; 31.32; Zech 1.15; Mal 2.14; Job 19.27.

relative-word points to an idea which is to be closely subordinated" (1879:211).[15] Also, he observes that when the relative clause is removed from its head noun by a significant distance, the resumptive element within the relative clause is almost always present and is often a full copy of the head constituent rather than a pronoun (see below, 2.2, for examples).

Kautzsch 1910 indicates that the "suppression of the retrospective pronoun takes places especially when it . . . would represent an accusative of the object, or when it would be a separate pronoun representing a nominative of the subject in a noun-clause" (1910:445). He states further that omission of resumption is "noticeable" with certain verbs ("*verbum dicendi*") and also that with antecedents of 'place' (e.g., *māqôm* 'place'), resumption may take the form of the adverb *šām* 'there' (1910:445). Waltke and O'Connor 1990 add that resumption does not depend on the definiteness of the head of the relative since both definite and indefinite NPs are resumed within relatives (1990:333).

While the reference grammars generally provide us with excellent descriptions of where and when resumption *may* or *may not* occur, they suggest very little by way of explanation. There have been, though, three studies of resumption in BH within the last decade (Joosten 1993, Tsujita 1991, and Van Dyke Parunak 1996) which have moved the discussion in valuable directions. Joosten (1993) addresses the issue of agreement, 'congruence', or lack thereof, 'discongruence', between a resumptive pronoun and its antecedent. Joosten argues that relative clauses with an overt relative word (e.g., *ʾašer*) are unequivocal regarding agreement (contrast (16) and (17)).

[15] This vague qualification suggests that Ewald connected the issue of resumption to the status of relative clauses vis-à-vis restrictiveness; see 2.5, 2.7, 5.3, and 5.5 for discussions of resumption and restrictiveness in BH relative clauses.

(16) ha**ʾattâ** ʾîš hāʾᵉlōhîm **ʾᵃšer bāʾṯā mîhûḏâ**
WH-you man.of the-god REL come(2MS PERF) from-Judah
*'Are **you**$_i$ the man of God **who**$_i$ **you**$_i$ **have come from Judah**?'* (1 Kgs 13.14)

(17) wə**ʾattâ** ḥālāl rāšāʿ nəśîʾ yiśrāʾēl **ʾᵃšer bāʾ yômô bəʿēṯ**
and-you defiled wicked prince.of Israel REL come(3MS PERF) day-his in-time.of
ʿᵃwōn qēṣ
punishment.of end
*'and **you**$_i$, defiled wicked one, prince of Israel, **who**$_i$ **his**$_i$ **day has come in the time of final punishment**'* (Ezek 21.30)

Joosten argues that examples such as (16)-(17) illustrate that when an overt relative word is present, the clause is unambiguously marked as a relative clause; in other words, it does not matter syntactically that in (16) the 2MS head noun is resumed by a 2MS verb within the relative clause whereas in (17) the 2MS head noun is resumed by a 3MS suffix. Based on these data, Joosten concludes that the agreement features of the resumptive pronoun inside a marked relative clause have no syntactic significance: the clause is clearly marked as a relative apart from the agreement features of the resumptive element.

In contrast, Joosten argues that agreement between the head noun and the resumptive element is prohibited in unmarked/bare relative clauses, as in (18); agreement indicates that the construction in (18) is one complex clause, rather than two juxtaposed simple clauses.

(18) wəʿattâ šəmaʿ yaʿᵃqōḇ ʿaḇdî wə**yiśrāʾēl bāḥartî ḇô**
and-now hear(2MS IMV) Jacob servant-my and-Israel Ø choose(1CS PERF) in-him
*'and now, listen, Jacob my servant, and **Israel**$_i$ **Ø(whom)**$_i$ **I have chosen him**$_i$'* (Isa 44.1)

Joosten uses examples like the one in (18) to argue for the obligatory *lack of agreement* between the resumptive pronoun and the head of the relative clause in BH bare relatives (1993:279). He argues that if the resumptive pronoun in (18) were 2MS and thus agreed with the (vocative case) head noun, i.e., *yiśrāʾēl bāḥartî ḇəḵā* (unattested), the result would be an

ambiguous construction, with two possible parsings: simple juxtaposition of a vocative and a verbal clause (i.e., 'Israel, I have chosen you'), or a vocative modified by a relative clause (i.e., 'Israel (whom) I have chosen'). In contrast, Joosten proposes that the lack of agreement in bare relatives such as in (18) prohibit a non-relative interpretation.

Joosten's argument faces a number of challenges. The first objection concerns his treatment of the vocative as second person. He concludes that the vocative should not be treated as third person (1993:279), a conclusion that is possible only after "excepting" all of the marked and bare relative clauses which modify vocative heads and resume them in the third person.[16] If, contrary to Joosten's assertion, the vocative is indeed to be treated as third person for the purposes of grammatical agreement (if the vocative can be assigned person agreement at all), much of Joosten's argument fails: there would no longer be a clear pattern of discongruence in bare relatives between the head and the resumptive constituent within the relative. Clearly, the grammatical status of the vocative needs to be investigated in order to determine whether Joosten's claim that vocative should be treated as second person is a valid one (for a brief discussion of the vocative, see Waltke and O'Connor 1990:77).

The second objection to Joosten's analysis concerns many of his grammatical assessments. For example, he presents example (19) as a bare relative clause in which discongruence "signals subordination" (1993:278).

(19) wa^{a}nî k̲əḥērēš lōʾ ʾešmāʿ **ûk̲əʾillēm lōʾ yiṯtaḥ pîw**
and-I like-deaf NEG hear(1CS IMPF) and-like-dumb NEG open(3MS IMPF) mouth-his
'*and I am like a deaf man—I do not hear, and like* ***a dumb man*** $_{i}$ ***Ø*** $_{i}$ ***(that) does not open his*** $_{i}$ ***mouth***'
(Psa 38.14)

[16] The marked relative clauses that Joosten's lists as "exceptions" are Ezek 21.30 and 26.17. The bare relative clause that Joosten lists as an "exception" is 1 Sam 26.14. In addition, he arbitrarily discounts many of the relative clauses in *hoy* oracles (1993:279, fn. 19).

In order to draw the conclusion that the 3MS verb within the relative as well as the resumptive 3MS possessive pronoun 'his' in the phrase *pîw* 'his mouth' is discongruent with the head *ʾillēm* 'a dumb man', he must analyze the head NP 'a dumb man' as 1CS! Another questionable linguistic judgment concerns the identification of the head of the relative clause in (20).

(20) ʾᵃnî **haggeḇer rāʾâ ᶜᵒnî**
I the-man see(3MS PERF) affliction
'*I am* ***the man Ø (that) has seen affliction***' (Lam 3.1)

In order to regard the relative clause in (20) as an example of discongruence between the head and the agreement features, Joosten must either view the head of the relative as the 1CS pronoun *ʾᵃnî* (rather than the nearer NP *haggeḇer* 'the man'), or view the NP *haggeḇer* 'the man' as something other than 3MS. Neither option is logical. The fact that "the antecedent is the predicate to a first person subject" (1993:278) does not warrant the grammatical analysis of such a predicate as first person.

With regard to the agreement features of verbs within BH relative clauses, as in (16)-(20), it is much simpler to argue that the agreement features merely serve to identify the precise antecedent of the relative clause. This proposal provides a consistent grammatical analysis for both the marked and bare relative clause data. Thus, for example, in (21) and (22), the agreement features of the verb within the relative identify the distant 2MS pronoun 'you' as the antecedent in (21) (rather than the nearer vocative NP 'Jacob'), whereas in (22), agreement features of the verb within the relative identify either the 3MS NP 'defiled wicked one' or the 3MS NP 'prince of Israel' as the head, both of which are nearer to the relative clause than the distant 2MS pronoun 'you'.

(21) wə**ʾattâ** yiśrāʾēl ʿabdî yaʿᵃqōb **ʾᵃšer bəḥartîḵā**
and-you Israel servant-my Jacob REL choose(1CS PERF)-you
*'and **you**ᵢ Israel, my servant, Jacob, **who**ᵢ **I have chosen you**ᵢ'* (Isa 41.8)

(22) wəʾattâ ḥālāl rāšāʿ **nəśîʾ** **yiśrāʾēl** **ʾᵃšer** **bāʾ** **yômô** **bəʿēṯ**
and-you defiled wicked prince.of Israel REL come(3MS PERF) day-his in-time.of
ʿᵃwōn **qēṣ**
punishment.of end
*'and you, defiled wicked one, **prince of Israel**ᵢ, **who**ᵢ **his**ᵢ **day has come in the time of final punishment**'* (Ezek 21.30)

With regard to the identification of bare relative clauses, as in (23), the solution boils down to a process of elimination rather than any one linguistic feature.

(23) wəʿattâ šəmaʿ yaʿᵃqōb ʿabdî wə**yiśrāʾēl** **bāḥartî** **bô**
and-now hear(2MS IMV) Jacob servant-my and-Israel Ø choose(1CS PERF) in-him
*'and now, listen, Jacob my servant, and **Israel**ᵢ **Ø(whom)**ᵢ **I have chosen him**ᵢ'* (Isa 44.1)

In (23) the string of constituents *yiśrāʾēl bāḥartî bô* has no other grammatical interpretation besides that of a bare relative. The vocative NP 'Israel' cannot be the subject of the 1CS verb that follows it; nor can it be the object, since the PP *bô* fulfills that role. Even if the resumption were in the 2MS (i.e., the unattested *yiśrāʾēl bāḥartî bəḵā*, a construction that would result in ambiguity, according to Joosten), there is only one logical way that a non-relative analysis could be possible: if the phrase 'Israel, I have chosen you' was the content of the message. In other words, we would have to translate the verse as follows: "and now listen, Jacob, my servant: 'Israel, I have chosen you'."[17] However, the fact that the content of the message is clearly introduced in the following verse by the phrase 'thus says Yhwh' (which is then

[17] For the presence and function of the conjunction *wa* at the beginning of direct discourse, see Miller 1999.

followed by second person commands), indicates that the larger grammatical context prohibits such an interpretation.[18]

In summary, Joosten's proposal—that a difference in the agreement between the head and a resumptive constituent within a relative distinguishes marked from bare relative clauses and that the lack of agreement is necessary in order to signal the presence of bare relative clauses—is an intriguing solution to a complex issue. However, it faces serious problems: not only is the status of vocative NPs uncertain (a significant component in Joosten's analysis), but many of Joosten's grammatical assessments are questionable. A simpler solution, which applies to both marked and bare relative clauses in BH, is to view the type of agreement features that Joosten has noticed as a way of identifying the precise head of the relative when multiple choices are available.

Tsujita (1991) briefly addresses resumptive elements standing in the direct object position within the BH relative clause (he lists fifteen occurrences from the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy). Using these data, he argues against the position that the presence of a resumptive pronoun within the relative clause is entirely optional, or stylistic. Rather, arguing on the basis of syntax, information structure, and semantics, Tsujita concludes that there are three possible motivations for the presence of resumptive pronouns. First, he asserts that resumptive pronouns in the object position may serve to avoid ambiguity regarding the syntactic function of the antecedent, as in (24); compare the 'ambiguous' clause in (25).

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[18] One interesting characteristic of resumptive constituents in bare relatives that can be identified from Joosten's article (although he does not highlight this) is that bare relatives seem to modify the nearest antecedent only. In contrast, marked relatives (possibly because they are unambiguously marked as relatives) can modify antecedents that are not immediately preceding the relative word (see below, 5.4, for a discussion of this feature of BH relative clauses).

(24) wayyaʿabḏû ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃḥērîm wayyištaḥᵃwû lāhem **ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃšer lōʾ**
and-serve(3MP PAST) gods other and-bow down(3MP PAST) to-them gods REL NEG

yəḏāʿûm
know(3CP PERF)-them

'and they served other gods, and they bowed down to them, ***gods*****ᵢ** ***that*****ᵢ** ***they did not know them*****ᵢ***'*
(Deut 29.25)

(25) **haggôyim ʾᵃšer lōʾ šāmēʿû**
the-nations REL NEG hear(3CP PERF)

'the nations**ᵢ** ***who*****ᵢ** ***they*****ᵢ** ***did not hear,'***

or *'the nations*ᵢ ***that*****ᵢ** ***they did not hear*** ___ᵢ*'* (Mic 5.14)[19]

According to Tsujita, in (24) the object pronoun suffixed to the verb signals that the head of the relative corresponds to the object position within the relative, rather than to the subject position. In (25) there is no object pronoun, and hence, the subject of the verb within the relative clause can be interpreted as referring either to the head of the relative, i.e., 'the nations heard', or to an unidentified, impersonal subject, with the head corresponding to the object, i.e., 'they heard the nations'. Thus, according to Tsujita, some resumptive pronouns are used to signal clearly how the head of the relative functions within the relative clause.

The second part of Tsujita's argument is that resumptive pronouns serve to highlight the rheme[20] within the information structure of the discourse, as in (26). In this example, the object pronoun within the relative clause agrees with the rheme of the matrix clause, *ʾᵃnî* , rather than

[19] Technically this clause is syntactically ambiguous; however, *contextually* the second reading (with the head as the object of the verb inside the relative) is highly unlikely. This raises the issue of whether syntactic ambiguity is a valid diagnostic for the analysis of BH since we are unable to produce or elicit examples judged by native speakers as truly ambiguous. In this we are confronted with the difficulties of analyzing an ancient, unspoken language.

[20] Tsujita does not define his use of *rheme*. Crystal provides the following basic definition: "The rheme is defined as the part of a sentence which adds the most to the advancing process of communication . . . ; in other words, it expresses the largest amount of extra meaning, in addition to what has already been communicated" (1997:334).

with the nearer theme,[21] *yôsēp ʾaḥîḵem*.

(26) ʾanî yôsēp ʾaḥîḵem **ʾašer məḵartem ʾōṯî miṣrāymah**
I Joseph brother-your REL sell(2MP PERF) ACC-me Egypt-ADV
*'**I**$_i$ (am) Joseph, your brother, **who**$_i$ **you sold me**$_i$ **to Egypt'*** (Gen 45.4)

Tsujita argues that in agreeing with a further antecedent, the resumptive pronoun highlights or emphasizes that constituent (i.e., 'I' in (26)). The weakness of this proposal is twofold. First, the identification of rheme and theme in verbless clauses, such as (26), is rather difficult: in (26), it is not entirely clear why Tsujita identifies 'I' as the rheme and 'Joseph, your brother' as the theme. Since Joseph is revealing his identify, one could easily argue that 'Joseph, your brother, who you sold me into Egypt' is the new or rhematic information. Second, as I have suggested above, it is simpler to argue that the resumptive pronoun may merely serve to identify the precise antecedent; in the case of (26) the resumptive pronoun identifies the more distanct 1CS pronoun 'I' as the antecedent rather than the noun phrase 'Joseph, your brother'.

Finally, Tsujita draws a connection between the presence of resumptive pronouns and "the determination of the antecedent." Such cases, illustrated in (27), "make the antecedent more salient (prominent) and . . . lend greater specificity to the determination of the antecedent" (1581).

(27) wəlōʾ qām nāḇîʾ ʿôḏ bəyiśrāʾēl kə**mōšê** **ʾašer yəḏāʿô**
and-NEG rise(3MS PERF) prophet yet in-Israel like-Moses REL know(3MS PERF)-him
yhwh pānîm ʾel pānîm
Yhwh face to face
*'and a prophet has not yet risen in Israel like **Moses**$_i$ **who**$_i$ **Yhwh knew him**$_i$ **personally'*** (Deut 34.10)

[21] According to Crystal (1997:388), the theme stands in opposition to the rheme as that part of the sentence which "adds least to the advancing process of communication . . . ; in other words, it expresses relatively little (or no) extra meaning, in addition to what has already been communicated."

Unfortunately, Tsujita does not address precisely how the resumptive constituent in (27) makes the subject 'Moses' *more specific* in the verse (or within Deut 34—if this is even possible since Moses is a prominent character throughout Deuteronomy). In summary, while many of Tsujita's proposals are suggestive, and in fact, point in the direction of possible solutions for resumption in BH relatives, as they stand they are not tenable (see below, 2.5 and 5.3).

Van Dyke Parunak (1996), too, examines the feature of resumption in BH relative clauses based on the book of Genesis. Since he draws a number of significant conclusions in his study, it will be worthwhile to analyze his argument by the categories that he uses: resumption in the nominative slot, resumption in the genitive slot, and resumption in the accusative slot.

Van Dyke Parunak first examines the presence or absence of resumptive constituents in the subject/nominative position within the relative clause. Based upon the Genesis data, he makes the following observations. First, when the relative clause is a finite verbal clause, there is never resumption at the nominative slot. Second, in verbless clauses, there are only eight occurrences of resumption: five are when a negative occurs inside the relative; three are when "in the absence of the resumption, there would be no noun to serve as the predicate of the אֲשֶׁר clause, and thus no clause at all" (1996:106). Third, five of six nominal slots are resumed in relative clauses that contain participial/adjectival predicates; however, four of these also contain negatives, and the remaining example is "needed for reasons of balance" since "Genesis has no one-word אֲשֶׁר clauses" (1996:107).[22] Finally, of 107 relative clauses with a

[22] Van Dyke Parunak has a lengthy paragraph discussing the use of participial predicates in relative clauses. He begins with the statement that "compared with prepositional predicates, participial predicates (with or without resumption) are rare in אֲשֶׁר clauses" (1996:107). While it is true that prepositional predicates are the most common type of clause within relatives besides a finite verbal clause, it is not quite accurate to describe participial predicates as "rare" since there are about 350 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. What is more interesting,

prepositional phrase as the predicate, the single example that contains nominative resumption also contains a negative.

On the basis of these observations, Van Dyke Parunak concludes that "[r]esumption of the pivot [i.e., the head of the relative] into a nominative slot is extremely rare. Most cases are examples of the negatives or existential transform, and are consistent with the hypothesis that אֲשֶׁר indeed resumes the pivot except when some other element must be clause-initial" (1996:108). Thus, Van Dyke Parunak suggests that resumption that does occur in the nominative position is motivated purely by syntactic concerns.

If we look outside of the book of Genesis, we see that resumption in the nominative position is indeed rare (there are only forty examples in the entire Hebrew Bible);[23] however, the additional data suggest that Van Dyke Parunak's conclusions for resumption at the nominative position are not quite accurate. First, there are a few examples of nominative resumption in relatives that contain a verbal clause; since none occurs in Genesis, Van Dyke Parunak does not consider this type. Second, the proposal that negation requires resumption only explains eleven of the forty examples (Gen 7.2, 8; 17.12; 30.33; Num 17.5; Deut 17.15;

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however, is the hypothesis he supplies for the reason why a relative clause with a participle was chosen over the simpler attributive participles; he suggests that "the relative construction puts the modifier in focus" (107). However, there is a simpler answer to why a participial relative might be used instead of an attributive relative: attributive relatives neither allow for modification by full clauses nor for modification that places the head in a syntactic position other than nominative. For instance, in participial relatives, we find statements with the head noun resumed in the oblique (i.e., as an object of a preposition), e.g., *hāʾāreṣ ʾăšer ʾattâ šōḵēḇ ʿālêhā* 'the land which you are lying upon it' (Gen 28.13). Such modification is not possible with attributive participles. See below, 2.5, for further discussion of modification by 'attributive participles'.

[23] The 40 examples break down in the following way. There are 30 cases of resumption in verbless clauses within a relative (Gen 7.2, 8; 9.3; 17.12; 30.33; Lev 11.29, 39; Num 9.13; 17.5; 35.31; Deut 17.15; 20.15; 29.14; 1 Kgs 8.41; 9.20; 2 Kgs 25.19; Jer 40.7; Ezek 12.10; 20.9; 43.19; Hag 1.9; Psa 16.3; Song 1.6; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 4.2; 7.26; Neh 2.13, 18; 2 Chr 6.32; 8.7). There are only 5 examples of subject resumption in finite verbal clauses (1 Kgs 8.38; 2 Kgs 22.13; Ezek 14.5; Ruth 4.11; Qoh 9.9); only 1 of these is resumption by an independent pronoun (2 Kgs 22.13), whereas the remainder exhibit resumption by a coreferential non-pronominal noun phrase. Finally, there are only 5 examples of subject resumption in participial clauses within relatives: Exod 5.8; Num 14.8; Deut 20.20, 1 Sam 10.19; Neh 2.13. See 2.5, 5.3 for further discussion of subject resumption.

20.15; 29.14; 1 Kgs 9.20; 2 Chr 6.32; 8.7), and the existence of relative clauses that contain negation but not resumption (see Lev 27.22; Ezek 18.18; 36.31; Psa 119.85; Esth 4.16) suggests that negation cannot be connected to the phenomenon of resumption.

Third, Van Dyke Parunak's explanation for the few cases of resumption in Genesis that do not co-occur with negation—that resumption in necessary to create a grammatical clause,[24] or that resumption in needed for "balance" (1996:107)—is not adequate. Although it is not precisely clear what Van Dyke Parunak means by the statement that "Genesis has no one-word אֲשֶׁר clauses" (1996:107), if by this he means that there are no relative clauses with a one constituent verbless clause, then his assessment is inaccurate—there are clear examples of either prepositional phrase predicates (see Gen 1.7, 29; 3.3; 6.17), predicate adjectives (see Gen 5.5; 25.7), and predicate adverbs (see Gen 19.11; 35.5; 41.48). Thus, with regard to resumption in the nominative position, it is clear that we must find a different explanation than the one that Van Dyke Parunak offers.

Concerning resumption in the genitive slot within the relative, Van Dyke Parunak asserts that resumption is the norm. (It is important to note that, though BH does not morphologically mark cases, Van Dyke Parunak considers all objects of prepositions in BH to be in the genitive case, since the objects of prepositions are marked as genitive in Semitic languages that have morphological case marking such as Akkadian and Ugaritic.) First, he

[24] Van Dyke Parunak's assessment regarding resumption by the BH deictic *šām* 'there' is intriguing. While I do not agree with his assessment of the syntactic role fulfilled by a resumptive *šām*, that it is a *nominative* predicate in a verbless clause, I do believe that Van Dyke Parunak's analysis is a move in the right direction. As I argue below in 2.5, the presence of *šām* in many verbless clauses within relatives is forced by the grammar so that the other constituent in the relative is not interpreted as a simple predicate. In other words, taking Genesis 2.11 as an example, *kol ʾereṣ haḥᵃwîlâ ʾᵃšer* ***šām*** *hazzāhāḇ* 'the whole land of Havila, which the gold is there', the resumptive *šām* is the only option that the grammar has available so that the relative clause is semantically acceptable. The relative clause in Gen 2.11 without the resumptive *šām*, 'the whole land of Havila, which is the gold' would be semantically uninterpretable. See 2.5, 5.3 for further discussion.

observes that BH possessive pronouns and pronominal objects of prepositions are obligatorily resumed when possession is required or when the preposition is present in the relative clause. Thus, BH does not permit relative clauses like the English example *I saw the man* ***whose*** *hat I took*, where the relative pronoun also indicates possession within the relative (compare the non-relativized version, *I saw the man. I took* ***his*** *hat*.). Nor does BH permit dangling prepositions within relative clauses, such as the English *The girl who I talked with* (see below, 2.5, for a discussion of BH and 'preposition stranding'). Van Dyke Parunak does, however, suggest that the presence or absence of the entire prepositional phrase within BH relatives is "optional" and may have a discourse-based explanation (cf. below, 2.5, 5.3).

Finally, we reach Van Dyke Parunak's proposal for resumption in the accusative position—the most difficult type of resumption to explain. His solution is twofold. First, he suggests that some cases of resumption in the accusative depend on the semantics of the verb within the relative clause: "The various accusative slots in the corpus represent a number of different (deep structure) cases. In some examples, including Patient [10x, 3 resumed], Place [16x, 9 resumed], Discourse [31x, 2 resumed], and Object of Transfer [34x, 1 resumed], both resumed and nonresumed examples can be found. However 79 slots that represent deep structure cases of Percept [9x, 0 resumed], Time [12x, 0 resumed], Action [24x, 0 resumed] or Product [34x, 0 resumed] never resume their pivots" (1996:111).

Second, Van Dyke Parunak suggests that the remaining cases of resumption (i.e., those that are not required by the semantics of the governing verb) are connected the restrictiveness of the relative clause. He illustrates this connection by comparing the minimal pair given in (28) and (29).

(28) wayyittənêhû ʾel bêṯ hassōhar **məqôm ʾᵃšer ʾᵃsûrê [Kt] hammelek̲**
and-give(3MS PAST)-him to house.of the-round place.of REL prisoners.of the-king
ʾᵃsûrîm __
confine(MP PTCP PASS)
'and he put him in the round house, ***the place*****ᵢ** ***that*****ᵢ** ***the royal prisoners were confined*** **___ᵢ***'* (Gen 39.20)

(29) wayyittēn ʾōṯām bəmišmar bêṯ śar haṭabbāḥîm ʾel bêṯ
and-give(3MS PAST) ACC-them in-prison house.of captain.of the-guards to house.of
hassōhar **məqôm ʾᵃšer yôsēp̲ ʾāsûr šām**
the-round place.of REL Joseph confine(MS PTCP PAss) there
'and he put them [the chief cupbearer and the chief baker] in prison (at) the house of the captain of the guards, the round house, ***the place*****ᵢ** ***that*****ᵢ** ***Joseph was confined there*****ᵢ***'* (Gen 40.3)

According to Van Dyke Parunak, the absence of resumption marks the relative clause in (28) as non-restrictive, whereas presence of the resumptive adverb *šām* 'there' in (29) marks that *ʾᵃšer* clause as a restrictive relative (1996:112-13). Based on the context, he argues that for example (28), "the reader needs to understand simply that Joseph is being placed in a royal prison. Any royal prison will do. But in 40.3 [example (29)], the stories about the baker and the butler depend on the fact that they are placed in the very same prison where Joseph is" (112).

While Van Dyke Parunak's proposal is intriguing, since few have addressed the issue of restrictiveness in BH relative clauses, the connection between resumption and restrictiveness in BH is difficult to maintain. First, with regard to the example in (28), it is not clear how an indefinite noun (albeit in construct with the following relative) can serve as the head to a non-restrictive relative clause. Non-restrictive clauses only modify heads that are referential by themselves, that is, their referent does not depend on the information provided by the relative clause (see below, 2.1). Yet, it is clear that 'place' (or even 'the place', if the noun in this instance inherits definiteness by virtue of being in construct with the relative clause) cannot be

referential within the context of Gen 39.20. The fact that the head in (28) stands in apposition to 'the round house' suggests that the entire phrase 'the place where the royal prisons were confined' serves to specify further 'the round house'. Certainly, a bare noun phrase such as 'place' or even 'the place' cannot serve this purpose apart from a heavily deictic or implicature-laden context. As a final note, relative clauses such as those given in (30) and (31) further suggest that there is no connection between the presence of resumption and restrictive relatives in BH.

(30) wəsartem min hadderek̲ ʾašer ʾānōk̲î məṣawweh ʾetk̲em hayyôm
and-depart(2MP PERF MOD) from the-way REL I command(MS PTCP) ACC-you the-day

lāleḵeṯ ʾaḥarê **ʾelōhîm ʾaḥērîm ʾašer lōʾ yəḏaʿtem**
to-go(INF) after gods other REL NEG know(2MP PERF)

'*and you shall depart from the way that I am commanding you today by walking after* ***other gods*****ᵢ** ***that*****ᵢ** ***you do not know***' (Deut 11.28)

(31) wəlōʾ qām nāḇîʾ ʿôḏ bəyiśrāʾēl kə**mōšeh ʾašer yəḏāʿô**
and-NEG rise(3MS PERF) prophet another in-Israel like-Moses REL know(3MS PERF)-him

yhwh pānîm ʾel pānîm
Yhwh face to face

'*and there has not risen another prophet in Israel like* ***Moses*****ᵢ, *who*****ᵢ** ***Yhwh knew him*****ᵢ** ***face to face***' (Deut 34.10)

In both (30) and (31), the governing verb within the relative clause is [y-d-ʿ] 'to know', presumably what Van Dyke Parunak would categorize as a verb of "Percept". It is clear from the relative clause in (30) that the verb 'to know' does not *require* resumption in the accusative. Yet, we have resumption in the accusative position inside the relative clause in (31), a relative that is unquestionably non-restrictive since the head is the personal name *Moses* (a name that unambiguously refers to one specific character in the Hebrew Bible). These two examples actually show the exact opposite pattern that one would expect from Van Dyke Parunak's study of the book of Genesis. In summary, while some of Van Dyke Parunak's solutions may have

been accurate for the Genesis data, they do not explain the rest of the BH data; thus, even though his proposals are intriguing and have moved the discussion of resumption within BH relative clauses in a valuable direction, they cannot be taken as accurately descriptive of BH as a language.

As a final note regarding the previous study of the BH relative clause (not related to the specific issue of resumption), Goshen-Gottstein (1949) represents an important contribution to the study of the BH relative clause. Goshen-Gottstein argues that the placement of some relative clauses at a distance from their antecedent is the result of "afterthought."[25] Compare the examples below: in (32) the relative clause follows immediately after its antecedent, but in (33) the relative clause is removed from its antecedent—the relative clause is on the other side of the verbless predication.

(32) bəqôl **yhwh ʾᵉlōhênû ʾᵃšer ʾᵃnû [Kt] šōləḥîm ʾōṯəḵā** ʾēlāyw nišmāʿ
in-voice.of Yhwh god-our REL we send(MP PTCP) ACC-you to-him listen(1CP IMPF)
'to the voice of ***Yhwh***$_i$ ***our God, who***$_i$ ***we are sending you to him***$_i$*, we shall listen'* (Jer 42.6)

(33) ûrəʾû kî **rāʿaṯḵem** rabbâ **ʾᵃšer ʿᵃśîṯem bəʿênê yhwh**
and-see(2MP IMV) that evil-your great REL do(2MP PERF) in-eyes.of Yhwh
'and see that ***your evil***$_i$ *(is) great* ***that***$_i$ ***you have done ___***$_i$ ***in the eyes of Yhwh'*** (1 Sam 12.17)

In addition to the necessity of recognizing the existence of relative clauses which are removed from their antecedent, Goshen-Gottstein also hints that this type of relative has particular semantic status: he suggests that all "afterthought" relative clauses are non-restrictive

[25] The language and approach of Goshen-Gottstein's analysis coincide with a shift taking place in the American Descriptivist tradition of linguistics during the 1930s-1940s. The study of language began to borrow notions from the branch of psychology called behaviorism; these behavioristic ideas found their way into linguistic analysis by virtue of Leonard Bloomfield's influence. Although Goshen-Gottstein's use of "afterthought" to characterize a syntactic construction may in fact be coincidence, it is interesting that his choice of terminology mirrors these new impulses in language study. See Sampson 1980 for more information on the Descriptivists and the influence of behaviorism on Bloomfield's work.

in BH (1949:39, fn. 10; see below, 5.4, for further discussion of "afterthought" relative clauses in BH).

In summary, few twentieth-century works have studied the relative clause in BH beyond the taxonomic descriptions provided in reference grammars. There are some significant features of relative clauses in general that have not been addressed adequately for BH, most notably the issues of restrictiveness[26] and resumption. Indeed, apart from Goshen-Gottstein's (1949) discussion of relative clauses that are at a distance from their heads, only recently has any interest been shown in the BH relative clause. Arguments have been advanced for 1) combined syntactic, semantic, and discourse solutions to resumption (Tsujita 1991; Van Dyke Parunak 1996), the most notable of which implies a test to distinguish restrictive from non-restrictive relatives (Van Dyke Parunak 1996), 2) syntactic motivation for the lack of agreement between the antecedent and resumptive pronoun in unmarked relative clauses (Joosten 1993), and 3) the nominal status of the word *ʾašer* (Schwarzschild 1990). As I have noted, though, these proposals do not accurately account for the grammatical diversity exhibited by the BH data, necessitating the current study.

1.3. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study is a synchronic analysis of the relative clause in BH; diachronic concerns do not affect our study of the syntax and pragmatics of the BH relative clause. However, this

[26] The difference between restrictive and non-restrictive modification is often summarized as an issue of dependence or of definition. For instance, in the case of a restrictive relative, such as *the boy who bought the candy was short*, the identification of the noun being modified *the boy* is dependent upon the information given in the restrictive relative. In contrast, the noun modified by a non-restrictive relative is not dependent upon the information in the relative for identification. Thus, in *the boy, who bought the candy, was short*, the identification of *the boy* may presumably be made from other contextual information. See 2.1, 2.7 and 5.5 for further discussion.

conclusion has been arrived at only after close analysis of the data; relative clauses in every book of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., data from every stage of the Hebrew language that is witnessed in this textual corpus) have been analyzed in order to discern whether either the external or internal structure of the relative is noticeably affected by historical development. The following is a brief presentation of the standard diachronic analysis of "Biblical Hebrew" as well as the data from which I drew my conclusions.

The language of the Hebrew Bible is often divided into three categories representing the historical stages of the language that are witnessed within the biblical text (although not all scholars are in agreement concerning either the labels for the categories or the dates of the stages). The earliest stage of Hebrew to which the text witnesses is *Archaic Biblical Hebrew*, represented in the oldest poetic sections (e.g., Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Numbers 23-24, Deuteronomy 32-33, Judges 5, Psalm 68). *Classical* or *Standard Biblical Hebrew* is the next stage of the language represented in the text; it appears in the prose passages of texts initially composed during the monarchic periods (c. 9^{th}-7^{th} centuries BCE) leading up to the exile of the sixth century BCE (587/6-539 BCE); typically large sections of Genesis-Deuteronomy and the books of Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings are used in studies of Standard Biblical Hebrew. Finally, *Late Biblical Hebrew* includes all the texts thought to have been composed during the post-exilic period (i.e., post-539 BCE); the texts usually cited as exemplary are 1-2 Chronicles, although Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Esther, Song of Songs, and Qoheleth are all labeled as Late Biblical Hebrew with various qualifications (see Sáenz-Badillos 1993:120-127; Polzin 1976:1-12). These three major stages of Biblical Hebrew sometimes exhibit significant variation in orthography, lexicon, and, most importantly for this work, syntax (for examples, see Sáenz-Badillos 1993:56-62 [Archaic], 68-75 [Standard], 112-129 [Late]).

What is important for the present study is whether there are salient diachronic differences in the syntax or pragmatics of the BH relative clause. Simply, the answer appears to be in the negative; neither the external linguistic features (e.g., which constituent is the head of the relative clause, whether the relative is restrictive or not) nor the internal linguistic features (e.g., the word order of the relative; the use of resumption, see below) of the BH relative clause suggest that its syntax or pragmatics change with the development of the language. For example, let us compare *ʾᵃšer* relatives in the Archaic Biblical Hebrew poetry of Deuteronomy 33 (34), the Standard Biblical Hebrew prose of Numbers (35), and the Late Biblical Hebrew language of 2 Chronicles (from a verse that does not parallel earlier material in Kings) (36):

(34) ûlələwî ʾāmar tummêḵā wəʾûrêḵā ləʾîš **ḫᵃsîḏeḵā ʾᵃšer**
and-to-Levi say(3MS PERF) Thummim-your and-Urim-your to-man pious-your REL
nissîṯô bəmassâ
test(2MS PERF)-him in-Massa
*'and he said to Levi: Your Thummim and Urim (belong) to **your pious one who you tested him** at Massa'* (Deut 33.8)

(35) zōʾṯ **hāʾāreṣ ʾᵃšer tiṯnaḫᵃlû ʾōṯâh** bəgôrāl
this the-land REL inherit(2MP IMPF) ACC-it in-lot
'*this is **the land that you shall inherit it** by lot*' (Num 34.13)

(36) ʾel **yêhûʾ ḇen nimšî ʾᵃšer məšāḫô** yhwh ləhaḵrîṯ ʾeṯ bêṯ ʾaḥʾāḇ
to Jehu son.of Nimshi REL anoint(3MS PERF)-him Yhwh to-cut(INF) ACC house.of Ahab
*'to **Jehu, the son of Nimshi, who Yhwh anointed him** to cut off the house of Ahab'* (2 Chr 22.7)

Based upon the data provided from all three of the accepted stages of Biblical Hebrew, we see that the *ʾᵃšer* relatives do not exhibit any syntactic differences. We see in (34)-(36) that all stages of the language allow the use of the relative word *ʾᵃšer* and that all stages allow the resumption of the modified noun within the relative. Now let us examine relative clauses introduced by the relative word *šeC-*. The first example, (37), illustrates that resumption of the

head need not be present in *šeC-* relatives. Examples (38)-(40), however, demonstrate that, as in *ʾašer* relatives, resumption of the head is also permitted in *šeC-* relatives.

(37) **ʿam zû** gāʾāltā
people REL redeem(2MS PERF)
*'**a people whom** you have redeemed'* (Exod 15.13)

(38) ʾal tirʾû**nî** **šeʾa nî** šəḥarḥōreṯ
NEG see(2MS MOD)-me REL-I dark
*'do not look at **me who I** am dark'* (Song 1.6)

(39) wəśānēʾṯî ʾanî ʾeṯ kol **ʿamālî** . . . **še**ʾannîḥen**nû** lāʾāḏām
and-hate(1CS PERF) I ACC all.of toil-my . . . REL-leave(1CS IMPF)-it to-the-man
šêyihyê ʾaḥarāy
REL-be(3MS IMPF) after-me
*'and I hate all of **my toil,** . . . **which** I must leave **it** to the man who comes after me'* (Qoh 2.18)

(40) zəḵōr ... **har ṣîyôn zeh** šāḵantā bô
remember(2MS IMV) mount.of Zion REL dwell(2MS PERF) in-it
*'remember. . . **Mount Zion, which** you dwelt in **it**'* (Psa 74.2)

Thus, not only does Hebrew employ *ʾašer* throughout the stages witnessed in the Hebrew Bible, with all of the same syntactic strategies available in such relative clauses, BH also appears to maintain the same syntactic strategies for relative clauses introduced by the word *šeC-*.

The fact that the relative word *ʾašer* is used at every stage of the Hebrew language in the Bible does not necessarily indicate that the frequency of *ʾašer* relative clauses remains static throughout the historical stages of development. Consider the statistics in Table 1. In the Standard Biblical Hebrew narrative corpus of 1 Samuel through 2 Kings, twenty-nine percent of the verses contain an *ʾašer* relative clause, whereas only eighteen percent of the verses in the Late Biblical Hebrew narrative corpus of Esther through 2 Chronicles (excluding the Aramaic sections in Daniel and Ezra) contain an *ʾašer* relative clause.

Table 1
The Frequency of ʾašer in SBH and LBH Narrative

	Total Vv.	*Vv. with ʾašer*	*%*
SBH (1Sam - 2 Kgs)	3042	887	%29.2
LBH (Esth - 2 Chr)	2707	498	%18.4

If the statistics in Table 1 represent diachronic development (and do not reflect, e.g., genre or dialectical differences),[27] then Hebrew appears to employ the relative word *ʾašer* less as the language changes. A case can be made, though, that genre is a factor in these statistics: if we exclude the geneological material in 1 Chronicles 1-9 (material which is minimally narrative and contains very few relative clauses—just 18 out of 407 verses contain relative clauses), the frequency of *ʾašer* relative clauses rises from eighteen percent to twenty-one percent. It is also possible that the decrease in the use of *ʾašer* relative clauses in Late Biblical Hebrew is partially influenced by the increasing use of the alternative relative word *šeC-* (although *šeC-* only appears in three verses in the corpus of Esther through 2 Chronicles [Ezra 8.20; 1 Chr 5.20; 27.27], it is used quite often in the Late Biblical Hebrew poetic material in Qoheleth and Song of Songs; futhermore, *šeC-* increasingly displaces *ʾašer* in post-biblical Hebrew). The relative paucity of even *šeC-* relatives in the Late Biblical Hebrew material, however, suggests that the decrease in *ʾašer* relatives is a reflection of the more sparing use of relative clauses in this material in general (not just *ʾašer* relatives)—an issue that is not necessarily diachronically significant.

Though the history of Hebrew may exhibit a change concerning which relative word is preferred, this is a lexical change and not a syntactic or pragmatic one, as suggested by both the

[27] For a discussion of the relative words and their presence in BH dialects (i.e., Northern or Southern BH), see Young 1993 and Schniedewind and Sivan 1997.

data presented in examples (34)-(40) above and by the statistics (see chapter two for a presentation of the linguistic features of *šeC-* relative clauses). Thus, I do not consider the change in the choice of which lexical item is used to introduce a relative clause relevant to the current study.

A diachronic change in the *use* of resumption within relatives is a change that would have consequences for a syntactic and pragmatic analysis; that is, it would be necessary to consider whether the *pragmatic function* of resumption changed over time (see 2.5, 5.3 for an analysis of resumption). Indeed, Kropat (1909) suggests that the "younger language" [i.e., Late Biblical Hebrew] has a tendency to leave out resumption if it is in the subject or object position within the relative (1909:67; cf. Polzin 1976). However, Kropat's definition of resumption is critical: he only includes resumption of the head by a subject pronoun (which is extremely rare in all stages of BH) or an object pronoun in the relative—he does not include examples of resumption within prepositional phrases or as possessive suffixes. Furthermore, Kropat dismisses the two examples of subject resumption (2 Chr 6.32 [≈ 1 Kgs 8.41]; 8.7 [≈ 1 Kgs 9.20]) and the three examples of object resumption (1 Chr 6.50 [≈ Josh 21.9]; 2 Chr 8.8 [≈ 1 Kgs 9.21]; 22.7) that do appear in Chronicles as "entlehnten" (1909:67)—even though one of the examples, 2 Chr 22.7, does not correspond to earlier material at all. If a broader definition of resumption is used, i.e., resumption within prepositional phrases or as possessive pronouns, it becomes clear that there are *not* any perceptible difference between narrative in Late Biblical Hebrew and Standard Biblical Hebrew.[28]

[28] I also investigated the following issues to discern whether there exist any significant diachronic differences among relative clauses in BH. I examined the use of *ʾăšer* and *šeC-* in Chronicles in order to see if there was a significant pattern to the replacement in Chronicles of *ʾăšer* in the earlier material from Kings with *šeC-*; however, such replacement never occurs. The only two instances of *šeC-* in Chronicles are in non-parallel passages (1 Chr 5.20; 27.27).

In conclusion, I propose that it is more likely that any differences (e.g., the use of an overt relative word, the choice between different relative words, the use of resumption) are based on either the style of authors/redactors or the genre of literature (e.g., prose versus poetry; see Anderson and Forbes 1983). For instance, in terms of syntax, even if the data *were* to suggest that resumptive constituents were used with with a different frequency in the various stages of BH, the fact that the same syntactic options are available indicates that the syntactic structure of the language had not changed. In terms of pragmatics, the data do not suggest any clear change in the pragmatic use of, say, resumptive constituents. Thus, the data do not warrant the conclusion that there are significant diachronic issues that affect the syntactic and/or pragmatic analysis of the BH relative clause; if diachronic differences concerning the relative clause do exist within the biblical text, they are primarily *lexical*, e.g., Late Biblical Hebrew exhibits an increase in the use of the relative word *šeC-* alongside the use of *ʾašer*, whereas Standard Biblical Hebrew rarely uses *šeC-*.

1.3.1. *Corpus*

In terms of scope, the present work is a comprehensive examination of the structure and function of relative clauses in Biblical Hebrew. First, for those relative clauses explicitly marked by an introductory relative word, every one of the almost 6,000 examples in the Hebrew Bible has been analyzed. Second, for those relative clauses which are not marked by a relative word (a more common feature in poetic material), the book of Psalms has been

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The second issue that I investigated was whether there was a pattern to the alternation between *ʾašer* and *šeC-* in the book of Qoheleth. A pattern does not appear to exist for the alternation in Qoheleth, with both words even appearing in the same verse and standing in parallel verses; see, for example, Qoh 5.4; 8.14; 10.14; also compare 1.14 to 8.9.

exhaustively examined, although examples from other parts of the Hebrew Bible have been used as well.

The text used is that of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. All examples have been transliterated (see the transliteration chart on page vii); the Masoretic accents and other orthographically represented prosodic markers (e.g., the *maqqef*) are not represented.

1.3.2. *Linguistic Theory*

Currently, studies in BH typically follow one of two tracks: on the one hand there is still considerable investigation of BH grammatical phenomena using classical Latin-based categories and/or the historical-comparative method; on the other hand, recent discourse-based theories are becoming quite popular. Both of the approaches, however, have significant shortcomings when it comes to analyzing syntax or to mapping between clausal syntax and pragmatics (the study of contextual meaning).

The former (classical) approach to grammar continues to advance our knowledge of BH, particularly in areas such as lexicography and historical grammar.[29] This approach, however, is increasingly hard-pressed to offer new and significant syntactic insights, particularly because, unlike some modern linguistic theories (such as generative grammar, see below in this section), it lacks the theoretical foundation that would allow it to generalize based upon abstract levels of analysis (cf. van der Merwe 1994:15; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:53-55).

[29] Illustrative of the classical/historical-comparative approach in Hebrew studies is Rendsburg 1999, in which the words *rûṯ* 'Ruth', *zəḇulûn* 'Zebulun', *nəʾumi* 'utter', *śəlāw* 'quail', and *qōšṭ* 'truth' are examined.

That the classical/comparative-historical approach is increasingly unable to yield new grammatical insights is illustrated by Gesenius' grammar, which has taken the classical approach to its productive limits. Begun in 1813 and last revised (the twenty-ninth edition) in 1918/1929 by Bergsträsser (1918-29), the English translation of the 1909 twenty-eighth edition of this grammar (Kautzsch 1910) remains one of the authoritative reference works even as the study of BH moves into the twenty-first century. This is not to discount the impact of "post-Gesenius" discoveries in the twentieth century (e.g., the textual finds from Ugarit and Qumran); however, even with the numerous additional texts, a comparison of the latest version of Gesenius with the grammar of Joüon, revised by Muraoka (1993), reveals that relatively few advances have been made in the area of syntax. Furthermore, in the area of phonology and morphology, the twentieth-century data more often than not affirm the depth of Gesenius' insight into BH and comparative Semitics.

In contrast to the classical approach to the BH language, discourse-based studies focus on grammatical units larger than the sentence (without ignoring the sentence) in order to understand the *use* of various linguistic phenomena in BH. In BH studies, issues such as the verbal system, word order (as it relates to the discourse), participant reference, and the articulation of topic/focus have been investigated using the tools of discourse analysis (see van der Merwe 1997 for an overview). Currently, discourse-based studies on BH can be divided into two related but distinct approaches: discourse analysis and text-linguistics.

The first discourse-based approach to BH takes its cues from discourse analysis as it is practiced in general linguistics. The dynamic process by which a person communicates meaning and intention is the focus of general discourse linguistics.

> [D]iscourse is viewed as a system (a socially and culturally organized way of speaking) through which particular functions are realized. Although formal regularities may very well be

> examined, a functionalist definition of discourse leads analysts away from the structural basis of such regularities to focus, instead, on the way *patterns of talk are put to use for certain purposes in particular contexts* and/or how they result from the application of communicative strategies . . . Not surprisingly, [functionally based discourse approaches] rely less upon the strictly grammatical characteristics of utterances as sentences, than upon the way utterances are situated in contexts. (Schiffrin 1994:32; italics are mine)

BH discourse analysis parts ways with its general linguistic counterpart over the precise object of investigation. The above quote from Schiffrin (1994) illustrates that the focus in general discourse linguistics is on the "patterns of talk," whereas the field of BH studies is limited to a static textual corpus. Brown and Yule 1983 describe this as the difference between the analysis of 'discourse-as-process' and the analysis of 'text-as-product' (1983:23-25). BH discourse analysis understandably focuses on the text as a static, physical entity, and does not attend to the production or the reception/interpretation of the text; i.e., the focus is the words-on-the-page. In contrast, the 'discourse-as-process' approach adopted by most discourse analysts clearly focuses on the communicative function of linguistic form (the dynamic means of expressive and intentional communication). To this end, even the use of the terms *text* and *context* in general discourse analysis highlights the difference between the two approaches:[30]

> [T]he term text [is used] to differentiate linguistic material (e.g., what is said, assuming a verbal channel) from the environment in which "sayings" (or other linguistic productions) occur (context). In terms of utterances, then, "text" is the linguistic content: the stable semantic meanings of words, expressions, and sentences, but not the inferences available to hearers depending upon the contexts in which words, expressions, and sentences are used. (Schiffrin 1994:363)

[30] See also Georgakopoulou and Goutsos: "'Discourse' and 'text' have been used in a variety of ways in the literature. In some cases the two terms have been treated as synonyms, while in others the distinction between discourse and text has been taken to apply to units of spoken versus written communication. Consequently, discourse analysis is, in some accounts, regarded as concerned with spoken texts (primarily conversation). Text-linguistics, as a different discipline, has mainly been associated with written texts. In our view, the terms do not refer to different domains (speech and writing) but reflect a difference in focus. Discourse is the umbrella term for either spoken or written communication beyond the sentence. Text is the basic means of this communication, be it spoken or written, a monologue or an interaction. Discourse is thus a more embracing term that calls attention to the situated uses of text: it comprises both text and context. However, text is not just a product of discourse, as customarily assumed, that is, the actual (written or spoken) record of the language produced in an interaction. Text is the means of discourse, without which discourse would not be a linguistic activity" (1997:4).

The difference between general discourse linguistics and BH discourse linguistics is not to say that "text-as-product" is an invalid object of study. On the contrary, Gleason (1974) argues for the primacy of text in linguistic study, placing elicitation and introspection as "secondary and tertiary techniques" (1974:206) . With regard to the Hebrew Bible, while there are no native speakers from whom to elicit either data or judgments, there is an abundance of *context,* which allows us to submit cautious non-native judgments. BH is a language limited to an ancient textual corpus and lacking any native speaker; however, we possess two millennia of translation and interpretation which, along with the textual context, aid the linguist in decoding the syntactic features of the language of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, the question becomes moot if we believe that modern linguistics can illuminate in any way the data of the Hebrew Bible, since all that we have is textual/non-spoken data for BH studies.

Longacre and Hwang describe BH discourse analysis as a holistic approach—the search for the "whats," the "hows," and the "whys" of the textual patterns of the Hebrew Bible. They present three interacting levels of analysis: "*macrostructure* (the overall meaning and thrust), *texture* (peak and profile, mainline and supportive information, participant reference, and other matters related to cohesion and coherence), and *constituent structure* (embedded discourses, as well as paragraphs, sentences, clauses, etc.)" (1994:337; italics theirs).[31]

The second discourse-based approach in BH studies, often called text-grammar or text-linguistics,[32] is a particularly European phenomenon; its program has been articulated in Talstra 1992:

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[31] Although Longacre identifies his approach by the rubric "textlinguistic," the analytical focus and methodological features clearly align it with what is otherwise labeled "discourse analysis/linguistics."

[32] As we shall see, there is considerable overlap between BH discourse analysis and BH text-linguistics, and the terms have even been used interchangeably. This should not, however, obscure the differences between the

> (1) syntax should be based on the description of linguistic units beyond the level of phrases and clauses. . . . It should concentrate on describing the formal structure of the texts; (2) language should not be studied as a means of merely personal expression but as a means of human communication. (1992:269)

Thus, text-linguistics defined in this way has one foot in European formalism and the other foot in a European functional approach similar to that of Halliday 1985 or Dik 1997a,b. Like the holistic approach of BH discourse linguistics described above, the Talstra-style of text-linguistics starts with an inventory of forms and proceeds to "recognize as many formal patterns as possible at the level of morphology, syntax and the text" (van der Merwe 1997:14) in order to identify the communicative function of those forms. This approach has been categorized as "bottom-up" and "form-to-function," as well as, simply, a formalist approach.[33]

The contrast between BH discourse analysis and BH text-linguistics lies primarily in their linguistic categories and immediate goals. For instance, Longacre and Hwang 1994 use labels like "plot" and "storyline" in their discourse study of the book of Jonah; in contrast, Dyk and Talstra (1999:184-185) focus on issues such as *deixis* and *referentiality* in their text-linguistic analysis of the BH verbless clause and state that their aim is "to compose programs capable of parsing verbless clauses . . . that analyze from the distribution of forms and

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two, particularly in the scope of their approach. It is also interesting to note that the term 'discourse analysis' within BH studies is largely used in the United States, while 'text-linguistics' predominates in Europe (this is also the case in general linguistics, see Crystal (1997:386)).

[33] This use of the label *formalist* differs from the definition typically assigned the term in current linguistic circles; formalist is often an adjective used to describe generativists over against functionalists. Schiffrin distinguishes formalism and functionalism within the field of linguistics in these four ways: "1) Formalists (e.g., Chomsky) tend to regard language primarily as a mental phenomenon. Functionalists (e.g., Halliday) tend to regard it primarily as a societal phenomenon; 2) Formalists tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from a common genetic linguistic inheritance of the human species. Functionalists tend to explain them as deriving from the universality of the uses to which language is put in human society; 3) Formalists are inclined to explain children's acquisition of language in terms of built-in human capacity to learn language. Functionalists are inclined to explain it in terms of the development of the child's communicative needs and abilities in society; 4) Above all, formalists study language as an autonomous system, whereas functionalists study it in relation to its social function" (1994:21-22).

progresses to the assignment of functions." What these two studies clearly share, however, is a concern for linguistic levels beyond the sentence.

While the computer databases produced by text-linguistic studies promise to be useful for searching the text and organizing data and the discourse-analysis focus on narrative features such as plot and storyline remind us that there are units of analysis that are larger than the clause, in the end text-linguistics/discourse analysis alone will prove to be insufficient for producing accurate *linguistic* analyses of BH phenomena. Both approaches aim to be comprehensive in terms of levels, from phonology to pragmatics (i.e., discourse issues); however, both, for example, are unable to deal with linguistic phenomena which can only be explained by an approach based, in part, on abstraction. For instance, the notion of an *underlying* (or *deep*) *structure* for a clause, a structure which can no longer be seen but which critically shapes the *surface structure* of the clause, is an abstract notion. Without such an abstract notion, though, the concept of 'extraposed relatives' has largely gone unnoticed in BH studies. Extraposition is the process whereby some element of the clause, such as a relative clause, is moved from its *original/deep* position to a position later in the clause. Thus, in English, we can observe extraposition by comparing the two clauses in (41) and (42):

(41) [A man who was wearing a red suit] entered the room

(42) [A man $\_\_\__i$] entered the room [who was wearing a red suit]$_i$

We see in (41) a relative clause that immediately follows its head—the typical placement of a relative. However, in (42) the relative clause has been moved away from its head. Likewise, BH exhibits relative clause extraposition, as in (43).

(43) ûləyôsēp yullaḏ **šənê bānîm** bəṭerem tāḇôʾ šənaṯ
and-to-Joseph bear(3MS PERF PASS) two-of sons ___ in-yet come(3FS IMPF) year-of

hārāʿāḇ **ʾᵃšer yālaḏâ lô ʾāsənaṯ**
the-famine REL bear(3FS PERF) to-him Asenath

'and to Joseph, ***two sons*** *___$_i$ were born before the two famine years came,* **[*who Asenath bore for him*]**$_i$*'* (Gen 41.50)

Unfortunately, Hebraists have rarely recognized the presence of extraposition in BH;[34] this linguistic phenomenon is difficult both to identify and to adequately explain without some sort of linguistic 'movement theory', a component of modern, generative linguistic theories that attempts to account for when and why constituents move from their deep structure position to their surface structure position.[35]

The sum of the matter is this: while discourse-based studies *may* provide valid insights into the text of the Hebrew Bible as well as the grammar of BH, there is the significant risk that their results are incomplete or even mistaken, since they eschew abstract levels of language (i.e., deep structure). After all, identifying surface level patterns, even at the level of discourse, is only one step removed from mere taxonomy. Therefore, I have chosen an approach which is at once one of the most common linguistic approaches in general linguistics of the West and one of the most overlooked approaches in BH studies:[36] Chomskyan generative grammar.

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[34] Goshen-Gottstein 1949 noticed such structures, but did not, of course, relate them to the movement of consituents; rather, he treated them as "afterthought" relatives.

[35] Another issue regarding the BH relative which is difficult to sort out without abstraction is the syntactic status of the function word *ʾᵃšer* when an identifiable head cannot be found. The result has been the assigning of many non-relative roles to *ʾᵃšer*, e.g., it introduces causal clauses, result clauses, purpose clauses; these additional roles may be ruled out by using an analysis allowing for abstract levels of grammar. See 5.4 for further discussion.

[36] There are only a few generative analyses of the syntax of BH. Notable are the works of Naudé, who has analyzed the so-called 'casus pendens' structure in BH within a Government-Binding approach (Naudé 1990), and the role of the independent pronoun in verbless clauses in Biblical Aramaic (Naudé 1994) and the syntax of co-ordinate subjects in BH (Naudé 1999) within the Minimalist Program approach. Also significant is DeCaen 1995, in which the placement and the tense/aspect of the BH verb is addressed from a Government-Binding perspective.

Three facets of generative grammar suggest that it may produce results for BH studies where other linguistic approaches cannot. First, the Chomskyan approach is forty-five years old and yet is flexible enough to incorporate the constant influx of new linguistic data from the world's languages. New languages are continually being analyzed and added to the overall database. Thus, the generative Hebraist is able to check the BH data cross-linguistically in search for comparable structures and explanations from other languages of the world.[37]

Second, a model which allows for the study of the abstract level (i.e., deep structure) of language is able to recognize generalizations both for language in general (i.e., cross-linguistic universals, or 'principles') and for specific languages (i.e., individual language 'parameters'). Therefore, such a model is heuristically more valuable for distinguishing between features which are relevant to the focus of a particular study and those which are not (see Naudé 1990 for a lengthier critique of non-abstract linguistic approaches to BH). Finally, contrary to many critical evaluations, generative analysis does not stop at the sentence; rather, the generative approach to pragmatics and discourse studies was initiated over two decades ago.[38]

Finally, Washburn (1994) analyzed the waw-consecutive imperfect verbal form using the earlier Extended-Standard Theory.

[37] Although in its earlier stages generative grammar focused heavily on data from English, other Germanic languages, and Romance languages, the claim that generative grammar includes only minimal cross-linguistic data can no longer be supported. Even a cursory glance at current linguistics journals exhibits generative work upon a wide range of the world's languages. Indeed, the last two decades have witnessed a significant increase in the number and types of languages studied within the generative framework, from various Chinese dialects, Japanese, Catalan, and Icelandic to Malagasy and Arabic.

[38] See Culicover and McNally 1998 for a selection of articles exploring issues beyond the traditional purview of syntax. Many, though not necessarily all, of the articles are amenable to a Chomskyan generative approach; some are explicitly generative. Also see Zubizarreta 1998 for a generative approach which deals with the intersection of prosody, word order, and the pragmatic/discourse notion of focus. As a final note, we should not think that it is just within the last few years that generativists have become concerned with pragmatic issues. Rochemont 1986 dealt with the issue of 'focus' fifteen years ago, and he was building upon a good bit of previous generative research.

1.4. OVERVIEW

Chapter two is an overview which will describe the basic features of the BH relative clause. *Chapter three* is an introduction to the syntax of BH, particularly the issue of word order, from a minimalist generative perspective. The basic syntax of the (finite) verbal clause, the participial clause, and the verbless clause are thoroughly examined. *Chapter four* follows up on the syntactic framework presented in chapter three by investigating the pragmatic structure of the BH clause. *Chapter five* revisits the BH relative clause from the perspective of the generative framework established in chapters three and four, first examining the basic structure of relative clauses in general and in BH and then proceeding to address specific issues regarding BH relative clauses: the syntax and pragmatics of *resumption* within BH relative clauses, BH relative clause *extraposition*, and *restrictiveness* in BH relative clauses. Finally, I summarize the methodology and results of the research in this work in the *Chapter six*.

2. BH RELATIVE CLAUSE STRUCTURE: AN OVERVIEW

In this chapter I will examine the basic linguistic characteristics of relative clauses in the Hebrew Bible. In doing so, I will proceed in seven parts. 2.1 is a brief outline of the basic features of relative clauses from a general cross-linguistic perspective. 2.2 covers the properties of BH relative clauses introduced by *ʾašer*; 2.3 covers the properties of BH relative clauses introduced by the other less common relative words *šeC-,* and *zeh*/*zû*/*zô*; 2.4 completes the discussion of BH relative words with the morpheme *haC-* (which also functions as the Hebrew definite article) and its role in introducing relatives, particularly when it is prefixed to the participle. 2.5 is an investigation of the role of resumptive elements in BH relative clauses. 2.6 analyzes those BH relatives not introduced by a relative word, i.e., bare/unmarked relatives. Finally, 2.7 initiates a discussion of restrictive versus non-restrictive relatives in BH.

2.1. INTRODUCTION TO THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

Relative clauses, like adjectives, adverbs, and prepositional phrases, are syntactically classified as *adjuncts*, that is, expressions providing additional (but syntactically non-crucial) information about an activity/event/noun (Mallinson and Blake 1981:264; Fabb 1994:3520; Crystal 1997:9; Radford 1997:142). Thus, relative clauses, as adjuncts, differ from complements, which are syntactically necessary in order for grammaticality. Compare the relative clause in (1) to the complement clause in (2).

(1) I saw the dog <u>that was black</u>

(2) I saw <u>that the dog was black</u>

The relative clause *that was black* in (1) is not syntactically obligatory; the clause *I saw the dog* is grammatical without the embedded relative clause. In contrast, the complement

clause *that the dog was black* in (2) is necessary in order for the larger clause to be grammatical; the verb *saw* is lacking an object without the complement clause.

Semantically, restrictive relative clauses (I will discuss non-restrictive relative clauses below) function similarly to attributive adjectives: both constructions provide information about the antecedent (i.e., the modified noun) which enables a listener/reader to distinguish the antecedent from other possible or real items in the field of discourse (see below, 5.1, for a comparison of the *syntactic structure* of adjectives and relative clauses). In (3), the relative clause *that was black* restricts the semantic domain covered by the constituent *dog*, narrowing the referent from 'any dog' to 'the one that was black'. This *property of modification* is much the same as the semantic function of the adjective *black* with regard to the constituent *dog* in (4) (see Heim and Kratzer 1998:86-88).

(3) the dog that was black

(4) the black dog

In addition to the property of modification, a relative clause is an *assertion about its antecedent* (Downing 1978:379). Furthermore, clausal status sets the relative clause apart from other constructions that modify nouns, such as adjectives: the relative clause includes its own predication (separate from the predication within the matrix/root clause).[1] Examples (5)-(6) illustrate the basic differences between an adjectival phrase and a relative clause in English. Note the embedded predication, *X was damaged*, in the relative clause in (6).

(5) John's <u>damaged</u> van is his only vehicle.

(6) John's van, <u>which was damaged,</u> is his only vehicle.

[1] *Matrix*, or *root*, refers to the clause in which another clause is embedded.

Moving to the structural features of the relative clause, three parts of relative clauses are often distinguished: the *head* (i.e., the antecedent/noun being modified), the *introductory function word* (e.g., English *who, which, that*), and the actual *(relative) clause* (i.e., the material following the relative word). The introductory function words are often referred to as *relative pronouns*, *relative adverbs*, or more generally, *relative words*. In English, there are two basic types of relative words, the *wh*-words (e.g., *who, which, where, when*) and *that*, as in (7)-(8).

(7) The book **which** was published last year is already out-of-print.[2]

(8) The book **that** was published last year is already out-of-print.

In many languages of the world, as in English and most other Indo-European languages, the form of the relative words often depends on the grammatical properties of the antecedent (e.g., case and 'humanness' for English; case, gender, and number for German), illustrated in (9)-(11).

(9) The senator **whom** I disliked was voted out of office.

(10) The dog **which**/**that**/***who** I bought was a golden retriever.

(11) Die Schrifstellerin (FS), **die (FS)/*der (MS)** das Buch schrieb, heißt Agatha Christie.

In (9), the relative word *whom* indicates that the head of the relative *the senator* functions as the object of the verb within the relative clause. In (10), the fact that the relative word *who* cannot be used to introduce a relative clause modifying a non-human antedencent such as *dog*

[2] Unlike *that*, the relative word *which* can introduce both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives in English. However, without intonation (a pause would indicate a non-restrictive relative) or commas (the orthographic convention for indicating a non-restrictive relative), relative clauses introduced by *which* are semantically ambiguous—they can be restrictive or non-restrictive, whereas relative clauses introduced by *that* are always restrictive). I will address the issue of restrictiveness below (see 2.7, 5.5); the distinction is not salient for the comparison being made in (7)-(8).

indicates that *who* is reserved for human antecedents. Finally, the German example in (11) illustrates how German relative words agree in gender and number with their antecedents.

When we consider all three of the elements of a relative clause—the head, the relative word, and the relative clause—we see that there exists more than a merely coincidental relationship between the three. I have already noted that in many languages, such as English and German, a head and a relative word exhibit a certain amount of agreement. In addition, examples (12) and (13), which present relative clauses paired with the corresponding non-relative clauses, suggest that there is an even more compelling motivation to connect the head and the relative word in some way. As Downing notes, "relative clauses have the form of clauses from which [a copy of the antecedent] as theme has been deleted" (1978:379).

(12)
a) John's van which __ was damaged
b) John's van was damaged

(13)
a) The dog which I bought __
b) I bought the dog

In each example, the *gap* (__) that I have marked illustrates that there is a missing constituent: in (12)a) there is no overt subject within the relative clause for the predication *was damaged*; in (13)a) there is no overt object within the relative clause for the transitive verb *bought.* When the relative clauses are compared to the non-relative examples in (12)b) and (13)b), we see that the missing constituent corresponds to the head noun that is separated from the clause by the relative word. This fact, in addition to the agreement between the head and the relative word noted above, suggests that the head, the relative word, and the gap within the relative clause, have the same semantic reference (i.e., they are *coreferential*), and therefore should all be

marked accordingly, as in (14)-(15) (the use of subscripts to indicate coreferentiality is referred to as *coindexation*[3]).

(14) John's van$_i$ which$_i$ __$_i$ was damaged

(15) The dog$_i$ which$_i$ I bought __$_i$

In summary, I have introduced the basic syntactic status of relative clauses as *adjuncts*, and the basic semantic relative clause properties of *modification* and *assertion*. In addition, I identified three structural elements of the relative clause: the head/antecedent, the relative word, and the relative clause proper. Finally, I indicated that the head, the relative word, and the 'gap' within the relative clause are *coreferential*. Let us continue on to consider other more complex structural and semantic features of the relative clause: the position of the relative clause with regard to the head; the presence or absence of an overt head; resumption; and restrictiveness.

In the English examples used thus far, the head has consistently been located outside and before both the relative word and the relative clause. However, this is not true of all languages. There are two fundamental categories that distinguish relative clauses cross-linguistically: the placement of the head outside of the relative clause (i.e., an external head) or inside of the relative clause (i.e., an internal head), and the placement of the relative clause before the head (i.e., prenominal relative clauses) or after the head (i.e., postnominal relative clauses). Unlike the English examples given so far, which were externally-headed, in some languages, such as Bambara (16) (Lehmann 1986:665) and Quechua (17) (Basilico 1996:499),

[3] *Coindexation* refers to the process whereby two constituents (e.g., nouns, noun phrases) are marked with the same subscript letter or numeral (the first letter used is usually *i*, which stand for for *index*, although when multiple pairs of constituents are marked, the letters on each side of *i* are often used, e.g., *j*, *k*). Coindexation is usually used to indicated that the two constituents marked with the same subscript share the same reference (see Crystal 1997:69).

the head[4] is included within the boundaries of the relative clause (in both examples the relative clause is enclosed in brackets and the head is indicated by boldface).

(16) ne ye **tyɛ̀** mìn ye, ò bè fɪnì fère
[I COMPL man$_i$ REL$_i$ saw] DEM3$_i$ IMPF cloth(DEF) sell[5]
'the man that I saw (, he) sells the cloth'

(17) nun **bestya-ta** ranti-shaq-n alli bestya-m ka-rqo-n
[man horse-ACC buy-PERF-3] good horse-EVID be-PAST-3
'the horse that the man bought was a good horse'

In both (16) and (17), the head noun that is semantically modified by the relative clause is actually a constituent within the boundaries of the relative clause. This is confirmed both by word order and by case (note that accusative case is given to the head in (17) because it is the object of the verb in the relative clause). Compare the position and case of the corresponding Quechua externally-headed relative clause (18): in contrast to the internally-headed examples in (16) and (17), the head in (18) follows the relative clause (and cannot be a part of the relative clause since subordinate clauses in Quechua are strictly verb-final) and is case-marked as the subject of the matrix clause (Basilico 1996:449).

(18) nun ranti-shaq-n **bestya** alli bestya-m ka-rqo-n
[man buy-PERF-3] horse(NOM) good horse-EVID be-PAST-3
'the horse that the man bought was a good horse'

The second Quechua example in (18) also illustrates the prenominal position of the relative clause. This relative-head order in (18) contrasts with English, in which relative clauses follow their head (i.e., postnominal placement/head-relative order). As with English,

[4] With regard to internally-headed relative clauses, the term *head* refers to that DP (see below note 8) which is semantically relativized; thus, this use of head is distinct from the syntactic use of head in X'-theory in which *head* refers to an X^0 category.

[5] In (16)-(18), a hyphen (-) indicates affixation; see the *List of Abbreviations* on p. vi for the rest of the notation.

BH (as we shall see in the rest of this work), can be categorized as a language with externally-headed, postnominal relative clauses.

Our discussion so far has focused on the position of the head being modified by the relative clause. Often, however, relative clauses exist without an apparent head. These relative clauses are often referred to as *free, headless,* or *'null'-head* relatives. Compare (19) (repeated here from (10)), with the corresponding free relative in (20). In the latter example, there is no overt head preceding the *wh*-word *what*.

(19) The dog$_i$ which$_i$ I bought ___$_i$ was a golden retriever

(20) What$_i$ I bought ___$_i$ was a golden retriever (i.e., the thing that I bought . . .)

Furthermore, some relative clauses that have an overt head are actually missing an overt relative word (the position of the covert relative word is marked by Ø in the examples below). These are referred to as *bare, zero,* or *unmarked* relative clauses. The clearest examples of these are cases in which the relative clause has a finite verb (21); however, as the English examples below demonstrate, other nonfinite constructions exist: participial bare relatives (22)-(23), and adjectival bare relatives (24).

(21) The dog$_i$ Ø$_i$ I bought ___$_i$ was a golden retriever
cf. The dog$_i$ that$_i$ I bought ___$_i$ was a golden retriever

(22) The dog$_i$ Ø$_i$ ___$_i$ running down the street is rabid
cf. The dog$_i$ that$_i$ ___$_i$ is running down the street is rabid

(23) The dog$_i$ Ø$_i$ ___$_i$ injured by the car was recovering well
cf. The dog$_i$ that$_i$ ___$_i$ was injured by the car was recovering well

(24) The dog$_i$ Ø$_i$ ___$_i$ black with dirt was washed with a hose
cf. The dog$_i$ that$_i$ ___$_i$ was black with dirt was washed with a hose

Resumption is another feature that distinguishes relative clauses, both within languages and between languages. Unlike English (25), which does not allow a pronoun to fill the gap

(see (14) and (15) above), many languages do allow the head noun to be "resumed" by a coreferential constituent, such as a pronoun,[6] illustrated by the French example in (26).

(25) Here is the man$_i$ that$_i$/who(m)$_i$ Marie has talked to (*him$_i$).

(26) Voici l'homme$_i$ que Marie lui$_i$ a parlé (Haegeman 1994:409)
here-is the-man that Marie to-him has talked[7]

The presence of a resumptive pronoun has significant implications for the syntactic structure of relative clauses: when a resumptive pronoun exists within a relative clause, there are no gaps. (We shall see below in 5.3 that the presence of resumption affects the generative analysis of relative clause structure.) Furthermore, resumption may carry a variety of semantic and/or pragmatic characteristics (see, for example, Sells 1984; Prince 1990; Demirdache 1991; Shlonsky 1992; Prince 1997; Suñer 1998; Sharvit 1999a; see also below 2.5, and 5.3 for further discussion of this issue).

The final feature by which relative clauses are analyzed and categorized is restrictiveness. The basic description of a relative clause given above at the beginning of this section applies to restrictive, or adjectival, relatives; however, it does not apply to *non-restrictive*, or *appositive*, relatives. Superficially, non-restrictive and restrictive relative clauses in English are distinguished by the presence of an intonational break in the former (27) (often indicated by commas setting the relative clause off from the rest of the clause), but not in the latter (28).

---

[6] It could be argued that certain regional dialects of English do allow resumption in some restrictive relative clauses, e.g., *the boys*$_i$ *who*$_i$ *I don't remember who invited* *them*$_i$. However, Sells (1984) considers these examples distinct from the type of resumptive pronouns seen in, e.g., Hebrew *hakkōhēn ʾᵃšer yimšaḥ* ***ʾōṯô*** 'the priest$_i$ who$_i$ he-anoints **him**$_i$'.

[7] The French complementizer *que* is similar to English *that*: it is not inflected and is not coindexed with relativized nouns or the corresponding resumptive elements. See Haegeman (1994:409) for the example in (26) and others like it.

(27) When my wife and I were out taking a walk last night we saw a group of boys in the middle of the neighborhood. *The boys, who were wearing red jackets, were star-gazing*.

(28) When my wife and I were out taking a walk last night we saw numerous groups of boys in the neighborhood. The boys who were dressed in costumes were walking towards the school, *while the boys who were wearing red jackets were star-gazing*.

Semantically, the non-restrictive example in (27) implies that every boy was star-gazing and that they all just happened to be wearing red jackets; the relative clause in this case adds information which is not crucial for determining the reference of the DP[8] *the boys*. In contrast, (28) presents a DP which, in order to be correctly identified among a set of possible discourse referents (e.g., boys who were *not* wearing red jackets), is modified by a restrictive relative clause.

Many languages do not mark restrictive and non-restrictive relatives in any perceptible manner (notably, some languages do not even make a semantic distinction between the two [Mallinson and Blake 1981:366]).[9] For instance, distinguishing restrictive versus non-restrictive relatives in English is often difficult, even though non-restrictive relatives are often marked by an intonational pause and separated by commas when written.[10] Understandably, the precise nature of restrictiveness has been the object of much attention among linguists, particularly in the attempt to map the semantic features to the syntax. For example, Fabb

[8] Currently in generative grammar the determiner is analyzed as the head of its own phrase (i.e., DP) which takes a noun phrase (NP) as a complement. See Ouhalla (1999:201-10) for further explanation as well as the theoretical motivation for the DP-hypothesis.

[9] "Almost all languages . . . have some equivalent to [the restrictive relative] while the representation of the other types is sparse. Portguguese (sic), for example, lacks non-restrictives that modify [clauses] . . ., while Navajo lacks non-restrictives entirely" (Andrews 1985:7).

[10] In addition to intonation and commas, restrictive and non-restrictive relatives are often distinguished in English by the use of *that* for the former and a *wh*-word for the latter. This is not a consistent test, however, since *wh*-words may be used for both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives.

(1994:3523) lists the following syntactic differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives in English:

> i. nonrestrictive relatives use a narrower range of relative phrases, being unable to use *that* or phrases where the *wh*-element is embedded and noninitial, so that while *whose mother*, is acceptable as a relative phrase in a nonrestrictive relative, *the mother of whom* is not;
>
> ii. nonrestrictive relatives escape weak crossover (leftness condition) effects which restrictive relatives are subject to, giving a distinction between *the man, who his mother loves, arrived yesterday* and **the man who his mother loves arrived yesterday*;
>
> iii. the nonrestrictive relative seems to be in some sense syntactically disconnected from its head; for example a negative polarity item (like *any*) in the nonrestrictive clause cannot be licensed by the determiner (like *only*) of the head: **only the tourists, who have any imagination, go to visit Sicily*.

In addition, Mallinson and Blake (1981) claim that English non-restrictive relatives are rarely separated from their heads (e.g., by extraposition; see also Emonds 1979:234-35; McCawley 1998:447), as in (29). Unlike restrictive relatives, multiple non-restrictive relatives in English cannot stack on a single head, as in (30). In English the relative word may never be absent with non-restrictive relatives (cf. McCawley 1998:445), as in (31), and English proper names can only be modified by non-restrictive relatives (32) (1981:359-66), unless there are multiple possible referents for, e.g., a name, as in (33).

(29) *My father came in, who runs his own business.
vs. My father, who runs his own business, came in.

(30) *I saw John, who was yelling, who you dislike.[11]
vs. I saw the boy that was yelling that you dislike.

(31) All teachers, *that/who(m)/*Ø the minister disciplined, are now on strike.
vs. All teachers that/who(m)/Ø the minister disciplined are now on strike.

[11] See also McCawley (1998:447), who adds that "when restrictive and nonrestrictive clauses are attached to the same NP, the restrictive clause(s) must precede the nonrestrictive clause."

(32) I saw John, who studies daily.[12]

vs. *I saw John who studies daily.

(33) Q: Which Susan are you talking about?

A: Susan who lives next door, not Susan who is married to Tom.

Unfortunately, many of these distinctions are not language universals; indeed, some of them do not apply to BH (see below, 2.7).

Finally, non-restrictive relatives appear to be able to modify more diverse constituents than restrictive relatives. Restrictive relatives can only modify NPs, as in (34)a) (and also illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (35)b), (36)b), and (37)b)), whereas non-restrictive relatives can modify any phrasal constituent (XP), e.g., DPs (34)b), VPs (35)a), PPs (36)a), CPs (37)a) (Fabb 1990:60; Demirdache 1991:108-9; McCawley 1998:447).

(34)

a) I called a friend *who was working* (i.e., versus a friend who was not working).

b) I called Rachel, *who was working*.

(35)

a) John weightlifted, *which I was having a problem doing*.

b) *John weightlifted that I was having a problem doing.

(36)

a) Rachel put the box in the car, *where I had put the others*.

b) *Rachel put the box in the car that I had put the others.

(37)

a) John angered his wife, *which was not a good idea*.

b) *John angered his wife that was not a good idea.

[12] McCawley (1998:481, fn. 12) qualifies this condition by stating that it "relates only to proper nouns that are used as proper nouns. A proper noun that is used as a common noun can host a restrictive relative as well as any inherently common noun can: The Harry Smith who took your phonetics course last year has transferred to Cornell." The same qualification applies to BH: *wayəhî bîmê* ***ʾăḥašwērôš hûʾ ʾăḥašwērôš*** *hammōlēḵ mêhōddû wəʿaḏ kûš* 'and it was in the days of Ahasuerus (he is Ahasuerus who rules from India to Ethiopia . . .)' (Esth 1.1)

To summarize, five basic features of relative clauses have been introduced in this section: the presence or absence of an overt head (i.e., headed vs. headless/null head relatives); the position of the overt head of the relative clause (i.e., before vs. after the relative clause; inside vs. outside of the relative clause); the presence or absence of the relative word (i.e., marked vs. unmarked/bare/zero relatives); the presence or absence of a resumptive element; and the distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives. With these features in mind, let us turn now to an overview of the relative clause in BH.

2.2. BH RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY *ʾašer*

By far the most common function word introducing BH relative clauses is *ʾašer*. Unlike, for example, German relative words, which exhibit morphological agreement features (e.g., NOM MS *der*, FS *die*, NS *das*, P *die*; see also 2.1 above), BH *ʾašer* is indeclinable. In fact, *ʾašer* patterns more like English *that* or even French *que*, in contrast to the relative *wh*-words in either language (e.g., English *which*, *who*, *when* or French *qui*), particularly since *ʾašer*, like English *that* and French *que*, can also introduce complement clauses (see below, 5.4). In this section I will focus on the various permutations of BH *ʾašer* relative clauses. We shall see that *ʾašer* relatives are always postnominal (i.e., the relative clause follows the head) and they may be headed (i.e., they may modify an overt head), as in (38), or headless (i.e., they may modify a covert/null head (Ø)), as in (39).

(38) ʾeṯ **hāʾāḏām ʾašer bārāʾṯî**
ACC the-man REL create(1CS PERF)[13]
‘***the man that I created***’ (Gen 6.7)

[13] See the *List of Abbreviations* on p. v for a key to the linguistic glosses of the BH data.

(39) ʾēṯ **ʾᵃšer ʿāśîṯā lô**
ACC Ø REL do(2MS PERF) to-him
*'**what** (= the thing that) **you did to him**'* (Gen 27.45)

In (38), the *ʾᵃšer* relative clause modifies the constituent *hāʾāḏām* 'the man', a constituent that is lexically explicit, or overt, in the construction. In contrast, the relative clause in (39) does not modify a lexically overt constituent; rather, it modifies a *covert* head, marked by Ø in the linguistic glossing.

2.2.1. Overtly Headed ʾᵃšer Relative Clauses

Headed *ʾᵃšer* relatives constitute the most numerous category of relative clauses in the Hebrew Bible. Almost four out of every five *ʾᵃšer* relatives modify an overt head. We shall examine two features of these relatives: 1) the type of head; and 2) the place (i.e., the gap or the resumptive) within the relative with which both the head and the relative word *ʾᵃšer* are coreferential. BH relatives may modify many different types of heads, from bare NPs (40) to entire clauses (47).

(40) Unmodified indefinite NP
šeqer ʾᵃšer lôʾ ṣiwwîṯim
falsehood REL NEG command(1CS PERF)-them
*'a **falsehood that** I did not command them*' (Jer 29.23)

(41) Modified indefinite NP
gôy gāḏôl ʾᵃšer lô ʾᵉlōhîm qərōḇîm ʾēlāyw kayhwh ʾᵉlōhênû bəḵol
nation great REL to-it gods near to-it like-Yhwh god-our in-all.of
qorʾēnû ʾēlāyw
calling(INF)-our to-him
*'**a great nation that** has gods near to it like Yhwh, our god, whenever we call to him'* (Deut 4.7)

(42) Determined NP
ʾeṯ **haṣṣēlāᶜ ʾᵃšer** lāqaḥ min hāʾāḏām
ACC the-rib REL take(3MS PERF) from the-man

*'**the rib that** he took from the man'* (Gen 2.22)

(43) Proper Noun
yhwh ʾᵃšer hiṯhallaḵtî ləp̄ānāyw yišlaḥ malʾāḵô ʾittāḵ
Yhwh REL walk(1CS PERF) to-face-his send(3MS IMPF) angel-his with-you

*'**Yhwh**, **who** I walked before him, will send his angel with you'* (Gen 24.40)

(44) NP in construct with *ʾᵃšer*
wayyittənêhû ʾel bêṯ hassōhar **məqôm ʾᵃšer** ʾᵃsûrê (Kt)
and-give(3MS PAST)-him to house.of the-round place.of REL prisoners(MP PTCP PASS).of

hammeleḵ ʾᵃsûrîm
the-king confine(MP PTCP PASS)

*'and he put him in the round house, (**the) place that** the king's prisoners (were) confined'* (Gen 39.20)

(45) Pronominal Suffix[14]
wattōʾmer lēʾâ nāṯan ʾᵉlōhîm śəḵārî **ʾᵃšer** nāṯattî šipḥāṯî
and-say(3FS PAST) Leah give(3MS PERF) God reward-my REL give(1CS PERF) maid-my

ləʾîšî
to-man-my

'*and Leah said: God has provided **my** reward, **(I) who** gave my maid to my husband'* (Gen 30.18)

(46) Prepositional Phrase
wayyāśem ʾeṯ pesel hāʾᵃšērâ ʾᵃšer ʿāśâ **babbayiṯ ʾᵃšer**
and-set(3MS PAST) ACC image.of the-Ashera REL make(3MS PERF) in-the-house REL

ʾāmar yhwh ʾel dāwiḏ wəʾel šəlōmō ḇənô
say(3MS PERF) Yhwh to David and-to Solomon son-his

*'and he set the image of the Ashera that he made **in the Temple, where** Yhwh had said to David and to Solomon his son: . . . '* (2 Kgs 21.7)

[14] For more examples, see Gen 11.7; Exod 29.33; Deut 4.19; 1Kgs 3.12,13; 15.13; Isa 47.15; Ezek 16.59; 20.21; 47.14; Psa 31.8.

(47) Entire Clause[15]

ûmālə'û **bāttêḵā** **ûḇāttê** **ḵol** **ᶜᵃbāḏêḵā** **ûḇāttê** **ḵol**
and-fill(3CP PERF MOD) houses-your and-houses.of all.of servants-your and-houses.of all.of

miṣrayim **ᵓᵃšer** lō' rā'û ᵓᵃbōṯêḵā wa'ᵓᵃbôṯ ᵓᵃbōṯêḵā miyyôm
Egypt REL NEG see(3CP PERF) fathers-your and-fathers.of fathers-your from-day.of

həyôṯām ᶜal hāᵓᵃḏāmâ ᶜaḏ hayyôm hazzê
being(INF)-their upon the-land until the-day the-this

*'**and your houses and the houses of all of your servants and the houses of all of Egypt shall be filled** [with locusts, v.4]—**which** your fathers and your ancestors have never seen from the day they came to exist upon the land until this day.'* (Exod 10.6)

In addition to the ability of *ᵓᵃšer* relative clauses to modify a wide variety of heads, from simple NPs to full clauses, illustrated in (40)-(47), the relative word introducing *ᵓᵃšer* relative clauses may correspond to a variety of positions within the relative. Within the relative clause *ᵓᵃšer* may correspond to the subject position (48), the object position (49), or an adjunct position representing a number of semantic roles, such as the temporal head in (50) or the locative head in (51).

(48) sîḥôn$_i$ meleḵ hāᵓᵉmōrî **ᵓᵃšer**$_i$ ___$_i$ mālaḵ bəḥešbôn
Sihon king.of the-Amorites REL reign(3MS PERF) in-Heshbon

*'Sihon, king of the Amorites, **who** reigned in Heshbon'* (Josh 13.21)

(49) ᶜam$_i$ **ᵓᵃšer**$_i$ lō' yāḏāᶜtā ___$_i$
people REL NEG know(2MS PERF)

*'a people **that** you do not know'* (Deut 28.33)

(50) kol yəmê$_i$ **ᵓᵃšer**$_i$ hannegaᶜ bô ___$_i$
all.of days.of REL the-disease in-him

*'all the days **that** the disease (is) in him'* (Lev 13.46)

[15] Although relative clauses with an entire clause as the antecedent are not uncommon cross-linguistically (e.g., English: Adam fell down the stairs—which wasn't a good thing), they are not so common in BH. In regard to *ᵓᵃšer*, Gaenssle (1915:58) compares this function to Syriac *d* and Akkadian *šˇa* as well as Latin *quale* and lists the following verses as examples in the Hebrew Bible: Exod 10.6; Jer 7.31; 32.35; Esth 4.16 (see also Joüon and Muraoka 1993:599). I have identified the following as additional examples: Deut 17.3; Josh 4.23; 2 Sam 4.10; Jer 19.5; 48.8; 2 Chr 3.1. Psa 139.15 may also be an example.

(51) wayyaṣṣēḇ yaʿᵃqōḇ maṣṣēḇâ bam**māqôm**$_i$ ʾᵃ**šer**$_i$ dibber ʾittô ___$_i$
and-set(3MS PAST) Jacob pillar in-the-place REL speak(3MS PERF) with-him
'*and Jacob set up a pillar in the place **that** (God) spoke with him* '

However, there are grammatical constraints on when *ʾᵃšer* may correspond to the *object of a preposition*. First, unlike English (as in the example *the car which I rode <u>in</u>*), BH does not allow *preposition stranding* (see below, 2.5.2); rather, objects of prepositions are either resumed in BH relatives, as in (52) (see also 2.5 and 5.3 for further analysis of resumption), or the preposition is deleted along with the relativized noun phrase, as in (53).

(52) hadderek$_i$ haṭṭôḇâ ʾᵃ**šer**$_i$ yēləḵû ḇâh$_i$
the-way the-good REL walk(3MP IMPF) in-**it**
*'the good way **that** they shall walk in **it'*** (1 Kgs 8.36)

(53) wayəhî ʿimmāḏî badderek$_i$ ʾᵃ**šer**$_i$ hālāḵtî ___$_i$
and-be(3MS PAST) with-me in-the-way REL walk(1CS PERF)
*'and he has been with me on the way **that** I walked ___'* (Gen 35.3)

Second, BH does not allow *pied-piping* from headed *ʾᵃšer* relative clauses (see below, 2.5.2), as in the English example *the car **in which**$_i$ I rode* ___$_i$. In BH, when a preposition precedes the relative word in Biblical Hebrew (e.g., *baʾᵃšer, kaʾᵃšer*), the preposition belongs to the matrix clause, not to the following relative clause, as in (54).

(54) û**ḇa**ʾᵃ**šer** tālînî ʾālîn
and-in-Ø-REL lodge(2FS IMPF) lodge(1CS IMPF)
*'and **in Ø (the place) that** you lodge I will lodge'* (Ruth 1.16)

Another characteristic of BH headed *ʾᵃšer* relatives is that they may be *stacked*; that is, a string of juxtaposed *ʾᵃšer* relatives may modify the same initial head, as in the English example *The article (that John wrote) (that was published last month),* where the successive relatives

are marked with parentheses. In (55), the two relative clauses ‘that is in their land’ and ‘that they bring to Yhwh’ modify the head ‘the first-born of everything’.

(55) bikkûrê kol **ʾašer bəʾarṣām ʾašer yāḇîʾû** **layhwh** ləḵā yihyê
first-born.of all.of REL in-land-their REL come(3MP IMPF CAUS) to-Yhwh to-you be(3MS IMPF)
*‘the first-born of everything (**that is in their land**) (**that they bring to Yhwh**) shall be yours’* (Num 18.13)[16]

Unlike English (56) (see above, 2.1, example (30)), though, BH allows the stacking of non-restrictive relatives, as in (57). In (57), the two relative clauses are clearly non-restrictive since they modify the proper noun ‘David’ (see above 2.1 and below 2.7).

(56) *I saw John, who was yelling, who you dislike.
vs. I saw the boy that was yelling that you dislike.

(57) ləmaʿan dāwiḏ ʿaḇdî **ʾašer bāḥartî ʾōṯô ʾašer šāmar**
for-sake.of David servant-my REL choose(1CS PERF) ACC-him REL keep(3MS PERF)
miṣwōṯay wəḥuqqōṯāy
commandments-my and-statutes-my
*‘for the sake of David, my servant, (**who I chose him**), (**who has kept my commandments and my statutes**)’* (1 Kgs 11.34)

In summary, we have discussed five linguistic characteristics of headed *ʾašer* relatives. First, headed *ʾašer* relative clauses most often modify an NP as their head, although they may modify other constituents, from PPs to entire clauses. Second, the head and relative word in *ʾašer* relative clauses may be coreferential with subject, object, or adjunct positions within the relative. Third, headed *ʾašer* relative clauses do not allow the stranding of prepositions or the

[16] See also Lev 3.4; 3.10; 3.15; 4.9; 4.18; 7.4; 20.10; 25.45; Num 18.13; 19.2; 35.34; Deut 4.46; 9.26; 11.10; 18.20, 21-22; 19.4; 21.3; 32.46, 49; Josh 13.21; 24.15; Judg 6.11; 18.22; 1 Sam 6.15; 12.13; 1 Kgs 2.44; 9.21; 11.34; 12.8; 21.25; 2 Kgs 11.10; 19.6; 20.18; 23.7, 12-13, 19; Isa 30.9-10; 39.7; 41.8, 9; Jer 7.14; 13.4; 21.4; 32.2, 3; 46.2; Ezek 20.9; 26.17; 32.24; 37.25; 44.10; 48.11; Amos 5.26; Mic 1.1; Nah 3.8; Psa 58.5-6; 78.42-43; 95.3-5; 104.16-17; Job 36.27-28; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 8.15; Dan 1.10; 2 Chr 2.11; 6.14-15; 8.8; 23.9. These data contradict O‘Connor’s claim that “Hebrew only stacks relative clauses in verse [i.e., poetry]” (1997:127).

pied-piping of the prepositions with the modified NP. Fourth, headed *ʾašer* relative clauses employ resumptive constituents (see 2.5 and 5.3 for further discussion of resumption in BH relatives). Finally, both restrictive and non-restrictive headed *ʾašer* relative clauses may be stacked. Let us now investigate the basic features of those *ʾašer* relatives which do not have an overt head.

2.2.2. Covertly Headed ("Headless") ʾašer Relative Clauses

As I stated in the previous section, headed relative clauses constitute the great majority of BH *ʾašer* clauses. However, within the Hebrew Bible there are also a significant number of relative clauses that do not modify overt heads (there are just over one thousand examples). As I indicated in 2.1, such constructions are often either referred to as headless relative clauses due to their superficially "headless" appearance or referred to as 'null head' relatives due to the linguistic proposal that a syntactically real but phonologically null (i.e., covert) head exists. The difference between BH headed and headless/null head relatives is illustrated by the minimal pairs of *ʾašer* relatives in (58)-(60) (the position of the covert head in the headless relatives is marked with a Ø).

(58)

a) wayəsappēr hāʿeḇeḏ ləyiṣḥāq ʾēṯ **kol haddəḇārîm ʾašer** ʿāśâ
and-tell(3MS PAST) the-servant to-Isaac ACC all.of the-things REL do(3MS PERF)
*'and the servant related to Isaac **all the things that** he had done'* (Gen 24.66)

b) ʿaḏ šûḇ ʾaṗ ʾāḥîḵā mimməḵā wəšāḵaḥ ʾēṯ **ʾašer**
until return(INF) anger.of brother-your from-you and-forget(3MS PERF MOD) ACC **Ø** REL
ʿāśîṯā lô
do(2MS PERF) to-him
*'until the anger of your brother subsides and he forgets **Ø what** (= the thing that) you did to him'* (Gen 27.45)

(59)

a) wəzeh **haddāḇār** **ʾᵃšer** taᶜᵃśê lāhem ləqaddēš ʾōṯām
and-this the-thing REL do(2MS IMPF) to-them to- consecrate(INF) ACC-them

*'and this (is) the **thing that** you shall do to them in order to consecrate them'* (Exod 29.1)

b) wayyîqeṣ nōᵃḥ miyyênô wayyēḏaᶜ ʾēṯ **ʾᵃšer**
and-wake(3MS PAST) Noah from-wine-his and-know(3MS PAST) ACC Ø REL

ᶜāśâ lô bənô haqqāṭān
do(3MS PERF) to-him son-his the-young

*'and Noah awoke from his wine and he knew **Ø what** (= the thing that) his youngest son had done to him'* (Gen 9.24)

(60)

a) wayyēraᶜ **haddāḇār** **ʾᵃšer** ᶜāśâ ḏāwiḏ bəᶜênê yhwh
and-be wicked(3MS PAST) the-thing REL do(3MS PERF) David in-eyes.of Yhwh

*'and the **thing that** David did was wicked in the eyes of Yhwh'* (2 Sam 11.27)

b) wayyēraᶜ bəᶜênê yhwh **ʾᵃšer** ᶜāśâ
and-be wicked(3MS PAST) in-eyes.of Yhwh Ø REL do(3MS PERF)

*'and **Ø what** (= the thing that) he did was wicked in the eyes of Yhwh'* (Gen 38.10)

What is significant for our understanding of these covertly headed relatives is that the semantic content of the phonologically null head must be inferred from the context. For instance, when we consider the English headless relative *what I saw was excellent* out of context, the referent of the relative *wh*-word is ambiguous. The *what* could refer to anything from A and Z. However, if we supply the contextual data, *I went to a horse auction last night and what I saw was excellent*, then it is reasonable to assign the referent of the covert head to some variation of *horse(s)*. The covertly headed examples in (61) and (62) illustrate the variety of covert referents which occur in the Hebrew Bible.

(61) ʾēṯ **ʾᵃšer** tōʾpû ʾēpû wəʾēṯ **ʾᵃšer** təḇaššəlû baššēlû
ACC Ø REL bake(2MP IMPF) bake(2MP IMV) and-ACC Ø REL boil(2MP IMPF) boil(2MP IMV)

*'**Ø what** (= the manna that) you want to bake, bake! And **Ø what** (= the quail that) you want to boil, boil!'* (Exod 16.23)

(62) ʾēlleh **ʾašer** niḥal mōšeh bəʿarḇôṯ môʾāḇ mēʿēḇer ləyardēn yərîḥô mizrāḥâ
these Ø REL divide(3MS PERF) Moses in-plains.of Moab from-beyond to-Jordan Jericho east-to
'these (are) ***Ø what*** *(= the inheritances that) Moses divided in the plains of Moab, beyond the Jordan (to) Jericho, to the east'* (Josh 13.32)

The context of (61) (looking back to Exodus 16.13) suggests that the referent of "baking" and "boiling" is the bread-like manna and the quail, respectively, which Yhwh provided during the wilderness episode. The context of (62) (i.e., chapter thirteen in the book of Joshua) suggests a referent like "inheritances" or "possessions," since the narrative of chapter thirteen is a partial discussion of the allotment of Canaan for the Israelite tribes.

Covertly headed *ʾašer* relatives also include the numerous examples in which a preposition, as in (63)-(69), or a subordinating conjunction, as in (70)-(72), immediately precedes the *ʾašer*. In both constructions, the preposition and conjunction are constituents of the matrix clause, not of the relative clause since, as I noted in the previous section, BH does not allow pied-piping (see also 2.5 below).

In (63)-(66), we see the three clitic prepositions, *bə-*, *kə-*, and *lə- (*which are vocalized *ba-*, *ka-*, and *la-* before *ʾašer*), attached to the relative word. Semantically, the preposition *ba-* most often indicates either spatial or temporal inclusion (hence the common English glosses 'in' or 'at'). Accordingly, the semantic content of the covert or implied head in (63) is logically interpretable as 'the place' given that one usually lodges 'somewhere'.

(63) **ûḇaʾašer**[17] tālînî ʾālîn
and-in-Ø-REL lodge(2FS IMPF) lodge(1CS IMPF)
'and ***in Ø (the place) that*** *you lodge I will lodge'* (Ruth 1.16)

[17] See also Gen 21.17; 39.9, 23; Judg 4.11; 5.27; 17.8, 9; 1 Sam 23.13; 1 Kgs 16.26; 2 Kgs 8.1; Isa 47.12; 56.4; 65.12; 66.4; Jonah 1.8; Job 39.30; Ruth 1.17; Qoh 3.9; 7.2; 8.4.

Unlike *ba-*, the preposition *ka-* does not carry a basic temporal or spatial sense; rather, Waltke and O'Connor suggest that it has three basic uses: 1) agreement in quantity or measure (including approximation); 2) agreement in kind (i.e., comparison); and 3) correspondence (1990:202-205).[18] When attached to *ʾašer*, the *ka-* appears to have one of two meanings: comparison or approximation/correspondence in time: (64) illustrates the comparative use of *ka-* and suggests an appropriate semantic content for the covert head; (65) illustrates the temporal use of *ka-* and the translation fills in the covert head with '*the time*', which is both logically and contextually appropriate.

(64) ʾemōr ʾanî môpeṯkem **kaʾašer** ʿāśîṯî kēn yēʿāśê lāhem
say(2MS IMV) I sign-your like-Ø-REL do(1CS PERF) thus do(3MS IMPF PASS) to-them
*'say: I am your sign. **Like Ø (the thing) which** I did, thus will be done to them'* (Ezek 12.11)

(65) wəyastēr pānāyw mêhem bāʿēṯ hahîʾ **kaʾašer** hērēʿû maʿaləlêhem
and-hide(3MS IMPF) face-his from-them at-the-time the-that at-Ø-REL be-evil(3MS PERF CAUS) deeds-their
*'and he will hide his face from them at that time, **at Ø (the time) that** they cause their deeds to be evil'* (Mic 3.4)

The third clitic preposition that attaches to the relative word in BH is the preposition *la-*. *la-* is often glossed with English 'to' or 'for' and the semantic range of the BH *la-* is about as diverse as its English counterparts. (66) illustrates *la-* preceding *ʾašer* and provides a contextually appropriate rendering of the covert head.

[18] Waltke and O'Connor propose that what is sometimes labeled as the 'temporal' use of *ka-* is in fact related to either approximation ('about that time') or correspondence ('at the (same) time') (1990:205).

(66) ləmaᶜᵃśê yāḏāyw yištaḥᵃwû **laᵓᵃšer**[19] ᶜāśû ᵓeṣbəᶜōṯāyw
to-work.of hands-his bow-down(3MP IMPF) to-Ø-REL make(3CP PERF) fingers-his
'to the work of (their) hands they bow down, ***to Ø (the work/idols) that*** *(their) fingers have made'*
(Isa 2.8)

The sometimes clitic preposition *min* (which becomes *mē* before *ᵓᵃšer*) exhibits the following basic meanings when attached to the relative word: spatial ('from'), as in (67); partitive ('one/some of'), as in (68); and comparative, as in (69) (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990:212-14).

(67) lāqaḥ yaᶜᵃqōḇ ᵓēṯ kol ᵓᵃšer ləᵓāḇînû **ûmēᵓᵃšer**[20] ləᵓāḇînû
take(3MS PERF) Jacob ACC all.of REL to-father-our and-from-Ø-REL to-father-our
ᶜāśâ ᵓēṯ kol hakkāḇōḏ hazzeh
make(3MS PERF) ACC all.of the-wealth the-this
'Jacob has taken all which belonged to our rather, and ***from Ø (all) that*** *belonged to our father he has made all of this wealth'* (Gen 31.1)

(68) ᵓeṯ hāᵓeḥāḏ min hattōrîm ᵓô min bənê hayyônâ **mēᵓᵃšer**[21] taśśîg
ACC the-one from the-turtledoves or from the-sons.of the-dove from-Ø-REL attain(2FS IMPF)
yāḏô
hand-his
'one of the turtledoves or of the doves— ***Ø (one of the birds) that*** *he can afford'* (Lev 14.30)

(69) wərāᵓîṯî kî ᵓên ṭôḇ **mēᵓᵃšer**[22] yiśmaḥ hāᵓāḏām bəmaᶜᵃśāyw
and-see(1CS PERF) that NEG-EXST good from-Ø-REL rejoice(3MS IMPF) the-man in-deeds-his
'and I saw that nothing is better ***than Ø (the time that)*** *man rejoices in his deeds'* (Qoh 3.22)

ᵓᵃšer also modifies covert heads that are the complements of (usually temporal) free-standing

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[19] See also Gen 27.8; 43.16; 44.4; 47.24; Exod 16.16; Lev 5.24; 27.24 (2x); Num 5.7; Josh 17.16 (2x); Judg 21.5; 1 Sam 30.27 (3x), 28 (3x), 29 (3x), 30 (3x), 31; 2 Kgs 10.22; Isa 8.23; 31.6; 49.9; Jer 27.5; 38.20; 50.20; Ezek 23.40; Amos 6.10; Mal 3.18; Job 12.6; Qoh 9.2.

[20] See also Exod 5.11; 29.27; Isa 47.13; Ruth 2.9; Esth 4.11; 1 Chr 17.13.

[21] See also Jer 40.7.

[22] See also Josh 10.11; Judg 16.30; 2 Sam 18.8; 2 Kgs 6.16.

prepositions or conjunctions such as *ʾaḥᵃrê* ‘after, behind’ and *ʿaḏ* ‘until, before’. Syntactically, these headless relatives are no different than those *ʾᵃšer* relatives that exhibit the cliticization of the prepositions *ba-*, *la-*, *ka-*, and *mē-*. Consider the following examples.

(70) lōʾ yûḵal baʿlāh hāriʾšôn ʾᵃšer šilləḥāh lāšûḇ
NEG be-able(3MS IMPF) husband-her the-first REL send(3MS PERF)-her to-return(INF)

ləqaḥtāh lihyôṯ lô ləʾiššâ **ʾaḥᵃrê**[23] **ʾᵃšer** huṭṭammāʾâ
to-take(INF)-her to-be(INF) for-him for-wife after Ø REL defile(3FS PERF PASS)

‘her first husband who cast her out shall not be able to return to take her to be his wife ***after Ø (the time) that*** *she has been defiled’* (Deut 24.4)

(71) ûzəḵōr ʾeṯ bôrəʾêḵā bîmê bəḥûrōṯêḵā **ʿaḏ**[24] **ʾᵃšer** lōʾ
and-remember(2MS IMV) ACC creator-your in-days.of youth-your until Ø REL NEG

yāḇōʾû yəmê hārāʿâ
come(3MP IMPF) days.of the-calamity

‘and remember your creator in the days of your youth, ***until Ø (the time) that*** *the days of calamity have not come’* (Qoh 12.1)

(72) wəlōʾ heʾᵉmantî ləḏiḇrêhem **ʿaḏ**[25] **ʾᵃšer** bāʾṯî wattirʾênâ
and-NEG believe(1CS PERF) to-words-their until Ø REL come(1CS PERF) and-see(3FP PAST)

ʿênay
eyes-my

‘and I did not believe their words ***until Ø (the time) that*** *I came and my eyes saw’* (2 Chr 9.6)

Note, however, that when *ʾᵃšer* immediately follows clitic prepositions or free-standing prepositions and conjunctions, it is often difficult to distinguish whether the *ʾᵃšer* introduces a null head relative or a noun-complement clause. For instance, we should not classify the *mē-* +

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[23] See also Josh 7.8; 9.16; 23.1; 24.20; Judg 11.36; 19.23; 2 Sam 19.31.

[24] See Waltke and O’Connor (1990:215) for a discussion of the preposition *ʿad* “to mark the time *before* which an event takes place.” See also Qoh 12.2, 6; Neh 4.5

[25] See also Gen 27.44; 28.15; 29.8; 33.14; Exod 23.30; 24.14; 32.20; Lev 22.4; Num 11.20; 20.17; 21.22; 32.17; Deut 2.14, 29; 3.20; 9.21; Josh 1.15; 3.17; 8.26; 17.14; Judg 4.24; 1 Sam 22.3; 30.4; 2 Sam 17.13; 1 Kgs 10.7; 17.17; 2 Kgs 17.20; 17.23; 21.16; Isa 6.11; Ezek 34.21; Hos 5.15; Jonah 4.5; Mic 7.9; Psa 112.8; Ruth 1.13; 3.18; Qoh 2.3; Neh 2.7; 1 Chr 19.5.

ʾᵃšer in (73) as the relative use of *ʾᵃšer*, but as a complementizer. The *ʾᵃšer* in (73) serves as the complement to a covert nominal head, which we may interpret similarly to the English "the fact" which is used in the common nominal complement clause "the fact that . . ."

(73) **mēʾᵃšer**[26] yāqartā bəʿênay niḵbaḏtā waʾᵃnî
from-Ø-REL be-precious(2MS PERF) in-eyes-my honor(2MS PERF PASS) and-I

ʾᵃhaḇtîḵā wəʾettēn ʾāḏām taḥtêḵā ûləʾummîm taḥaṯ napšeḵā
love(1CS PERF)-you and-give(1CS IMPF) man under-you and-peoples under soul-your

*'**on account Ø (of the fact) that** you are precious in my eyes, you are honored, and I love you, I will give a person in exchange for you and peoples in exchange for your life'* (Isa 43.4)

In the same vein as example (73), when *ʾᵃšer* is preceded by free-standing prepositions and conjunctions, such as *yaʿan* 'because', *ləmaʿan* 'for the purpose of', *mippənê* 'on account of', *ʿal* 'upon, on account of', *ʿēqeḇ* 'consequence', and *taḥaṯ* 'under, instead of', the *ʾᵃšer* is often being used as a complementizer, not as a relative word. In each case the *ʾᵃšer* follows immediately after the preposition or conjunction. Since there is no noun to explicitly provide the semantic content of the head in this construction, it must be inferred from the context; the context of these examples suggest that the common English noun-complement construction "the fact that" is an adequate parallel and illustrates the BH construction well.

(74) ***yaʿan ʾᵃšer* 'because (of the fact) that'**
ʿal kēn hāyəṯâ ḥeḇrôn ləḵālēḇ ben yəp̄unneh haqqənizzî lənaḥᵃlâ
because thus be(3FS PERF) Hebron to-Caleb son.of Jephunneh the-Kenizzite to-inheritance

ʿaḏ hayyôm hazzeh **yaʿan**[27] **ʾᵃšer** millēʾ ʾaḥᵃrê yhwh ʾᵉlōhê yiśrāʾēl
until the-day the-this because Ø REL fill(3MS PERF) after Yhwh god.of Israel

*'because of this, Hebron became an inheritance for Caleb, son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite, until this very day **because Ø (of the fact) that** he was fully after Yhwh, the God of Israel'* (Josh 14.14)

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[26] See also Num 6.11.

[27] See also Gen 22.16; Deut 1.36; Judg 2.20; 1 Sam 30.22; 1 Kgs 3.11; 8.18; 11.11, 33; 14.7, 15; 16.2; 20.28, 36; 2 Kgs 1.16; 10.30; 21.11, 15; Jer 19.4; 25.8; 29.23, 25, 31; 35.18; Ezek 12.12; 16.43; 21.9; 26.2; 31.10; 44.12; Psa 109.16; 2 Chr 1.11; 6.8.

(75) ***ləmaʿan ʾᵃšer*** **‘for the purpose (of the fact) that’**

wāʾᵃṭammēʾ ʾôṯām bəmattənôṯām bəhaʿᵃḇîr kol peṭer rāḥam
and-defile(1CS PAST) ACC-them in-gifts-their in-devote(INF) all.of firstborn.of womb

ləmaʿan ʾᵃšimmēm **ləmaʿan**[28] **ʾᵃšer** yēḏəʿû ʾᵃšer ʾᵃnî yhwh
for-purpose horrify(1CS IMPF)-them for-purpose Ø REL know(3MP IMPF) REL I Yhwh

‘and I defiled them through their gifts when (they) devoted every firstborn in order to horrify them ***to the end Ø that*** *they would know that I am Yhwh’* (Ezek. 20.26)

(76) ***mippənê ʾᵃšer*** **‘on account (of the fact) that’**

wəhar sînay ʿāšan kullô **mippənê**[29] **ʾᵃšer** yāraḏ ʿālāyw yhwh
and-mount Sinai smoke(3MS PERF) all-it on-account.of Ø REL descend(3MS PERF) upon-it Yhwh

bāʾēš
in-the-fire

‘and Mount Sinai—all of it was smoking ***on account of Ø (the fact) tha****t Yhwh had descended upon it in fire’* (Exod 19.18)

(77) ***ʿal ʾᵃšer*** **‘because (of the fact) that’**

ûḇišlōšeṯ rēʿāyw ḥārâ ʾappô **ʿal**[30] **ʾᵃšer** lōʾ māṣəʾû
and-in-three.of friends-his burn(3MS PERF) anger-his because Ø REL NEG find(3CP PERF)

maʿᵃnê wayyaršîʿû ʾeṯ ʾiyyôb
answer and-condemn(3MP PAST) ACC Job

‘and his anger burned at his three friends ***because Ø (of the fact) tha****t*[31] *they could not find an answer but they condemned Job’* (Job 32.3)

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[28] See also Gen 18.19; Lev 17.5; Num 17.5; Deut 20.18; 27.3; Josh 3.4; 2 Sam 13.5; Jer 42.6; Ezek 31.14; 36.30; 46.18.

[29] See also Jer 44.23.

[30] See Waltke and O’Connor (1990:218) for a discussion of the preposition *ʿal* to introduce a cause. See also Gen 47.6; Exod 16.5; 32.35; Num 20.24; Deut 29.24; 32.51 (2x); 1 Sam 24.6; 30.14; 2 Sam 3.30; 6.8; 8.10; 12.6; 15.20; 21.1; 1 Kgs 9.9; 16.7; 18.12; 2 Kgs 18.12; 22.13; Isa 29.12; Jer 15.4; 16.11; 22.9; Ezek 1.20; 23.30; 35.15; 39.23; Hag 1.11; Psa 119.49; Esth 1.15; 8.7; 1 Chr 13.10; 18.10; 2 Chr 7.22; 34.21.

[31] See Deut 22.24 (2x); 23.5; 2 Sam 13.22 for *ʿal dəḇar ʾᵃšer*, lit. ‘because of the fact that’.

(78) ***ʿēqeḇ ʾᵃšer* 'a consequence (of the fact) that'**

wəʾeṯ hakkiḇśâ yəšallēm ʾarbaʿtāyim **ʿēqeḇ**[32] **ʾᵃšer** ʿāśâ ʾeṯ
and-ACC the-lamb restore(3MS IMPF) fourfold consequence Ø REL do(3MS PERF) ACC

haddāḇār hazzeh wəʿal ʾᵃšer lōʾ ḥāmāl
the-thing the-this and-on-account.of REL NEG pity(3MS PERF)

*'and the lamb he shall restore fourfold **as a consequence Ø (of the fact) that** he did this thing and an account (of the fact) that he did not show pity'* (2 Sam 12.6)

(79) ***taḥaṯ ʾᵃšer* 'in return (for the fact) that'**

lāḵēn ʾᵃḥalleq lô ḇārabbîm wəʾeṯ ᶜᵃṣûmîm yəḥallēq
therefore apportion(1CS IMPF) for-him in-the-many and-with mighty apportion(3MS IMPF)

šālāl **taḥaṯ**[33] **ʾᵃšer** heᶜᵉrâ lammāweṯ napšô
plunder instead REL empty(3MS PERF) to-death soul-his

*'therefore I will give him a portion among the many and with the mighty he will apportion plunder, **in return Ø (for the fact) tha**t he emptied his life to death'* (Isa 53.12)

In this section I presented the various constructions in which the relative word *ʾᵃšer* appears. I introduced both overtly headed and covertly headed *ʾᵃšer* relatives and I presented an argument for either a 'covertly headed relative clause' or 'noun-complement clause' analysis of *ʾᵃšer* when it is preceded by any one of the prepositions presented in the section above. In the next section, I will move from *ʾᵃšer* to the other, less common function words that introduce BH relatives.

[32] See also Gen 22.18; 26.5; 2 Sam 12.6.

[33] See also Num 25.13; Deut 21.14; 22.29; 28.47, 62; 1 Sam 26.21; 2 Kgs 22.17; Jer 29.19; 50.7; Ezek 36.34; 2 Chr 21.12; 34.25.

2.3. BH RELATIVE CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY *šeC-*[34] AND *zeh/zû/zô*

Compared to the number of BH relative clauses introduced by *ʾašer*, the relative clauses that are introduced by the other BH relative words, *šeC-* and *zeh/zû/zô*, are few. Furthermore, the distribution of the relative word *šeC-* limits the syntactic diversity found in the *šeC-* clauses (i.e., this function word exits primarily within Early Biblical Hebrew poetry, e.g., Judges 5.7, and Late Biblical Hebrew, e.g., Qoheleth 1.3, but rarely in Standard Biblical Hebrew). Notwithstanding the paucity of data (e.g., there are only 139 occurrences of *šeC-*), the relative clauses introduced by the remaining BH relative words exhibit syntactic characteristics that are similar to *ʾašer*: the postnominal position of the relative word and the possibility of an overt head.

Like *ʾašer* relatives, headed relative clauses introduced by *šeC-* or *zeh/zû/zô* modify a variety of heads, illustrated by the examples in (80)-(84).

(80) Unmodified indefinite NP
a) ûləʾ**āḏām** **šel**lōʾ ʿāmal bô
and-to-man REL-NEG toil(3MS PERF) in-it
*'and to **a man that** has not toiled over it'* (Qoh 2.21)

b) **ʿam** **zû** gāʾāltā
people REL redeem(2MS PERF)
*'**a people that** you have redeemed'* (Exod 15.13)

(81) Modified indefinite NP
ka**ḥᵃṣîr** **gaggôṯ** **šeq**qaḏmaṯ šālaḇ yāḇēš
like-grass.of rooftops REL-before shoot(3MS PERF) wither(3MS PERF)
*'like **grass of rooftops, which** before it has shot up it withers'* (Psa 129.6)

[34] The *C* in *šeC-* indicates that with all non-guttural consonants, the consonant immediately following the relative word is geminated.

(82) DP (Determined NP)
a) **hamma^{ca}śê šen**na^{ca}śâ taḥaṯ haššāmeš
the-work REL-do(3MS PERF PASS) under the-sun
‘***the work that*** *was done under the sun’* (Qoh 2.17)

b) **bərîṯî wə^{c}ēḏōṯî zô** ^{a}lammədḏēm
covenant-my and-testimony-my REL teach(1CS IMPF)-them
‘***my covenant and testimony that*** *I will teach them’* (Psa 132.12)

(83) Proper Noun
a) **yhwh še**hāyâ lānû
Yhwh REL-be(3MS PERF) for-us
‘***Yhwh, who*** *was for us’* (Psa 124.1)

b) **yhwh zû** ḥāṭāʾnû lô
Yhwh REL sin(1CP PERF) to-him
‘***Yhwh, who*** *we sinned against him’* (Isa 42.24)

(84) NP in construct with the relative
a) **məqôm še**yippôl hā^{c}ēṣ
place.of REL-fall(3MS IMPF) the-tree
‘***a/the place that*** *the tree falls’* (Qoh 11.3)

b) **məqôm zeh** yāsaḏtā lāhem
place.of REL establish(2MS PERF) for-them
‘***a/the place that*** *you established for them’* (Psa 104.8)

(85) Pronominal Suffix
ʾal tirʾû**nî** **še^{a}nî** šəḥarḥōreṯ
NEG see(2MS MOD)-me REL-I dark
‘*do not look at* ***me who I*** *am dark’* (Song 1.6)

We can also see from the examples above that the relative words *šeC-* or *zeh*/*zû*/*zô* may correspond to subject (examples (80)a), (81), (82)a), (83), and (85)), object (examples (80)b), (82)b), and (84)b)), or adjunct (example (84)a)) positions within the relative clause.

Like the relative word *^{a}šer*, the relative words *šeC-* or *zeh*/*zû*/*zô* may modify covert or null heads, as in (86)-(88).

(86) haggîḏâ lî **še**ʾāhᵃḇâ napšî ʾêḵâ ṯirʿê
tell(2MS IMV) to-me Ø REL-love(3FS PERF) soul-my where pasture(2MS IMPF)
*'tell me, **Ø One-who** my soul loves, where you pasture (your flock)'* (Song 1.7)

(87) wə**zê** ʾāhaḇtî nehpəḵû ḇî
and-Ø –REL love(1CS PERF) turn(3CP PERF REFL) in-me
*'and **Ø who** I loved turned against me'* (Job 19.19)

(88) ʿal miškāḇî ballêlôṯ biqqaštî ʾēṯ **še**ʾāhᵃḇâ napšî
upon bed-my in-the-nights seek(1CS PERF) ACC Ø REL-love(3FS PERF) soul-my
*'upon my bed during night I sought **Ø (him-)who** my soul loves'* (Song 3.1)

Also, covertly headed *šeC-* relatives may be preceded by prepositional phrases in the same way that *ʾᵃšer* relatives are (see above 2.2), although there are no examples of this construction with *zeh/zû/zô* relatives.

(89) wəyāšōḇ heʿāp̄ār ʿal hāʾāreṣ **kəše**hāyâ
and-return(3MS MOD) the-dust on the-earth like-Ø-REL-be(3MS PERF)
*'and the dust returns to the earth **like Ø (the condition/state) that** it had been* (Qoh 12.7)

(90) ḥāḏ̲əlû p̄ərāzôn bəyiśrāʾēl ḥāḏ̲ēllû **ʿaḏ̲** **šaq**qamtî
cease(3CP PERF) peasantry in-Israel cease(3CP PERF) until Ø REL-rise(1CS PERF)
*'peasantry in Israel ceased; it ceased **until Ø (the time) that** I arose'* (Judg 5.7)

In this section, we have seen that *šeC-* and *zeh/zû/zô* relatives appear to function syntactically in the same way that *ʾᵃšer* relatives do, even though we do not have quite the same extent of syntactic diversity with these rarer relative words. From the data that exist in the Hebrew Bible, we see that *šeC-* and *zeh/zû/zô* are used to introduce both overtly and covertly headed relative clauses, and that the relative word corresponds to similarly diverse positions within the relative clause as exhibited by *ʾᵃšer* relatives. At this point, the only remaining relative word to consider is the morpheme *haC-*, normally associated with the function of the BH definite article.

2.4. *haC-*[35] RELATIVES

Most reference grammars agree that there are a few instances of the Hebrew definite article *haC-* used as a relative word (see Kautzsch 1910:447; Peretz 1967:109-10; Lambert 1972:135; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:338-40; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:537-38). They usually identify eighteen clear examples of this relative construction exist in the Hebrew Bible;[36] seventeen are in the form of *haC-* followed by a perfect verb, as in (91), and one exhibits *haC-* followed by a verbless clause consisting of one member, a clitic preposition and its suffixed pronominal object (92).

(91) tərûmaṯ bêṯ ʾᵉlōhênû **hahērîmû** hammeleḵ wəyōʿᵃṣāyw . . .
offering.of house.of god-our REL-lift(3CP PERF) the-king and-counselors-his
*'the offering of the house of our God **that** the king and his counselors . . . **lifted up'*** (Ezra 8.25)

(92) wayyārem haṭṭabbāḥ ʾeṯ haššôq wə**heʿālêhā**
and-raise(3MS PAST) the-cook ACC the-leg and-Ø-REL-upon-it
*'and the cook lifted the leg and Ø/**what (=the thing that) (was) on it**'* (1 Sam 9.24)

Like the example in (91), many instances of the *haC-* relative occur in biblical texts that represent Late Biblical Hebrew.[37] There are also a number of occurrences in "older texts";[38] however, in such "older" texts the perfect verb forms to which the relative *haC-* is attached are only a single vowel change or stress shift from the form of a participle. Thus, according to

[35] The *C* in *haC-* indicates that with all non-guttural consonants, the consonant immediately following the relative word is geminated.

[36] Gen 18.21; 21.3; 46.27; Josh 10.24; 1 Sam 9.24; Isa 51.10; Ezek 26.17; Job 2.11; Ruth 1.22; 2.6; 4.3; Ezra 8.25; 10.14, 17; 1 Chr 26.28; 29.17; 2 Chr 1.4; 29.36. Other possible examples are 1 Kgs 11.9; Isa 56.3; Dan 8.1; and 1 Chr 29.8.

[37] For example, Ezra 8.25; 10.14, 17; 1 Chr 26.28; 29.8, 17.

[38] Waltke and O'Connor cite Gen 21.3 and Ruth 1.22 as examples of these "older" occurrences (1990:340).

Waltke and O'Connor, "such forms should probably be read as participles . . . the article with the perfective is unlikely in early texts" (1990:339; cf. Peretz 1967:110; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:538; see also Kautzsch (1910:447), who suggests that "no doubt the authors in all these cases *intended* participles" [emphasis added]). For example, the form *hannôlaḏ* in (93), which is vocalized in the Masoretic Text as a *haC-* relative word prefixed to a 3MS perfect, *nôlaḏ*, can be changed to the form *hannôlāḏ*, a MS participle, simply by altering the final vowel from /a/ to /ā/ (resulting in the attributive participle construction; but see below in this section for an argument against the attributive participle as a construction in BH).[39]

(93) wayyiqrāʾ ʾaḇrāhām ʾeṯ šem bənô **hannôlaḏ** lô ʾᵃšer
and-call(3MS PAST) Abraham ACC name.of son-his REL-bear(MS PTCP PASS) to-him REL
yālḏâ lô śārâ yiṣḥāq
bear(3FS PERF) to-him Sarah Isaac
*'and Abraham called the name of his son **that was born** to him, who Sarah bore for him, Isaac'* (Gen 21.3)

Furthermore, there are a number of forms that the Masoretic Text presents as words with penultimate stress, as in (94); these forms can be read as participles by a simple shift of the word stress to the ultima syllable (i.e., *haššāḇấ* for (94)).[40]

(94) wayyōʾmar naᶜᵃrâ môʾᵃḇîyâ hîʾ **haššā́ḇâ** ʿim noᶜᵒmî miśśəḏê môʾāḇ
and-say(3MS PAST) girl Moabite she REL-return(3FS PERF) with Naomi from-fields.of Moab
*'and he said: She is a Moabite girl **that returned** with Naomi from the fields of Moab'* (Ruth 2.6)

Even if we accept the proposals for re-vocalization or re-accentuation of suspect forms, we are still left with nine examples,[41] like the one given above in (91), that cannot be explained

[39] See also 1 Kgs 11.9; Isa 56.3; Dan 8.1.

[40] See also Gen 18.21; 46.27; Isa 51.10; Job 2.11; Ruth 1.22; 4.3.

[41] Josh 10.24 (*hehālḵû'*, 'who walked'); Ezek 26.17 (*hahullālâ* 'who was praised'); Ezra 8.25 (*hahērîmû* 'who lifted up'); 10.14 (*hahōšîḇ* 'who caused to dwell'), 10.17 (*hahōšîḇû* 'who caused to dwell'); 1 Chr 26.28 (*hahiqdîš*

by altering the vowels or the word accent. Clearly, the morpheme *haC-* does serve, mostly in late texts but also in a few early ones, to introduce a relative clause. Therefore, this raises the question: Why should any of the forms be altered if they already conform to a known and accepted BH grammatical phenomenon? In fact, once we recognize the capacity of *haC-* to function as a relative word, we should investigate whether there are other heretofore unidentified environments in which it introduces a relative clause. The use of *haC-* as a relative word in Modern Hebrew may aid in this endeavor.

Siloni 1995 claims that in many languages there is an element functioning as the syntactic head of the DP (see above note 8) that qualifies "as the relative complementizer of certain clausal structures" (1995:445). Based on the examples in (95)-(97), Siloni argues that this Determiner-relative complementizer is covert in many languages, as in the French (95) and English (96) participial/reduced relatives, but overt in languages such as Hebrew (where the relative-complementizer is homophonous with the definite article *haC-*),[42] as in (97). Siloni labels this particular relative construction a 'semi-relative'.

(95) Un homme **lisant un journal dans la rue** est un espion.

(96) A man **reading a newspaper in the street** is a spy.

(97) 'îš **haqqōrē' 'îṯôn bārəḥoḇ** hû' məraggēl[43] (Siloni 1995:446)
man REL-reading(MS PTCP) newspaper in-the-street he spy

'who sanctified'); 29.17 (*hannimṣəʾû* 'who were found'); 2 Chr 1.4 (*bahēḵîn* 'in (the place) where he established'); 29.36 (*hahēḵîn* 'what he established').

[42] Although Siloni argues that the *haC-* in semi-relatives is semantically distinct but homophonous with the *haC-* of the definite article (1995:452-53), it would not significantly change the analysis is there was only one polysemous morpheme *haC-*.

[43] In all Modern Hebrew examples in this chapter, I have altered the transcription of the examples in order to accord with the transcription system that I have adopted in this work (see p. vi).

Siloni compares the synonymous pair in (98)-(99) to illustrate that *haC-* can function syntactically just like the more common Modern Hebrew relative word *šeC-*.

(98) hinnē hā'iš **šehôšēḇ** raq 'al keseḵ (Siloni 1995:447)
here the-man REL-think(MS PTCP) only about money

(99) hinnē hā'iš **hāhôšēḇ** raq 'al keseḵ (Siloni 1995:447)
here the-man REL-think(MS PTCP) only about money
*'here is **the man who thinks** only about money'*

Siloni does, however, describe at least seven characteristics which differentiate *haC-* semi-relatives from *šeC-* full relatives. Table 2, taken from Siloni (1995:452), lists the differences.

Table 2
Distinctions between šeC- and haC-/Semi-Relatives in Modern Hebrew

	šeC- Relatives	*haC-*/Semi-Relatives
Verbal form	finite (+tense)	participial (-tense)
Copular pronoun	obligatory	impossible
Negation	possible	impossible
Topicalization	possible	impossible
wh-elements	obligatory	impossible
Relativized element	subject/object/. . .	subject only

Following Siloni's lead, we can now propose a 'relative' explanation for those BH constructions in which an indefinite noun is followed by a definite participle, as in (100).[44]

(100) hinnê ḥag yhwh bəšilô miyyāmîm yāmîmâ ʾᵃšer miṣṣəpônâ ləḇêṯ ʾēl mizrəḥâ
behold festival.of Yhwh in-Shiloh from-years years-to REL from-north to-Bethel east-to
haššemeš **limsillâ hāʿōlâ** mibbêṯ ʾēl šəḵemâ
the-sun to-highway REL-ascend(FS PTCP) from-Bethel Shechem-to
*'see—the festival of Yhwh (is) at Shiloh from year to year, which is north of Bethel, on the east **of a highway that goes up** from Bethel to Shechem'* (Judg 21.19)

In (100) the indefinite noun *məsillâ* 'highway' is modified by the definite participle *hāʿōlâ* 'the-going up'. This construction is similar to those provided in (91)-(94) in that the morpheme

[44] For additional examples, see Gen 49.17; Exod 26.12; Lev 16.16; 1 Sam 25.10; Isa 65.2; Jer 27.3; 46.16; 50.16; 51.25; Ezek 2.3; 28.16; 32.22, 24; 41.11; 47.2; Prov 26.1; Song 4.5; Dan 9.26; 2 Chr 31.6.

haC- is used to introduce a relative clause. What is significant about identifying examples like (100) as relative clauses is that such constructions have most often been analyzed as 'attributive participles'. However, since agreement in definiteness (i.e., either both the head and the participle have the definite article or neither do) is a defining criterion for attributive participles, the possible lack of agreement in definiteness, as in (100), strongly suggests that such examples should be given a different analysis.

Accepting the proposal that the Hebrew morpheme *haC-* may function as a relative word in cases such as (100) allows us to consider a similar analysis for BH *adjectival* constructions in which the noun is indefinite but the adjective is definite, as in (101).[45]

(101) wəsārâ mēʿālāyw **rûᵃḥ hārāʿâ**
and-depart(3FS PERF MOD) from-upon-him spirit REL-evil(FS)
*'and **a spirit that (was) evil** would depart from him'* (1 Sam 16.23)

Reference grammars often refer to the construction in (101) as an "exception" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:621; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:514) or "an apparent discrepancy in definiteness" (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:260). It is common to propose either that the Hebrew text is mistaken (in terms of the consonants or vocalization) or that the nouns are inherently definite; thus, grammarians miss the connection with the *haC-* relative construction. Rather than assuming that the Masoretic text is corrupt or that the Masoretes who preserved and recorded the vocalization of the text were mistaken, clauses like those in (101) should be analyzed as *haC-* relatives. A relative analysis avoids the problem of either "stretching" the

[45] For additional examples, see Gen 21.29; 41.26; Lev 11.10; 1 Sam 6.18; 12.23; 19.22; 2 Sam 12.4; 1 Kgs 7.8, 12; 2 Kgs 20.13; Jer 6.16, 20; 17.2; Ezek 9.2; 21.19; 40.28, 31; Zech 4.7; Psa 104.18; Song 7.10; Qoh 11.5; Neh 9.35; 2 Chr 23.20.

grammar so that attributive adjectives do not have to agree with the modified noun in definiteness, or altering the text of the Hebrew Bible.

BH *haC*- relatives differ from Modern Hebrew *haC*- relatives in one significant way: BH *haC*- relatives clearly include tensed verbs, whereas Modern Hebrew *haC*- relatives do not. (In fact, the examples with a perfect verb are the very constructions that first alerted Hebraists to the role of *haC*- as a relative clause complementizer.) Aside from this issue, we can affirm every other distinction for *haC*- relatives in Siloni's analysis (listed above in Table 2):[46] to all appearances, BH *haC*- relatives do not allow the presence of copular pronouns, negation, topicalization, or *wh*-elements, and relativize and refer only to the subject constituent.[47] I will also add that *haC*- relatives do not resume their heads overtly, since that would entail a subject pronoun within the relative and such pronominal resumption does not occur in these relatives.

Once we recognize the relativizer status of *haC*-, we are then able to notice that *haC*-relatives act very much like other relatives in the following ways. First, covertly headed *haC*-relatives (102) occur in BH.

(102) wəʿēmeq haśiddîm beʾēr̄ōṯ beʾēr̄ōṯ ḥēmor wayyānusû melek̲ səḏōm waʿᵃmōrâ
and-valley.of the-Siddim pits pits tar and-flee(3MP PAST) king.of Sodom and-Gomorah
wayyippəlû šāmmâ **wəhanniśʾārîm** herâ nāsû
and-fall(3MP PAST) there and-Ø-REL-remain(MPL PTCP PASS) hill-to flee(3CP PERF)
*'and the valley of Siddim had many tar pits and the kings of Sodom and Gomorah fled and the fell there and Ø**(those) who remained** fled to the hills'* (Gen 14.10)

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[46] In contrast, BH full relatives differ from Siloni's analysis of Modern Hebrew full relatives in that neither copular pronouns or initial *wh*-elements in free relatives are obligatory in BH.

[47] The 'subject constituent' here refers to the constituent which is the subject within the relative clause, not to the role that the relativized constituent plays in the matrix clause. This means that the DP/NP which is the head of the entire relative clause is always considered the subject of the verb/participle that exists within the relative clause. In other words, there are no Hebrew *ha*- relatives in which the verb/participle within the relative clause actually has as its subject an overt noun present within the relative clause: resumption does not occur in *haC*-relatives.

(102) illustrates the relatively common headless *haC*- relative. The content of the relative, *hanniš*ʾ*ārîm* '(those) who remained', makes clear that the referent of the relative cannot be the kings of Sodom and Gormorah; 'those who remained' can only refer to the other three kings mentioned in Genesis 14.8: the kings of Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela. I mention this to establish that the *haC*- relative in (102) cannot be an extraposed relative, modifying some constituent earlier in the verse. Instead, the null head which the *haC*- relative modifies must be coreferential with the three other kings (from 14.8) who did not succumb to the tar pits.

Second, (103) illustrates the stacking of *haC*- relatives. The noun modified by all the *haC*- relatives, Yhwh, is presented in the initial clause. Each relative provides an additional activity of Yhwh, activities that provide the motivation for the Psalmist's call to bless Yhwh.

(103) [2]bārᵃk̲î napš̲î ʾet̲ yhwh wəʾal tiškəḥî kol gəmûlā**yw**
bless(2FS IMV) soul-my ACC Yhwh and-NEG forget(2FS MOD) all.of benefits-his

[3]**hassōlēᵃḥ** lək̲ol ᶜᵃwōnēk̲î
REL-forgive(MS PTCP) to-all.of iniquity-your

hārōpēʾ lək̲ol taḥᵃluʾāyk̲î
REL-heal(MS PTCP) to-all.of diseases-your

[4]**haggôʾēl** miššaḥaṯ ḥayyāyk̲î
REL-redeem(MS PTCP) from-pit life-your

hamᶜaṭṭərēk̲î ḥesed̲ wəraḥᵃmîm
REL-crown(MS PTCP CAUS)-you kindness and-compassion

[5]**hammaśbîᵃᶜ** baṭṭôb̲ ᶜed̲yēk̲
REL-satiate(MS PTCP CAUS) in-goodness ornament-your

*'Bless Yhwh, O my soul, and do not forget all **his** benefits—*
***(he) who forgives** all your iniquity,*
***(he) who heals** all your diseases,*
***(he) who redeems** your life from the pit,*
***(he) who crowns you** (with) kindness and compassion,*
***(he) who satiates** your ornaments with goodness'* (Psa 103.2-5)[48]

[48] See also Psa 33.15; 104.3; 113.5-6; 144.10; 147.8; Job 9.4-7.

Finally notice that the nearest antecedent for the first *haC-* relative clause in (103) is the 3MS pronominal suffix on 'his benefits' (which itself refers back to the proper noun *Yhwh*). This suggests that *haC-* relatives, like *ʾašer* and *šeC-* relatives (see above in 2.2.1 and 2.3, respectively), may modify a pronominal suffix.

Up to this point I have presented an overview of the various BH words which introduce relative clauses. In the process, I have noted syntactic features of BH relatives, including the variety of syntactic positions within the matrix clause in which a relative can reside and whether the relative has an overt head. It is now time to turn to an internal feature of BH relatives that may have significant semantic or pragmatic functions: resumption.

2.5. RESUMPTION AND BH RELATIVE CLAUSES

The next criterion by which we may distinguish types of BH relative clauses is whether they contain an element which syntactically and semantically resumes the head of the relative (see Kautzsch 1910:445, 486-88; Peretz 1967: 86-93; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:333-34; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:596-97). Using *ʾašer*, the minimal pairs in (104)-(105) illustrate this feature: (104)a) and (105)a) do not contain resumption (the gap [__] marks the place where the resumption *would* occur if present) while (104)b) and (105)b) do contain resumption.

(104)

a) wayyaṣṣēḇ yaʿaqōḇ maṣṣēḇâ bam**māqôm** **ʾašer** dibber ʾittô ___
and-set up(3MS PAST) Jacob pillar in-the-place REL speak(3MS PERF) with-him
*'and Jacob set up a pillar in **the place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ he [God] had spoken with him ___$_i$'* (Gen 35.14)

b) wayyiqrāʾ yaʿaqōḇ ʾeṯ šēm **hammāqôm** **ʾašer** dibber ʾittô
and-call(3MS PAST) Jacob ACC name.of the-place REL speak(3MS PERF) with-him
šām ʾᵉlōhîm bêṯ ʾēl
there God Bethel
*'and Jacob named **the place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ God had spoken with him **there**$_i$ 'Bethel"* (Gen 35.15)

In (104)a) the head of the relative clause, *māqôm* ‘place’, is not resumed within the relative clause, leaving an adjunct gap. In contrast, the head DP, *māqôm*, in (104)b) is resumed by the deictic adverb *šām* ‘there’. Whereas the minimal pair in (104) illustrates the feature of resumption at the adjunct position within the relative clause, the pair in (105) illustrates resumption at the object position.

(105)

a) ləhôṣîʾām mēʾereṣ miṣrāyim ʾel **ʾereṣ** **ʾašer** tartî
to-go out(INF CAUS)-them from-land.of Egypt to land REL explore(1CS PERF) ___
lāhem
for-them
*‘to bring them from the land of Egypt to a **land**$_i$ **that**$_i$ I explored ___$_i$ for them’* (Ezek 20.6)

b) wayyôṣîʾû dibbaṯ **hāʾāreṣ** **ʾašer** tārû **ʾōṯâh** ʾel
and-go out(3MP PAST CAUS) evil report.of the-land REL explore(3P PERF) ACC-it to
bənê yiśrāʾēl
sons.of Israel
*‘and they brought to the Israelites an evil report of **the land**$_i$ **that**$_i$ they explored **it**$_i$’* (Num 13.32)

The head, *ʾereṣ* ‘land’, in (105)a) is not resumed within the relative clause, leaving a gap at the object position. In (105)b), though, the head DP *hāʾāreṣ* ‘the land’ is resumed at the object position within the relative clause, manifested as *ʾōṯâh*, the 3FS pronominal suffix attached to the accusative function word. These two sets of minimal pairs not only illustrate that BH relatives can either include or omit resumptive constituents, they also illustrate the variety of constituents that BH allows as resumption.

There are three basic resumptive strategies in BH: resumption by a (clitic or independent) pronoun (106); resumption by a semantically related adverb (107)a)-(107)b) or

noun (107)c); and resumption by a full copy of the head DP (108).[49]

(106)

a) wəkipper **hakkōhēn** **ʾᵃšer** yimšaḥ ʾōṯô
and-atone(3MS PERF MOD) the-priest REL anoint(3MS IMPF) ACC-him

*'and **the priest**$_i$ **who**$_i$ one anoints **him**$_i$. . . shall make atonement'* (Lev 16.32)

b) ʾašrê **hāʿām** **še**yhwh ʾᵉlōhā**yw**
happy.of the-people REL-Yhwh god-its

*'happy is **the people**$_i$ **who**$_i$ **its**$_i$ god is Yhwh'* (Psa 144.15)

c) zəkōr . . . **har** **ṣîyôn** **zê** šākantā bô
remember(2MS IMV) mount.of Zion REL dwell(2MS PERF) in-it

*'remember . . . **Mount Zion**$_i$, **which**$_i$ you dwelt in **it**$_i$'* (Psa 74.2)

(107)

a) ʿad **hammāqôm** **ʾᵃšer** hāyâ **šām** ʾohᵒlō (Kt) battəḥillâ
until the-place REL be(3MS PERF) there tent-his in-the-beginning

*'up to **the place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ his tent was **there**$_i$ at the beginning'* (Gen 13.3)

b) [3]**yərûšālayim** . . . [4]**šeššām** ʿālû šəbāṭîm šibṭê yâh
Jerusalem . . . REL-there ascend(3CP PERF) tribes, tribes.of Yah

*'**Jerusalem**$_i$, **which**$_i$ the tribes, tribes of Yah would ascend **there**$_i$'* (Psa 122.3-4)

c) kol təpillâ kol təḥinnâ ʾᵃšer ṯihyê ləkol hāʾādām lə**kōl** **ʿammə**kā
all.of prayer all.of supplication REL be(3FS IMPF) to-all.of the-man to-all.of people-your

yiśrāʾēl **ʾᵃšer** yēdəʿûn **ʾîš** negaʿ ləbāḇô
Israel REL know(3MP IMPF) man affliction.of heart-his

*'every prayer, every supplication which comes from any man, **any of your people**$_i$, Israel, **who**$_i$ **each**$_i$ knows the affliction of his heart'* (1 Kgs 8.38)

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[49] This type of resumption appears to be rare in BH. The only other examples I have identified are Gen 13.16; 50.13; Josh 22.31 (which some treat as an example of a causal *ʾᵃšer*, cf. Soggin 1972:211; NJPS; but see below, 5.4), 1 Sam 2.23, and Qoh 9.9 (which is sometimes emended, cf. Murphy 1992:89).

Kautzsch (1910:445, fn. 1) suggests that Gen 49.30 is also an example of resumption by means of a fully copy of the head DP. However, in this verse, it is simpler to take the final relative clause, '*ʾᵃšer* Abraham bought the field from …' as modification of the nearest antecedent, 'the land of Canaan' (or perhaps 'Mamre, in the land of Canann') rather than as modification of the distant DP 'the field of Machpelah'. Thus, the sequence of relatives is better analyzed and translated as follows: 'In the cave which is in the field of Machpelah, which is near Mamre, in the land of Canaan, where Abraham bought the field from Ephron the Hittite as a burial site.

(108) lōʾ ḵab**bərîṯ** . . . **ʾᵃšer** hēmmâ hēp̄rû ʾeṯ **bərîṯî** wəʾānōḵî
NEG like-the-covenant . . . REL they break(3CP PERF) ACC covenant-my and-I

bāʿaltî b̄ām
marry(1CS PERF) in-them

*'not like **the covenant**$_i$, . . . **which**$_i$ they broke **my covenant**$_i$, though I married them'* (Jer 31.32)

The resumptive constituent may serve in the subject/nominative[50] position within the relative (109)-(110), in the object/accusative position (111)-(112), or in an adjunct/oblique (113)-(116).

(109) ûb̄ānîṯā māṣôr ʿal **hāʿîr ʾᵃšer hîʾ** ʿōśâ ʿimməḵā milḥāmâ
and-build(2MS PERF MOD) seigework upon the-city REL it make(3FS PTCP) with-you war

*'and you shall build a seige-wors against **the city**$_i$ **that**$_i$ **it**$_i$ is making war with you'* (Deut 20.20)

(110) ʾal tirʾû**nî** **šeʾᵃnî** šəḥarḥōreṯ
NEG see(2MS MOD)-me REL-I dark

*'do not look at **me**$_i$ **who**$_i$ **I**$_i$ am dark'* (Song 1.6)

(111) raq lōʾ hāyâ ḵəʾ**aḥʾāb̄** . . . **ʾᵃšer** hēsattâ ʾōṯ**o**$_i$ ʾîzeb̄el ʾištô
only NEG be(3MS PERF) like-Ahab . . . REL incite(3FS PERF) ACC-him Jezebel wife-his

*'certainly there was no one like **Ahab**$_i$...**who**$_i$ Jezebel, his wife, incited **him**$_i$'* (1 Kgs 21.25)

(112) wəśānēʾṯî ʾᵃnî ʾeṯ kol **ʿᵃmālî** . . . **še**ʾannîḥen**nû** lāʾāḏām
and-hate(1CS PERF) I ACC all.of toil-my . . . REL-leave(1CS IMPF)-it to-the-man

šêyihyê ʾaḥᵃrāy
REL-be(3MS IMPF) after-me

*'and I hate all of **my toil**$_i$, . . . **which**$_i$ I must leave **it**$_i$ to the man who comes after me'* (Qoh 2.18)

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[50] We must distinguish between resumptive elements which are the actual subject or object within a relative, such as the subject examples in (109) and (110), and (clitic) pronominal resumptive elements that are attached to the subject or object within the relative (i.e., the resumptive is in an NP-internal position), such as the subject example in (106)b). There are numerous cases of the latter type of resumption; however, full resumption by means of e.g., an independent pronoun, in the subject position is extremely rare in BH (there are only 40 examples in the Hebrew Bible) and most of the examples exist within verbless or participial relatives. The 40 examples break down in the following way. There are 30 cases of resumption in verbless clauses within a relative (Gen 7.2, 8; 9.3; 17.12; 30.33; Lev 11.29, 39; Num 9.13; 17.5; 35.31; Deut 17.15; 20.15; 29.14; 1 Kgs 8.41; 9.20; 2 Kgs 25.19; Jer 40.7; Ezek 12.10; 20.9; 43.19; Hag 1.9; Psa 16.3; Song 1.6; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 4.2; 7.26; Neh 2.13, 18; 2 Chr 6.32; 8.7). There are only 5 examples of subject resumption in finite verbal clauses (1 Kgs 8.38; 2 Kgs 22.13; Ezek 14.5; Ruth 4.11; Qoh 9.9); only 1 of these is resumption by an independent pronoun (2 Kgs 22.13), whereas the remainder exhibit resumption by a coreferential non-pronominal noun phrase. Finally, there are only 5 examples of subject resumption in participial clauses within relatives: Exod 5.8; Num 14.8; Deut 20.20, 1 Sam 10.19; Neh 2.13. See 5.3 for further discussion of subject resumption.

(113) **ʾîš** **ʾᵃšer** yitten lô hāʾᵉlōhîm ʿōšer ûnəḵāsîm wəḵāḇôḏ
man REL give(3MS IMPF) to-him the-god riches and-wealth and-honor
*'a **man**ᵢ **that**ᵢ God gives to **him**ᵢ riches and wealth and honor'* (Qoh 6.2)

(114) ʾal tiḇṭəḥû ḇinḏîḇîm bəḇen **ʾāḏām** **še**ʾên lô ṯəšûʿâ
NEG trust(2MP MOD) in-nobles in-son.of man REL-NEG EXST to-him deliverance
*'do not trust in nobles, in a **man**ᵢ **that**ᵢ there does not belong to **him**ᵢ (the ability to accomplish) deliverance'* (Psa 146.3)

(115) kî ṯôrēm ʾeṯ **haddereḵ** **haṭṭôḇâ** **ʾᵃšer** yēləḵû ḇ**âh**
when teach(2MS IMPF)-them ACC the-way the-good REL walk(3MP IMPF) in-it
*'when you teach them **the good way**ᵢ **that**ᵢ they shall walk in **it**ᵢ'* (1 Kgs 8.36)

(116) zəḵōr ... **har** **ṣîyôn** **zeh** šāḵantā b**ô**
remember(2MS IMV) mount.of Zion REL dwell(2MS PERF) in-it
*'remember. . . **Mount Zion**ᵢ, **which**ᵢ you dwelt in **it**ᵢ'* (Psa 74.2)

While it may seem that resumption within the BH relative clause may occur in any position, we must carefully sort out the types of resumption that are obligatory and those that are optional (but see below and 5.3, where I qualify this 'optionality'). First, as in Modern Hebrew (see Sells 1984:65; Glinert 1989:364; Shlonsky 1992:444-47) resumption is obligatory in BH relatives when the head noun corresponds to an *NP-internal position* within the relative; that is, when the head noun corresponds to a possessive position within the relative, a resumptive/possessive pronoun must be present, as in (117).

(117) ʾᵃḇāl ʾᵃšēmîm ʾᵃnaḥnû ʿal ʾāḥînû **ʾᵃšer** rāʾînû ṣāraṯ napš**ô**
surely guilty we upon brother-our REL see(1CP PERF) distress.of life-his
bəhiṯḥanənô ʾēlênû wəlōʾ šāmāʿnû
in-implore(INF)-his to-us and-NEG hear(1CP PERF)
*'surely we are guilty concerning our brother**ᵢ** **who**ᵢ we saw the distress of **his**ᵢ life when he implored us but we did not listen'* (Gen 42.21)

BH also contains grammatical constraints on resumption for *oblique complements* within relatives. In other words, as in Modern Hebrew, there is constraint on *preposition*

stranding in BH (for Modern Hebrew, see Cole 1976; Borer 1984:220, fn. 1; Glinert 1989:362; and Shlonsky 1992). First, consider the Modern Hebrew pair in (118)-(119).

(118) zeh hāʿēṯ **še**ʾanî kôṯēḇ **bô**
that the-pen that-I write in-it
'that's the pen$_i$ ***that***$_i$ *I write* ***with it***$_i$*'*

(119) *zeh hāʿēṯ **še**ʾanî kôṯēḇ **b-** ___
that the-pen that-I write in-
'that's the pen$_i$ ***that***$_i$ *I write* ***with*** ___$_i$*'*

Preposition stranding is the phenomenon wherein the preposition remains behind after the object/complement of the preposition has been moved up in the clause, as in the English example *that's the pen that I write <u>with</u>* (see Haegeman 1994:375). As we can see from the ungrammaticality of example (119), Modern Hebrew does not allow the stranding of prepositions. Such a constraint operates in BH as well, since bare prepositions (i.e., prepositions without a pronominal or full DP object) do not exist. Thus, either the preposition and the (resumptive) object are both present, or neither are present, as in (120)-(121), respectively.[51]

[51] The BH example in (121) allows the absence of the PP following the verb within the relative while the Modern Hebrew example in (119) does not allow such absence; thus, there appears to be difference in the syntax of the two stages of Hebrew.

The most significant feature distinguishing BH from Modern Hebrew concerns resumption at the subject position within the relative. Modern Hebrew (i) does not allow such resumption (see Shlonsky 1992), whereas BH does (ii), although, admittedly, it is rare, and it has a pragmatic function (see 5.3).

(i) hāʾîš še-****hûʾ*** ʾohēḇ ʾeṯ rinnā (Shlonsky 1992:445)
the-man that ___/*he loves ACC Rina
'the man$_i$ *who*$_i$ ___$_i$ *loves Rina'*

(ii) wəʾattem hayyôm məʾastem ʾeṯ ʾᵉlōhêḵem ʾᵃšer **hûʾ** môšîʿᵃ lāḵem
and-you the-day reject(2MP PERF) ACC god-your REL he saves(MS PTCP) to-you
'and you today have rejected your god$_i$ *who*$_i$ ***he***$_i$ *saves you'* (1 Sam 10.19)

(120) bam**māqôm ʾᵃšer** yiḇḥar yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā bô
in-the-place REL choose(3MP IMPF) Yhwh god-your in-it
'*in* ***the place***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ *Yhwh your god chooses* ***it***$_i$' (Deut 12.18)[52]

(121) ʾel **hammāqôm ʾᵃšer** yiḇḥar yhwh ___
to the-place REL choose(3MS IMPF) Yhwh
'*to* ***the place***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ *Yhwh chooses* ___$_i$' (Deut 12.26)

Not only does BH have a preposition stranding constraint, it also does not allow *pied-piping*. Pied-piping is the creative label for the linguistic process whereby the noun within a prepositional phrase is relativized and the preposition is kept with the relativized noun, i.e., *I rode in the car* becomes *the car* ***in which***$_i$ *I rode* t_i. In English, pied-piping involving phrases such as *in which, with which*, etc., is always legitimate (Haegeman 1994:375), but the opposite is true in BH: it is never legitimate.[53] When a preposition precedes the relative word in BH (e.g., *baʾᵃšer, kaʾᵃšer*), the preposition belongs to the matrix clause, not to the following relative clause.

When the head of a relative is resumed at the object position within BH relatives, the pattern is similar to what we find in resumption at the adjunct/oblique position. When the

[52] Furthermore, the BH verb [*b-ḥ-r*] 'to choose' exhibits resumption (either with the accusative *ʾeṯ*, and the oblique, introduced by the preposition *b*) as well as the lack of resumption. Since resumption with this verb cannot be obligatory, given that it takes two complements and yet can stand the lack of resumption (in any case, there is no discernible semantic difference between the two complements), I suggest that the presence of a resumptive constituent is needed to disambiguate the head (e.g., Num 16.5; 1 Sam 10.24; 1 Kgs 11.32 [cf. 1 Kgs 11.36]; 1 Kgs 11.34) or is pragmatically motivated (e.g., Judg 10.14; Isa 41.8 [cf. Isa 43.10]; Jer 33.24). See 5.3, fn. 12.

[53] In the entire Hebrew Bible, out of over 600 examples of a preposition followed by *ʾᵃšer*, there are only four examples for which it has been suggested that the preposition appears to belong better with the relative clause than with the matrix clause: Gen 31.32; Isa 47.12; Ezek 23.40; and Psa 119.49. However, the parallelism in Isa 47.12 and the verb within the relative in Ezek 23.40 suggests that the prepositions preceding the *ʾᵃšer* in these two examples are part of the matrix clause and that the *ʾᵃšer* clause is a null relative. See Van Dyke Parunak (1996:109), who suggests a possible pragmatic solution to Gen 31.32. Psa 119.49 remains unclear.

object marker *ʾeṯ /ʾōṯ-* is present, a resumptive noun or pronoun is obligatory, as in (122), and when resumption is lacking, so also must the object marker be absent, as in (123). What remains to be explained is why the object marker is not consistently present or absent.

(122) ûšəmartem ʾeṯ **ḥuqqōṯay** wəʾeṯ **mišpāṭay** **ʾᵃšer** yaᶜᵃśê **ʾōṯām**
and-keep(2MP PERF MOD) ACC statues-my and-ACC ordinances-my REL do(3MS IMPF) ACC-them

hāʾāḏām wāḥay bāhem
the-man and-live(3MS PERF MOD) in-them

*'and you shall keep **my statutes** and **my ordinances**$_i$, **which**$_i$ (if) a man does **them**$_i$, he shall live by them'* (Lev 18.5)

(123) ûḇəmišpāṭêḵā$_i$ ḥāṭəʾû ḇām **ʾᵃšer** yaᶜᵃśê ʾāḏām ___
and-in-ordinances-your sin(3CP PERF) in-them REL do(3MS IMPF) man

wəḥāyâ ḇāhem
and-live(3MS PERF MOD) in-them

*'and against your ordinances—they sinned again **them**$_i$, **which**$_i$ (if) a man does ___$_i$, he will live by them'* (Neh 9.29)

From this short survey, we are left with the following facts about resumption in BH relatives: 1) resumption is obligatory when the resumptive pronoun is possessive; and 2) resumption is both present and absent in the accusative and oblique positions, with the qualification that if the accusative or oblique particles are present, so must the clitic pronoun be present. A preposition stranding constraint, a constraint on pied-piping—neither of these explain *why* resumption in BH is present sometimes and absent others, as we see in (120)-(123). So, can we say anything that is *explanatory* about resumption?

In order to investigate the motivation of resumption or the lack of resumption in BH relative clauses, we will start by examining relatives containing verbless clauses. The examples in (124)-(127) establish that BH verbless relative clauses may consist of a lone

constituent. Every type of constituent is available for these relatives, although PP predicates are by far the most common and NP predicates are the most rare.[54]

(124) **Prepositional Phrase Predicate**
ûḇəʾarbaʿ ʿeśrê šānâ bāʾ kəḏārlāʿōmer **wəhammələāḵîm ʾᵃšer ʾittô**
and-in-four teen year come(3MS PERF) Cedorlaomer and-the-kings REL with-him
'*and in the fourteenth year, Cedorlaomer and the **kings that were with him**, came*' (Gen 14.5)

(125) **Adverb Phrase Predicate**
wayyôreš ʾeṯ **hāʾᵉmōrî ʾᵃšer šām**
and-dispossess(3MS PAST) ACC the-Amorites REL there
'*and he dispossessed (Qr) **the Amorites that were there'*** (Num 21.32)

(126) **Adjectival Phrase Predicate**
a) ûzəḵartem ʾeṯ darḵêḵem hārāʿîm **ûmaʿaləlêḵem ʾᵃšer lōʾ ṭôḇîm**
and-remember(2MS PERF MOD) ACC ways-your the-evil and-deeds REL NEG good(MP)
'*and you shall remember your evil ways and **your deeds that were not good'*** (Ezek 36.31)

b) **hakkōhᵃnîm ʾᵃšer qərôḇîm** layhwh
the-priests REL near(MP) to-Yhwh
'***the priests that are near** to Yhwh*' (Ezek 42.13)

(127) **Noun Phrase Predicate**
kol yəgîʿay lōʾ yimṣəʾû lî **ʿāwōn ʾᵃšer ḥēṭʾ**
all.of labors-my NEG find(3MP IMPF) to-me iniquity REL sin
'*(in) all my labors, they do not find in me **an iniquity that is sin***' (Hos 12.9)

From the examples, we can see that in one part verbless relative clauses, the single constituent must be a constituent that is appropriate as a *predicate* of the head. Thus, in each of the cases, if we dropped the relative word, we should end up with a grammatical construction, e.g., *the kings are **with him**, the Amorites are **there**, your deeds are **not good**, the priests are **near Yhwh**, an iniquity **is sin***.

There are many cases of verbless relative clauses, though, that contain a constituent which would not constitute an appropriate predicate. Therefore, BH uses a resumptive

[54] See also Gen 3.3 (PP), 2 Sam 3.19 (AdjP); 2 Kgs 23.16, 20 (AdvP).

constituent (e.g., a subject pronoun, cliticized pronoun attached to a PP, or Adverb) in order to "save" the relative clause from semantic failure (cf. Peretz 1967:90; Van Dyke Parunak 1996). Consider the examples in (128)-(130).[55]

(128) kol **ʾereṣ haḥ^{a}wîlâ ʾ^{a}šer šām** hazzāhāḇ
all.of land.of the-Havila REL there the-gold
'*all **the land of Havila**$_i$, **which**$_i$ there is gold **there**$_i$*' (Gen 2.11)

(129) ûrəʾê min **hammāqôm ʾ^{a}šer** ʾattâ **šām**
and-look(2MS IMV) from the-place REL you there
'*and look from **the place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ you are **there**$_i$*' (Gen 13.14)

(130) lōʾ nûḵal laʿ^{a}śôṯ haddāḇār hazzeh lāṯēṯ ʾeṯ ʾ^{a}ḥōṯēnû ləʾîš ʾ^{a}šer lô
NEG able(1CP IMPF) to-do(INF) the-thing the-this to-give(INF) ACC sister-our to-man REL NEG
ʿorlâ
foreskin
'*we are not able to do this thing, to give our sister to **a man**$_i$ **who**$_i$ there is a foreskin to **him**$_i$*' (Gen 34.14)

With this type of resumption, if the resumptive constituent was not present and we dropped the relative word, the relationship between the head of the relative and the remaining constituent could not possibly be that of subject-predicate. For instance, if resumption was absent in (128), while the (unattested) phrase *the land of Havila **which is gold*** is interpretable as a proposition, it is certainly not the intended proposition; rather than describing Havila as a land in which gold is basic compositional substance, the intent is clearly to indicate that the substance gold can be found in the location referred to as the land of Havila. For examples like (129) and (130), the necessity of the resumptive constituent is even clearer. For (129) the (unattested) phrase *the place **which you are*** would be uninterpretable; similarly, for (130), it would be equally bad if we had the (unattested) phrase *to give our sister to a man **who is a foreskin***. Thus, the

[55] See also Gen 1.11, 12; 21.7; 30.35; 38.25; Exod 9.26; 12.13; 20.21; Deut 4.7, 8; 31.13; Judg 18.10; 1 Sam 3.3; 9.10; 10.5; 19.3; 1 Kgs 8.21; 2 Kings 7.7, 10; Ezek 8.3; 2 Chr 6.11.

resumptive constituent is obligatory for semantic acceptability in these cases—so that the head of the relative is not misconstrued as the subject within the relative.

For the vast majority of resumptive constituents in verbless relative clauses, like the examples we have discussed in (128)-(130), resumption is a device to save the construction from being semantically uninterpretable. Of course, there are a few examples in which resumption does not seem to be required. For example, out of approximately 1200 verbless relative clauses in the Hebrew there are 32 cases of resumption that are not grammatically obligatory, as with the subject pronoun resumption in (131) (which I shall address further in 5.3).[56]

(131) mikkōl habbəhēmâ haṭṭəhôrâ tiqqaḥ ləḵā šiḇʿâ šiḇʿâ ʾîš wəʾištô
from-all.of the-animal the-clean take(2MS IMPF) for-you seven seven man and-woman-his

ûmin **habbəhēmâ ʾᵃšer lōʾ ṭəhōrâ hîʾ** šənayim ʾîš wəʾištô
and-from the-animal REL NEG clean it two man and-woman-his

'*from every clean animal you shall take for yourself seven pairs, a male and its mate, and from* ***the animal***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***it***$_i$ *is not clean, two, a male and its mate'* (Gen 7.2)

When we move to relative clauses that contain verbal predicates (note that I am including in this category both finite verbs and participles), the situation becomes slightly more complex—there are more constituents in a clause that has an overt 'verb'. First, let us consider a few facts about BH verbs in general before addressing resumption in verbal relative clauses. The examples given in (132)-(135) serve to illustrate that many BH verbs are transitive and take accusative complements, regardless of whether they are used within relative clauses. (Note that in each of these relatives, the head is not coreferential with the overt object, that is,

[56] There are 2 examples that exhibit non-obligatory resumption by the deictic adverb *šām* 'there': Exod 12.30; Judg 18.10. The remaining 30 examples of non-obligatory resumption employ the subject pronoun as the resumptive constituent: Gen 7.8; 9.3; 17.12; 30.33; Lev 11.29, 39; Num 9.13; 17.5; 35.31; Deut 17.15; 20.15; 29.14; 1 Kgs 8.41; 9.20; 2 Kgs 25.19; Jer 40.7; Ezek 12.10; 20.9; 43.19; Hag 1.9; Psa 16.3; Song 1.6; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 4.2; 7.26; Neh 2.13, 18; 2 Chr 6.32; 8.7.

there is no resumption of the head; these examples merely illustrate the nature of the transitive nature of some BH verbs.)

(132) bəkol ʿēṯ ʾašer **ʾānî rōʾê** **ʾeṯ** mordᵒkay hayyəhûḏî yôšēḇ bəšaʿar hammeleḵ
in-all.of time REL I see(MS PTCP) ACC Morecai the-Jew sit(MS PTCP) in-gate.of the-king
'*in every time that I see ACC Mordecai, the Jew, sitting in the gate of the king*' (Esth 5.13)

(133) kol haggôyim ʾašer **ʾānōḵî šōlēᵃḥ** **ʾôṯḵā** ʾalêhem
all.of the-nations REL I send(MS PTCP) ACC-you unto-them
'*all the nations that I send ACC you to them*' (Jer 25.15)

(134) ûḵəmaʿᵃśê ʾereṣ kənaʿan ʾašer **ʾānî mēḇîʾ** **ʾeṯḵem** šāmmâ
and-like-deed.of land.of Canaan REL I bring(MS PTCP) ACC-you there-to
'*and like the deed of the land of Canaan, which I am bringing ACC you there*' (Lev 18.3)

(135) wəʾim ʾettenḵā bəyaḏ hāʾᵃnāšîm hāʾēlleh ʾašer **məḇaqšîm** **ʾeṯ napšeḵā**
and-COND give(1CS IMPF)-you in-hand.of the-men the-these REL seek(MP PTCP) ACC life-your
'*and I shall surely not give you into the hand of these men that seek ACC your life*' (Jer 38.16)

Many BH verbs, however, do not take accusative complements; rather, they take complements in the oblique—manifested in BH as a prepositional phrase. As I mentioned above, though, BH does not allow preposition stranding (i.e., leaving a bare preposition behind within a relative) or pied-piping (i.e., the relativization of the entire PP). Thus, in order for argument structure to be fulfilled, that is, in order for these transitive verbs to be completed, an oblique complement (i.e., a full prepositional phrase) is required inside the relative clause (cf. Peretz 1967:90-91; Van Dyke Parunak 1996). When the pronominal object of the PP complement happens to coincide with the head of the relative, as in examples (136)-(139), resumption between the clitic pronoun and the head is the result.

(136) kəmaᶜᵃśê **ʾereṣ miṣrayim ʾᵃšer yəšaḇtem bāh**
like-deed.of land.of Egypt REL dwell(2MP PERF) in-it
'*like the deed of the* ***land of Egypt***$_i$*,* ***which***$_i$ ***you dwelt in it***$_i$*, you shall not do*' (Lev 18.3)[57]

(137) **kol hammiškāḇ ʾᵃšer yiškaḇ ᶜālāyw hazzāḇ** yiṭmāʾ
all the-bed REL lay(3MS IMPF) upon-it the-discharging(MS PTCP) be-unclean(3MS IMPF)
'***all of the bed***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***the discharging one lays upon it***$_i$ *will be unclean*' (Lev 15.4)[58]

(138) kî **hammāqôm ʾᵃšer ʾattâ ᶜômēḏ ᶜālāyw** ʾaḏmaṯ qōḏeš hûʾ
because the-place REL you stand(MS PTCP) upon-it land.of holiness it
'*because* ***the place***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***you are standing upon it***$_i$*—it is holy ground*' (Exod 3.5)[59]

(139) **ḥōmōṯêḵā haggəḇōhôṯ wəhabbəṣurôṯ ʾᵃšer ʾattâ bōṭᵉḥ bāhēn**
walls-your the-high and-the-fortified REL you trust(MS PTCP) in-them
'***your high and fortified walls***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***you trust in them***$_i$' (Deut 28.52)[60]

In these relative clauses, it would be ungrammatical for the resumptive oblique complement to be absent. If we compare BH to English, we see a similar issue. Unlike BH, English can leave a preposition stranded (*the man who I spoke to*), and it can 'pied-pipe' the preposition (*the man to whom I spoke*); however, the preposition, wherever it is, is obligatory (compare **the man who I spoke*). Likewise, in BH, if the oblique resumption were not present, the result would be ungrammatical. First, the transitive verb would lack the necessary complement. Second, these verbs could be interpreted as verbs that take an accusative complement, i.e., the head of the relative would be interpreted as the complement, resulting in an incorrect argument structure.

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[57] See also Gen 19.29; 24.3 (ptcp), 37; Lev 15.4, 6, 20, 22, 23, 26; Num 13.19; 33.55; 35.34; Josh 24.15; Ezek 37.25. This verb also takes oblique complements with *šām* 'there'.

[58] See also Gen 28.13; Lev 15.18, 20, 24, 26; 1 Kgs 3.19. This verb also takes oblique complements with *ᶜim* 'with', *ʾeṯ,* 'with', and *šām* 'there'.

[59] See also Gen 19.27 (with *šām* 'there'); Exod 8.18; Josh 5.15. This verb also takes oblique complements with *lipnê* 'before'.

[60] See also 2 Kgs 19.10; Isa 37.10; Jer 5.17; 7.14; 17.5, 7; Psa 41.10; 115.8; 135.18.

Resumption also plays a role with regard to BH verbs that select different types of complements, e.g., accusative or oblique, depending on the semantic nuance intended. In these cases, the resumptive constituent within the relative clause is obligatory for two reasons: to function as a complement and to specify the semantics of the verb. Without resumption in verbs that may take different complements, the semantic nuance of the verb would be ambiguous. Consider the minimal pairs in (140)-(143). (Note that not all of the following examples contain relative clauses; some are presented merely to illustrate a verb-complement pair.)

(140) **[y-r-ʾ] 'to fear/revere'**[61]

a) kēn yaᶜᵃśê yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā ləḵol **hāᶜammîm ʾᵃšer** ʾattâ **yārēʾ**
thus do(3MS IMPF) Yhwh god-your to-all.of the-peoples REL you fear(MS PTCP)
mippənêhem
from-face-their
'*thus Yhwh your God will do to* ***all the peoples***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***you are afraid of them***$_i$' (Deut 7.19)

b) ḥāḇēr ʾānî ləḵol **ʾᵃšer yərēʾûḵā** ûləšōmərê piqqûḏêḵā
friend I to-all.of REL fear(3CP PERF)-you and-to-keep(MP PTCP).of precepts-your
'*I am a friend to* ***everyone that reveres you*** *and to those who keep your precepts*' (Psa 119.63)[62]

(141) **[d-r-š] 'to seek/inquire'**

a) **ʾereṣ ʾᵃšer yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā dōrēš ʾōṯāh**
land REL Yhwh god-your seek(MS PTCP) ACC-it
'***a land***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***Yhwh your God is seeking ACC it***$_i$' (Deut 11.12)[63]

b) wayyōʾmer šāʾûl laᶜᵃḇāḏāyw baqqəšû lî ʾēšeṯ baᶜᵃlaṯ ʾôḇ
and-say(3MS PAST) Saul to-servants-his seek(2MP IMV) for-me woman.of mistress.of medium
wəʾēləḵâ ʾēlêhā wəʾeḏrəšâ **bāh**
and-go(1CS MOD) to-her and-seek(1CS MOD) in-her
'*and Saul said to his servants: seek for me a medium-mistress, and I shall go to her and* ***inquire of her***' (1 Sam 28.7)

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[61] See Van der Merwe 1992 for a discussion of the verb [y-r-ʾ] and its complements.

[62] See also Josh 4.14; Jer 42.11, 16.

[63] See also Deut 18.11; 2 Sam 11.3; 2 Kgs 1.2, 3, 6, 16; Isa 8.19; 19.3; 65.1; 2 Chr 17.3.

(142) **[š-r-ṯ] ‘to serve’**

a) ʾeṯ **bigḏêhem** **ʾᵃšer** **hēmmâ** **məšārəṯīm** **bām**
ACC garments-their REL they serve(MP PTCP) in-them

‘***their garments***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***they serve with them***$_i$’ (Ezek 44.19)[64]

b) wayyimṣāʾ yôsēp ḥēn bəʿênāyw wa**yəšāreṯ** **ʾōṯô**
and-find(3MS PAST) Joseph favor in-eyes-his and-serve(3MS PAST) ACC-him

‘*and Joseph found favor in his eyes and* ***he [i.e., Joseph] served ACC him***’ (Gen 39.4)[65]

(143) **[q-r-ʾ] ‘to proclaim/read/call out/name’**

a) **môʿᵃḏê** **yhwh** **ʾᵃšer** **tiqrəʾû** **ʾōṯām** miqrāʾê qōḏeš ʾēlleh hēm
festivals.of Yhwh REL proclaim(2MP IMPF) ACC-them convocations.of holiness these them

môʿᵃḏāy
festivals-my

‘***the festivals***$_i$ ***of Yhwh that***$_i$ ***you shall proclaim ACC them***$_i$ *as holy convocations—these are they, my festivals*’ (Lev 23.2)[66]

b) **hamməgillâ** **ʾᵃšer** **qārāʾṯā** **bāh** bəʾoznê hāʿām qāḥennāh bəyāḏəḵā
the-scroll REL read(2MS PERF) in-it in-ears.of the-people take(2MS IMV)-it in-hand-your

‘***the scroll***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***you have read (OBL) it***$_i$ *in the ears of the people—take it in your hand*’ (Jer 36.14)

c) ʾal tihyû ḵaʾᵃbōṯêḵem **ʾᵃšer** **qārəʾû** **ʾᵃlêhem** hannəḇîʾîm hārīʾšōnîm
NEG be(2MP MOD) like-ancestors-your REL call out(3CP PERF) unto-them the-prophets the-first

. . . wəlōʾ šāməʿû
and-NEG hear(3CP PERF)

‘*do not be like* ***your ancestors***$_i$***, who***$_i$ ***the first prophets called out unto (OBL) them***$_i$ *. . . and they did not listen*’ (Zech 1.4)

d) wayyāḇēʾ ʾel hāʾāḏām liʾôṯ mâ **yiqrāʾ** **lô**
and-bring(3MS PAST) to the-man to-see(INF) what call(3MS IMPF) to-it

‘*and [God] brought to the man [every kind of animal] to see what* ***he would name (OBL) it***’ (Gen 2.19)

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[64] See also Num 3.3; 4.9, 12, 14; 2 Kgs 25.14; Jer 52.18; Ezek 42.14.

[65] See also Gen 40.4.

[66] See also Lev 23.4, 37; 1 Chr 6.50.

Not only is resumption used to avoid ambiguities with the semantics of the verb within a relative, illustrated in (140)-(143), it is also used to avoid ambiguities regarding the head. For instance, in some cases, as in (144)-(146), the resumptive element identifies precisely which constituent among multiple possible antecedents is in fact the head of the relative.[67]

(144) wa^{a}šer ^{ca}śîṯem lišnê malḵê hā^{e}mōrî ^{a}šer bəʿēḇer hayyardēn
and-REL do(2MP PERF) to-two.of kings.of the-Amorites REL in-region across the-Jordan

ləsîḥōn ûləʿôg ^{a}šer heḥ^{e}ramtem **ʾôṯām**
to-Sihon and-to-Og REL put to ban(2MP PERF) ACC-them

'*and what you did to the two Amorite kings who are in the region across the Jordan,* ***to Sihon and to Og***$_{i}$*,* ***who***$_{i}$ *you put* ***them***$_{i}$ *to the ban*' (Josh 2.10)

(145) wəʿal **yeṯer hakkēlîm hannôṯārîm bāʿîr hazzōʾṯ** ^{20}**^{a}šer** lōʾ
and-upon remainder.of the-vessels REL-left(MP PTCP) in-the-city the-this REL NEG

ləqāḥām neḇûḵaḏneʾṣṣar meleḵ bāḇel
take(3MS PERF)-them Nebuchadnezzar king.of Babylon

'*and concerning the remainder of* ***the vessels***$_{i}$ *left in this city* ***that***$_{i}$ *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had not taken* ***them***$_{i}$' (Jer 27.19-20)

(146) kə**ḇikkûrâh bəṭerem qayiṣ ^{a}šer** yirʾê hārōʾê **ʾôṯāh** bəʿôḏāh
like-first ripe fig in-yet summer REL see(3MS IMPF) the-see(MS PTCP) ACC-it in-still-it

bəḵappô
in-palm-his

'*like a* ***first ripe fig***$_{i}$ *before summer,* ***which***$_{i}$ *the one who sees* ***it***$_{i}$*, while it is still in his palm . . .*' (Isa 28.4)

In (144) if the plural resumption *ʾôṯām* 'them' was not present, it would be most natural to understand the nearest antecedent, just king *Og*, as the head. The plural pronoun suffixed to the accusative marker indicates that *both* kings, *Sihon* and *Og*, are the intended antecedent for the relative. In (145), the nearest antecedent for the relative is the feminine singular NP *this city*.

[67] See also Exod 6.5; Lev 18.5; 26.54; Num 26.59; 35.25;1 Kgs 21.25; Isa 29.11; 37.4; 41.8-9; Jer 13.25; 19.4; 29.22; Ezek 4.10; 5.16; 20.11, 13, 21; 32.9; Psa 107.2; Ruth 4.15; Ezra 9.11.

There are also a few examples of this use of resumption with verbless clauses: see Ruth 4.15, where the second relative clause contains a subject pronoun—this resumption is required in order to specify which noun the relative clause is modifying, the nearest antecedent ('him', referring to the boy that was born), or a more distant antecedent (Ruth, the daughter-in-law). The 3FS resumptive pronoun clearly specifies that latter as the head.

However, the masculine plural object pronoun suffixed to the verb indicates that the intended antecedent is actually the more distant masculine plural NP *the vessels*.

Similarly, resumption may also serve to disambiguate the *syntactic function* of the head within the relative clause. In other words, without resumption in relatives such as those in (147)-(148), it would not be clear whether the head of the relative was serving as the subject of the clause within the relative or as the object (cf. Tsujita 1991).[68]

(147) wəḵipper **hakkōhēn** **ʾᵃšer** **yimšaḥ** **ʾōṯô**
and-atone(3MS PERF MOD) the-priest REL anoint(3MS IMPF) ACC-him
'*and* ***the priest***$_i$ ***who***$_i$ *one anointed* ***him***$_i$ *shall make atonement*' (Lev 16.32)[69]

(148) ʾel **yêhûʾ** **ḇen** **nimšî** **ʾᵃšer** **məšāḥô** **yhwh** ləhaḵrîṯ ʾeṯ bêṯ ʾaḥʾāḇ
to Jehu son.of Nimshi REL anoint(3MS PERF)-him Yhwh to-cut off(INF) ACC house.of Ahab
'*to* ***Jehu, son of Nimshi***$_i$, ***who***$_i$ *Yhwh had anointed* ***him***$_i$ *to cut off the house of Ahab*' (2 Chr 22.7)

In (147) if the resumptive accusative object was not present, then it would be possible, if not most natural, to interpret the head of the relative as the subject within the relative, producing 'the priest who anoints' rather than 'the priest who is anointed'. Likewise, in (148) if the clitic object pronoun were not present within the relative, it would become ambiguous—is Jehu the subject of the verb or is Yhwh? If resumption were not present, the reader might make the mistake of reading the relative as 'Jehu who anointed Yhwh to cut off the house of Ahab'—the exact opposite of what is specified by the text!

So, what we have discovered about the function of resumption? In the vast majority of relative clauses that contain resumption, the resumptive constituent is necessary in order for the

[68] See also Exod 28.3; 35.21; 35.26, 29; 36.2; Isa 66.13; Jer 8.2 (3x); 28.9; 44.3; Ezek 36.32; Esth 5.11; 7.5; 10.2; 2 Chr 8.8.

[69] See also Exod 25.2; Num 25.35; Deut 29.25.

clause to be either syntactically or semantically acceptable. In 5.3, I will propose a pragmatic explanation for the remaining BH relatives that cannot be explained by the above grammatical constraints. Let us now turn to the characteristics of *bare*, or *unmarked*, BH relatives.

2.6. BARE RELATIVES IN BH

Unlike the BH relative clauses presented in the previous sections, there are many relative clauses in the Hebrew Bible that are not introduced by an overt relative word, such as *ʾašer*, *šeC-*, or *haC-*. Instead, as I mentioned above in 2.1 (examples (19)-(22)), many relative clauses appear to be simply juxtaposed to their respective heads. BH exhibits the same 'bare' or 'unmarked' relative construction; consider the following BH minimal pair (I have marked the covert or null element, in this case the covert relative word, with a Ø).[70]

(149) wəyaggeḏ lānû yhwh ʾelōhêḵā ʾeṯ **haddereḵ ʾašer nēleḵ bâh** wəʾeṯ
and-tell(3MS MOD) to-us Yhwh god-your ACC the-way REL walk(1CP IMPF) in-it and-ACC
haddāḇār ʾašer naʿaśê
the-thing REL do(1CP IMPF)
*'and let Yhwh your God tell us **the way**$_i$ **that**$_i$ **we should walk in it**$_i$ and the thing which we should do'* (Jer 42.3)

(150) wəhôḏaʿtā lāhem ʾeṯ **haddereḵ Ø yēləḵû ḇâh** wəʾeṯ
and-know(2MS PERF MOD CAUS) to-them ACC the-way walk(3MP IMPF) in-it and-ACC
hammaʿaśê ʾašer yaʿaśûn
the-work REL do(3MP IMPF)
*'and you shall make known to them **the way**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **they will walk in it**$_i$ and the work which they will do'* (Exod 18.20)

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[70] The following set of clauses constitutes my database of bare relative clauses: Gen 1.1; 15.13; 24.22; 26.10; 29.25; 39.4; 42.28; 43.18; 49.27; Exod 4.13; 9.4; 14.11; 15.17(2x); 18.20; Lev 7.35; Num 7.13(2x); Deut 32.7, 11, 17, 35; Josh 7.21; Judg 8.1; 1 Sam 6.9; 14.21; 26.14; 2 Sam 20.21; 22.44; 1 Kgs 13.2; Isa 1.30; 6.6; 15.7; 28.16(2x); 30.9; 40.20(2x); 41.2, 24; 42.1, 16(2x); 44.1, 2; 48.17(2x); 51.1(2x), 2, 7, 12(2x); 53.7(2x); 54.1(2x); 55.13; 56.2(2x); 61.10(2x), 11(2x); 62.1; 63.19; 64.2; 65.1(3x); 66.1; Jer 2.6, 8, 11; 5.21; 13.20; 15.14; 23.9, 29; 36.2; 48.36; Ezek 22.24; Hos 4.14; 6.3(2x); Jon 1.10; Mic 5.2; Hab 1.5, 6, 8, 14; 2.5; Zeph 2.1; Zech 6.12; Mal 2.16; Psa 4.8; 5.5; 7.16; 8.9; 9.16, 18; 12.6; 16.4; 17.1; 18.3, 44; 25.12(2x); 32.2, 8; 33.12; 34.9; 35.8; 38.14; 42.2; 51.10; 56.4, 10; 58.5; 65.5(2x); 68.31; 71.18; 74.2(2x); 78.6; 81.6; 83.15(2x); 90.5, 15(2x); 103.5; 118.22; 119.136; 125.1; 129.6; 141.9; Prov 8.32; 26.17; 30.17(2x); Job 1.1; 3.3, 15; 6.17; 7.2(2x); 9.26; 11.16; 13.28; 18.21; 21.27; 28.1; 29.16; 31.12(2x); 36.27; 38.19, 24; Qoh 10.5; Lam 1.10, 14, 21; 3.1; Ezra 1.5; Neh 8.10; 1 Chr 12.24; 15.12; 16.15; 29.3; 38.26; 2 Chr 1.4; 15.11; 16.9; 20.22; 24.11; 28.9; 29.27; 30.19; 31.19.

The minimal pair in (149) and (150) illustrates that bare relatives in BH may appear in the same syntactic environments: the bare relative clause in (150) modifies a head in the accusative and contains an element resuming the head, just as the marked relative clause does in (149).

Like marked BH relatives, bare relatives may modify a variety of head DPs, illustrated by (151)-(153).

(151) Unmodified indefinite NP[71]

ʾānōḵî ʾānōḵî hûʾ Ø mənaḥemḵem mî ʾat wattîrʾî mēʾᵉnôš Ø
I I he comfort(MS PTCP)-you who you and-fear(2FS PAST) from-man

yāmûṯ ûmib**ben** **ʾāḏām Ø ḥāṣîr** **yinnāṯēn**
die(3MS IMPF) and-from-son.of man grass set(3MS IMPF PASS)

'*I, I and he Ø(who) comforts you; who are you? You have feared* ***a man***$_i$ ***Ø***$_i$ ***(that)*** ***___***$_i$ ***dies*** *and* ***a human***$_i$ ***Ø***$_i$ ***(that)*** ***___***$_i$ ***is made (as) grass***' (Isa 51.12)

(152) Determined NP[72]

wayyōʾmrû ʾēlāyw ʾîš ʾeprayim mâ **haddāḇār hazzeh Ø ʿāśîṯā** **lānû**
and-say(3MS PAST) to-him man.of Ephraim what the-thing the-this do(2MS PERF) to-us

'*and the men of Ephraim said to him: What is* ***this thing***$_i$ ***Ø***$_i$***(that) you have done*** ***___***$_i$ ***to us****?*' (Judg 8.1)

(153) NP in construct with Bare Relative Clause[73]

ʿal kēn libbî ləmôʾāḇ kaḥᵃlilîm yehᶜmeh wəlibbî ʾel ʾanšê qîr ḥereś
upon thus heart-my for-Moab like-flutes moan(3MS IMPF) and-heart-my to men.of Kir Heres

kaḥᵃlîlîm yehᶜmeh ʿal kēn **yiṯraṯ** **Ø ʿāśâ** ʾāḇāḏû
like-flutes moan(3MS IMPF) upon thus abundance.of make(3MS PERF) lose(3CP PERF)

'*therefore my heart moans like flutes for Moab and my heart moans like flutes for the mean of Kir-Heres; therefore* ***the abundance***$_i$ ***Ø***$_i$***(that) it made*** ***___***$_i$ *they lost*' (Jer 48.36)

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[71] See also Gen 15.13; Lev 7.35; 2 Sam 22.44; Isa 48.17; Psa 5.5; 18.44; 25.12.

[72] See also Isa 53.7; Zeph 2.1; Psa 8.9; 25.12; 33.12.

[73] See also Lev 7.35; Deut 32.35; Jer 36.2; Mic 5.2; Psa 4.8; 56.4, 10; Job 3.3; 6.17; 18.21; Lam 1.21; 1 Chr 29.3; 2 Chr 20.22; 24.11; 29.27; 31.19.

Also like marked relatives, bare BH relatives may modify heads that are coreferential with the object (accusative object as in (154),[74] or oblique object as in (155)),[75] or adjunct (156)[76] positions within the relative clause.

(154) zəḵōr ᶜᵃḏāṯəḵā **Ø qānîṯā** qeḏem **Ø** **gāʾaltā**
remember(2MS IMV) congregation-your acquire(2MS PERF) ancient redeem(2MS PERF)
šēḇeṭ naḥᵃlāṯeḵā
tribe.of inheritance-your
*'remember **your congregation**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **you acquired** long ago, **Ø(that)**$_i$ **you redeemed** (as) a tribe of your inheritance'* (Psa 74.2)

(155) ʾēlî **ṣûrî** **Ø** **ʾeḥəsê** **bô**
god-my rock-my take refuge(1CS IMPF) in-him
*'my god (is) **my rock**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **I take refuge in it**$_i$'* (Psa 18.3)

(156) zōʾṯ mišḥaṯ ʾahᵃrōn ûmišḥaṯ bānāyw mēʾiššê yhwh bə**yôm Ø**
this portion.of Aaron and-portion.of sons-his from-fire offerings.of Yhwh on-day
hiqrîḇ **ʾōṯām** ləḵahēn layhwh
approach(3MS PERF CAUS) ACC-them to-be priest(INF) for-Yhwh
*'this is Aaron's portion and his sons' portion from Yhwh's offerings by fire on **the day**$_i$ **Ø(when)**$_i$ **he brought them near** to be priests for Yhwh'* (Lev 7.35)

Furthermore, unlike the syntax of bare relatives in English, bare BH relatives may exist even when the gap within the relative is the subject position; compare the English and BH examples in (157) and (158).[77]

[74] See also Gen 26.10; 29.25; 42.28; Exod 14.11; 15.17 (2x); Deut 32.17; Judg 8.1; 2 Sam 22.44; Isa 6.6; 42.1.

[75] See also Isa 44.1, 2; Jer 2.6; Hab 1.14.

[76] See also Exod 18.20; Deut 32.35; Jer 2.6; 36.2; Mic 5.2; Psa 4.8; 56.4, 10; Job 3.3; 6.17; Lam 1.21; 2 Chr 20.22; 24.11; 29.27.

[77] See also Gen 49.27; Isa 30.9; 40.20; 53.7 (2x); 56.2 (2x); 61.11 (2x); Psa 5.5; 8.9; 9.18; 25.12; 38.14.

(157) the person who/that/*Ø was talking to me (McCawley 1998:433)[78]

(158) habbîṭû ʾel ʾaḇrāhām ʾᵃḇîḵem wəʾel **śārâ Ø ___ təḥôlelḵem**
look(2MP IMV) to Abraham father-your and-to Sarah bear(3FS IMPF)-you
*'look to Abraham your father and to **Sarah**$_i$ **Ø(who)**$_i$ ___$_i$ **bore you**'* (Isa 51.2)

Bare BH relatives may also either include[79] or omit[80] a resumptive element, as in (159) and (160), respectively.

(159) yizbəḥû laššēḏîm Ø lōʾ ʾᵉlōᵃh **ʾᵉlōhîm Ø** lōʾ yəḏāʿû**m**
sacrifice(3MP IMPF) to-the-demons NEG God gods NEG know(3CP PERF)-them
*'they sacrifice to demons (who) are not divine, **gods**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ they have not known **them**$_i$'* (Deut 32.17)

(160) bôr kārâ wayyaḥpərêhû wayyippōl bə**šaḥaṯ Ø** yiṗʿāl
cistern dig(3MS PERF) and-dig(3MS PAST)-it and-fall(3MS PAST) in-pit make(3MS IMPF)
*'he has made a cistern and dug it out and he has fallen into **the pit**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ he made ___$_i$ '* (Psa 7.16)

Like BH relatives introduced by relative words (except for *haC-*; see above, 2.4), the relative clause proper in a bare relative may include any type of verbal(161),[81] participial (162),[82] or nominal (163)[83] predicate.

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[78] If we removed the auxiliary verb *was* from (159), the result appears to be a grammatical relative clause without an overt subject consituent within the relative: *the person talking to me . . .* However, this is an example of a construction called a 'small clause', which while similar is technically not a relative clause (see Haegeman and Guéron 1999:108-12).

[79] See also Exod 18.20; Isa 42.1; 44.1, 2; 63.19; Jer 2.6, 8; 5.21; Ezek 22.24; Hab 1.14; Psa 18.3; 32.2; 34.9; Prov 26.17; Job 3.15; Neh 8.10.

[80] See also Gen 15.13; 24.22; 26.10; 29.25; 39.4; 42.28; 49.27; Exod 4.13; 9.4; 14.11; 15.17; Lev 7.35; Num 7.13; Deut 32.11, 35; Josh 7.21; Judg 8.1; 1 Sam 6.9; 26.14; 2 Sam 20.21; 22.44; 1 Kgs 13.2; Isa 1.30; 6.6; 15.7; 28.16; 30.9; 40.20; 41.2, 24; 42.16; 48.17; 51.1, 2, 7, 12; 53.7; 54.1; 55.13; 56.2; 61.10, 11; 62.1; 64.2; 65.1; 66.1; Jer 2.11; 13.20; 15.14; 23.9, 29; 36.2; 48.36; Hos 4.14; 6.3; Jon 1.10; Mic 5.2; Hab 1.6, 8; Zeph 2.1; Zech 6.12; Mal 2.16; Psa 4.8; 5.5; 7.16; 8.9; 9.16, 18; 12.6; 16.4; 17.1; 18.44; 25.12; 33.12; 35.8; 38.14; 42.2; 49.14; 51.10; 56.4, 10; 58.5; 65.5; 68.31; 71.18; 74.2; 78.6; 81.6; 83.15; 90.5, 15; 103.5; 118.22; 119.136; 125.1; 129.6; 141.9; Prov 8.32; 30.17; Job 1.1; 3.3; 6.17; 7.2; 9.26; 11.16; 13.28; 18.21; 21.27; 28.1; 29.16; 31.12; 36.27; 38.19, 24; Qoh 10.5; Lam 1.10, 14, 21; 3.1; Ezra 1.5; 1 Chr 12.24; 15.12; 16.15; 29.3; 2 Chr 1.4; 15.11; 16.9; 20.22; 24.11; 28.9; 29.27; 30.19; 31.19.

(161) mî zeh hāʾîš yərēʾ yhwh yôrennû bə**ḏerek**$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ **yiḇḥār** **___**$_i$
who this the-man Ø fear.of Yhwh teach(3MS IMPF)-him in-way choose(3MS IMPF)

*'who is this, the man (who) is a fearer of Yhwh? He will teach him in **the way**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **he should choose ___**$_i$'* (Psa 25.12)

(162) kî ṯihyû kəʾ**ēlâ**$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ **nōḇeleṯ** **ʿālehā**$_i$
because be(2MP IMPF) like-oak wither(FS PTCP) leafage-its

*'because you will be like **an oak**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **its**$_i$ **leaves (are) withering**'* (Isa 1.30)

(163) gēr yihyê zarʿ^{a}ḵā **bəʾereṣ**$_i$ **Ø** $_i$ **___**$_i$ **lōʾ** **lāhem**
sojourner be(3MS IMPF) seed-your in-land NEG to-them

*'your seed will be a sojourner in **a land**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ **___**$_i$ **(is) not theirs**'* (Gen 15.13)

In addition, like all other BH relatives, bare relatives can be stacked, as in (164), and they can have a covert/null head, as in (165) (where the first Ø indicates the covert head and the second Ø indicates the covert relative word).[84]

(164) zəḵōr **ʿ^{a}ḏāṯəḵā**$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ qānîṯā **___**$_i$ qeḏem **Ø**$_i$ gāʾaltā **___**$_i$
remember(2MS IMV) congregation-your acquire(2MS PERF) ancient redeem(2MS PERF)

šēḇeṭ naḥ^{a}lāṯeḵā
tribe.of inheritance-your

*'remember **your congregation**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ you acquired **___**$_i$ long ago, **Ø(that)**$_i$ you redeemed ___$_i$ (as) a tribe of your inheritance'* (Psa 74.2)

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[81] See also Gen 26.10; 29.25; 42.28; 49.27; Exod 4.13; 14.11; 15.17; 18.20; Lev 7.35; Deut 32.11, 17, 35; Judg 8.1; 1 Sam 6.9; 26.14; 2 Sam 22.44; Isa 6.6; 15.7; 28.16; 30.9; 40.20; 41.2, 24; 42.1, 16; 44.1, 2; 48.17; 51.1, 2, 12; 53.7; 54.1; 55.13; 56.2; 61.10, 11; 62.1; 63.19; 64.2; 65.1; Jer 2.6, 8, 11; 13.20; 15.14; 23.29; 36.2; 48.36; Ezek 22.24; Hos 4.14; 6.3; Jon 1.10; Mic 5.2; Mal 2.16; Psa 4.8; 7.16; 9.16; 12.6; 16.4; 17.1; 18.3, 44; 25.12; 32.2; 33.12; 34.9; 35.8; 38.14; 42.2; 51.10; 56.4, 10; 58.5; 65.5; 68.31; 71.18; 74.2; 78.6; 81.6; 83.15; 90.5, 15; 103.5; 118.22; 119.136; 125.1; 129.6; 141.9; Prov 8.32; 30.17; Job 3.3; 6.17; 7.2; 9.26; 11.16; 13.28; 18.21; 21.27; 28.1; 29.16; 31.12; 36.27; 38.19, 24; Qoh 10.5; Lam 1.10, 14, 21; 3.1; Ezra 1.5; 1 Chr 12.24; 15.12; 16.15; 29.3; 2 Chr 1.4; 15.11; 20.22; 24.11; 28.9; 29.27; 30.19; 31.19.

[82] See also Isa 1.30; 48.17; 51.12; 53.7; Jer 2.6; Ezek 22.24; Hos 6.3; Hab 1.8, 14; Zeph 2.1; Psa 5.5; 8.9; 9.18; Job 1.1; Neh 8.10.

[83] See also Gen 15.13; 24.22; 39.4; Exod 9.4; Num 7.13; Josh 7.21; 2 Sam 20.21; 1 Kgs 13.2; Isa 51.7; 66.1; Jer 5.21; 23.9; Hab 1.6; Zech 6.12; Prov 26.17; Job 3.15; 2 Chr 16.9.

[84] This is the opposite of English syntax. English bare relatives may not be stacked, as in **the book Ø I bought Ø Ann had recommended was boring* (compare *the book that I bought that Ann had recommended was boring)*; see McCawley 1998:433.

(165) ûpoʿolḵem mēʾāpaʿ tôʿēḇâ **Ø**$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ ___$_i$ yiḇḥar bāḵem
and-work-your from-nothing abomination choose(3MS IMPF) in-you

'see—you (are) less than nothing and your work (is) less than nothing; an abomination (is) **Ø**$_i$ ***Ø(he that)***$_i$ ___$_i$ *chooses you'* (Isa 41.24)

The last feature to mention about bare relatives in BH is that this appears to be a relativization strategy that is only used for *restrictive* relatives (see below, in 2.7, for further discussion of restrictiveness). In over 180 bare relative clauses that I examined (from all historical stages of BH; see fn. 70), the relative clause presents information that is necessary in order to identify the referent of the head precisely. If this is indeed the case, how should be analyze the three bare relatives in my database that appear to be non-restrictive? Each case can be either given an alternative syntactic explanation or interpreted restrictively. The first example is given in (166).

(166) kō ʾāmar yhwh gōʾalḵā qəḏôš yiśrāʾēl ʾᵃnî yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā
thus say(3MS PEF) Yhwh redeem(MS PTCP)-your holy.of Israel I Yhwh god-your

Ø Ø məlammeḏḵā ləhôʿîl Ø Ø maḏrîḵᵃḵā bəḏereḵ Ø tēlēḵ
teach(MS PTCP)-you to-profit(INF) lead(MS PTCP)-you on-way walk(2MS IMPF)

'*thus has said Yhwh, your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: I am Yhwh your god,* ***Ø***$_i$***(the one) Ø***$_i$***(who) teaches you to profit, Ø***$_i$***(the one) Ø***$_i$***(who) leads you on the way Ø(that) you should walk***' (Isa 48.17)

The string of constituents, *ʾᵃnî yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā . . . məlammeḏḵā . . . maḏrîḵᵃḵā,* is often analyzed and thus translated as a verbless clause, 'I am Yhwh your god' followed by two bare relatives that modify the proper noun *Yhwh*. Thus, the NRSV provides the following translation: "I am the LORD your God, **who** teaches you for your own good, **who** leads you in the way you should go" (emphases added). However, it is possible to analyze the constituents *məlammeḏḵā* and *maḏrîḵᵃḵā* not only as the participial predicates within bare relative clauses, but also as the predicates within *null headed* bare relative clauses. Thus, the relatives no longer directly modify the proper noun *Yhwh*, but rather the null head of the relative (which in turn refers back

to *Yhwh*). A possible translation of these two relative clauses (which illustrates a null head bare relative analysis) is then 'I am Yhwh your god; (the one who) teaches you . . . , (the one who) leads you . . .'.

The second example, given in (167), contains a string of constituents, *yhwh qiwwînû lô*, that is often analyzed as a bare relative. Yet, it clearly cannot be a restrictive relative since the head is the unambiguously referential proper noun *Yhwh*. Thus, our analysis of bare relatives as restrictive relatives suggests that whatever the syntax of the verse in (167) is, a relative analysis of *yhwh qiwwînû lô* is not correct.[85]

(167) hinnê ʾᵉlōhênû zeh qiwwînû lô wəyôšîʿēnû zeh **yhwh**
look god-our REL wait(1CP PERF) for-him and-save(3MS IMPF)-us this Yhwh

qiwwînû **lô** nāgîlâ wəniśməḥâ bîšûʿāṯô
wait(1CP PERF) for-him rejoice(1CP MOD) and-be joyful(1CP MOD) in-salvation-his

'*Look—our god who we have waited for him that he would save us, this (is)* ***Yhwh****;* ***we have waited for him****, let us rejoice and be joyful in his salvation'* (Isa 25.9)

Finally, the most difficult example appears in Isaiah 51.2, provided in (168). Given that the bare relative clause data overwhelmingly indicate that such relative clauses are only used for restrictive modification, it is possible that we should interpret the clause in (168) as referring to *that particular Sarah* that engendered the Hebrew people (see above, fn. 12).

(168) habbîṭû ʾel ʾaḇrāhām ʾᵃḇîḵem wəʾel **śārâ**$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ ___$_i$ təḥôlelḵem
look(2MP IMV) to Abraham father-your and-to Sarah bear(3FS IMPF)-you

'look to Abraham your father and to ***(the) Sarah***$_i$ ***Ø(that)***$_i$ ___$_i$ *bore you'* (Isa 51.2)

[85] Note that a 'non-relative' analysis of *yhwh qiwwînû lô* appears to accord with the prosodic contour of the text according to the Masoretic accents, since a *Ole-weyored* accent is on *yhwh*. Perhaps this prosodic piece of evidence indicates that the break between *yhwh* and *qiwwînû lô* according to the Masoretic reading tradition reflects a syntactic break.

From the data I have presented in this section, it is clear that bare BH relatives have similar functions and exist in similar contexts as marked BH relatives. Bare BH relatives may modify heads in the nominative, accusative, or oblique; they may or may not have a resumptive element; they may contain a verbal, participial, or nominal predicate; they may be headless; and they may be stacked. One feature which does set bare relatives apart from overtly marked relatives is that bare relatives in BH appear to be only restrictive, whereas we have both restrictive and non-restrictive marked relatives (see below, 2.7).

We have now covered every syntactic type of relative clause in BH. That is, we have discussed the various relative words in BH that introduce relative clauses (2.2, 2.3, 2.4) and that fact that BH relatives do not have to be introduced by an overt relative word at all (2.6). We have also discussed those relatives that do not modify an overt head (2.2.2, 2.3, 2.4) as well as those relatives that exhibit resumption of their head (2.5). Now we shall move to the final linguistic characteristic of BH relatives presented in this chapter: the semantic feature of restrictiveness.

2.7. Restrictive and Non-restrictive BH Relatives

At the end of 2.1 above, I introduced the distinction between relatives that are restrictive and relatives that are non-restrictive. The essential semantic difference between the two can be summarized as follows: a restrictive relative provides information about its head which is necessary for identifying the exact referent of the head; a non-restrictive relative presents additional information about its head that is non-crucial for identifying the referent of the head.

While the basic semantic difference between the two types of relative clauses is sufficiently clear, the difficulty in distinguishing the two in BH by syntactic means is reflected

in the lack of discussion on this issue within BH reference grammars. For instance, Waltke and O'Connor (1990) never mention the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives and Joüon and Muraoka (1993:592) direct attention to the issue in a single paragraph but do not pursue how (or even if) the two types are manifested in BH syntax. In the remainder of this section, I shall survey the BH data in order to illustrate how restrictiveness is manifested in BH (see 5.5 for a additional linguistic analysis). First, consider the relative clauses in (169) and (170).

(169) wayyaʿaś ʾelōhîm ʾeṯ hārāqîaʿ wayyaḇdēl bên **hammayim**
and-make(3MS PAST) God ACC the-firmament and-divide(3MS PAST) between the-waters
ʾašer mittaḥaṯ lārāqîaʿ ûḇên **hammayim** **ʾašer** mēʿal lārāqîaʿ
REL from-below to-the-firmament and-between the-waters REL from-above to-the-firmamant
*'and God made the firmament; and he divided between **the waters that** were below the firmament and **the waters that** were above the firmament'* (Gen 1.7)

(170) hiššāmer ləḵā pen tiškaḥ ʾeṯ **yhwh** **ʾašer**
keep(2MS IMV REFL) for-you lest forget(2MS IMPF) ACC Yhwh REL
hôṣîʾaḵā mēʾeres miṣrayim
come out(3MS PERF CAUS)-you from-land.of Egypt
*'watch yourself lest you forget **Yhwh**, **who** brought you out of the land of Egypt'* (Deut 6.12)

The two relative clauses in (169) restrictively modify the common nouns *the waters*, distinguishing between those waters that were above and below the dividing element, *the firmament*. There is no question that these are restrictive relatives because each one supplies crucial information about its respective head that enables the reader/listener to distinguish between the two groups of waters being mentioned. In contrast, the relative clause in (170) modifies a proper noun, *Yhwh*, the personal name of Israel's god. Since there is no other *Yhwh* to compare with the one in Deuteronomy 6.12 (and the Hebrew Bible is emphatic on this point), the relative can only be non-restrictively modifying its head, supplying additional, but semantically non-crucial information about *Yhwh*. In other words, the author may have

considered the content of the relative clause to be important for the discourse or for theology, but semantically it is not necessary in order to identify the referent of the head noun *Yhwh*.

While the two examples in (169) and (170) establish that there is a semantic restrictive/non-restrictive distinction in BH (and there are numerous clear examples of both kinds of relatives), they do not offer us any syntactic criterion for distinguishing the two. For example, all of the relatives in (169) and (170) use the same relative word, *ʾᵃšer*, indicating that we will not be able to distinguish relative versus non-relative on the basis of whether the relative is introduced by a particular relative word. The remaining relative words (*šeC-*, *zeh/zû/zô*, and *haC-*) also appear in both types of relatives, as in (171)-(176).

(171) wəśānēʾṯî ʾeṯ haḥayyîm kî raʿ ʿālay **hammaᶜᵃśê šen**naᶜᵃśâ
and-hate(1CS PERF) ACC life because evil upon-me the-work REL-do(3MS PERF PASS)
taḥaṯ haššāmeš
under the-sun
*'and I hated life because **the work that** was done under the sun was grievous to me'* (Qoh 2.17)

(172) **ʿam zû** yāṣartî lî təhillāṯî yəsappērû
people REL form(1CS PERF) for-me praise-my recount(3MP IMPF)
*'**a people that** I formed for myself will recount my praise'* (Isa 43.21)

(173) wayyaʿan nāḇāl ʾeṯ ʿaḇḏê ḏāwiḏ wayyōʾmer mî ḏāwiḏ ûmî
and-answer(3MS PAST) Nabal ACC servants.of David and-say(3MS PAST) who David and-who
ḇen yišāy hayyôm **rabbû** **ᶜᵃbāḏîm ham**miṯpārəṣîm ʾîš mippənê
son.of Jesse the-day be many(3CP PERF) servants REL-break away(MP PTCP) man from-face.of
ʾᵃḏōnāyw
master-his
*'and Nabal answered the servants of David and said: Who is David and who is the son of Jesse? Today there are **many servants that** are breaking away, each from his master'* (1 Sam 25.10)

In each of the examples (171)-(173), the relative clauses are clearly restrictive. The information provided in each of the relative clauses is necessary in order to identify the precise reference of their respective heads. For instance, in (173), the participle with the prefixed

relative *haC-* follows an indefinite noun; thus, the only way to narrow the rather broad referential possibilities (the essential function of restrictive relatives) for 'servants' is on the basis of the information given within the following relative (see above, 2.4, for a discussion of *haC-* relatives). In contrast, the next three examples present relatives which are unnecessary for the identification of their antecedent.

(174) bārûḵ **yhwh** **šel**lōʾ nəṯānānû ṭerep ləšinnêhem
bless(MS PTCP PASS) Yhwh REL-NEG give(3MS PERF)-us prey to-teeth-their
*'Blessed is **Yhwh**, **who** has not given us (as) prey for their teeth'* (Psa 124.6)

(175) mî nāṯan limšôsê (Kt) yaᶜaqōḇ wəyiśrāʾēl ləḇōzəzîm haᵃlôʾ **yhwh**
who give(3MS PERF) to-plunder(MS PTCP) Jacob and-Israel to-spoil(MP PTCP) WH-NEG Yhwh
zû ḥāṭāʾnû lô
REL sin(1CP PERF) to-him
*'Who gave Jacob to the plunderer and Israel to the spoilers? Was it not **Yhwh**, **who** we sinned against him'* (Isa 42.24)

(176) wəḥikkîṯî la**yhwh** **ham**mastîr pānāyw mibbêṯ yaᶜaqōḇ
and-wait(1CS PERF MOD) for-Yhwh REL-hide(MS PTCP) face-his from-house.of Jacob
*'and I shall wait for **Yhwh**, **who** hides his face from the house of Jacob'* (Isa 8.17)

In examples (174)-(176) the noun being modified in each case is a proper noun. As I indicated above in 2.1, proper nouns in English (unless two referents use the same proper noun designation, e.g. *John A.* and *John B.*)[86] cannot be modified by restrictive relatives. BH relative clauses are similarly constrained. Thus, in (174)-(176), since the proper name *Yhwh* is certainly not an ambiguous reference in the Hebrew Bible, the relative clauses serve to provide additional information about, e.g., his character, actions, or words.

[86] A good BH example of a proper noun being modified by a restrictive relative is with the place name *Mizpah* in Gen 31.49. There were many places called *Mizpah* 'watchtower' in the Hebrew Bible; thus, in order to identify precisely which Mizpah was being mentioned, a restrictive relative was often needed; see also Gen 36.24.

In addition to a restriction upon the restrictive modification of proper nouns, BH also shares with English a restriction upon the type of relative clause that can be introduced by a null relative word. In other words, as I suggested above in 2.6, bare BH relative clauses (like English bare relative clauses) appear to present only restrictive relative clauses. This is illustrated by the English (177)a) and BH examples (177)b) below.

(177) Bare Relatives and Restrictiveness

a) *English*

All teachers, *that/who(m)/*Ø the minister disciplined, are now on strike.

vs. All teachers that/who(m)/Ø the minister disciplined are now on strike.

b) *BH*

bôr	kārâ	wayyaḥpərêhû	wayyippōl	bəšaḥaṯ **Ø**	yiṗʿāl
cistern	dig(3MS PERF)	and-dig(3MS PAST)-it	and-fall(3MS PAST)	in-pit	make(3MS IMPF)

'he has made a cistern and dug it out and he has fallen into ***the pit***$_{i}$ ***Ø(that)***$_{i}$ *he made'* (Psa 7.16)

Relative clause stacking is one feature relating to restrictiviness in which BH relative clauses differ from English relative clauses. Above in 2.1, I presented English data that suggested that multiple non-restrictive relatives cannot *stack* on the same head, illustrated in (178)a). However, the BH data do not exhibit the same restriction upon non-restrictive relative clauses; (178)b) presents a string of relative clauses modifying the proper name David, indicating that the relative clauses are non-restrictive. Thus, it appears that BH allows the stacking of non-restrictive relative clauses.

(178) Non-restrictive Relative Clauses and Stacking

a) *English*

*I saw John, who was yelling, who you dislike.

vs. I saw the boy that was yelling that you dislike.

b) *BH*

ləmaʿan	**dāwiḏ**	ʿaḇdî	**ʾᵃšer**	**bāḥartî**		**ʾōṯô**	**ʾᵃšer**	**____$_{i}$**	**šāmar**
for-sake.of	David	servant-my	REL	choose(1CS PERF)		ACC-him	REL		keep(3MS PERF)
miṣwōṯay		**wəḥuqqōṯāy**							
commandments-my		and-statutes.my							

*'for the sake of **David**$_{i}$, my servant, **who**$_{i}$ **I chose him**$_{i}$, **who**$_{i}$ **___**$_{i}$ **has kept my commandments and my statutes'*** (1 Kgs 11.34)

In summary, the BH relative clause data given in (169)-(176) indicate that all the BH relative words may be used in either restrictive or nonrestrictive relatives, thereby eliminating the *choice of the relative word* as a distinguishing feature vis-à-vis restrictiveness. (Note that this restriction applies to *overt* relative words—in the last section (2.7) I suggested that bare relative clauses [i.e., relative clauses with a *covert* relative word] are restrictive.) Furthermore, we should note that neither the *ʾᵃšer* nor the *šeC-* relatives given in (169)-(171) and (174) overtly resume their respective heads.[87] In addition, the absence of a pattern that connects resumption to restrictiveness suggests that resumption alone is not a distinguishing criterion with respect to restrictiveness (cf. Van Dyke Parunak 1996; see above 1.2, 2.5).

There is only one clear feature in BH which distinguishes restrictive relatives from non-restrictive ones, and it is neither syntactic nor is it always employed: the presence of a head noun in the construct state. There are 217 examples in the Hebrew Bible of nouns in construct with a relative clause introduced by *ʾᵃšer*, and all of them present restrictive relatives, as in (179) and (180):[88]

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[87] The fact that there is a difference in resumption between the *zû* restrictive (172) and the *zû* nonrestrictive (175) examples may be due to the paucity of data for *zeh/zû/zô* relatives in the biblical text. Resumption does not occur in *ha-* relatives either; see note 47 above.

[88] For examples of heads in construct with *ʾᵃšer*, see Gen 1.31; 12.20; 13.1; 14.23; 20.7; 24.2, 36; 25.5; 31.1, 12, 21; 34.29; 35.2; 39.5, 6, 20, 22; 40.3; 41.56; 45.10, 11, 13; 46.1, 32; 47.1; Exod 6.29; 7.2; 9.19, 25; 10.12; 18.1, 8, 14; 19.18; 20.11; 25.22; 31.6; 34.32; 35.10; 38.22; 40.9; Lev 4.24, 33; 6.18; 7.2; 8.10; 13.46; 14.13, 32,

(179) wayyittənêhû ʾel bêṯ hassōhar **məqôm ʾᵃšer** ʾᵃsûrê (Kt)
and-give(3MS PAST)-him to house.of the-round place.of REL prisoners(MP PTCP PASS).of
hammeleḵ ʾᵃsûrîm
the-king confine(MP PTCP PASS)
*'and he put him into the round house, **(the) place that** the prisoners of the king were confined'* (Gen 39.20)

(180) wəhiggaḏtî lô kî šōp̱ēṭ ʾᵃnî ʾeṯ bêṯô ʿaḏ ʿôlām **baʿᵃwōn**
and-tell(1CS PERF) to-him COMP judge(MS PTCP) I ACC house-his until forever in-iniquity.of
ʾᵃšer yāḏaʿ
REL know(3MS PERF)
*'and I told him that I am (about to) judge his house forever on account of **a/the iniquity that** he knew'* (1 Sam 3.13)

There are also a number of these 'construct-relatives' with the relative words *šeC-* (181)[89] and *haC-* (182).[90]

(181) ʾel **məqôm še**hannəḥālîm hōləḵîm šām hēm šāḇîm lālāḵeṯ
to place.of REL-the-rivers go(MP PTCP) there they return(MP PTCP) to-go(INF)
*'to **(the) place that** the rivers go, there they continually return'* (Qoh 1.7)

(182) wərōḥaḇ **məqôm ham**munnāḥ ḥāmēš ʾammôṯ sāḇîḇ sāḇîḇ
and-width.of place.of REL-rest(MS PTCP PASS) five cubits around around
*'and the width of **(the) place that** was free was five cubits all around'* (Ezek 41.11)

36; 18.29; 27.8, 28; Num 1.50; 4.16, 26; 9.17, 18; 15.23; 16.26, 30, 33; 18.13; 19.14; 22.2; Deut 3.21; 5.27, 28; 10.14; 12.11; 13.16; 18.18; 20.20; 22.24; 23.5; 29.1, 8; Josh 1.16; 2.13; 6.17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; 7.15, 24; 9.9, 10; 22.2; 23.3; Judg 3.1; 7.18; 9.25, 44; 11.24; 1 Sam 2.22; 3.12, 13; 14.7; 15.3; 19.18; 25.21, 22; 30.18, 19; 2 Sam 3.19, 25; 6.12; 11.22; 13.22; 14.20; 15.21; 16.21; 1 Kgs 2.3; 10.2; 11.38, 41; 14.29; 15.7, 23, 31; 16.14; 19.1; 20.4; 21.19; 22.39; 2 Kgs 8.6; 8.23; 10.34; 12.20; 13.8, 12; 14.28; 15.6, 16, 21, 26, 31; 18.12; 20.13, 15, 17; 21.17; 23.28; 24.5; Is 39.2, 4, 6; Jer 1.7, 17; 22.12, 25; 26.8; 31.37; 32.23; 38.9; 44.23; Ezek 6.13; 14.22, 23; 16.37, 63; 21.35; 23.28; 40.4; 44.5; 47.9; 48.22; Hos 2.1; Mal 2.9; Psa 96.12; 109.11; 119.63; 146.6; Job 1.10, 11, 12; 42.10; Prov 17.8; 21.1; Ruth 3.16; 4.9; Qoh 1.13, 16; 3.14; 8.3; Esth 2.13; 3.12; 4.1, 3, 7; 5.11; 6.13; 8.9, 17; Neh 4.14; 9.6; 1 Chr 10.11; 13.14; 16.32; 2 Chr 9.1; 33.8.

[89] See also Qoh 7.14; 11.3, 8.

[90] See also Gen 21.6; 32.20; 42.29; 50.14; Exod 16.23; 19.12; 29.37; 30.13, 29; 31.14, 15; 35.2; Lev 11.24, 25, 26, 27, 31; 15.10, 19, 21, 22, 27; 20.5; 24.14; Num 4.23, 30, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 47; 19.13, 14; 30.3; Deut 25.18; Josh 2.23; 8.25; Judg 3.19; 19.30; 20.46, 48; 1 Sam 2.36, 5.5; 2 Sam 2.23; 18.31; 20.12; 1 Kgs 10.15; 2 Kgs 10.11, 17; 18.21; 21.24; Isa 7.22; 13.15; 36.6; 66.10; Jer 5.6; Ezek 12.19; 16.44; 34.21; Zeph 1.8, 9; Zech 5.3; 14.16, 21; Psa 31.25; 34.23; 63.12; 145.14; Prov 6.29; Esth 9.27; Dan 12.1; Ezra 1.4; 3.8; 9.13; Neh 9.33; 10.29; 1 Chr 25.7; 2 Chr 7.11; 13.9; 29.29; 31.16; 33.25; 34.32, 33; 35.7, 25.

In (179)-(182), the phonological shapes of the heads, *məqôm* ‘place of’ and *ʿᵃwōn* ‘iniquity of’ (cf. *māqôm* and *ʿāwōn*, the respective non-construct/‘absolute’ forms), indicates that they are in construct with the respective relative words. All four relatives are also restrictive in nature, specifying *which place* (in Genesis 39.20; Qoh 1.7; Ezek 41.11) and *which iniquity* (in 1 Samuel 3.13) is being discussed. Using a head in construct with the modifying relative word/clause to mark the construction as restrictive is quite logical: the construct relationship is often described as one in which the first noun phonologically ‘leans’ on the second noun in order to illustrate the syntactic and/or semantic ‘closeness’ of the two; thus, when it is used with relatives, it signifies the close (i.e., restrictive) nature of the relative clause to its head.

Returning to the possible role of resumption in indicating restrictiveness, note that the following two examples, with head nouns in construct with their relatives (indicating that they are both restrictive), provide further evidence that resumption alone does not distinguish restrictiveness, since one does not contain resumption (183), and one does (184).

(183) wayyittənêhû ʾel bêṯ hassōhar **məqôm**$_i$ **ʾᵃšer**$_i$ ʾᵃsûrê (Kt)
and-give(3MS PAST)-him to house.of the-round place.of REL prisoners.of

hammelek̲ ʾᵃsûrîm ___$_i$
the-king confine(MP PTCP PASS)

*‘and he put him into the round house, **(the) place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ the prisoners of the king were confined* ___$_i$*’* (Gen 39.20)

(184) wayyittēn ʾōṯām bəmišmar bêṯ śar haṭabbāḥîm ʾel bêṯ
and-give(3MS PAST) ACC-them in-the-guard.of house.of captain.of the-guards to house.of

hassōhar **məqôm**$_i$ **ʾᵃšer**$_i$ yôsēp ʾāsûr **šām**$_i$
the- round place.of REL Joseph confine(MS PTCP PASS) there

*‘and he put them under the guard of the house of the captain of the guards, the round house, **(the) place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ Joseph was confined **there**$_i$’* (Gen 40.3)

Examples (183) and (184) are a minimal pair in the sense that they both use a head in construct (*məqôm*) with its relative, they are both part of the same discourse context, and the first (183) does not include a resumption of the head, whereas the second (184) does resume its head. Contrary to the argument of Van Dyke Parunak (1996) (see 1.1), who proposes that the difference in resumption between these two examples is related to a distinction in restrictiveness (non-restrictive in Genesis 39.20, and restrictive in Genesis 40.3), the use of the construct state to connect both heads with the relative words strongly suggests that both are restrictive.

As a final point in the present discussion of restrictiveness in BH relatives, we must note that the use of the construct state to mark restrictive relatives is not constrained to overtly marked relative clauses; it occurs with bare relatives as well. Consider the following data:

(185) wəšāḥaṭ ʾōṯô bi**mqôm**$_i$ **ʾᵃšer**$_i$ yišḥaṭ ʾeṯ
and-slaughter(3MS PERF MOD) ACC-it in-place.of REL slaughter(3MS IMPF) ACC
hāʿōlâ lip̲nê yhwh ___$_i$
the-burnt offering before Yhwh
*'and he shall slaughter it in **(the) place**$_i$ **that**$_i$ he slaughters the burnt offering before Yhwh* ___$_i$*'* (Lev 4.24)

(186) ʾak̲ ʾēlleh mišknôṯ ʿawwāl wəzeh **məqôm**$_i$ lōʾ yāḏaʿ ___$_i$ ʾēl
surely these dwellings.of unjust and-this place.of **Ø** NEG know(3MS PERF) God
*'surely these are the dwellings of unjust (people) and this is **a/the place Ø(that)**$_i$* ___$_i$ *does not know God'* (Job 18.21)

(187) wayyōʾmer bî ʾᵃḏōnāy šəlaḥ nāʾ bə**yaḏ**$_i$ tišlāḥ ___$_i$
and-say(3MS PAST) in-me Lord send(MS IMV) please in-hand **Ø** send(2MS IMPF)
*'and he said: by me, O Lord, please send (it) by **the hand**$_i$ **Ø(that)**$_i$ you shall send* ___$_i$*'* (Exod 4.13)

Example (185) presents the type of restrictive *ʾᵃšer* relative we have been discussing, with the head, *məqôm*, in construct with the relative. (186) exhibits a similar restrictive relative

with the same noun, *məqôm*, in construct, except with the crucial difference that the relative is bare (on the construct and bare relatives, see Kautzsch 1910:488; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:155-6; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:472; Gibson 1994:12). The clause in (187) is another example of the same phenomenon, a head in construct with a bare relative, except that the example highlights that the relative clause may be a single item, such as a verb. Although many reference grammars note that heads may be in construct with the following relative, as in examples (185)-(187), they have not identified such relative clauses as restrictive. Thus, a more refined analysis may be given for one of the single most discussed verses in the Hebrew Bible, Genesis 1.1, provided in (188).

(188) bərēʾšîtᵢ bārāʾ ʾᵉlōhîm ʾēṯ haššāmayim wəʾēṯ hāʾāreṣ ___ᵢ
in-beginning.of **Ø** create(3MS PERF) God ACC the-heavens and-ACC the-earth
'*in* ***a/the beginning***ᵢ ***Ø(that)***ᵢ *God created the heavens and the earth* ___ᵢ' (Gen 1.1)

Many modern[91] grammatical assessments have analyzed this, the initial clause of the Hebrew Bible, as the unusual but attested construction of an element in construct with a following verb

[91] The medieval commentator Rashi represents a second popular approach to understanding the grammar of Gen 1.1:

אין המקרא הזה אומר אלא דורשני כמו שאמרו חז"ל (בראשית רבה א, ו) בשביל התורה שנקראת ראשית דרכו (משלי ח, כב) ובשביל ישראל שנקראו ראשית תבואתו (ירמיה ב, ג) ואם באת לפרש כפשוטו כך פרשהו בראשית בריאה שמים וארץ והארץ היתה תוהו ובהו וחושך וגו' ויאמר אליהם יהי אור ולא בא המקרא להורות סדר הבריאה לומר שאלו קדמו שאם בא להורות כך היה לו לכתוב בראשונה ברא את השמים וגו' שאין לך ראשית במקרא שאינו דבוק לתיבה בלאחריו כמו בראשית ממלכת יהויקים (שם כו, א) ראשית ממלכתו (בראשית י, י) ראשית דגנך (דברים יח, ד) אף כאן אתה אומר בראשית ברא אלהים וגו' כמו בראשית ברוא ודומה לו תחלת דִּבֶּר ה' בהושע (הושע א, ב) כלומר תחלת דבורו של הקב"ה בהושע ויאמר ה' אל הושע וגו'

In this passage, Rashi lays out his approach for understanding the grammar of Gen 1.1. He compares the use of *rēʾšîṯ* 'beginning.of' in Gen 1.1 to other occurrences in the Hebrew Bible and notes that in all other cases, the word appears to be in the construct state. He also compares the syntax of Gen 1.1 (*rēʾšîṯ* in construct with what appears to be a finite verb) with similar constructions elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. On the basis of these two procedures, he suggests that the proper understanding of Gen 1.1 is as a gerund 'in the beginning of God's creating . . .", and supplies an alternate syntax using the infinitive construct instead of the finite perfect (it is not altogether clear if Rashi is actually suggesting that in the case of Gen 1.1 the finite perfect is actually being *used* as a gerund, or if the analogy to the infinitive merely aids in understanding the syntax of Gen 1.1 by providing an approximation).

or clause (this phenomenon is also common in Semitic languages in general, see Lipiński 1997:522-23). What has been completely missed is the identification of Genesis 1.1 as a *bare restrictive relative clause*. This analysis is possible only if the construct-relative construction is recognized as a grammatical means by which BH presents restrictive relatives.[92] If the material following the initial word is within a relative clause, verse 1 is effectively reduced to a prepositional phrase, indicating that this first clause of the Bible merely serves to set the stage for the main clause, the intitial creative event, in verse 3. This is illustrated by my translation of Genesis 1.1-3 in (189).

(189) [1]In the particular beginning that God created the heavens and the earth,—[2]now the earth was formless and void and darkness was upon the surface of the deep and the wind of God was hovering over the surface of the waters—[3]God said, "Let there be light!" Then there was light.

The narrative (and theological significance) of analyzing Genesis 1.1 as a restrictive relative is that the syntax then indicates, by the very nature of restrictive relatives (i.e., they serve to identify their head over against other possible referents and define it), that there were multiple *potential* beginnings to God's creative work (although not necessarily other real ones). Thus, it is the particular beginning defined by the relative clause in verse 1 of the Hebrew Bible that the author was concerned with, that particular beginning in which God created the world and initiated this event by commanding forth the presence of light (Gen 1.3). This is the case regardless of whether we take the initial word, *bərēʾšîṯ*, as semantically definite (by virtue of the construct relationship) or indefinite.[93]

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[92] Ewald (1879:215) identifies Gen 1.1 as a relative, but not as a *restrictive* relative. Joüon and Muraoka (1993:471) explicitly classify this construction as "non-relative".

[93] NPs in construct inherit their definiteness from the NPs with which they are in construct. However, since a clause, such as the relative clause in Genesis 1.1, does not carry any morphologically marking for definiteness, it appears that the definiteness of NPs in construct with relative clauses can only be determined by the larger context.

The grammar of Genesis 1.1 points forward only; that is, it does not comment about whether this particular creation was the a singular event or if there were others—such a position cannot be teased out of this text. Rather, as Andersen (1987) states, "the term 'beginning' in Genesis 1:1 marks the commencement of the story, not the absolute beginning of everything" (141)—and now we can support this assessment with an awareness of "how the original language was used—especially its constructions and idioms" (Orlinsky 1983:208).

2.8. Summary and Preview

In this chapter I have addressed all of the basic linguistic features of the BH relative clause: headedness, types of relative word, resumption, presence or absence of a relative word, and restrictiveness. I have also attempted to do so without resorting to overly technical and/or theoretical explanations. However, many of the analyses that I have offered in this chapter are the result of a linguistically informed investigation of the BH relative clause. Therefore, the aim of the next three chapters of this work will be to provide an outline of the linguistic theory that I employed (chapters three and four) and then to revisit many of the features of the BH relative clause (chapter five) in order provide more detailed explanations for the various phenomena I have highlighted in this chapter.

PART II: THE LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK

In this chapter and the following chapter I will address some basic issues of BH syntax in order to lay the foundation for a more detailed analysis of the BH relative clause. In addition, I will also be introducing the linguistic theory that will underlie my analysis in chapter five: the generative 'Minimalist Program' of Noam Chomsky. In terms of the specific feature of BH that is the primary subject matter for chapters three and four, it is the word order of BH, since an adequate understanding of the syntax and pragmatics of word order will be necessary in order to address the internal structure of the BH relative clause (e.g., 'basic' word order within the relative clause, motivation for 'non-basic' word order). This chapter focuses on identifying the basic word order of BH and describing this word order within the framework of the Minimalist Program. Chapter four will address the pragmatic structure of the BH clause and introduce a model of information structure that accounts for word order variation within BH.

3. THE SYNTAX OF BIBLICAL HEBREW: WORD ORDER

Recently, the field of BH studies has benefitted from a number of word order analyses that have moved the field significantly forward by recognizing that word order is much more than merely a syntactic issue—that word order is intimately connected to discourse concerns. Among these are the works of Jongeling (1991), van der Merwe (1991), Rosenbaum (1997), Goldfajn (1998), Heimerdinger (1999), and Moshavi (2000). For instance, Goldfajn's work (1998) analyzes the interaction between word order and "narrative time," and Heimerdinger's monograph (1999) and Moshavi's dissertation (2000) take into account the effect that

information structure and pragmatics, respectively, may have upon word order. What is surprising, however, is that the presentation in each of these works focuses on discourse issues without supporting their assumption that BH is a Verb-Subject (VS)[1] language.[2] Yet, it is safe

[1] Most discussions of word order include the placement of the *object* (O) with regard to the subject and verb; thus, a typical discussion on BH refers to the difference between SVO and VSO. However, the placement of the object in a pragmatically neutral clause is not an issue for this study: BH is unquestionably a head-complement (i.e., VO) language. The crux in BH studies is the placement of the subject and the verb with regard to each other, hence in this work I often use SV and VS rather than SVO and VSO.

[2] Jongeling 1991 uses both statistical data based on the book of Ruth and typological comparison with Welsh to argue that BH is VSO. The fundamental problem with Jongeling's analysis is that he does not deal with the *wayyiqtol* form and whether it should or should not be included in the statistical results. As we shall see below in the present analysis, if the *wayyiqtol* form is initially excluded and dealt with separately, the statistics do not clearly support a VSO conclusion for BH or a close comparison with Welsh.

Van der Merwe explicitly states that his assessment of BH as a VSO language "is not merely based on statistics, but on arguments from various points of view" (1999a:294). In the footnote for that statement, van der Merwe briefly cites a few scholars who hold a VSO analysis, but no BH data are provided for a VSO claim (1999a:294, note 34). In an earlier article on BH information structure, van der Merwe (1991) proceeds from the assumption that BH is VSO without any discussion or presentation of examples.

Rosenbaum (1997) uses a small textual corpus, Isaiah 40-55, to study word order within the framework of Simon Dik's *Functional Grammar*. He briefly reviews previous studies of word order and then takes as his starting point, without any study of the data, the position that "the basic functional pattern" for BH is VSO (21). In his Appendix A, Rosenbaum discusses the word order statistics from the fifteen chapters of Isaiah that he studied. He states that Isaiah 40-55 contains essentially an equal number of SV (189) and VS (184) clauses (1997:222). Furthermore, he comments that, "Biblical Hebrew is commonly classified as a VSO language. It appears, however, from a comparison of the statistics for Isaiah 40-55 of all three constituents in a clause . . . that the pattern for Isaiah 40-55 may be SVO (42.48%; VSO is 31.37%). But this is an example of how surface statistics of word-order can be deceptive. Our discussion of the various sub-types of VSO languages demonstrate (sic) that such surface statistics may be the result of the frequent use of special positions" (1997:222-23). This conclusion clearly demonstrates that if Rosenbaum had started his analysis with the assumption that BH was an SVO language, his statistics could have easily been used to support such a position. Like van der Merwe (1991), what is needed in Rosenbaum's analysis is an adequate account of pragmatically neutral BH word order before "special positions" become part of the equation.

Goldfajn (1998) begins his chapter on word order in BH narrative with a survey of previous word order studies (90-97). In response to former inadequate proposals, Goldfajn suggests that "possibly a more cohesive account of word order variation in Biblical Hebrew can be offered by examining the relation between word order variation and certain temporal interpretations obtained" (97). In pursuit of the relationship between word order and temporal expression, he does not directly address the issue of whether BH is an SVO or VSO language. Though word order is crucial for his study, it is not Goldfajn's focus; he is more interested in the temporal differences between "the dominant V-initial order and an SV variant order in sequences of verb clauses" (98).

Heimerdinger (1999) also adopts a VSO analysis of BH in his study of information structure. He initiates his discussion by describing the basic features of the BH verbal clause (21-24). He follows with a survey of previous word order research on BH and concludes with the statement that BH is a VSO language (24-26). Unfortunately, many of Heimerdinger's statements about the BH verbal clause are unclear. For instance, he begins the section by stating that in narrative "the SVO word order appears only with a qatal verb" (21). However, the validity of this claim depends on whether he means just SV (object optional) or the full SVO (object obligatory): Gen 1.20; 2.5, 6 contain examples of SV clauses with the *yiqtol* verb. Also, he claims that "the VSO order is found only with a vayyiqtol verbal form" (22). However, it is not clear whether Heimerdinger means to claim that the 'vayyiqtol' form exhibits VSO only, or that only the 'vayyiqtol' form exhibits VSO order. The former claim is accurate; the

to assume that these authors would agree that an adequate understanding of "basic word order" is necessary before addressing pragmatic or discourse issues.

In this chapter, using data primarily from the book of Genesis, I will address whether we have been initiating our pragmatic and discourse studies with an accurate understanding of BH word order. I will proceed in four parts. First, in 3.1 I address the issue of "basic word order." Second, in 3.2 I discuss the issues surrounding word order in BH. Third, in 3.3 I introduce the linguistic methodology which will be used throughout this work—Chomskyan Minimalism. Finally, in 3.4 I provide an analysis of the BH verbal, participial, and verbless clauses within the framework of the Minimalist Program.

3.1. "BASIC WORD ORDER"

Before proceeding to the BH data, we must briefly discuss the issue of "basic word order." Granting that a basic word order exists and is identifiable for any given language (cf. Mithun 1992), there still exists significant disagreement about how to identify basic word order. Depending in part upon one's linguistic approach, one of three basic criteria may be used, either exclusively or complementarily, to identify basic word order: clause type, frequency, and pragmatic markedness.

The first approach to identifying basic word order is the 'clause type' approach. In using one particular clause type as the representative of basic word order, the central task

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latter claim is certainly not. Finally, Heimerdinger's analysis does not appear to consider the BH data that are reported speech within the narrative. Reported speech "is undeniably prominent in biblical narrative" (Miller 1996:2); thus, one cannot exclude such data from a study of word order (and in Heimerdinger's later chapters, it becomes clear that he does not exclude reported speech). Therefore, taking reported speech into account, the first statement of Heimerdinger's given above regarding SVO word order appearing only with the *qatal* verb is patently inaccurate: there are a multitude of SVO clauses with the *yiqtol* verb in Genesis alone (e.g., Gen 3.15(2x), 16; 4.7; 5.29; 6.17; 9.2; 14.24; 15.15, 16; 16.12; 18.25; 19.19; 21.6, 24; 22.8; 23.6; 24.40; 25.23; 28.22; 31.8(2x), 32, 39, 53; 34.10; 38.17; 41.27, 40; 42.19, 37; 43.9; 44.10; 46.4(3x); 47.19, 24, 30; 48.19; 50.21).

becomes identifying which type of clause is basic and then isolating this type of clause for individual languages. The type that is often identified as representing basic word order is "stylistically neutral, independent, indicative clauses with full nouns phrase (NP) participants, where the subject is definite, agentive and human, the object is a definite semantic patient, and the verb represents an action, not a state or an event" (Siewierska 1988:8; see also Greenberg 1963:74; Mallinson and Blake 1981:125).

Notably, when clause type is used as the primary criterion in determining basic word order for a language, it does not necessarily follow that the basic word order within the basic clause type is identical to the statistically prevalent word order in that language (Siewierska 1988:8). This is particularly so with languages that frequently use bound pronouns or that exhibit the tendency to 'drop' subject pronouns (1988:11; see below, 3.4.1.3, for a discussion of the 'pro-drop' phenomenon and BH).

The claim that basic word order and statistically dominant word order cannot always be equated stands in some tension with the second approach, the 'frequency' approach, which focuses on that word order that is simply the most common in a given language. Hawkins' (1983) work illustrates this approach to determining basic word order; for this purpose, he establishes the following three criteria:

> For the majority of the word orders in this study in the majority of our languages the basicness issue is not problematic, for the simple reason that only one order occurs. English has *this man*, never **man this* . . . . But for at least some word orders in the majority of languages, variants do exist, and the question then arises as to which order, if any, is the "basic" one. For example, English has both preposed and postposed genitives (*the king's castle*/*the castle of the king*) . . . . I am going to use the term "doubling" to describe the situation in which one and the same modifier category (e.g., the adjective) can occur both before and after its head in a given language. And in general I shall follow these three (overlapping) criteria when making a basicness decision:
>
> 1. Where one doublet (e.g., NAdj) occurs with greater frequency than the other (AdjN) in attested samples of the relevant language, then, all things being equal, the more frequent doublet is the basic one.

> 2. Where one doublet (e.g., NAdj) is more frequent within the grammatical system of the language than the other (e.g., the quantity of adjective lexemes that occur postnominally exceeds the number that occur prenominally), then, all things being equal, the grammatically more frequent doublet is the basic one.
>
> 3. Where one doublet is grammatically unmarked and the other marked (i.e., a special type of grammatical meaning may be associated with one order of Adj and N, but not the other, over and above their lexical meanings; one word order may not undergo certain general rules that the other does, or may be generated by rules of a more restricted nature; one word order may be the one chosen by exceptional modifiers, whose exceptional status is marked in the lexicon, etc.), then, in all these cases, the unmarked order is the basic one. (1983:12-13)

The last criterion that Hawkin's specifies, i.e., using grammatical markedness to identify which order is more basic, moves us into the third major approach for determining basic word order: 'pragmatic markedness'. This approach identifies basic word order on the basis of what is judged to be the least pragmatically marked, or neutral order. Thus, a clause that exhibits, e.g., the fronting of an object DP for the clear purpose of contrasting the object with another discourse item, would be considered "non-basic"; clauses that are judged to be without contrast, emphasis, etc., represent the basic word order in this approach.[3]

In summary, I have introduced three basic approaches that are often used to identify word order. From even the brief descriptions I have provided, it is clear that none of the three approaches exists in isolation; there is quite a bit of overlap. For instance, Siewierska's definition for the basic clause type approach (given above) includes stylistic neutrality—a pragmatic concept. Also, Hawkin's third criteria for determing word order based upon frequency appeals to grammatical markedness—again, a pragmatic concept. However, at other

[3] Mithun (1992:15-17) notes, however, that there have been different judgments regarding what type of clause or utterance is neutral: "In some of these cases, discourse-initial sentences are considered the most neutral because they presuppose no preceding context . . . In other cases, the preferred order for potentially ambiguous clauses has been judged the most neutral . . . In still others, 'simple, declarative, active clauses with no complex verb or noun phrases' are assumed to exhibit neutral order" (1992:15-16). Clearly, for Mithun, the essential problem is the adjective "simple" in "simple, declarative, active clauses with no complex verb or noun phrases". How do we identify and classify any given clause a "simple"? In addition, Mithun argues that the considerable diversity of pragmatic terminology (e.g., theme/rheme, topic/comment, given/new) and its usage in studying the effects of pragmatics on word order has exacerbated the complexity of the issue (1992).

times, these criteria stand at odds with each other, such as when, according to Siewierska (1988:8), the clause type identified as "basic" is not the statistically most dominant type.

In addition to the three basic criteria, the type of discourse used in determining basic word order is important. For many years the preferred type of discourse has been narrative: according to Longacre (1995) "If storyline clauses in narrative discourse in a given language are VSO, then that language should be classified as a VSO language" (1995:333). Longacre bases this claim on several assumptions, the first of which is that "monologue discourse is a better guide to language typology than dialogue . . . in that the exigencies of repartee presumably make for departures from standard word order at many places" (1995:333). However, Downing (1995) notes that an increasing number of linguists are arguing that the opposite of Longacre's position is true: conversational (reported speech) texts are the less idiosyncratic type of discourse and thus should be used to determine basic word order (1995:20). In fact, Payne (1995) suggests that "[m]ost claims about word order have undoubtedly been based on narrative data and, without conscious awareness, the typological cubby-holes to which languages have been assigned are likely biased by formal features correlating with *temporal sequentiality*" (1995:454; emphasis added). In other words, precisely because clauses in narrative are strung together in some sort of temporal order, it (rather than conversational discourse) may exhibit departures from standard word order.

Given the lack of concensus regarding precisely which criterion or which type of discourse should be used in determining basic word order, I will proceed in the remainder of this analysis by considering all three criteria (frequency, clause type, and pragmatics)[4] as well

[4] Every constituent in a given clause (even a clause uttered, theoretically, in isolation, but particularly clauses that exist within a context) plays a pragmatic role in that clause; thus, the structure of all clauses is influenced by pragmatic concerns. However, for the sake of both simplicity and clarity, in the following sections when I employ

as the type of discourse used. First, I will discuss the word order statistics from the book of Genesis and note some of the more significant characteristics of the Genesis data. I will then proceed to analyze BH word order by addressing the word order of modal versus indicative clauses in reported speech (3.2.1), followed by an analysis of word order in narrative (3.2.2) and then subordinate clauses (3.2.3). After considering the word order in each of these environments, I will return to the problematic *wayyiqtol* form (3.2.4).

3.2. WORD ORDER IN GENESIS

The general consensus in the field of BH studies is that BH is a VS language (see Kautzsch 1910:455-57; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:579-80; Lambert 1972:436-41; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:129, among others).[5] The following ninety-year-old statement regarding word order from the reference grammar of Gesenius-Kautzsch 1910 remains the status quo within BH studies: "In the verbal-clause proper the principal emphasis rests upon the action which proceeds from (or is experienced by) the subject, and accordingly the verb naturally precedes [the subject]" (Kautzsch 1910:455; cf. Ewald 1879:152). Most modern treatments of BH word order have accepted the VS analysis, although the justification tends to be based upon the frequency criterion (rather than on the type of psycho-lingusitic evaluation contained in Kautzsch's statement above):[6] VS order is statistically dominant throughout the Hebrew Bible

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phrases like "pragmatically marked" or "influenced by pragmatic features," it is to describe those word orders (or constituents within such clauses) that are *not*, in Mithun's terms, the "least pragmatically marked, or neutral."

[5] See Heimerdinger (1999:15-26) for a brief survey of previous arguments concerning the structure of the BH clause. Joüon 1923 and DeCaen 1995 are two of the few works that regard BH as an SV language.

[6] ". . . we are not interested in discussing the theory that [VS] order is normal because action is the most important piece of information to be conveyed by this sentence type called verbal clause. In other words, by saying that V-S is the normal word-order we do not mean that it is logically or intrinsically so, but simply statistically" (Muraoka 1985:30).

(see Joüon and Muraoka 1993:579; Jongeling 1991; van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999:336). However, the overwhelming predominance of the 'narrative verb' form *wayyiqtol*, a verb form that exhibits unique morphological characteristics, should serve as a methodological red flag. For instance, out of the almost 5,500 clauses in the text of Genesis, there are over 2,100 clauses with *wayyiqtol* (that is almost 40 percent of the book!).[7] Due to the unique morphological form of the *wayyiqtol*, Muraoka (1985), for example, expresses reluctance to study BH word order without first setting this form aside (1985:28-30).[8] This does appear to be wise. If non-VS word order is impossible with the *wayyiqtol*, then it is methodologically precarious to use it when determining basic word order; the *wayyiqtol* clearly skews the data towards a VS analysis. For this reason, I too will proceed in my analysis of Genesis by initially setting the *wayyiqtol* form aside and returning to it later.

In my analysis of the BH data in Genesis 1-50, I proceeded in four primary steps. First, I identified and separated finite verbal, participial,[9] and verbless clauses.[10] Second, I set aside the *wayyiqtol* clauses. Finally, from all of this material, I identified my database as every finite verbal clause *which contained an overt subject*. (The great majority of clauses in Genesis do

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[7] According to an *Accordance* (version 4.5) computer search there are 2,113 *wayyiqtol* forms in Genesis (I counted 884 *wayyiqtol* clauses with an overt subject).

Because the *wəqatal* form is often treated as a 'waw-consecutive' form (meaning that it is in some way attached to the conjunction *wə*, I have treated the *wəqatal* data separately (see below in 3.2.1). A computer search produced 216 examples of the conjunction *wə* followed by a *qatal* verb; however, not all of these should be parsed as a *wəqatal* since in the context they do not differ semantically from the simple *qatal* verb. Hence, I counted 197 *wəqatal* forms in Genesis.

[8] In contrast, Bandstra (like many others) notes the decision of previous word order studies on BH to exclude the *wayyiqtol*, but he then proceeds to assume VSO order without questioning the morphological status of the *wayyiqtol* form or addressing why it always stands clause-initial (1992:111, 115); neither Jongeling (1991) nor van der Merwe (1991) discuss the *wayyiqtol* form at all (Jongeling even treats it as a simple V(erb) in his analysis!).

[9] I counted 163 predicative participles in Genesis.

[10] I counted 661 verbless/nominal clauses in Genesis.

not contain overt subject NPs; however, a study of word order, in particular a study of the position of the subject and verb with regard to each other, is necessarily restricted to clauses that contain overt subject NPs.) From almost 5,500 clauses in Genesis, the initial database for my study of word order included 584 finite verbal clauses (excluding *wayyiqtol* clauses) with an overt subject.

3.2.1. Word Order in Modal versus Indicative Clauses (in Reported Speech)

I will begin our discussion of the BH data by investigating E. J. Revell's (1989) claim regarding the placement of the *yiqtol* verb in modal and indicative clauses.[11] BH has a modal system which employs an imperative in the second person (*qətol*), what is often called a cohortative in the first person (*ʾeqtəlā*), and what is often called a jussive in the third person (*yiqtol*). Significantly, the last form, which I shall call the modal *yiqtol*, is homophonous with the indicative (imperfective) *yiqtol* in many cases.[12] Revell (1989) argues, based on data from the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, that the modal *yiqtol* stands in a clause-initial position while the indicative *yiqtol* typically resides in a clause-medial position (1989:14-21; see also Niccacci 1987).[13] Let us consider the Genesis data to see how it accords with Revell's

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[11] DeCaen (1995) takes up Revell's proposal for the *yiqtol* and employs it to explain both the *qatal*/*wəqatal* and the *wayyiqtol* within the theoretical framework of Government-Binding, the Chomskyan linguistic model that predates the Minimalist Program. I discuss DeCaen's proposals for the *wəqatal* and the *wayyiqtol* below in 3.2.4.

[12] Typically, grammars indicate that the modal and indicative *yiqtol* are morphologically distinct in the Hifil derivational class (i.e., modal *yaqtēl* vs. indicative *yaqtîl*) and are often morphologically distinct in many of the derivational classes of verbs that have 'weak' roots, that is roots which contain the glides /w/ and /y/, e.g., the Qal modal *yiqtol* of the root /q-w-m/ is *yaqom* while the Qal indicative *yiqtol* is *yaqûm*. Because of these morphological differences, the modal and indicative *yiqtol* are often referred to as the 'short' and 'long' *yiqtol*, respectively.

[13] It is worthwhile to note that word order distinctions based on the semantic type of verb are attested in a number of other languages. For example, Siewierska (1988) claims that some African languages vary the word order depending on the *tense* and *aspect* of the verb used. Siewierska cited the Sudanic languages Lendu, Moru,

proposal. (Note that in order to begin with a discussion of modal clauses, I am restricting the database to reported speech, since the vast majority of modal verbs exist within reported speech dialogue.) Of the 40 modal *yiqtol* clauses with overt subjects in Genesis,[14] eighty percent (32) exhibit a clause-initial verb, as in (1)-(4).[15]

(1) wayyōʾmer ʾᵉlōhîm **yəhî** **ʾôr**
and-say(3MS PAST) God be(3MS MOD) light
'and God said: ***Let light be!'*** (Gen 1.3)

(2) wayyōʾmer bārûk̲ yhwh ʾᵉlōhê šēm **wîhî** **k̲əna'an**
and-say(3MS PAST) bless(MS PTCP PASS) Yhwh god.of Shem and-be(3MS MOD) Canaan
ʿeḇeḏ lāmô
servant to-him
'and he said: Blessed be Yhwh, god of Shem, ***and may Canaan be his servant'*** (Gen 9.26)

(3) **yišpōṭ** **yhwh** **bênî** **ûḇênêk̲ā**
judge(3MS MOD) Yhwh between-me and-between-you
'***may Yhwh judge between me and you***' (Gen 16.5)

(4) **yiṣep** **yhwh** **bênî** **ûḇênek̲ā**
watch(3MS MOD) Yhwh between-me and-between-you
'***may Yhwh watch between me and you***' (Gen 31.49)

Mangbetu, and the Gur languages Natioro and Bagassi as languages that exhibit SVO order in the perfective tenses and SOV in the imperfective (1988:95). Similarly, the Sudanic language Anyuak/Anywa appears to be a language that switches from SVO in the present tense to SOV in the past and future (see Perner 1990; Reh 1996).

[14] The modal clauses is this set of data are primarily the third person modal *yiqtol*, with just two examples of the 1st person form (22.5; 33.14; as would be expected, both of these clauses have pronominal subjects).

[15] See also Gen 1.6, 9(2x), 11, 14, 20, 24; 9.27(2x); 13.8; 18.4; 19.20; 24.55, 60; 27.28, 29(3x), 31; 41.33, 34; 42.16; 44.18(2x), 33; 49.6(2x), 17.

There are seven examples in which the element preceding the modal *yiqtol* is not the subject (as in the examples listed in note 11): in 41.33 and 44.33, *wəʿattâ* 'and now, therefore' precedes the verb; in Gen 44.18 the preceding elements are a prepositional phrase and a vocative NP; in 13.8 and 44.18, a negative precedes the modal verb; and, in Gen 49.6, prepositional phrases and negatives precede the modal *yiqtol*. In these five cases, the word order in the modal clause is VS after the initial elements.

The 8 remaining modal *yiqtol* clauses exhibit a clause-medial verb, with a constituent preceding the verb, as the subject noun phrase does in (5):[16]

(5) [30]And now, when I come to your servant my father and the boy is not with us, and his life is bound up in his (i.e., the boy's) life, [31]and it shall be when he sees that the boy is not, he will die; and your servants will bring down the gray hairs of your servant our father with sorrow to Sheol. [32]Because your servant became surety for the boy to my father, (saying), 'If I do not bring him to you, then I will have sinned against my father all (my) days.' [33]And now, please let your servant remain instead of the boy, as a slave to my lord; [*but let the boy go up with his brothers*]

wə**hannaʿar**	yaʿal	ʿim	ʾeḥāyw
and-the-boy	ascend(3MS MOD)	with	brothers-his

*'but let **the boy** go up with his brothers'* (Gen 44.33)

In terms of pragmatics, we could argue from the context that SV order is pragmatically "non-neutral," that , in the case of example (5) 'the boy' is being contrasted with 'your servant' from the preceding clause. Thus, in terms of both frequency and pragmatics, Revell's conclusion for modal clauses is correct. If we recast this analysis into typical word order categories, we could say that modal *yiqtol* clauses in BH exhibit a basic VS order.

Besides the modal *yiqtol*, there is one more "modal" verb to consider: the verb form often labeled *wəqatal*, or "waw-consecutive perfect." It has been suggested that *wəqatal* finds it historical background in the use of the perfective *qatal* in conditional clauses (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990:521-23; Joosten 1992:3). Clause sequences like those given in (6) support this proposal:

[16] For similar SV modal *yiqtol* examples as in (5), see also Gen 1.20, 22; 28.3; 31.53; 43.14; 43.29; 45.20. Note that the initial conjunction *wə*, as in (5), does not affect word order and therefore is not syntactically significant for this study of word order (see below, 3.2.4 and note 43).

(6) [4]**ʾim** **rāḥaṣ** **ʾᵃḏōnāy** ʾēṯ ṣōʾaṯ bənôṯ ṣîyyôn wəʾeṯ dəmê
COND wash(3MS MOD PERF) Lord ACC filth.of daughters.of Zion and-ACC bloodshed.of
yərûšālaim yāḏîᵃḥ miqqirbâh bərûᵃḥ mišpāṭ ûḇərûᵃḥ bāʿēr
Jerusalem rinse(3MS IMPF) from-midst-her in-spirit.of judgment and-in-spirit.of burn(INF)
[5]**ûḇārāʾ** **yhwh** ʿal kol məḵôn har ṣîyyôn wəʿal miqrāʾehā ʿānān
and-create(3MS PERF MOD) Yhwh upon all.of site.of mount Zion and-upon convocations-her cloud
yômām wəʿāšān wənōgah ʾēš lehāḇâ lāylâ
daily and-smoke and-brightness.of fire.of flame night

*'**if the Lord washes** the filth of the daughters of Zion and the bloodshed of Jerusalem, (if) he rinses (it) from her midst with a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning, (then) **Yhwh shall create** over the site of Mount Zion and over her convocations a cloud by day and smoke and brightness of a fire of flame (by) night'* (Isa 4.4-5)

In the first boldfaced example in (6), a modal *qatal* verb, *rāḥaṣ*, immediately follows the conditional word *ʾim* (resulting in VS order) and functions as the main verb in the conditional/irreal clause.[17] In the second boldfaced example, the form *ûḇārāʾ* continues the conditional modality (and exhibits VS order).[18]

On the basis of the connection between *wəqatal* and modality, Jan Joosten (1992) suggests that *wəqatal* should be classified as a modal verb. Not only is the *wəqatal* used in conditional clauses, as in (6), it is very often used to continue other modal verbs, such as imperatives (7), jussives (8), and cohortatives (9).

[17] For other *qatal* verbs following the function word *ʾim*, see Gen 47.16, 18; Exod 22.2; Lev 13.56; Num 14.8; 21.9; 30.6; 1 Sam 21.5; 2 Sam 5.6; Isa 6.11; 24.13; Ezek 16.48; Job 31.9; 37.20; Prov 23.15; Song 7.13; Qoh 10.10.

[18] Although the syntax is not explicit with clauses coordinate by *wa*, in this specific case, the second *qatal*, *ûḇārāʾ*, serves also to introduce the apodosis of the conditional/irreal utterance.

(7) wayyōʾmer hinneh nāʾ ʾᵃḏōnay sûrû nāʾ ʾel bêṯ ʿaḇdeḵem
and-say(3MS PAST) behold please lords-my turn(2MP IMV) please to house.of servant-your

wəlînû wəraḥᵃṣû raglêḵem **wəhiškamtem**
and-lodge(2MP IMV) and-wash(2MP IMV) feet-your and-rise early(2MP PERF MOD)

wahəlaḵtem ləḏarkəḵem
and-go(2MP PERF MOD) to-way-your

*'and he said: Behold, my lords, please turn aside to your servant's house and lodge and wash your feet, **and (then) you may rise early and go** on your way'* (Gen 19.2)

(8) wayyōʾmer ʾᵉlōhîm yəhî məʾōrōṯ birqîᵃʿ haššāmayim ləhaḇdîl
and-say(3MS PAST) God be(3MS MOD) lights in-expanse.of the-heavens to-divide(INF)

bên hayyôm ûḇên hallāylâ **wəhāyû** ləʾōṯōṯ ûləmôʿᵃḏîm
between the-day and-between the-night and-be(3CP PERF MOD) for-signs and-for-seasons

ûləyāmîm wəšānîm
and-for-days and-years

*'and God said: Let there be lights in the expanse of the heavens to divide between the day and the night **and let them be** for signs and for seasons and for days and years'* (Gen 1.14)

(9) waʾᵃḇārᵃḵâ məḇārəḵêḵā ûməqallelḵā ʾāʾōr
and-bless(1CS MOD) bless(MP PTCP)-you and-curse(MPL PTCP)-you curse(1CS MOD)

wəniḇrəḵû ḇəḵā kōl mišpəḥōṯ hāʾᵃḏāmâ
and-bless(3CP PERF MOD PASS) in-you all.of families.of the-land

*'and I shall bless those blessing you and those cursing you I shall curse and (so) all the nations of the land **shall be blessed** by you'* (Gen 12.3)

If we consider the *wəqatal* to be modal in some way, then the question that arises is how the word order of the 197 *wəqatal* clauses in Genesis (which have not been factored into the statistics up to this point; see above, fn. 7) compares to the modal *yiqtol* data. The answer is simple. The *wəqatal* is always in a clause-initial position, thus the *wəqatal* always exhibits VS order, as in (10).

(10) **ûqərāʾāhû** **ʾāsôn** badderek
and-meet(3MS MOD PERF)-him harm on-the-road

*'**and harm might meet him** on the road'* (Gen 42.38)

Thus, using two of the word order criteria, frequency and pragmatics, we may confirm

Revell's analysis that modal clauses in BH, including the *wəqatal*, exhibit VS as their basic word order. Now, with a VS analysis for modal clauses, the question becomes: How do the word order data from modal clauses compare to indicative clause data? If we consider every indicative clause with an overt subject, there are 303 VS clauses and 251 SV clauses in Genesis. However, we must limit this initial database in two ways. First, since I limited to database to reported speech in order to examine the modal examples, we must limit our indicative database to reported speech for the sake of comparison. This produces a smaller database of 166 VS and 140 SV clauses. Second, if we employ the criteria of clause type and pragmatics and set aside those clauses that appear from the context not to be 'pragmatically neutral,[19] main, indicative clauses', we are left with 51 SV clauses, as in (11)-(13),[20] and 36 VS

[19] In response to the possible (or more probable, likely) challenge that SV clauses, such as the one in Gen 3.13, are actually pragmatically marked/non-neutral (e.g., somehow 'the serpent' is being highlighted, contrasted, re-invoked, re-activated, etc., within the discourse context and thus has been fronted, resulting in SV order), I will briefly submit two claims. First, I argue below in chapter four that BH is a *theme-rheme* language, that is, that constituents that are 'adding' to the discourse are placed further right/down in the clause than those consituents that are not adding to the discourse but rather anchoring the clause in the preceding discourse context. Thus, in the case of Gen 3.13, the snake is a known, active character within the immediate discourse and cannot therefore be a new/added, or even re-activated, discourse item. Second, though BH is a theme-rheme language, contrasted (or "focalized," "topicalized," etc.) items, which may be either 'anchoring' or 'adding' discourse constituents, *are* moved to the front of the clause; this results in orders such as, e.g., OVS, PPVS. However, in the case of Gen 3.13, there is no other realistically available discourse item with which to contrast the serpent; rather, the pragmatics of this clause are such that, in terms of the woman's rhetoric, it is more likely that the action ('deceived me') is the salient information and thus constitute the core of her self-defense. In summary, the SV order in this clause, or the others that I cite, does not reflect a pragmatically non-neutral environment.

[20] Of the *total* 107 indicative, non-subordinate SV clauses in Genesis reported speech, there are only 51 SV clauses that contain full NP subjects (rather than pronominal subjects): Gen 3.13; 5.29; 6.13, 17; 9.2; 15.16; 17.12; 19.9; 21.6; 22.8; 23.6; 24.35; 24.40, 56; 25.23; 28.3, 22; 31.5, 7, 8(2x), 32, 38; 34.10; 35.11; 37.20, 33; 38.28; 41.27; 42.19; 43.14, 22, 23(2x); 44.16, 19, 20(2x); 46.4, 31; 47.1, 5, 19, 24; 48.3, 19; 49.16, 27; 50.5, 16, 20.

There are 37 reported speech SV clauses that contain pronominal subjects: Gen 3.15(2x), 16; 4.7; 14.23, 24; 15.15; 16.5, 12; 18.13; 19.19; 21.24; 24.31; 26.27; 28.16; 30.29; 31.6, 39; 32.13; 38.17, 23; 41.15, 40; 42.37; 43.9, 14; 44.10, 27; 45.19; 46.4(2x); 47.30; 48.22; 49.20, 29; 50.20, 21. Since BH verbs are morphologically inflected for subject agreement and the presence of subject pronouns is not necessary (hence, BH is a 'pro-drop' language, see below, 3.3.1.3), the presence of a personal pronoun in a clause suggests a specific pragmatic function (e.g., contrast) is being communicated by the pronoun. However, the SV order of pragmatically non-neutral 'pronominal-subject' clauses cannot be used to argue that SV order is then inherently pragmatically non-neutral; the corrollary of such an argument would mean that pragmatically *neutral* clauses that have pronominal subjects would be VS—yet extremely few cases of VS order with pronominal subjects exist in the Hebrew Bible. There are three general environments in which VS order may occur with pronominal subjects: 1) when the pronominal

clauses, as in (14).[21]

(11) wayyōʾmer yhwh ʾᵉlōhîm lāʾiššâ ma zōʾṯ ʿāśîṯ wattōʾmer
and-say(3MS PAST) Yhwh God to-the-woman what this do(3FS PERF) and-say(3FS PAST)

hāʾiššâ **hannāḥāš hiššîʾanî** wāʾōḵēl
the-woman the-serpent deceive(3MS PERF)-me and-eat(1CS PAST)

'and God said to the woman: What is this you have done? And the woman said: ***The serpent deceived me*** *and I ate'* (Gen 3.13)

(12) wayyiqrāʾ ʾeṯ šəmô nōᵃḥ lēʾmōr **zeh yənaḥᵃmēnû** mimmaʿᵃśēnû
and-call(3MS PAST) ACC name-his Noah COMP this comfort(3MS IMPF)-us from-work-our

ûmēʿiṣṣəḇôn yāḏênû
and-from-toil.of hands-our

'and he called his name Noah (saying): ***This one will comfort us*** *from our work and from the toil of our hands'* (Gen 5.29)

(13) **ûmôraʾᵃḵem wəḥittəḵem yihyê** ʿal kol ḥayyaṯ hāʾāreṣ wəʿal kol
and-fear-your and-dread-your be(3MS IMPF) upon all.of creatures.of the-land and-upon all.of

ʿôp haššāmāyim bəḵōl ʾᵃšer tirmōś hāʾᵃḏāmâ ûḇəḵol dəḡê hayyām
birds.of the-heavens on-all.of REL creep(3FS IMPF) the-ground and-on-all.of fish.of the-sea

'and ***the fear of you and the dread of you will be*** *upon all the creatures of the land and the birds of the heavens and everything that creeps on the ground and all the fish of the sea'* (Gen 9.2)

(14) wə**yēʾāmnû** **ḏiḇrêḵem**
and-believe(3MP IMPF PASS) words-your

'and ***your words will be verified****'* (Gen 42.20)

On the basis of these examples (and the statistics behind them), we could argue that in terms of frequency and pragmatics, BH is an SV language in main indicative clauses by a ratio of about

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subject is used following a *wayyiqtol*, e.g., Gen 44.20; 2) when the pronominal subject is used following a modal *qatal*, e.g., Exod 18.19; and 3) when the subject pronoun is the first part of a complex coordinate subject, e.g., (for the syntactic structure of this last type of construction, see Naudé 1999). In the case of the first two environments, I provide arguments below that explain how these may occur and how they do not represent simple VS order.

There are 19 more clauses in Genesis reported speech that exhibit SV order but the presence of other elements (such as adverbial phrases) between the subject NP and the verb indicates that the clausal structure is slightly more complex: Gen 3.12; 9.3; 17.6, 9, 16; 18.18; 24.7, 45; 25.23(2x); 26.11; 31.29; 35.11; 44.5; 48.6; 49.9, 13, 19; 50.24. Finally, 3 of these 19 SV clauses (with the more complex structure) also have a personal pronoun as the subject (instead of a full NP): Gen 17.9; 24.45; 44.5.

[21] See also Gen 6.3; 9.11 (2x), 15; 15.4; 17.5; 21.7; 22.17; 27.35, 41; 30.6, 18, 20, 23, 24, 28; 31.1, 7; 35.10; 38.21, 22, 24; 39.17; 40.10 (2x); 41.31, 36; 42.28, 30, 38; 44.5, 22; 45.9; 49.8, 10.

3-2. However, of the 36 VS examples in reported speech, the verb in 15 of the VS clauses is preceded by the negative, as in example (15).[22]

(15) wəhinnê ḏəḇar yhwh ʾēlāyw lēʾmōr **lōʾ yîrāšəḵā zeh**
and-behold word.of Yhwh to-him COMP NEG inherit(3MS IMPF)-you this
*'and behold the word of Yhwh (came) to him (saying): **This one will not inherit you**'* (Gen 15.4)

In fact, negation is often closely linked to modality (see Lyons 1977:768-77; Palmer 1979; 1986:218-21; Hoye 1997). Also, negative function words in some languages clearly affect the word order of the subject, verb, and object constituents (see, for example, Givón 1979:124-25).[23] Thus we should exclude the VS clauses that contain a negative function word from our statistics, based on the possibility that negative clauses in BH exhibit VS order like other modal clauses do.[24] Then, our database would contain only 21 examples of reported speech VS clauses in Genesis, such as the *qatal* verb clause in (16).[25]

(16) wattōʾmer mî millēl ləʾaḇrāhām **hênîqâ ḇānîm śārâ**
and-say(3FS PAST) who tell(3MS PERF) to-Abraham suckle(3FS PERF) sons Sarah
*'and she said: Who would have told to Abraham "**Sarah has suckled children**"'* (Gen 21.7)

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[22] See also Gen 6.3; 9.11 (2x), 15; 17.5; 31.7; 35.10; 38.21, 22; 41.31, 36; 42.38; 44.22; 49.10.

[23] Givón presents data from Kru, a Niger-Congo language, to illustrate a language that switches from SVO order in typical declarative clauses (i), to SOV in negative clauses (ii) (1979:124-25).

(i) Nyeyu-na bla nyino-na (SVO)
man-the beat woman-the
'the man beat the woman'

(ii) Nyeyu-na **si** nyino-na bla (SOV)
man-the **NEG** woman-the beat
'the man didn't beat the woman'

[24] Negatives in BH overwhelming modify the clause (or more accurately, the predication); these negatives immediately precede the verb. When a BH negative is used as an item adverb to modify a particular constituent, the negative is usually positioned immediately preceding the modified constituent, as in Psa 103.10: *lōʾ ḵaḥᵃṭāʾênû ʿāśâ lānû* 'not according to our sins has he dealt with us' (see Kautzsch 1910:478-79; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:659-60; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:603).

[25] See also Gen 21.7; 22.17; 27.35, 41; 30.6, 18, 20, 23, 24, 28; 31.1; 38.24; 39.17; 40.10(2x); 42.20, 28, 30; 45.9, 16; 49.8.

Based upon the context of Genesis 21, we could argue that the VS clause *hênîqâ ḇānîm śāra* in verse 7 reflects Sarah's incredulity about her own ability to birth and suckle at ninety years of age. Thus, not only do the statistics (51 SV versus 21 VS) suggest that VS order is not "basic" in BH reported speech indicative clauses, but the VS clauses that do exist in reported speech, like the example in (16), appear to reflect a more pragmatically influenced word order.

With this in mind, we should return to our discussion of the *wəqatal* in order to reconsider whether the *wəqatal* is in fact a distinct verb form (see DeCaen 1995:121-26; contra Joosten 1992:7). Given the pattern that the data exhibit, I propose that there is a single *qatal* verb: used indicatively, the *qatal* overwhelmingly exhibits SV order, as in (17).[26]

(17) wə**hāʾāḏām** **yāḏaʿ** **ʾeṯ** **ḥawwâ** ʾištô
and-the-man know(3MS PERF) ACC Eve wife-his
*'and **the man knew** (i.e., sexually) **Eve**, his wife'* (Gen 4.1)

Used modally, the *qatal* overwhelmingly exhibits VS order, as in (18).[27]

(18) ʾim kō yōʾmar nəquddîm yihyê śəḵāreḵā **wəyāləḏû** **ḵol**
COND thus say(3MS IMPF) speckled be(3MS IMPF) wage-your and-bear(3CP PERF MOD) all.of
haṣṣōʾn nəquddîm
the-flock speckled
*'if he would say thus, 'Speckled will be your wage,' then **all of the flock would bear** speckled'* (Gen 31.8)

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[26] See also Gen 1.2; 3.1, 13; 4.2, 4, 18(3x), 20, 21, 22; 6.1, 4, 8, 13; 7.6, 9, 10, 11, 16, 19, 22; 8.5, 19; 10.8(2x), 9, 13-14, 15-18, 24(2x), 26-29; 11.3, 27(2x); 13.12(2x), 14; 14.3, 4, 10, 18, 23; 15.12, 17; 16.1, 5; 17.12, 27; 18.13, 17, 33; 19.4, 9, 23(2x), 19.24; 20.4, 5; 21.1, 7, 26; 22.1, 23; 24.1, 16, 31, 35, 56; 25.3(2x), 19, 34; 26.26, 27; 27.6; 28.16; 29.17; 30.26, 29; 31.5, 6, 7, 19, 25(2x), 29, 34, 38, 47; 32.2, 13; 33.3, 17; 34.5(2x), 7, 27; 35.11, 18; 36.2-3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14; 37.2, 3, 11, 20, 33, 36; 38.14, 23, 25, 28; 39.1; 41.10, 15, 56, 57; 42.8, 10, 23; 43.1, 14, 22(2x), 23(2x); 44.3, 4(2x), 16, 19, 20(2x), 27; 45.14, 16, 19; 46.31; 47.1, 5; 48.3, 10, 22; 50.5, 16, 20(2x).

[27] See also Gen 3.5; 4.14; 6.3, 18; 9.14(2x), 16; 12.3, 13; 17.5, 13, 14; 18.18; 22.18; 24.14, 43; 26.4; 28.14(2x), 21; 29.3; 30.32, 33, 41, 42; 31.8; 32.9; 33.13; 34.30; 40.19; 41.30(3x), 36; 42.38; 44.29, 31; 48.21.

We can now dispense with the label "*wəqatal,*" which suggests a distinct verb form, and use *indicative qatal* and *modal qatal*, terms which serve to connote both form and semantic function.

In summary, we may preliminarily conclude, using all three criteria (clause type, frequency, and pragmatics), that BH indicative clauses in reported speech exhibit a basic SV order, and that modal clauses, including modal *qatal* clauses, exhibit VS order.[28] Thus, the semantic choice of verbs seems to determine whether the word order is SV (indicative) or VS (modal). If this is indeed the case, we can then in turn use word order to help us identify the semantics of the verb in ambiguous cases (i.e., when specifically modal or indicative lexical items are absent, or when BH verbal morphology is nondeterminative). Consider the otherwise morphologically ambiguous clauses in (19) and (20).

(19) **yaʿabḏûḵā** **ʿammîm** wəyištaḥû ləḵā ləʾummîm
serve(3MP MOD)-you peoples and-bow down(3MP MOD) to-you nations
*'**let the peoples serve you** and let the nations bow down to you'* (Gen 27.29)

(20) **wəraḇ** **yaʿᵃḇōḏ** **ṣāʿîr**
and-great serve(3MS IMPF) young
'***and the greater will serve the younger***' (Gen 25.23)

In both (19) and (20), the modal and indicative forms of the verb 'serve' are morphologically ambiguous—verbs could be either indicative or modal. Furthermore, there are

[28] Shulman (2000) takes the word order argument regarding modal versus indicative clauses one step further: based on the difference in word order between modal and indicative clauses, she argues that the morphological differences are not due to the modal versus indicative distinction, but to other semantic (deontic vs. epistemic modality) concerns. Thus, Shulman (following Qimron 1998) proposes that both the 'long' and 'short' *yiqtol* forms can be used modally and that their modal use is reflected by the word order (i.e., VS word order). The difference between which form, the long *yiqtol* or short *yiqtol*, is used is based on what type of modality (epistemic or deontic, respectively) is needed. The distinction that Shulman makes is attractive because it reduces the identifiable differences between modal and indicative verbs to syntax: setting pragmatically special examples aside, modals exist in VS clauses and indicatives exist in SV clauses. What remains to be seen is if (and how) this distinction fits into a holistic analysis of the BH verbal system.

no other lexical items (such as a conditional function word) in either clause to indicate clearly whether the verb should be read as a modal or an indicative. Thus, only the word order in the two examples disambiguates the modal clause (the VS clause in (19)) from the indicative clause (the SV clause in (20)).

3.2.2. Word Order in BH Narrative

Moving beyond reported speech examples, we cannot merely assume that the same SV-indicative/VS-modal analysis applies to narrative/non-conversational discourse; indeed, Longacre (1995) again claims that while, "in expository discourse . . . SVO predominates and is on the mainline," BH narrative is primarily VSO (1996:23). However, Longacre is making his narrative VSO conclusion based upon data that includes the *wayyiqtol* form; if the *wayyiqtol* is set aside, the remaining data may point towards a different conclusion. In fact, there are 100 main, indicative (and apparently stylistically neutral) clauses that exhibit SV order, as in (21).[29]

(21) wə**hāʾareṣ** **hāyəṯâ** ṯōhû wāḇōhû
and-the-earth be(3FS PERF) vacuum and-void
*'and **the earth was** a vacuum and a void'* (Gen 1.2)

In contrast, there are only 13 such non-subordinate, indicative clauses that exhibit VS order, as in (22).[30]

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[29] See also Gen 2.6; 3.1; 4.1, 2, 4, 18(3x), 20, 21; 6.1, 4, 8; 7.6, 10, 11, 16, 19, 22; 8.5, 19; 10.8(2x), 9, 13-14, 15-18, 24(2x), 26-29; 11.3, 27(2x); 13.12(2x), 14; 14.3, 18; 15.12, 17; 16.1; 17.27; 18.17, 33; 19.4, 23(2x), 24; 20.4; 21.1; 22.1, 23; 24.1, 16; 25.3(2x), 19, 34; 26.26; 27.6; 29.17; 31.19, 25(2x), 34, 47; 32.2; 33.3, 17; 34.5(2x), 7, 27; 35.18; 36.2-3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14; 37.2, 3, 11, 36; 38.14, 25; 39.1; 41.10, 56, 57; 42.8, 10, 23; 43.1; 44.3, 4(2x); 45.14, 16; 48.10.

The following narrative clauses also exhibit SV order, but the presence of other elements (such as adverbial phrases) indicates that their structure is slightly more complex than the structure of the example given in (21): Gen 2.5(2x); 4.22; 14.10; 20.5.

[30] See also Gen 8.9; 13.6; 31.32; 34.5, 19; 36.7; 40.1, 23; 45.1 (2x), 3, 16.

(22) wə**hôk̲i**^{a}**ḥ** **ʾab̲rāhām** ʾet̲ ʾᵃb̲îmelek̲ ʿal ʾōd̲ôt̲ bəʾēr hammayim
and-argue(3MS PERF) Abraham with Abimelek upon cause well.of water
'and Abraham argued with Abimelek because of well of water' (Gen 21.25)

The number of VS clauses becomes even fewer, though, after we note that of those 13, only **3** have verbs that are not preceded by a negative; thus, if we suspect that negative clauses in BH may be VS due to the negative, then we are left with only 3 VS clauses in Genesis narrative, such as example (22)—certainly not a "basic word order."

In summary, the initial data from Genesis suggest that main, indicative narrative clauses in BH exhibit SV basic word order. Thus, there appears to be no significant word order difference in BH between reported speech clauses and narrative clauses.

2.3. Word Order in Subordinate Clauses

In the identification of word order based upon 'independent, indicative clauses', one of the key elements for sorting data is that valid clauses must be independent, or main. However, many, if not a majority, of clauses in Genesis are not main clauses. How can we account for clauses such as those given in (23)-(25)? In Genesis 165 finite verbal clauses with an overt subject are introduced by a function word, such as the conjunction *kî* (23),[31] a relative word (24),[32] or an interrogatives (25).[33]

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[31] For *kî* as the subordinating causal conjunction (i.e., 'because'), see Gen 2.5; 4.25; 6.12, 13; 13.6; 15.16; 16.11; 19.13; 21.10, 17; 27.20, 23; 28.11; 29.21, 32, 33; 30.13; 32.12, 27; 33.11; 36.7; 38.14; 41.51, 52, 57; 42.5; 43.30, 32; 47.4, 13, 15, 20; 48.17. For *kî* together with the function word, *ʾim*, to form a coordinating disjunction (i.e., 'but'), see Gen 47.18. For *kî* introducing object clauses, see Gen 8.11; 14.14; 26.28; 28.6; 31.22; 38.14; 41.32; 44.27; 48.17; 50.15. For *kî* introducing temporal adjunct clauses (i.e., 'when'), see Gen 31.49; 32.18.

[32] See also Gen 2.3; 5.29; 6.4; 7.5, 9; 11.5, 7; 14.24; 16.15; 21.25; 24.44, 51; 25.10, 12; 26.5, 15; 27.14, 27, 41, 44; 28.4; 29.8; 30.29, 38; 31.16(2x); 33.5; 37.23; 41.54; 43.17; 44.5, 16, 17; 45.27; 46.5, 18, 25; 47.11; 48.15; 50.13.

[33] See Gen 8.6; 18.14; 24.21; 37.20; 41.38; 44.7.

(23) **kî** **hišḥîṯ** kol bāśār ʾeṯ darkô ʿal hāʾāreṣ
because corrupt(3MS PERF) all.of flesh ACC way-his upon the-earth
*'**because** all flesh **had corrupted** its way upon the earth'* (Gen 6.12)

(24) ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏê **ʾᵃšer ʿāśâ** yhwh ʾᵉlōhîm
animal.of the-field REL make(3MS PERF) Yhwh God
*'. . . animal of the field **which** Yhwh God **had made'*** (Gen 3.1)

(25) wə**lāmmâ** **nāpəlû** p̄ānêḵā
and-why fall(3MP PERF) face-your
*'and **why has** your face **fallen**?'* (Gen 4.6)

This set of data clearly indicates that the word order following function words is VS. How does this accord with the SV word order argument that I have been developing? We can find the solution by looking at cross-linguistic word order phenomena. DeCaen (1995) suggests that BH is a 'Verb Second' (V2) language in main clauses and a 'Verb First' (V1) language in subordinate clauses (1995:132, 174). The 'Verb Second (V2) Constraint' is known especially from the study of Germanic languages. For example, German requires a finite verb to be in second position in main clauses, as in (26) (SVO) and (27) (Adv-VS), whereas in subordinate clauses, such as (28), the finite verb is in final position (following both the subject and the object) (Ouhalla 1999:326-35).

(26) Hans kaufte den Ball (SVO)
'Hans bought the ball'

(27) Gestern kaufte Hans den Ball (Adv-VSO)
'Yesterday Hans bought the ball'

(28) . . . dass Hans den Ball kaufte (C-SOV)
'. . . that Hans bought the ball'

Similarly, DeCaen proposes that in main clauses, the verb in BH always occupies the second position of the clause (=V2), hence SVO order. In contrast, for subordinate clauses DeCaen claims that BH verbs precede the subject, resulting in complementizer-VS order where the verb occupies the first position after the complementizer (=V1).

However, although DeCaen's "main V2/subordinate V1" analysis is attractive, it misses a broader generalization. It does not matter in BH whether the clause is a main or subordinate clause—if some element (other than a subject NP) stands at the "front" of the clause, the result is VS order. Consider the following main clause (repeated from (25)) that is introduced by an interrogative and thus exhibits VS order:[34]

(29) wə**lāmmâ** **nāp̱əlû** p̱ānêk̲ā (Wh-VSO)
and-why fall(3MP PERF) face-your
*'and **why has** your face **fallen**?'* (Gen 4.6)

Furthermore, the data also suggest that these type of clauses with VS order after an introductory element exhibit the VS order *without regard to the position within the clause that the verb occupies*. Therefore, BH cannot be considered a strict V2/V1 language: in the cases where the verb occupies a third position in a subordinate clause, as in (30), it is obviously not obligatory that the verb occupies the first (V1) position.

(30) **kî** **mēʾîš** luqºḥâ zōʾt̲ (C-PP-VS)
because from-man take(3FS PERF PASS) this
*'**because from man** this one was taken'* (Gen 2.23)

Moreover, the possibility (and grammaticality) of multiple fronted phrases, illustrated in (31), demonstrates that the BH verb does not have to occupy second (V2) position in a main clause.

[34] See also Gen 4.6; 8.8; 18.14; 24.21; 37.10, 20; 41.38; 44.7.

In fact, the verb in (31) occupies the fifth position (after four introductory PPs) in a main clause.

(31) **bišnaṯ šēš mēʾôṯ šānâ ləḥayyê nōᵃḥ baḥōḏeš haššēnî bəšiḇʿâ ʿāśār yôm**
in-year.of six hundred year to-life.of Noah in-the-month second in-seven ten day
laḥōḏeš bayyôm hazzeh niḇqəʿû kol maʿyənōṯ təhôm rabbâ
to-the-month on-the-day the-this burst-open(3MP PERF) all.of fountains.of deep great
*'**in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on that day** the great fountains of the deep burst open'* (Gen 7.11)

The word order that BH exhibits is much like the word order of its modern counterpart. Modern Hebrew is often analyzed as an SVO language that exhibits a phenomenon called 'Triggered Inversion' (Doron 1996; Shlonsky 1997; see Glinert 1987:413-17). Triggered Inversion is similar to the Verb Second phenomenon except that the verb does not strictly have to be in the second position in the clause; multiple constituents can precede the verb. The critical element in the Triggered Inversion analysis is that constituents in front of the subject and verb "trigger" inversion from SV to VS. Consider the following Modern Hebrew examples:

(32) dānī kāṯaḇ ʾeṯ hammiktāḇ (SVO)
dani write(3MS PAST) ACC the-letter
'Dani wrote the letter'

(33) šāmaʿtı šeḵāṯaḇ dānī ʾeṯ hammiktāḇ (C-VSO)
hear(1CS PAST) COMP-write(3MS PAST) dani ACC the-letter
'I heard that Dani wrote the letter'

(34) šāmaʿtı šeḏānī kāṯaḇ ʾeṯ hammiktāḇ (C-SVO)
hear(1CS PAST) COMP-dani write(3MS PAST) ACC the-letter
*'I heard that **Dani** wrote the letter' (i.e., no one else wrote it)*

The Modern Hebrew example in (32) presents the standard SVO word order in indicative clauses. In contrast, the example in (33) presents the standard word order when an element

(such as a function word) precedes the subject and verb: X-VSO. Finally, the X-SVO example (34) illustrates that such SV order following function words is grammatically acceptable, but that such clauses are noticeably pragmatically marked, or non-neutral. The word order of the subordinate clause in (34) is only felicitous in a discourse context in which the subject, *Dani*, is being contrasted in some way with other possible (real or irreal) letter-writing agents.

The BH data provided in (23)-(25) can be explained in the same way: the VS order is syntactically triggered when a function word (e.g., a subordinating conjunction, or an interrogative) precedes the subject and verb. In addition, constituents that are moved toward the front of the clause for pragmatic reasons also trigger inversion. For example, the fronted prepositional phrase in (35) triggers VS order.

(35) ʾeṯ hāʾᵉlōhîm hiṯhalleḵ nōᵃḥ
with God walk(3MS PERF) Noah
*'**with God** Noah walked'* (Gen 6.9)

Finally, like the Modern Hebrew example in (34), Genesis also contains 13 clauses that have an introductory function word and still exhibit SV order, as in (36).[35]

(36) [15]And God said to Abraham, "As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her name Sarai, but Sarah (shall be) her name. [16]And I will bless her, and moreover I am about to give you a son by her. And I will bless her, and she shall become nations; kings of peoples shall come from her." [17]And Abraham fell on his face and laughed, and said to himself, "Can a child be born to a man who is a hundred years old? Or can Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear a child?" [18]And Abraham said to God, "Would that Ishmael live before you!" [19]And God said, "(No,) but your wife Sarah shall bear you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac, and I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting covenant for his offspring after him.

lû yišmāʿēʾl yiḥyê ləpānêḵā
if Ishmael live(3MS IMPF) to-face-your
*'**Would that Ishmael** live before you!'* (Gen 17.18)

[35] See also Gen 3.20; 15.4; 17.17; 18.25; 20.5; 31.32, 42, 52(2x); 43.5; 44.32; 48.19.

Presumably, Biblical Hebrew interrogatives such as *mî*/*mâ* do double duty as both the interrogative function word and the subject/object pronoun, respectively. Therefore, since there is no separate overt subject NP in *mî* clauses, I have excluded the 4 in Genesis (3.11; 21.7; 21.26; 43.22) from my database.

If clauses with an introductory function word have a "basic" VS order, then we should not consider the example in (36) to be pragmatically neutral, but rather pragmatically marked like the Modern Hebrew example in (34). In terms of the discourse in Genesis 17, Abraham wishes that God would consider as an appropriate heir Ishmael, since, in Abraham's opinion, the idea that Sarah could bear a son is laughable. Thus, based on the context, we may consider the X-SV order in Genesis 17.18 to present a subject that is pragmatically marked. Furthermore, only 13 clauses such as the example in (36) appear in Genesis, which suggests that not only are they pragmatically marked, they are also statistically rare.

Up to this point I have presented modal and indicative data, reported speech and narrative data, and main and subordinate clause data. The preliminary conclusion I draw is this: BH is fundamentally an SV language in finite verbal clauses, but that Triggered Inversion (= SV VS) is a common phenomenon and is caused either by an introductory function word, a fronted phrasal constituent (e.g., an object noun phrase, a prepositional phrase), or modality. We are now at a point that we may finally discuss the most common verbal form in Genesis: the *wayyiqtol*.

3.2.4. Word Order in Clauses with the WAYYIQTOL Form

Clearly, since the *wayyiqtol* constitutes over one-third of the verbs in Genesis, we must reckon with this form. In many introductory grammars and some reference grammars, the *wayyiqtol* is explained in terms of a tense inversion (Lambdin 1971:108; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:386-96; Pratico and Van Pelt 2001:192; cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990:547), with the result that students are often taught to translate the *wayyiqtol* as the opposite of how they would translate the imperfective *yiqtol*. Thus, *wayyiqtol* is often said to denote 'and [past/perfective

verb]' (Lambdin 1971:108; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:547; Joüon and Muraoka 1991:386-96). Simply put, the *wayyiqtol* is said to be "converted" or "inverted" in that the *wa* conjunction is prefixed to an imperfective (and typically future) *yiqtol* verb resulting in a narrative past tense verb. Since this "converted" verb form always carries the prefixed *wa*, it is often called the 'waw-conversive imperfect', or 'waw-consecutive imperfect' (since it is sometimes thought to convey consecution within the narrative). The idea of a tense inversion or conversion has been shown to be inaccurate (see Cook 2002); however, at least one feature of the *wayyiqtol* is quite clear: it always exhibits VS word order, illustrated in (37).

(37) **wayyaʿaś** ʾelōhîm ʾeṯ hārāqîaʿ
and-make (3MS PAST) God ACC the-firmament
*'and God **made** the firmament'* (Gen 1.7)

The question, then, is whether we can reconcile the absolute VS order of *wayyiqtol* clauses with an SV analysis of BH. The answer lies with the unusual form of the verb. It is well-known that the *wayyiqtol* represents the coordinating conjunction *wa*, the prefix verb *yiqtol*, and some other intervening element that is phonologically, or at least graphemically, indicated by the doubling of the initial consonant of the prefix verb (e.g., the first *y* of *wa-y-yiqtol*).[36]

[36] Those who would suggest that the doubling of the prefix consonant in the *wayyiqtol* form is merely a phonologically strategy to preserve the /a/ vowel of the conjunction must still deal with the question, Why? Why preserve the vowel in this particular form, particularly when the prefix preterite verb may exist without the conjunction (e.g., Deut 32.8)? A hypothesis that accounts for both the phonology and word order of the *wayyiqtol* is that the form of the conjunction prefixed to the verb differed from the normal conjunction *wa*/*wə*; rather, the form used was similar in shape to the definite article in that the final consonant was /n/ (i.e., *wan-* was the full conjunction). As with the definite article, the /n/ always assimilates to the following consonant; cf. Testen 1998. As for the semantics of this conjunction *wan-* that is used only with the narrative verb (i.e., the prefix preterite), I suggest that Hatav (2000) is essentially on the right track in that an appeal to discourse semantics "doubling" suggests a possible interpretation for the synchronic status of doubling in the *wayyiqtol*. I propose that the semantic solution for the verb-specific conjunction *wan-* may be found in comparison with the nominal-specific

Based on the clause-initial placement, and hence VS word order, of *wayyiqtol* clauses, DeCaen (1995) suggests that the *yiqtol* prefix verb in the *wayyiqtol* form is actually the modal *yiqtol* and as such expresses a type of modality (1995:111-12; 296); thus, in terms of word order the *wayyiqtol* is analogous to the modal *yiqtol* (see above 3.2.1). Furthermore, DeCaen proposes that first *y* in the *wayyiqtol* form represents a phonologically underspecified complementizer bearing a semantic (epistemic) modality (1995:128-29, 296).[37]

Unfortunately, DeCaen's proposal that the *yiqtol* verb within the *wayyiqtol* is itself modal is diachronically unlikely.[38] Rather, the *yiqtol* in the *wayyiqtol* is likely an old preterite prefix verb that has survived primarily in the *wayyiqtol* form.[39] For our purposes, though, what is significant is that the preterite prefix verb in the *wayyiqtol* form always stands clause-initially and therefore such clauses always exhibits VS word order.

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han- (i.e., the article): both serve to add specificity to the respective items—the narrative verb refers to specific events/actions in the narrative; the noun with the article refers to specific entities in the narrative.

[37] DeCaen neither clearly defines epistemic modality nor discusses how epistemic modality affects the semantics of the *wayyiqtol* form (although to be fair, these issues are not entirely clear in the semantics literature). Crystal has this to say about epistemic modality: "'Epistemic logic' is concerned with the logical structure of statements which assert or imply that propositions are known or believed, e.g., the use of modals in sentences such as *The car must be ready*, i.e., 'It is surely the case that the car is ready'. It contrasts with alethic and deontic modality, which would interpret this sentence respectively as 'It follows that the car is ready' and 'I oblige you to ensure that the car is ready'" (1997:137-38).

[38] Cook 2002 for a an overview of the historical development of the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. Also, in contrast to the standard position (and similar to DeCaen's position) that the *yiqtol* verb in the *wayyiqtol* is a preterite, Hatav has recently suggested that the *yiqtol* in *wayyiqtol* is in fact a modal verb, but that the /ay/ morpheme effectively anchors the modal verb in the actual world, resulting in an indicative form that is used as the primary narrative verb form (Hatav 2000).

[39] The complex morphological form of the *wayyiqtol*, the *wa*, the first *y* (the complementizer has assimilated to the following verb and is represented by a copy of the initial consonant of the following verb), and the *yiqtol*, had become a frozen form by the time of BH. That the form is frozen is supported by the fact that no element ever intervenes between any of these morphemes.

I propose that the complementizer[40] in the *wayyiqtol*, surviving as the doubling of the prefix consonant, provides the key to reconciling the *wayyiqtol* with SV basic word order. Although we cannot be certain of the historical nature of the doubling in the *wayyiqtol*, most hypotheses agree on one thing: whatever it was, it was a complementizer, whether temporal, consequential, or something entirely different.[41] By the stage of Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible, the complementizer had undergone grammaticalization, the process of reanalysis whereby a lexical item becomes a grammatical item or a grammatical item becomes more grammatical.[42] The complementizer in the *wayyiqtol* is semantically vacuous; syntactically, its presence explains the clause-initial position of the *yiqtol* verb in the *wayyiqtol* form. On the level of the discourse, the *wayyiqtol* form is used simply as the narrative (past tense) verb in BH and there is no longer any remnant of the original function of the complementizer within the *wayyiqtol*. This proposal explains the variety of contexts in which the *wayyiqtol* form is used in the

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[40] In general, a *complementizer* is a function word that introduces a clause and allows it to be subcategorized as a noun phrase. In other words, a clause preceded by a complementizer may fill a noun slot within a larger clause, e.g., *I saw the dog* vs. *I saw <u>that</u> the dog was hurt*. In recent generative models, complementizer (COMP or C) refers to a syntactic position which marks the head of the *complementizer phrase* (CP), which in turn is the highest level within the phrase structure. This latter definition clearly broadens the use of the term complementizer from the more narrow initial definition given above as a function word introducing a complement/object clause. It is the broad sense of complementizer, any function word which resides in the C position, that I use in this work.

[41] See McFall 1982:217-18, Waltke and O'Connor 1990:544-45, and Garr 1998:lxv-lxxiii for surveys of both classical and modern proposals regarding the history and semantics of the underspecified function word present in the *wayyiqtol* form. DeCaen's proposal that this function word (which he identifies as a complementizer, as I do) was originally *modal* in nature may explain the rare examples of the *wayyiqtol* continuing a conditional clause that is begun by the conditional word *ʾim* 'if', as in Job 9.16: *ʾim qārāʾṯî wayyaʿᵃnēnî lōʾ ʾaᵡmîn kî yaᵡzîn qôlî* 'if I called and he answered me, I do not believe that he would give ear to my voice'.

[42] According to Hopper and Traugott, the term *grammaticalization* has two meanings. On the one hand, "it refers to that part of the study of language that focuses on how grammatical forms and constructions arise, how they are used, and how grammatical forms shape the language. . . . It therefore highlights the tension between relatively unconstrained lexical structure and more constrained syntactic, morphosyntactic, and morphological structure." On the other hand, grammaticalization refers to the actual linguistic processes that the framework of grammaticalization attempts to describe and explain: "the processes whereby items become more grammatical through time" (1993:1-2).

Hebrew Bible; the *wayyiqtol* may (and is) used in asyndetic conditional, result, consequential, and sequential clauses and it may (and does) function as a pluperfect or summary verb (see Cook 2001).

The proposal that a complementizer (phonologically underspecified and semantically vacuous) follows the coordinating conjunction and triggers the VS order both explains the data with regard to word order and is theoretically attractive: the *wayyiqtol* is another example of Triggered Inversion (see the discussion of Triggered Inversion in 3.2.3; see also 3.4.1.2 for a discussion of the specific syntactic structure of *wayyiqtol* clauses). Certainly it is not the *wa* coordinating conjunction that triggers VS order, since a variety of word orders appear after this coordinating conjunction, e.g., Conj-SV (38), Conj-VS (39), and Conj-PPVS (40).[43]

(38) wə**ʾēḏ** **yaᶜᵃlê** min hāʾāreṣ
and-mist ascend(3MS IMPF) from the-earth
*'and **mist came up** from the earth'* (Gen 2.6)

(39) wə**yiraš** **zarᶜᵃḵā** ʾēṯ šaʿar ʾōyəḇāyw
and-inherit(3MS IMPF) seed-your ACC gate.of enemies-his
*'and **your seed will inherit** the gate of his enemies'* (Gen 22.17)

(40) wəʿ**al** **pîḵā** **yiššaq** **kol** **ʿammî**
and-upon mouth-your kiss(3MS IMPF) all.of people-my
*'and **all of my people will kiss your mouth**'* (Gen 41.40)

[43] The conjunction *wa* is typically regarded as a clausal and phrasal coordinator (see, for example, Waltke and O'Connor 1990:648-54; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:347-49, 646-53). The presence of the *wa* between a left-dislocated (i.e., casus pendens) constituent and the main clause also suggests that on the clausal level the *wa* has undergone semantic bleaching to the extent that it merely marks clausal boundaries (see Holmstedt 2000; Steiner 2000). The conjunction *wa* does in some cases serve a pragmatic function: Miller (1999b) argues that speech-initial *wa* does not function as a phrasal or clausal coordinator, but as a "contextual coordinate within dialogue" on the discourse-pragmatic level of the text. Add all of these facts to the data in (38)-(40) as well as the extremely common situation in BH poetry in which stichs may or may not be joined by *wa* and it becomes clear that *wa* does not trigger any sort of syntactic movement and thus does not affect word order within the BH clause.

In conclusion, the VS order of *wayyiqtol* clauses is *merely the result of Triggered Inversion*. As a final note, I would propose that the triggered VS word order of *wayyiqtol* clauses in narrative has often led to the mistaken conclusion that all examples of SV word order in narrative are non-basic. As a result, they have been assigned specific discourse functions (e.g., fronting of the subject for "emphasis"). However, Downing (1995) states that "when particular language structures are used in particular discourse contexts, say, . . . in a passage devoted to storyline development, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the relationship between the linguistic form and the discourse factor is causal or merely correlational" (1995:6). I suggest that the relationship of the VS order of *wayyiqtol* clauses to storyline development in narrative is one of correlation. Once we recognize that there is an *syntactic* reason for the VS order of *wayyiqtol* clauses, we are then also able to see that SV order, while it may often be non-storyline, is not always so, nor does it necessarily represent an "emphasis" on the subject.

3.2.5. Summary of Word Order Results in Finite Verbal Clauses

In this section I have demonstrated how the data from Genesis can be interpreted to point towards a basic SV analysis of BH word order. Specifically, I have concluded that indicative clauses are essentially SV, but modal clauses (including the modal *qatal*) and clauses preceded by, for instance, a function word, or a fronted prepositional phrase, are essentially VS (i.e., they exhibit Triggered Inversion). Finally, I have illustrated how one might explain the syntactic phenomenon of the *wayyiqtol* as another example of Triggered Inversion. In the next two sections I will briefly present my findings from Genesis regarding word order in both participial and verbless clauses.

3.2.6. Word Order in BH Participial Clauses

Like finite verbal clauses, the normal order in clauses with predicative participles[44] in Genesis is for the subject to precede the participle and its complements or adjuncts (= Subject-Participle). Out of 141 predicative participle clauses that exist in Genesis, 84 (sixty percent) exhibit Subject-Participle order, as in (41).[45]

(41) wə**rûªḥ** **ʾᵉlōhîm** **məraḥepeṯ** ʿal pənê hammāyim
and-wind.of god hover(FS PTCP) upon face.of the-waters
'and the wind of God (was) hovering upon the surface of the water' (Gen 1.2)

An additional 38 (thirty percent) participial clauses exhibit Subject-Participle order within clauses that are introduced by an initial function word or by a fronted phrase, as in (42).[46]

(42) lōʾ ṯiqqaḥ ʾiššâ liḇnî mibbənôṯ hakkənaʿªnî **ʾªšer** **ʾānōḵî**
NEG take(2MS IMPF) woman for-son-my from-daughters.of the-Canaanite REL I
yôšēḇ **bəqirbô**
dwell(MS PTCP) in-midst-him
'*you will not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanite* ***who I am dwelling in his midst***' (Gen 24.3)

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[44] BH participles may also be used in what have been traditionally labeled "attributive" constructions. Since attributive participles most often agree in definiteness with the modified noun, we may safely say that participles with the definite article are not predicative participles. However, there are some attributive constructions with indefinite nouns and participles; therefore, the only reliable test for distinguishing between the two options is whether the participle is the only available predication for the noun. If there is another available predicate (i.e., a finite verb), then the participle must be analyzed as an attributive; if there is no other predicate, then the participle may fill the predicate position.

The entire predicative versus attributive distinction for Hebrew participles may be dispensed with if we follow Siloni's 1995 (see also Shlonsky 1997:25-42) analysis of the so-called attributive participles as 'semi-relatives'. See 2.4 for further discussion.

[45] See also Gen 2.10; 4.10; 6.13, 17; 9.9-10; 13.7; 14.12, 13, 18; 15.2, 3, 12; 18.1, 2, 8, 10, 16, 22; 19.1; 20.3, 7; 23.10; 24.13(2x), 15, 21, 42, 43, 45, 62(2x), 63; 25.26, 28, 32; 26.8; 27.5, 29(2x), 30, 42; 28.12(3x), 13; 29.6, 9; 30.36; 32.22, 32; 33.1, 13(2x); 34.19; 37.7, 9, 19, 25(2x); 38.13, 25; 39.3, 23(2x); 40.6, 17; 41.3, 5, 6, 19, 22, 23, 29; 42.22, 38; 44.30; 45.12, 26; 48.1, 4, 21; 50.5, 24.

[46] See also Gen 4.7; 7.4; 9.12; 13.15; 16.8; 17.19; 18.17; 21.22; 24.37, 42, 49, 27.8; 28.13, 20; 29.2, 9; 31.12, 43; 34.22; 37.13, 16(2x), 30; 39.3, 6, 23; Gen 40.3; 41.9, 17, 25, 28; 42.18, 38; 43.4, 5, 18; 47.14.

In other words, the data overwhelmingly suggests that BH participial clauses do not exhibit Triggered Inversion. However, there are a few (19 out of the 141) BH predicative participle clauses that exhibit Participle-Subject order, as in (43).[47]

(43) ʿal bəlî higgîḏ lô **kî bōrēᵃḥ hûʾ**
upon NEG tell(3MS PERF) to-him COMP flee(MS PTCP) he
*'on account (that) he did not tell him **that he was fleeing**'* (Gen 31.20)

In each of the cases of Participle-Subject order, an argument can be made that the Participle-Subject order is more pragmatically marked (i.e., not 'neutral') (see 4.2.3 for further discussion of word order and pragmatics in BH participial clause).[48]

3.2.7. Word Order in BH Verbless Clauses

In BH verbless/nominal clauses, a now familiar pattern appears: the pragmatically neutral word order is Subject-Predicate. 298 out of 556 (fifty-three percent) have the same word order as (44).[49]

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[47] See also Gen 3.5; 4.11; 15.14; 18.17; 19.13, 14; 27.46; 30.1; 31.5; 37.7; 41.2, 18, 32; 42.9, 14, 16, 23, 34.

[48] There are an additional twenty-one predicative participial clauses that are not clear examples of either Subject-Predicate or Predicate-Subject order. Fourteen of these participial clauses (Gen 1.30; 21.14; 24.1, 30; 28.12; 32.7; 37.15, 25; 39.22; 40.8; 41.1, 8, 15, 24) lack an overt subject (and are thus assumed to be pragmatically unmarked, i.e., Ø-Ptcp), and seven of these clauses (Gen 1.6; 4.12, 14, 17; 39.22; 42.11; 42.31) constitute the compound (or periphrastic) use of the participle, i.e., the combination of the finite verb 'to be' with the participle.

[49] See also Gen 1.2; 2.4, 5, 9, 11(2x), 12, 13(2x), 14(3x), 19, 23; 4.19(2x), 21, 22; 5.1; 6.4, 5, 9(2x), 15; 7.6; 8.11; 9.12, 17, 18, 23; 10.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 20, 22, 23, 25(2x), 29, 31, 32; 11.6(2x), 10(2x), 12, 14, 27, 29; 12.4, 6, 8; 13.2, 13; 14.2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 13, 17; 15.1(2x), 2, 4, 7; 16.1, 5, 6, 11, 12(2x), 13, 16; 17.1, 4, 10, 24, 25; 18.10(2x), 11, 12, 27; 19.20(2x), 31(2x), 37, 38; 20.3, 13, 15, 16; 21.5, 22, 24; 23.2, 19, 20; 24.1, 10, 15, 16, 29, 44, 45, 51, 65; 25.1, 4(2x), 7, 12, 13-15, 16(2x), 17, 19, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29; 26.24; 27.11(2x), 18, 19, 22(2x), 24, 32; 28.13, 15, 17, 19; 29.2, 16(2x), 17, 25, 31; 30.42; 31.10, 13, 41, 43(3x), 48, 50, 51(2x), 32.7, 19, 21; 33.14; 34.21, 30; 35.6, 10, 11, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26(2x), 27; 36.1(2x), 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15-16, 16(2x), 17(3x), 18(2x), 19(3x), 20-21, 21, 23, 24(2x), 25, 26, 27, 28, 29-30, 30, 31, 32, 35, 39(2x), 40, 41, 42, 43(3x), 37.2(2x), 24, 30; 38.1, 2, 6, 21, 27; 39.23; 40.9, 10, 12, 16, 18; 41.28, 44, 46; 42.6(2x), 13(2x), 14, 27, 32(2x), 35, 36(2x), 43.21, 23, 28; 44.3, 14, 16, 26, 30, 34; 45.3, 4, 26; 46.3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27(2x), 32; 47.1, 9, 13, 18; 48.7, 14; 49.3, 5, 8, 13(2x), 14, 21, 22, 27, 28(2x); 50.18.

(44) wə**k̲ôs** **parʿō** **bəyāḏ̲î**
and-cup.of Pharaoh in-hand-my
*'and **the cup of Pharaoh (is) in my hand**'* (Gen 40.11)

In addition, there are 71 (thirteen percent) exhibit Subject-Predicate order within a clause containing an initial function word or fronted phrase, as in (45).[50]

(45) ûrəʾê min hammāqôm ʾᵃ**šer** **ʾattâ** **šām** ṣāp̄ônâ wāneḡbâ wāqēḏ̲mâ
land-look(2MS IMV) from the-place REL you there northward and-southward and-eastward
wāyāmmâ
and-westward
'*and look from the place **where you are there**, northward, southward, eastward, and westward*' (Gen 13.14)

The only remaining option,[51] Predicate-Subject, is the pragmatically marked order for BH verbless clauses, constituting thirty-four percent of the verbless clauses in Genesis (187), as in (46).[52] (See below in 4.2.4 for a discussion of the pragmatics of word order in BH verbless clauses.)

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[50] See also Gen 7.22; 8.9, 21; 9.3; 13.9, 10; 14.24; 18.24; 19.12; 20.11; 21.17(2x); 23.8; 24.23, 25; 25.28; 26.33; 27.21, 33, 38; 28.16, 17; 29. 6; 30.33; 31.2, 5, 35, 38, 50; 33.13; 35.17; 37.29; 38.18, 21, 25; 39.3, 5(2x), 9(2x), 11; 40.7, 16; 41.38, 39, 49; 42.1, 2, 16, 23; 43.3, 5, 7, 27(2x), 28, 29; 44.26, 31; 45.3, 6(2x), 12; 46.30; 47.4, 22; 48.14, 18; 49.12(2x).

[51] There are ninety-seven verbless clauses (15%) in Genesis with only one constituent, i.e., there is no overt subject. Like the similar construction in participial clauses, these are assumed to be pragmatically unmarked and therefore Ø-Predicate order (see below in 5.3, where I argue that resumption in these verbless clause relatives is a strategy that enables the pragmatic marking of the predicate). The following are the references: Gen 1.4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31; 3.3; 5.5; 6.4, 17; 7.19, 22, 23; 8.1, 17; 9.16, 17; 13.10, 18; 14.5, 6, 15, 23; 15.17; 16.14; 18.9, 15, 20(2x), 24; 19.11; 20.7, 12; 22.4, 13, 17; 23.1, 9(2x), 11, 17(5x); 24.47; 25.6; 29.2, 7(2x), 9; 30.15, 37; 31.19; 32.8, 19, 24, 33; 33.9, 15, 18; 34.28(2x); 35.2(2x), 4(3x), 5, 6(2x); 37.22, 23, 33; 38.14, 18, 26; 39.20, 22; 40.7; 41.7, 48; 42.28; 43.19, 26; 44.4, 5, 10, 15; 45.6, 11; 46.1, 31; 47.4; 50.10, 11.

[52] 111 of the following verbless clauses exhibit simple Predicate-Subject order; 76 of the claues exhibit X-Predicate-Subject order. See Gen 2.11, 18; 3.6(2x), 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19; 4.7, 9(2x), 13; 5.24; 6.2, 5, 15(3x), 17; 7.2, 15; 9.19, 25, 26; 11.30; 12.10, 11, 12, 14, 18(2x); 13.8; 14.19, 20; 16.1; 17.12, 15; 18.9, 13, 14; 19.5, 8, 20; 20.2, 5(2x), 7, 12, 13(2x); 21.29; 22.7, 12; 23.4, 6, 15; 24.23, 24, 27, 29, 34, 47, 65; 25.21, 22, 25, 30, 32; 26.7(2x), 9(2x), 10, 20, 24, 29; 27.13, 18, 20, 32; 28.8, 17; 29.4(2x), 9, 12(2x), 14, 15(2x), 16, 25, 31, 33; 30.2, 33; 31.14, 16, 29, 32, 36(2x), 43, 52(2x); 32.3, 18(2x), 19, 28, 30; 33.1, 5, 8, 9, 11, 15; 34.14(2x), 21, 23; 37.3, 10, 24, 26, 27, 32; 38.16, 30; 39.8; 40.8, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18; 41.12, 25, 26(3x), 27, 31; 42.11 (2x), 13(2x), 19, 21, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34; 43.6, 7, 12, 32; 44.15, 18, 19, 20; 45.20, 28; 46.33, 34; 47.3(2x), 6(2x), 8, 15, 16, 23, 26; 48.5, 8, 9; 50.19.

(46) **ʾªḥōṯî hîʾ**
sister-my she
'she (is) my sister' (Gen 12.19)

3.2.8. Summary of Word Order Results

In summary, I have provided empirical evidence suggesting that BH is a Subject-Predicate language (regardless of whether the predicate is verbal, nominal, or participial). Verbal clauses exhibit far greater diversity in word order than do participial and verbless clauses. For participial and verbless/nominal clauses, there is no Triggered Inversion (i.e., any Predicate-Subject order is the result of pragmatic markedness); for finite verbal clauses, the normal word order, SV, may be inverted to VS if any constituent, such as a function word, precedes the subject and verb, or if the verb is modal.

Given the word order results from Genesis, I will now use the framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program to explain the BH data. We will see that Chomsky's linguistic model is uniquely suited to explain the variation in word order we have witnessed in BH.

3.3. CHOMSKY'S MINIMALIST PROGRAM

Chomskyan generative linguistics views language as a product of a language-dedicated component of the human mind, i.e., the *language faculty* (FL) (Chomsky 1995b:2). This language faculty is often characterized as a "language organ":

> Like other organs, FL has an "initial state" S_0 that is an expression of the genes. To good first approximation, it is uniform for the species, apparently also biologically isolated in essential respects and a very recent evolutionary development. FL undergoes state changes under triggering and shaping influences of the environment. If Jones's FL is in state L, we say that Jones has (speaks, knows, . . .) the (I-) language L. (Chomsky 1998:2)

There are two immediate tasks for generative linguists in regard to this language

faculty: to characterize the languages attained, i.e., the extant states (the task of "descriptive adequacy"), and to characterize the shared initial state (the task of "explanatory adequacy") (Chomsky 1998:2). The theory of the initial state and its characteristics is referred to as *Universal Grammar*; language specific grammars are theories of the attained states and their respective characteristics. Universal Grammar consists of *principles* of language; how the principles are manifested in particular languages is controlled by a finite set of options (or *parameters*) for each principle (hence, the common name used for the theory, Principles and Parameters Theory).

A simple analogy to illustrate the interaction of principles and parameters is that of a circuit-board with switches. The hard-wired circuits represent the principles; the switches, which can be set to one of a finite number of positions, represent the parameters. For instance, word order is an example of parametric variation between particular languages. Universal Grammar allows a language to be set for one of two options concerning the basic word order of the verb phrase: verb-object (VO) or object-verb (OV). Therefore, depending on whether children are raised in English or Hebrew speaking environments (VO) or German or Japanese ones (OV), those children will subconsciously fix the word order parameter of their respective language.

The concepts of the language faculty, descriptive and explanatory adequacy, and principles and parameters have been central to the generative endeavor and the Principles and Parameter model since the early 1980s. However, within the last decade, there has been a radical reconstruction of many other features of the approach, all in the interest of economy and empiricism. The result is the still-developing Minimalist Program. In the remainder of this work, I will adopt much of the stripped-down machinery of the Minimalist Program in order to

analyze the BH relative clause; therefore, the following section sketches the basic structure of the Minimalist Program and orients the reader to the concepts relevant to this work.

3.3.1. The Computational System

The computational system (fig. 1) represents the 'generative' procedure; computation involves taking items from the lexicon and putting them together into grammatical constructions.

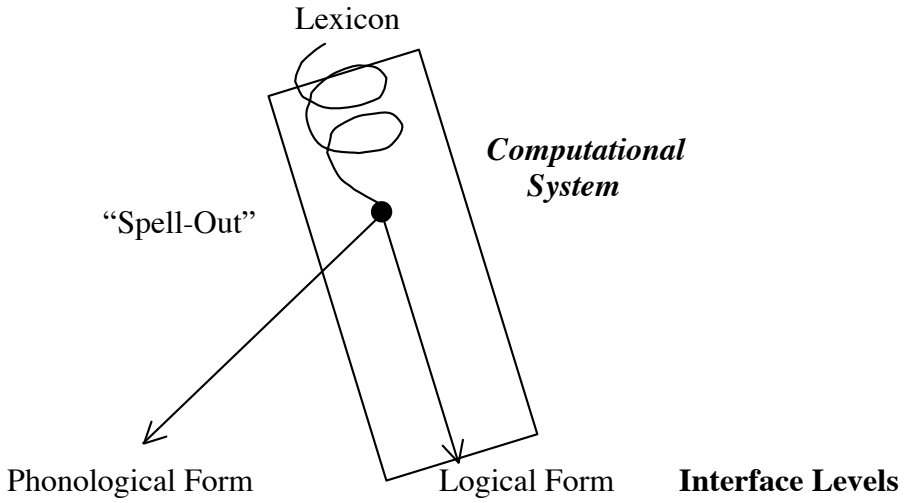

Fig. 3.1 The Computational System(adapted from Marantz 1995:357)

In the terms of Chomsky's Minimalist Program, sentences are constructed within the computational system by mapping an array of lexical items onto a linguistic expression (i.e., a structure which can be interpreted both phonetically and semantically). The mapping of the lexical items to the linguistic expression is initiated when the computational system *selects* the array of items and proceeds to introduce each item into a derivation (Chomsky 1995b:225-26). The derivation may be considered a linguistic expression-in-process as it makes it way through the computational system. At the point of selecting the desired lexical items, the derivation is merely a set of 'isolated' syntactic objects; as it continues through the computational system it

develops via a variety of operations, e.g., Merge, Agree, and Move (see Chomsky 1998:12-14), which create syntactic relationships between the lexical items.

At some point in the middle of the computational system, the derivation splits into two parts, the result of an operation called *Spell-Out*. The part of the derivation that Spell-Out affects has features necessary for interpreting the phonetic shape of the linguistic expression. In other words, the operation Spell-Out takes a derivation and strips away all the elements of that derivation which are relevant only to its phonological manifestation. The sum of these elements are then mapped onto the phonological manifestation at the interface of the computational system called the Phonological Form. What is produced at the Phonological Form is the physical entity that is perceptible to our auditory system.

The residue of the derivation, i.e., those features which were not relevant to the phonological manifestation, continue to develop in the computational component until they are eventually mapped onto the semantic manifestation of the derivation at the interface called the Logical Form (Chomsky 1995b:229). In greatly simplified terms, the splitting of the derivation into two parts, one which is interpreted at the Phonological Form interface and the other which is interpreted at the Logical Form interface, allows the computational system to account for the diverse surface structures of the world's languages as well as for the essential uniformity of the human mind and its language processing capability.

Now that I have presented an overview of the basic design of the Minimalist Program, we must consider specific features of the computational system in more depth. In particular, I will present a basic account of how the Minimalist Program handles the movement of constituents in a clause. However, since I will be using tree diagrams later in this work in order

to represent clause structure visually, I must first describe basic phrase structure within the Minimalist Program.

3.3.2. Phrase Structure and Tree Diagrams

At some point in the development of a derivation after the lexical items, for instance *X* and *Y*, are *selected* from the lexicon, they are *merged* into a new, larger object. This new object includes both *X* and *Y* and has either the form {*X*, {*X*,*Y*}} or {*Y*, {*X*,*Y*}}. The choice between these two options is based upon which lexical item, *X* or *Y*, *projects* in order to give the new larger item its identity. In other words, the lexical item that projects shares its bundle of lexical features with the newly formed category: this lexical item which projects is called a *head*.[53]

If we substitute the items *ate* and *food* for *X* and *Y*, the new object produced after the operation merge may have either the form {*ate*, {*ate*, *food*}} or {*food*, {*ate*, *food*}}. The choice between these two depends on which one of these lexical items gives its identity to the larger object; in this case the verb *ate* projects, producing the first of the two choices, {*ate*, {*ate*, *food*}}— what is typically referred to as a verb phrase (VP). We can see that the item which projects is so chosen based upon its relationship to the other item — a relationship which is defined by the structure of the particular language in question.

Tree diagrams are often used within generative linguistics to aid visually in describing the structure of phrases such as *ate food*. The hierarchical relationships represented visually by the diagrams indicate the linear order of constituents. Given the explanation above for the

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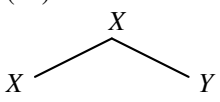
[53] Nouns are the heads of the phrase containing the noun and its modifiers, hence *noun phrase* (NP). Likewise verbs, determiners, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions are the heads of their respective *verb phrases* (VPs), *determiner phrases* (DPs), *adjective phrases* (APs), *adverb phrases* (AdvP), and *prepositional phrases* (PPs).

formation of the complex {*X*, {*X*,*Y*}}, we may use the tree diagram given in (47) for visual representation.

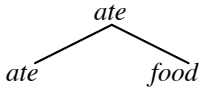
(47)



In this case, the lexical items *X* and *Y* are selected from the lexicon. Both are considered to be independent heads before being merged. Once merged, however, they form the larger complex given in (47) in which one of the heads (depending on its inherent lexical features; I arbitrarily chose *X*) projects and gives identity to the new category. Appropriately, *X* as the head of the new, larger object is visually higher in the tree diagram then either of the initial heads *X* or *Y*. It is clear that phrase structure is hierarchical and as such, the 'nodes' on the tree diagrams are often given relational labels. Thus, the heads *X* and *Y* are *sisters*; after *X* projects, *Y* becomes the *daughter* of the new, higher node *X* (sister and daughter are metaphorical terms used to describe the relationships among constituents).

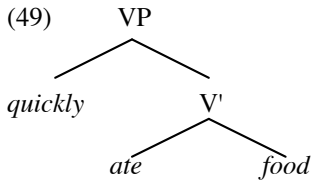
Coming back to the tree diagram given above in (47), if we substitute the verb *ate* and the object *food* as the lexical items *X* and *Y*, the result is the structure given in (48). This structure represents the very common head-complement relationship, where the complement is both the sister of the head and the daughter of the projection of the head.

(48)



In contrast to the head-complement relationship, adjuncts such as prepositional phrases and adverb phrases are sisters not to the head but rather sisters to the projection of the head, as in

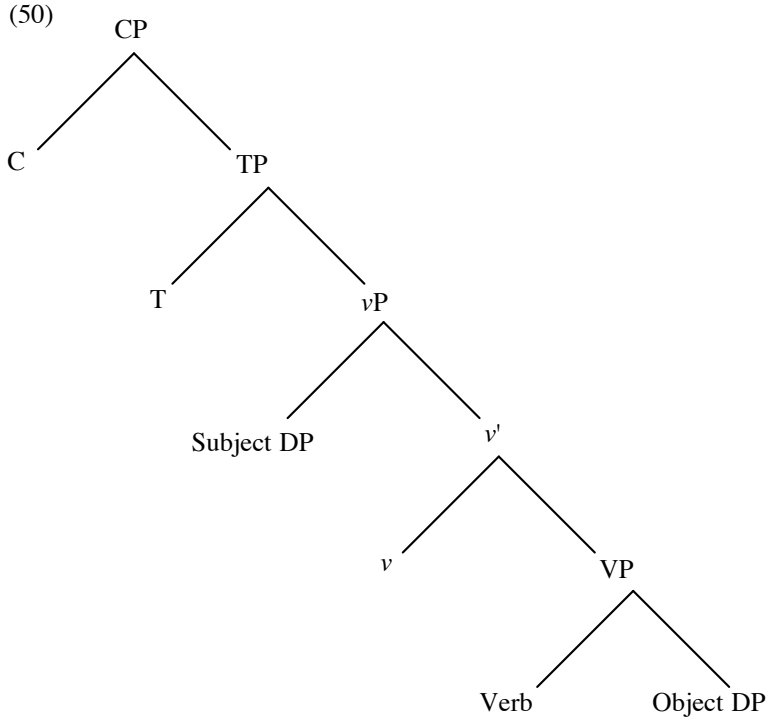
(49) (note that for expository purposes I now use the relationship labels VP, V', etc. in the diagrams instead of the labels based on the lexical items that project).



Chomsky (1998) divides lexical items into two categories: *substantive* and *functional*. Substantive lexical items like verbs (V), nouns (N), etc., merge and project, forming structures like those given in (48) and (49). The structures in (48) and (49), though, do not yet constitute a grammatical derivation, even if a subject DP[54] was present. The three core functional categories represent functional (i.e., non-lexical) heads that provide the additional elements for the remaining structure of a basic clause (1998:15); the functional heads are: C(omplementizer), "expressing force/mood", T(ense), "tense/event structure", and *v(erb)*, "the 'light verb' head of transitive constructions." Merging and projecting the typical substantive lexical items, V, subject DP, and object DP, and the three core functional heads (C, T, and *v*), forms the prototypical clause frame in (50).

[54] Unlike earlier analyses of the noun phrase which placed determiners (e.g., definite articles) in a position modifying the noun, currently the determiner is analyzed as the head of its own phrase which takes the noun phrase as a complement. Thus NPs are inherently simpler constituents than DPs. See Ouhalla (1999:201-10) for further explanation as well as the theoretical motivation for the DP-hypothesis.

(50)



This tree diagram, though, does not represent a completed, grammatical derivation either. Rather, (50) should be considered more like a frame for a VO (i.e., head-initial) language in which the lexical items are introduced. After the frame is complete, the movement of the constituents begins, and for movement we must discuss the part of the computational system called *Checking Theory*.

3.3.3. Features and Checking Theory

The concept of *features* is central to the architecture of the computational components within the Minimalist Program. Each lexical item is associated with a bundle of features, which can be separated into three categories: phonological, semantic, and formal. For instance, consider the clause *we build airplanes*. For the lexical item *airplane*, Chomsky identifies phonological features such as [begins with a vowel], semantic features such as [artifact], and formal

features such as [nominal] (1995b:230). As I have described above in 3.2.1, during the course of a derivation within the computational system, the phonological features are stripped away by Spell-Out since they are only relevant at the Phonological Form, and the semantic features are left behind until the Logical Form. Thus it is the status of the third type of features, formal features, that is crucial for our discussion of constituent movement.

Formal features may be either intrinsic to the lexical item or optional, meaning that they are added as that item enters the computation (Chomsky 1995b:231). For the item *build*, the intrinsic features include the categorial feature [verbal] and the Case[55] feature [assign accusative] (1995b:231); however, the agreement and tense features of the verb *build* are optional (i.e., both the agreement and tense features differ between *we build* and *he was building*) and are thus not assigned until the item is introduced into a derivation.

Features also differ in terms of "strength."[56] Strong features force *overt* syntactic movement (i.e., movement before Spell-Out); weak features do not (Chomsky 1995b:232). Furthermore, strong features never belong to substantives (e.g., Ns or Vs); rather, they belong to functional heads (e.g., *v*, T, C). Feature strength is also an example of parametric variation, so that, for example, the difference between certain SVO (e.g., English, French) and VSO (e.g., Arabic, Irish) languages can be explained in terms of whether specific features (e.g., the D-features of T, see below 3.2.4) are strong (=SVO) or weak (=VSO) (1995b:198-99).

The final characteristic of features which is important for our discussion is "interpretability." Features which carry semantic content are +*interpretable* (e.g., categorial

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[55] In generative grammar, Case (capitalized), as a part of Universal Grammar, refers to the abstract notion assumed to be present in all languages, even if morphological case is not overtly marked.

[56] "Strength" is a somewhat arbitrary descriptive term based on the operations which are motivated by a given feature; it does not imply any other inherent characteristics.

features such as [–human], agreement features of nouns); features which do not carry semantic content are *–interpretable* (e.g., Case, agreement (□) features). –Interpretable features provide information about syntactic relationships, not about semantic content. Significantly, –interpretable features, which may be carried by both substantives and functional heads, must be eliminated, or *checked* (see below), before the Logical Form interface of the computational system in order for the derivation to *converge*, or be considered interpretable; if the –interpretable features are not eliminated, the derivation *crashes*, or is considered uninterpretable, at the Logical Form interface.

Features within the Minimalist Program can be summarized as follows: strong features belonging to functional heads force overt movement of lexical items (i.e., movement of features and their lexical items which is reflected in the phonological shape of the linguistic expression); –interpretable features belonging to either substantives or functional heads must be eliminated at the Logical Form interface (i.e., only features with semantic content remain and therefore are interpreted after Logical Form). Crucially, this means that overt syntax (i.e., the syntax of a clause as we hear or read it) is primarily concerned with strong, –interpretable features on functional heads.

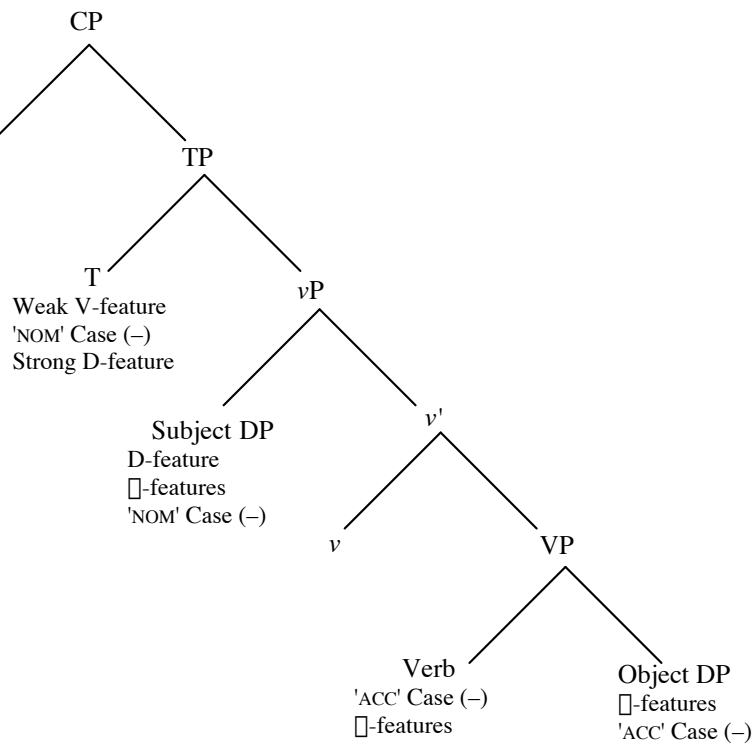
Checking is the name given to the operation by which the necessary features are matched and therefore eliminated (that is, they become opaque for the purposes of the computational system). Strong, –interpretable features are matched with corresponding features on other heads; once matched, or *checked*, the features may be eliminated. The motivation for this checking is a notion referred to as *attraction*: strong, –interpretable feature *attracts* the closest feature which is suitable for entering into a checking relation with it (i.e., it

attracts feature with which it will match and thus be eliminated).[57] The elimination of –interpretable features via checking constitutes the notion of *agreement* within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1998:37). When necessary for a convergent derivation, a feature which is attracted/moved also carries along the lexical item with which it is associated; this is referred to as *pied-piping*.[58]

3.3.4. Clausal Architecture

The basic structure of an English verbal clause with the positions of a subject DP, a V, and an object DP before any attraction (movement) for checking is illustrated in (51).

(51)



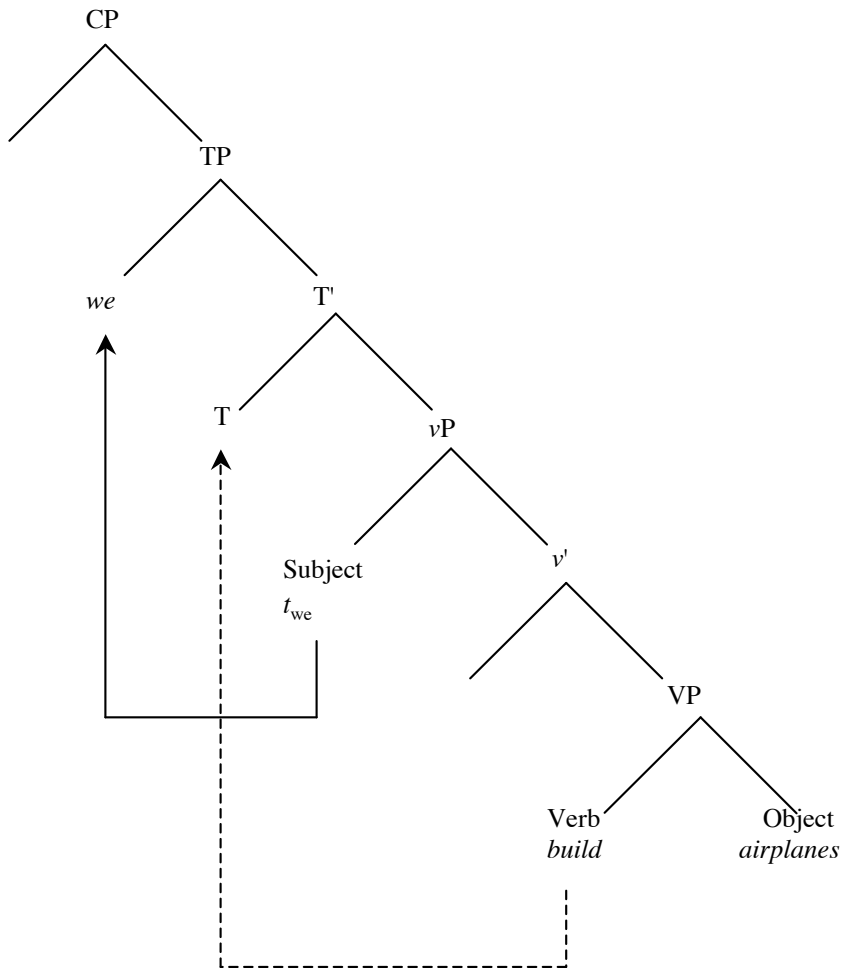
[57] *Attract* as an operation within the computational system largely replaces the operation Move from Chomsky's 1993 (and earlier) work.

[58] "The operation Move, we now assume, seeks to raise just F[eature]. Whatever 'extra baggage' is required for convergence involves a kind of 'generalized pied-piping'. In an optimal theory, nothing more should be said about the matter; bare output conditions should determine just what is carried along, if anything, when F[eature] is raised" (Chomsky 1995b:262).

Features associated with the lexical items and functional categories are divided into two classes, "V" and "D" features (i.e., features that are associated with verbs or D/DP-like constituents (nouns, determiners, adjectives, etc.); see Chomsky 1995:196, 232-33). Strong D-features on a functional head attract the closest corresponding feature; this results in overt movement of the feature and if needed the lexical item associated with that feature. Strong V-features operate in a similar way for verbs and their features. In (50), –interpretable features are marked with (–).

Let us introduce the lexical items *we*, *build*, and *airplanes* into the derivation illustrated in (51). The features with which the subject DP *we* enters the derivation are a D-feature, a nominative (NOM) Case feature, and the agreement (□) features of [1st person] [plural]; likewise, the V *build* enters with a V-feature, an accusative (ACC) Case feature, the [1st person] agreement feature; finally, the object DP *airplanes* enters with a D-feature and an accusative Case feature (the agreement features of objects are irrelevant in English). The result for English is the derivation illustrated in (52).

(52)



(52) illustrates the phonological shape of the derivation after Spell-Out has directed it to the Phonological Form interface. In order for this derivation to converge (rather than crash) at Phonological Form, the subject DP must move overtly (i.e., before Spell-Out) to check the strong D-feature on the functional head T. These features on T *attracts* the subject DP, which targets the *specifier*[59] position of the Tense Phrase ([Spec, TP]) as an acceptable landing site. Once the subject DP *we* is located in the [Spec, TP], the –interpretable features of its

[59] *Specifier* (Spec) is a functional term which refers to the category that is the daughter of XP and sisters of X'; it is an acceptable landing site for phrasal constituents.

nominative Case are eliminated via Specifier-Head agreement.[60] I have also indicated the covert (i.e., post-Spell-Out) movement of the verb to T with the dashed arrow. This illustrates how weak or +interpretable features (e.g., "tense" or agreement features in English) continue to function within the derivation after Spell-Out. The functional head must attract and check the V-feature of the verb before the Logical Form interface in order to avoid crashing. Once the verb raises covertly (i.e., after Spell-Out), any agreement features between the subject DP and the V may be checked.

3.4. BH CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Now that we have discussed the basic theoretical machinery of the Minimalist Program and illustrated it upon an English clause, it is time to consider the clause structure of BH. Based on data from Genesis, I concluded in 3.2 that BH was fundamentally an SV language. The numerous VS examples are the result of some constituent (other than the subject DP) standing at the front of the clause and triggering VS order. In this section, I will explore how the Minimalist Program can coherently explain the structure of the BH clause in light of the word order data that I presented above in 3.2.

3.4.1. A Minimalist Approach to Verbal Clauses in BH

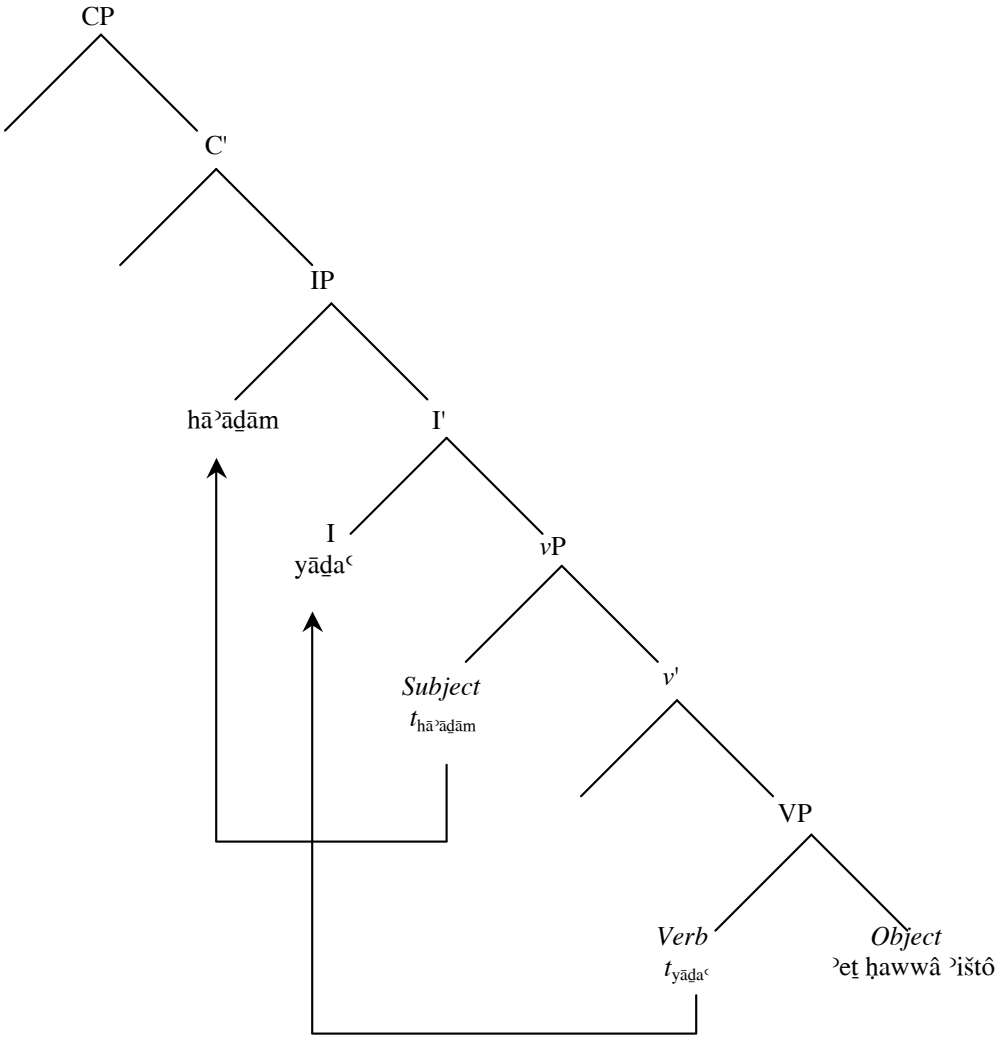
BH verbs are inflected for both tense/aspect as well as agreement features (person, number, and gender features) that agree with the subject. Given an SV conclusion for BH (see

[60] The Spec-Head agreement relation can be formalized as follows: A head (X) and its specifier (Spec-XP) must agree in relevant features. This principle reflects the fact that there is a checking relationship between a head and its specifier just as there is a checking relationship between a head and its complement; features may be checked within these two configurations without the features being located in the same exact phrasal position. In other words, these two checking relationships allow checking of features at a short, but defined, distance.

above 3.2), then both the D- and V-features associated with I (=T)[61] are strong in BH. The strong V-features of I attract the verb in order to match and eliminate the strong feature before Spell-Out. Likewise, the strong D-feature of I attracts the nearest DP—the subject DP—in order to match and eliminate the strong feature by Spell-Out. However, the subject DP, being a phrase rather than a simple head, must land in the phrasal position of [Spec, IP]. Once both features, with their associated lexical items, are relocated in I and [Spec, IP], their agreement (□) features as well as the nominative case associated with I and the subject DP—all these features have raised freely with their lexical items—may be checked via Spec-Head agreement. The resulting structure of a pragmatically neutral SVO BH clause is illustrated in (53).

[61] Although Chomsky often uses T(ense) to label the functional head associated with the tense/event structure of the clause, I will be using another common label, I(nflection). I make this switch to avoid confusion: the nature of the BH verb and how (or if) it marks tense, aspect, and mood is an object of much debate. Therefore, rather than using T(ense) and having it mistaken for a position regarding the semantic nature of the BH verb, I will use the more ambiguous but equally appropriate Inflection Phrase (IP).

(53) wəhāʾāḏām yāḏaʿ ʾeṯ ḥawwâ ʾištô
and-the-man know (3MS PERF) ACC Eve wife-his
'*and the man knew Eve, his wife*' (Gen 4.1)



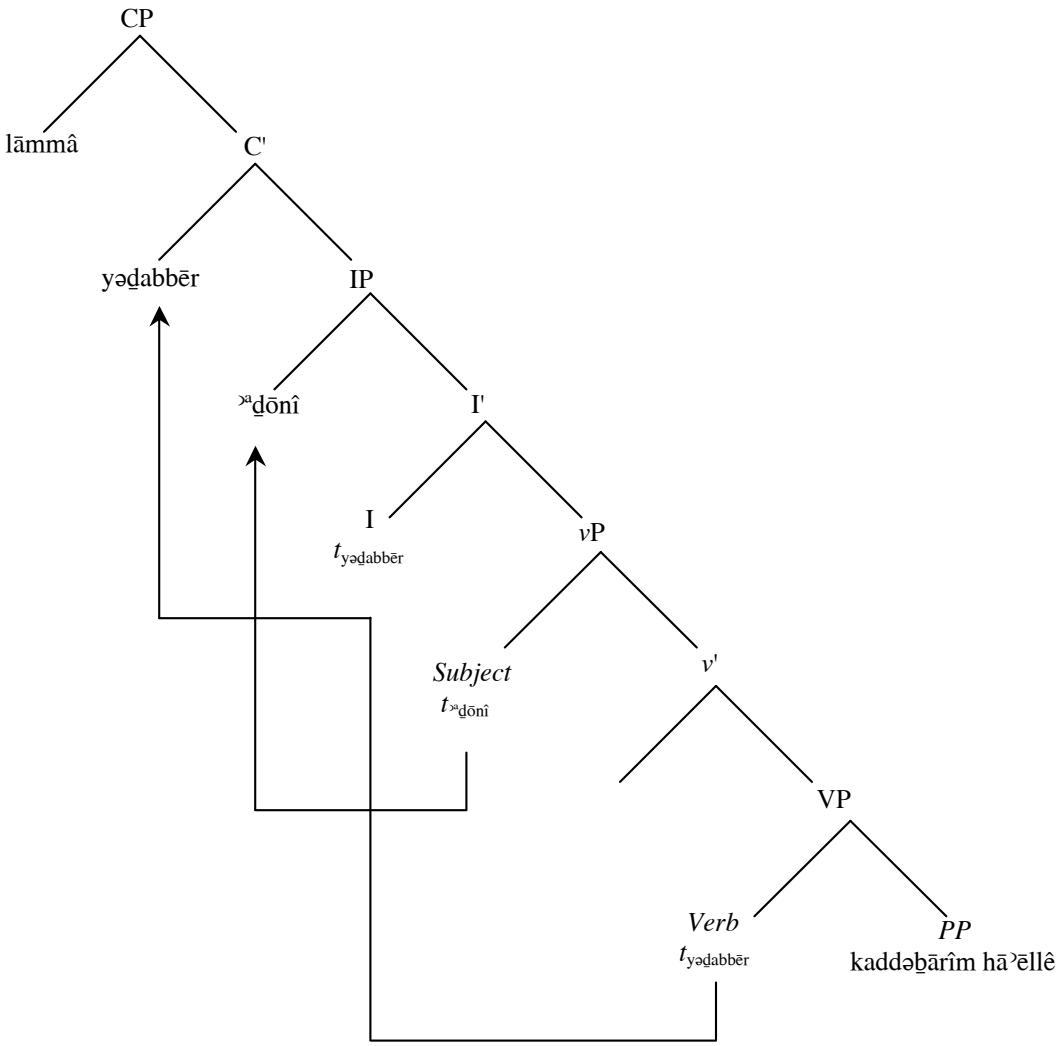
In Genesis 4.1, when the items 'the man', 'knew', and 'Eve, his wife' are selected from the lexicon, they are initially placed within the *vP*. Since both the D- and V-features associated with I (=T) are strong in BH, the strong V-features of I attract the verb 'knew' for checking. Likewise, the strong D-feature of I attracts the nearest DP, the subject DP 'the man', for checking. Both of these checking operations take place before Spell-Out, since the features are

strong. Once the verb and the subject DP are in I and [Spec, IP], respectively, their agreement features as well as the nominative case associated with I and the subject DP may be checked via Spec-Head agreement.

As I noted in 3.2, the simple SVO word order illustrated in (53) is not the statistically dominant word order in BH. The X-VS (where the X stands for a function word or any fronted phrase other than the subject DP) order (which is statistically dominant but not "basic") is illustrated by the interrogative clause in (54).[62]

[62] We can see from (54) that the BH verb is still fully inflected for agreement in VSO order. This contrasts with Standard Arabic (SA), another Semitic language, which exhibits both SVO and VSO word order. In SA the verb is only fully inflected for agreement with the subject in SVO order; in VSO order, the verb exhibits the default agreement features (3MS), usually associated with the expletive subject, regardless of the agreement features of the subject (Ouhalla 1999:440). There are VSO clauses in the Hebrew Bible in which the verb does not fully agree in person, number, and gender features; however, many of these may be due to discourse, rather than syntactic, features (cf. Revell 1993).

(54) lāmmâ yəḏabbēr ʾaḏōnî kaddəḇārîm hāʾēllê
WH speak(3MS IMPF) lord-my like-the-words the-these
'why does my lord speak according to these words?' (Gen 44.7)

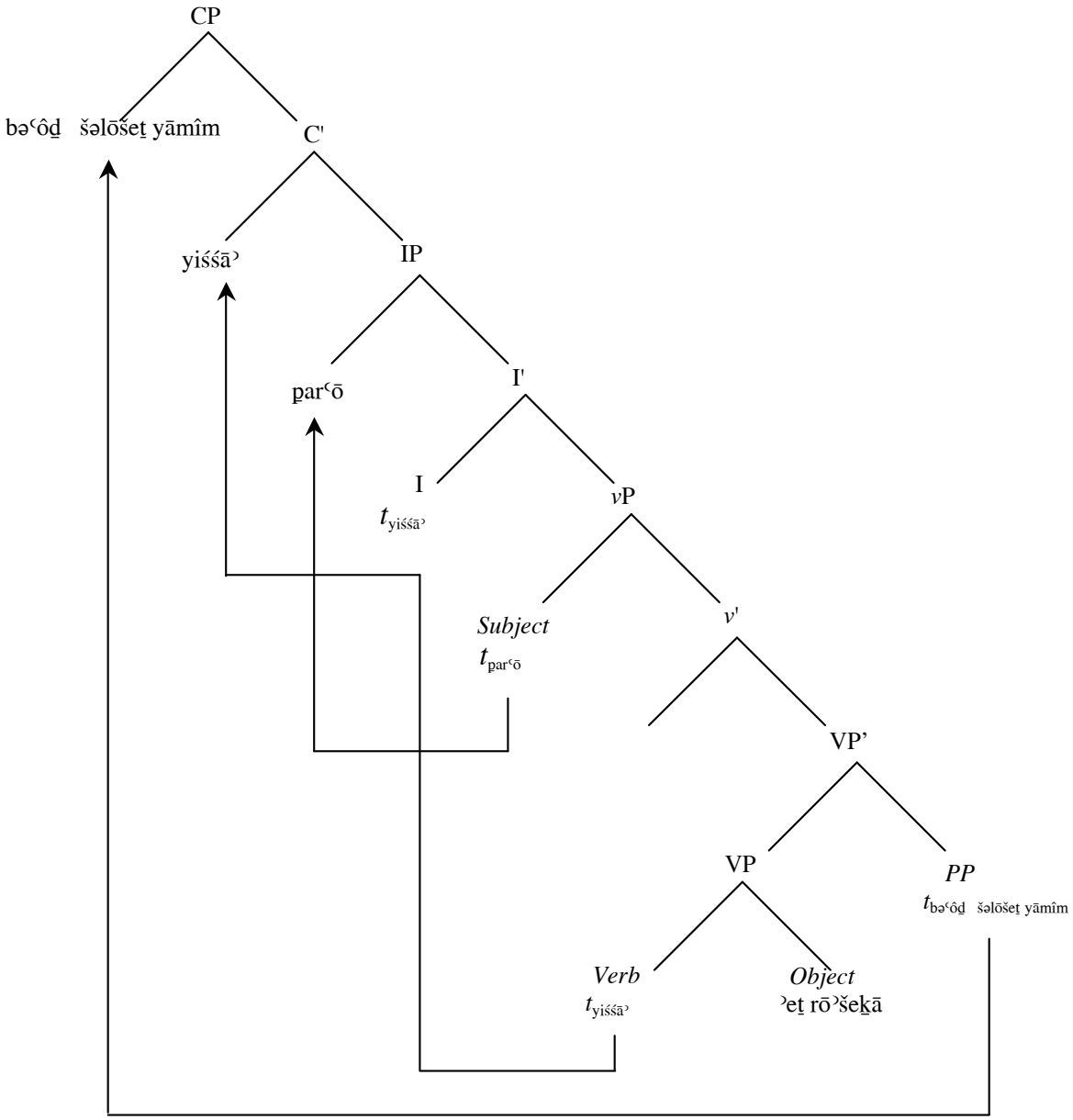


The example in (54) exhibits precisely the same constituent movement (i.e., attraction and checking procedures) as does the previous example in (53). Both the verb, 'does speak', and the subject DP, 'my lord' raise from the position in which they were inserted from the lexicon to higher positions: I and [Spec,IP], respectively. The clause in (54) differs on account of the introductory *wh*-word, *lāmmâ* 'why', that is located in [Spec,CP].

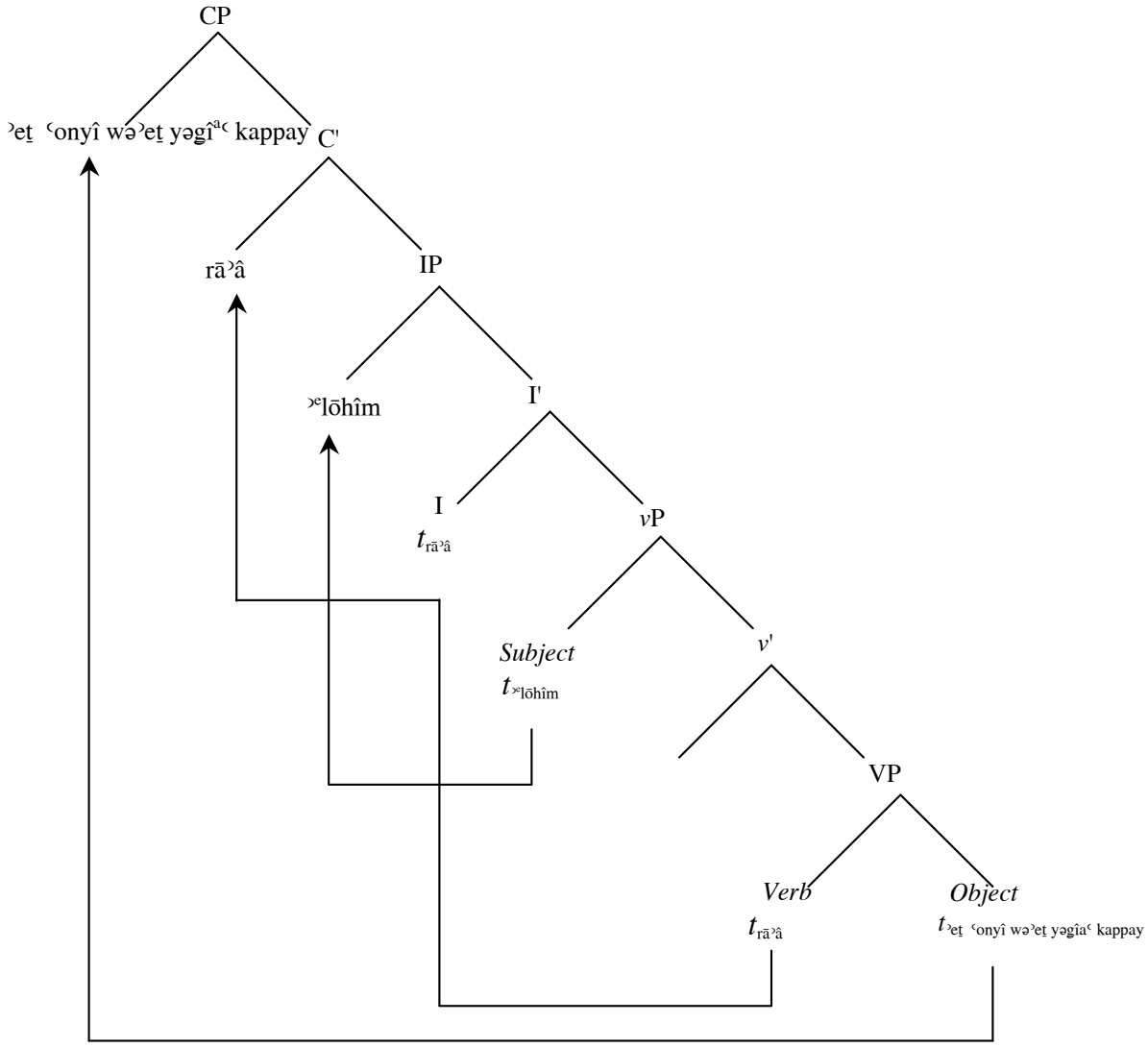
It appears that in BH when a function word (e.g., a *wh*-word/interrogative) occupies [Spec, CP] the functional head C carries a strong V-feature which attracts the features and lexical item of the verb; thus the verb is raised to C in order to match and eliminate the strong V- feature. This process produces the VS order common in subordinate clauses and is the technical description of what I have been referring to as Triggered Inversion (see 3.2).

Similarly, when a phrasal constituent, such as a PP, as in (55), or object DP, as in (56), has been "fronted" for whatever pragmatic reason and occupies [Spec, CP], the result is the triggering of the VS order.

(55) bəʿôḏ šəlōšeṯ yāmîm yiśśāʾ pharʿō ʾeṯ rōʾšeḵā
in-yet three days lift(3MS IMPF) Pharaoh ACC head-your
'*in three more days, Pharaoh will lift up your head*' (Gen 40.13)



(56) ʾeṯ ʿonyî wəʾeṯ yəgîᵃʿ kappay rāʾâ ʾᵉlōhîm
ACC oppression-mine and-ACC toil.of hands-my see(3MS PERF) God
'God has seen my oppression and the toil of my hands' (Gen 31.42)



3.4.1.1. The Complexities of the CP

In summary, in BH whenever any constituent fills [Spec, CP], C takes on the strong V-feature that is necessary for the attraction of the verb to C. However, we also see this Triggered Inversion in BH following complementizers and relative words. How in these cases can the

verb raise to C in a subordinate clause since subordinating complementizers are typically placed in C? We cannot have two constituents in the same position. There appear to be two options: either we may re-analyze the BH clause so that the V- and D-features of I are weak (i.e., the subject DP and the verb stay within the VP unless the V is triggered to raise to I), or we may propose a recursive CP. The overriding problem with the first option is that it is difficult to explain how a strong feature in C could trigger verb raising to I (which is a lower node that is separated by [Spec, IP]. Therefore, the second option, a recursive CP, is more desirable by default. Furthermore, a recursive CP has been used to explain the difference between the operation of the 'Verb Second (V2) Constraint' in German (57)-(58) and the operation of the V2 constraint in the Germanic languages Icelandic (59) and Yiddish (60) (Iatridou and Kroch 1992; see above 3.2.3) (examples taken from Ouhalla 1999:329-32).

(57) Er sagt [$_{CP}$diesen Film [$_{C'}$haben [$_{IP}$die Kinder [$_{VP}$$t_{\text{diesen Film}}$ [$_{V'}$gesehen t_{haben}]]]]]
he says this film have the children seen
'He says the children have seen this film'

(58) *Er sagt, [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$dass haben [$_{IP}$die Kinder [$_{VP}$diesen Film [$_{V'}$gesehen t_{haben}]]]]
he says that have the children this film seen

(59) [$_{CP}$ad [$_{CP}$Mariu [$_{C'}$hevur [$_{IP}$Helgi [$_{I'}$aldrei [$_{I'}$ t_{hevur} [$_{VP}$ t_{hevur} hitt t_{Mariu}]]]]]]
that Maria has Helga never met
'that Helga has never met Maria'

(60) [$_{CP}$az [$_{CP}$morgn [$_{C'}$vet [$_{IP}$dos yingl [$_{I'}$oyfn veg [$_{I'}$ t_{vet} [$_{VP}$ t_{vet} zen a kats]]]]]]
that tomorrow will the boy on-the way see a cat
'that tomorrow the boy will see the cat on a way'

The German clauses in (57)-(58) demonstrate that the V2 constraint only works in German subordinate clauses (i.e., that the verb is in second position in subordinate clauses) when there is no overt complementizer (e.g., *dass*); when there is clearly an overt complementizer in C, the

verb cannot raise since C is not available as a landing site. In contrast, the Icelandic and Yiddish examples demonstrate that these languages allow for multiple CPs: in both cases there is an overt complementizer (*ad* and *az*, respectively) followed by a fronted phrase (a fronted object DP *Mariu* in Icelandic, a fronted adverb *morgn* in Yiddish) which is also followed by the raised verb in C.[63] Likewise, BH allows both a complementizer and a fronted phrase to precede the raised verb, as in (61).

(61) kî mēʾîš luqºḥâ zōʾṯ
because from-man take(3FS PERF PASS) this
'because from man this one was taken' (Gen 2.23)

In fact, BH may have more than two elements preceding a raised verb, as in (62), which shows *four* distinct adverbial PPs (marked with brackets) preceding VS order. This suggests that CP in BH is not only recursive, but that may have multiple specifier positions (Chomsky 1995b:356)

(62) [bišnaṯ šēš mēʾôṯ šānâ ləḥayyê nōªḥ] [baḥōḏeš haššēnî] [bəšiḇʿâ ʿāśār yôm
in-year.of six hundred year to-life.of Noah in-the-month second in-seven ten day
laḥōḏeš] [bayyôm hazzeh] niḇqəʿû kol maʿyənōṯ təhôm rabbâ
to-the-month on-the-day the-this burst-open(3MP PERF) all.of fountains.of deep great
'In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on that day the great fountains of the deep burst open' (Gen 7.11)

Thus BH, like Modern Hebrew (see 3.2.3; Shlonsky and Doron 1992; Shlonsky 1997), differs from strict V2 languages in that it allows multiple constituents to precede the raised verb.

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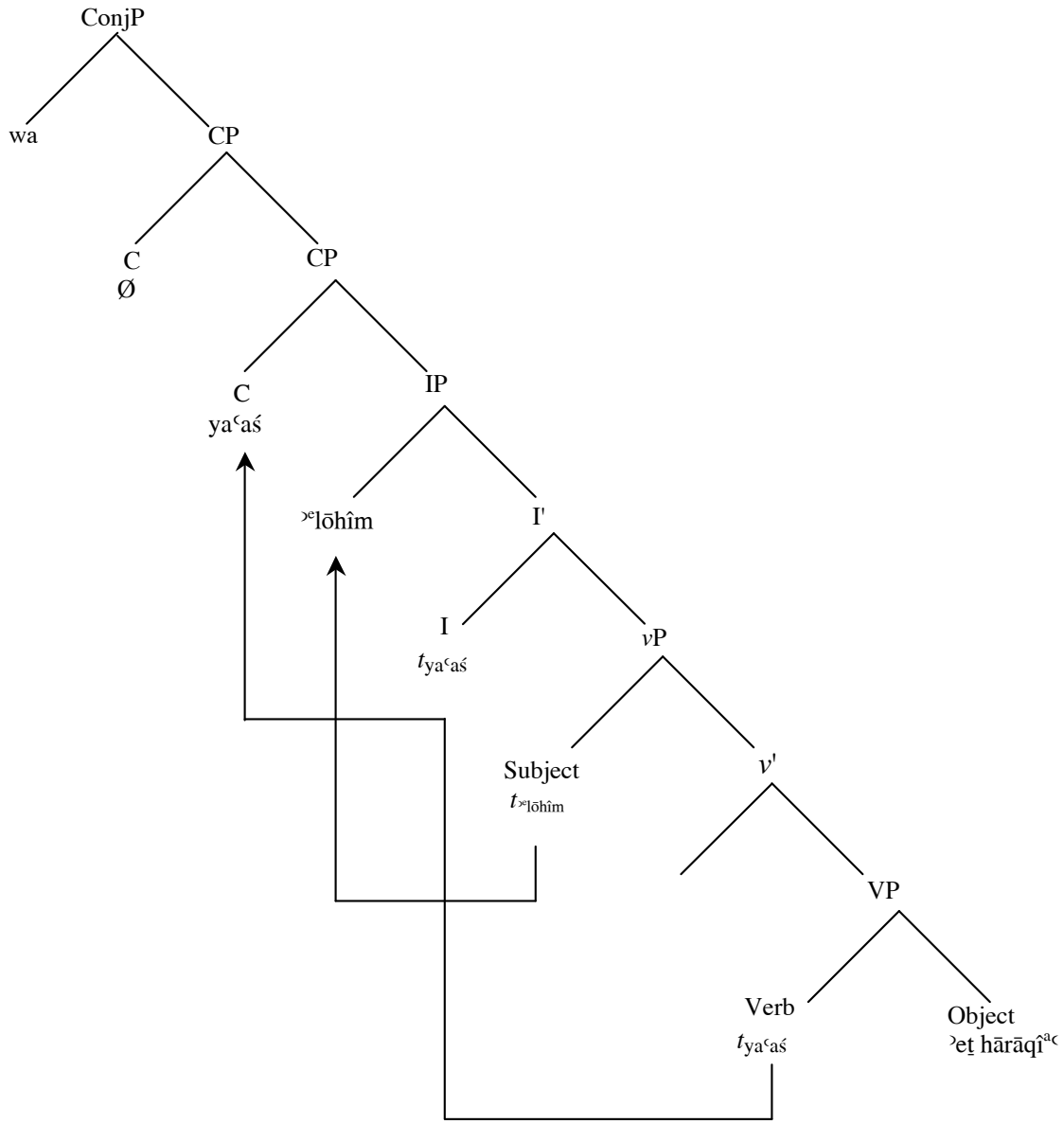
[63] Iatridou and Kroch (1992) restrict the recursive CP to a specific environment: "CP-recursion is limited in its distribution to environments where the recursive CP is governed by a selecting verb and further that only semantically vacuous CPs recurse" (1992:2). The former claim cannot be accurate for BH, since BH relative clauses appear to contain CP-recursion and relative clauses are governed by an NP/DP. However, the latter of the two statements does seem accurate for BH, since, for example, the three function (semantically vacuous) words in BH, the relative word *ʾašer*, the complementizer *kī*, and the phonologically underspecificed complementizer in the *wayyiqtol* verb (see 3.4.1.2), reside in C and trigger verb raising to a lower C.

3.4.1.2. The Structure of Wayyiqtol Clauses

At this point we are in a position to return to the most common verb form used in narrative clauses, the *wayyiqtol*. As I discussed in 3.2.4, the *wayyiqtol* form exhibits fusion of the conjunction *wa*, the prefix verb *yiqtol*, and a phonologically underspecified complementizer. Based on the clause-initial position of the verb within the *wayyiqtol* form, a strong V-feature must be associated with the underspecified complementizer in C; thus the C recurses for the verb that must raise to check the V-feature associated with the higher C. Historically, the combination of the conjunction, the simple past (PAST) prefix verb, and the intervening complementizer must have become a frozen form, which explains why there are never any other elements allowed between the complementizer and the verb (unlike most other clauses with complementizers and raised verbs), as in (63) (the symbol Ø is used to represent the phonologically underspecified complementizer in [Spec, CP]).[64]

[64] Notably, when the phrasal element in [Spec, CP] is the underspecified subordinating complementizer associated above with the *wayyiqtol* form, only a particular verb in BH carries the feature needed to avoid crashing after Spell-Out: the simple past/preterite *yiqtol* verb (which is homophonous with the modal *yiqtol*, see above 3.2.4).

(63) wayyaʿaś ʾelōhîm ʾeṯ hārāqîaʿ
and-made (3MS PAST) God ACC the-firmament
'and God made the firmament.' (Gen 1.7)



In summary, using Chomsky's Minimalist Program, we may conclude that when any one of a number of specific function words or any fronted phrase occupies C, a strong V-feature is associated with C such that the verb must raise to a lower, recursive C for checking

(resulting in VS word order).[65] In Genesis,[66] I have found the following BH function words to be associated with a strong V-feature (table 3.1.).

Table 3.1
BH Function words and V-features

+strong V-features, residing in [Spec, CP]	+strong V-features, residing in C	–strong V-features
ʾāz,[67] *(bə)ṭerem,*[68] *ləmaʿan,*[69] *pen,*[70] *ʾim,*[71] *ʾûlay,*[72] *lû,*[73] *hª,*[74] *lāmmâ*[75]	*kî,*[76] *ʾªšer,*[77] the null complementizer in *wayyiqtol*	*hinnê, ʿattâ*

[65] My proposal in this chapter along with the pragmatic model laid out in chapter four directly addresses and refutes Buth's (1995) comments regarding an SVO analysis of BH: "Of course, one can postulate a basic SVO pattern for Hebrew, list XVSO sentences, VSO, and SVO sentences, and then describe various occurrences of each. But such a methodology has no explanatory power. It does not explain why XSVO is so rare as to be almost non-existent outside of participial clauses. Furthermore, an SVO theory is worse than a clumsy theory because it hides the fact that SVO sentences have a specially pragmatically marked element" (81, fn. 2).

I have two responses to Buth's assertion. First, 'XSVO' is rare precisely because the movement of the subject over the already raised verb indicates that the subject is, as Buth puts it, "a specially pragmatically marked element." Second, few SVO clauses contain a specially pragmatically marked subject *if there is no element preceding the subject, i.e. if the clause is not X-SVO*. That is not to say that an SVO clause cannot have a pragmatically marked subject; however, since SVO is the basic word order for BH, then to highlight a subject NP, left-dislocation is more likely to be used. See chapter four in this work and Holmstedt 2000 for further discussion of these issues.

[66] There was not always enough data in the book of Genesis; therefore, when necessary I moved beyond Genesis in the following steps: first I checked the corpus of Genesis-2 Kings; then I checked the remainder of the Hebrew Bible.

[67] For representative examples, see Exod 15.1, 15; Lev 26.34, 41; Num 21.17; Deut 4.41; 29.19. There are no examples of *ʾāz* followed by SV order in the Hebrew Bible.

[68] For representative examples, see Gen 41.50; Exod 1.19; Lev 14.36; Judg 14.18; 1 Sam 3.7; 2 Kgs 6.32; Isa 7.16; 8.4; Jer 13.16; 47.1; Ezek 16.57; Zeph 2.2; Psa 58.10; 119.67; Ruth 3.14. There are only two examples in the Hebrew Bible of *ṭerem* followed by SV order: Psa 90.2 and Prov 8.25.

[69] See Exod 13.9; 20.12; 23.12; Lev 23.43; Num 27.20; 36.8; Deut 5.14, 16; 6.2; 11.21; 13.18; 14.29; 23.21; 24.19; 25.15; 30.19; 31.19; Josh 4.6; 1 Kgs 2.4; 8.43; Jer 36.3; Ezek 4.17; 12.19; 14.11; 19.9; 25.10; 31.14; Obad 1.9; Hab 2.2; Zech 12.7; Psa 60.7; 68.24; 78.6; 108.7; 125.3; 2 Chr 6.33. There are no examples of *ləmaʿan* followed by SV order in the Hebrew Bible.

[70] See Gen 19.19; 26.7; 38.11; 42.4; 45.11.

[71] See Gen 24.8; 28.20; 32.9; 44.23; 47.18 for *ʾim* followed by VS order. See Gen 35.10 for *ʾim* followed by OVS order (i.e., a fronted object DP) and Gen 31.52 for the two occurrences of *ʾim* followed by SV order.

[72] See Gen 18.28, 29, 30, 31, 32; 24.5, 39; 27.12; Num 23.3; 1 Sam 14.6; 2 Sam 14.15; 16.12; 2 Kgs 19.4; Isa 37.4; Jer 21.2; 36.3, 7; Jonah 1.6; Job 1.5. There are no examples of *ʾûlay* followed by SV order in the Hebrew Bible.

[73] See Gen 17.18; 50.15; Judg 13.23; 1 Sam 14.30. There are no examples of *lû* followed by SV order in the Hebrew Bible.

3.4.1.3. BH and the Pro-drop Parameter

As the final step in our analysis of BH verbal clause syntax, we must note that BH is a prototypical example of a *pro*-drop language (see Naudé 1991, 1993). The finite verbs are inflected with morphologically rich affixes (i.e., the verbal affixes are portmanteau morphemes [single morphemes that carry multiple syntactic or semantic bundles of information], carrying a bundle of features such as person, number, and gender); hence, the subject pronouns are often not overtly present—they are allowed to "drop." Rather, a covert, or null (i.e., phonologically unrealized), subject, referred to as *pro* (read "small pro"), is present in these clauses in order to match and eliminate the strong DP feature of I (see Ouhalla 1999:441; cf. Haegeman 1994:19-25; 454-58; Haegeman and Guéron 1999:597-604, 636-37).

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[74] *h^a* is a complementizer which marks a clause as [+Q] (i.e., as a question). See Gen 8.8; 18.14; 20.5; 41.38 for *h^a* followed by VS word order; Gen 18.25 is the sole example of SV order following *h^a*.

[75] *lāmmâ* is representative of BH interrogatives/*wh*-words; it, along with *mâ, bammâ, kammâ, ʿadmâ,* and *ʿalmâ* all exhibit *wh*-movement like that of English *wh*-words. Other BH *wh*-words are *mî, ʾê, ʾayyê, ʾêḵ,* and *ʾānâ*. For representative examples of *lāmmâ* followed by VS order, see Gen 4.6; 44.7; Exod 32.11, 12; Num 27.4; Judg 6.13; 21.3; 1 Sam 1.8; 4.3; 6.3; 27.5; 2 Sam 14.31; 16.9; 19.36, 37. I did not find one example of *lāmmâ* followed by SV order in the Pentateuch.

[76] The data show that both *kî* as a complementizer and *kî* as a coordinator trigger verb raising (contra DeCaen 1995:241-45).

For *kî* as a complementizer (i.e., 'that'), in the book of Genesis, see Gen 3.1; 8.11; 14.14; 26.15, 28; 28.6; 31.22; 38.14; 44.27; 47.18; 48.17; 50.15.

For *kî* as a coordinator (i.e., 'because' or 'when'), or even when used as an interjection, 'indeed', in the book of Genesis, see the following verses: 'because'—Gen 2.5; 4.25; 6.12, 13; 13.6; 15.16; 16.11; 19.13; 21.10, 17; 27.20, 23; 28.11; 29.21, 32, 33; 32.12, 27; 33.11; 36.7; 41.51, 52, 57; 42.5; 43.30, 32; 47.4, 13, 20; 'indeed'—Gen 30.13; 'when'—Gen 31.49; 32.18.

For representative examples of *kî* in X-SVO clauses, see Gen 31.32; 43.5; 44.3; Exod 16.16, 29; Num 10.29; 16.28; Josh 17.18; Judg 16.20; 1 Sam 12.12; 2 Sam 3.18; 16.10; 1 Kgs 2.28; 14.11; 2 Kgs 2.2, 4, 6. As with all of the other function words, I argue that the subject DP in each of these clauses has been fronted to a position between the function word *kî* and the raised verb for pragmatic reasons.

[77] See chapter five.

Note that in terms of word order phenomena, *pro*-drop languages tend to exhibit a discrepency between basic word order and statistically dominant word order (Siewierska 1988:11). In anticipation of the next chapter, in which I discuss pragmatic issues related to BH word order, consider the following quote from Siewierska 1988 concerning *pro*-drop languages and word order:

> Analyses of both spoken and written discourse and particularly of impromptu speech reveal a preponderance of pronominal forms, a phenomenon reflecting the reluctance of speakers to repeat in full given informtion, i.e. information assumed to be currently in the consciousness of the interlocutor. It has been observed . . . that once a referent is established as given, it will tend to be pronominalized or elided unless its identification is impeded by the presence of competing discourse participants, or the nature of the referent warrants highlighting for reasons of contrast, emphasis and the like. Consequently, the basic word order may well not be the dominant order . . . In [*pro*-drop] languages, full pronouns tend to be used to signal a change in discourse topic, to express empathy with a given referent or in contrastive and emphatic contexts. (1988:11)

The pragmatic marking of overt subject pronouns present in finite verbal clauses is precisely what we shall in see with regard to BH (see, for example, 4.2.2 below).

3.4.1.4. Summary

In summary, three proposals, listed in (64)-(66), were made regarding the structure of the BH finite verb clause:

(64) BH is an SV language in pragmatically neutral clauses.

(65) BH exhibits VS word order in clauses with any of the function words that have +strong V-features listed in table 2.1 or a fronted phrasal constituent in [Spec, CP] (i.e., X-VSO).

(66) BH is a *pro*-drop language.

Let us now proceed to an analysis of the BH participial clause within the architecture of the Minimalist Program.

3.4.2. A Minimalist Approach to Participial Clauses in BH

BH participles combine both nominal and verbal properties, both in their semantic and syntactic functions. On the one hand, they carry nominal inflection, illustrated in table 3.2:

Table 3.2
BH Participle and Noun Inflection

Participle		**Noun**	
kōṯeḇ	(he is) *writing* (MS)	nāḇîʾ	*prophet* (MS)
kōṯəḇâ	(she is) *writing* (FS)	nəḇîʾâ	*prophetess* (FS)
kōṯəḇîm	(they are) *writing* (MP)	nəḇîʾîm	*prophets* (MP)
kōṯəḇôt	(they are) *writing* (FP)	nəḇîʾôt	*prophetesses* (FP)

On the other hand, participles may also carry an accusative Case feature which necessitates the presence of an object (67).

(67) hinnê ḇen bêṯî **yôrēš** **ʾōṯî**
behold son.of house-my possess(MS PTCP) ACC-me
*'See— a member of my household is **inheriting m**'*' (Gen 15.3)

The blurry line between verbal and agentive nominal characteristics that the participle walks is demonstrated by both its ability to govern an object,[78] as in (67), and its ability to receive a nominal possessor clitic, as in (68).[79]

(68) wəyāraš yiśrāʾēl ʾeṯ **yōrəšāyw**
and-possess(3MS PERF MOD) Israel ACC possess(MP PTCP)-his
*'and Israel shall dispossess **his dispossessors**'* (Jer 49.2)

[78] The participle's ability to govern an object includes object clitics, as in Isa 47.10: ʾên rōʾ**ānî**
NEG see(MS PTCP)-me
'no one sees me'

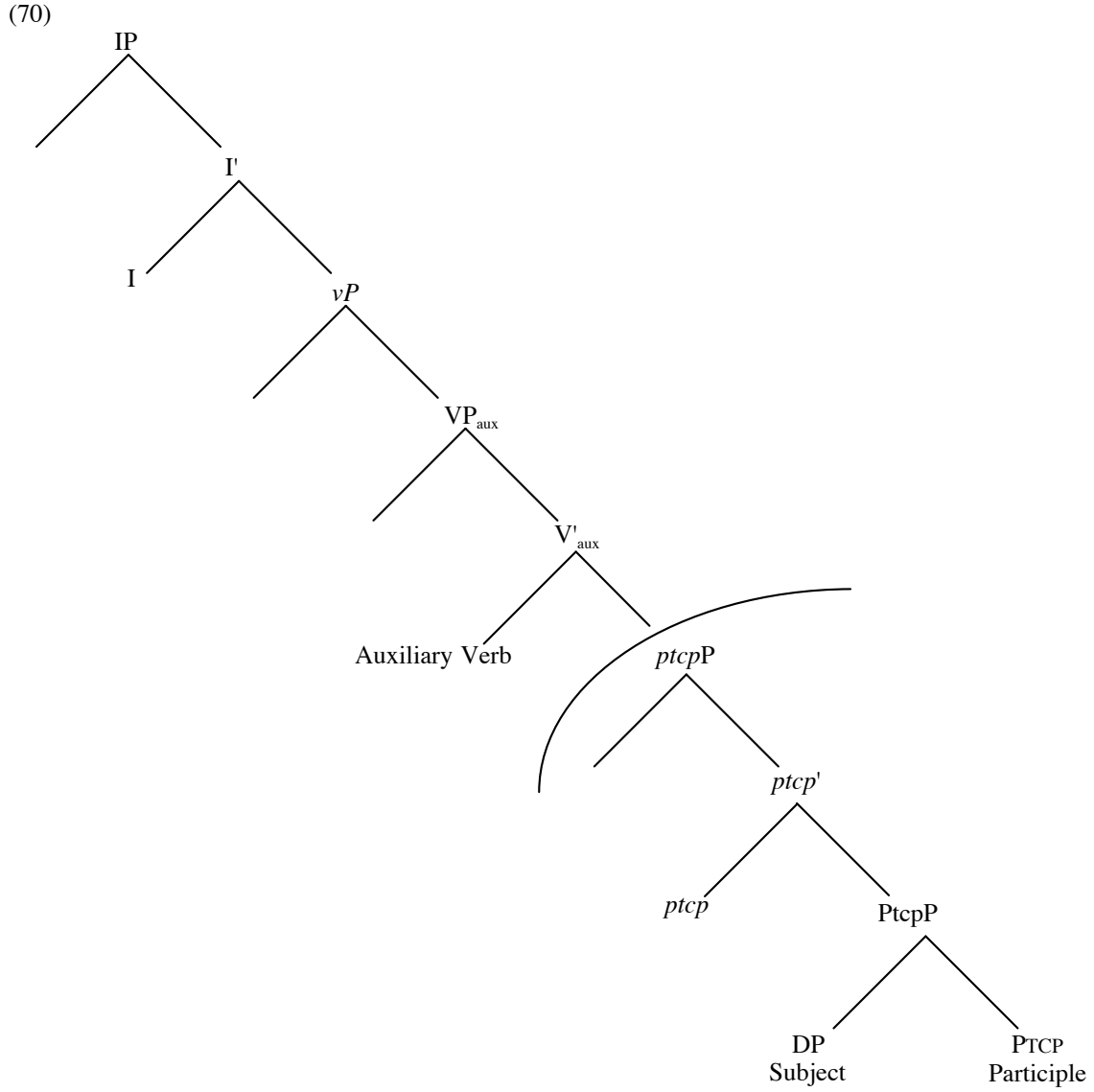
[79] Rather than a dual character of a single "participle" form (i.e., serving as either noun/adjective or verb), Shlonsky (1997), working on Modern Hebrew, suggests that there exists homophony between one form which is the participle and a distinct nominal form which is an agentive noun. This is an attractive perspective since it moves away from the lack of clarity involved in positing one morphological form (the "participle") with functions which cross categorial boundaries.

Furthermore, BH participles are often compared to adjectives with respect to the manner in which they modify other substantives (69) (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:621; Joüon and Muraoka 1993:409).

(69) kî yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā **ʾēš** **ʾōḵəlâ** hûʾ
because Yhwh god-your fire consume(FS PTCP) he
'because Yhwh your god—he is a ***consuming fire***' (Deut 4.24)

Although the participle is multifarious in nature, we are concerned only with the predicative use for our syntactic analysis. Even when the participle exists in a tensed clause (i.e., the participle and a finite form of the verb 'to be' together create a complex, or 'periphrastic', clause), the form itself is essentially a tenseless verb; therefore, I shall proceed assuming the following structure, given in (70), for a participial clause; the arc above the highest participial node but below the IP indicates that extent to which the participle may raise when motivated solely by syntax.

(70)



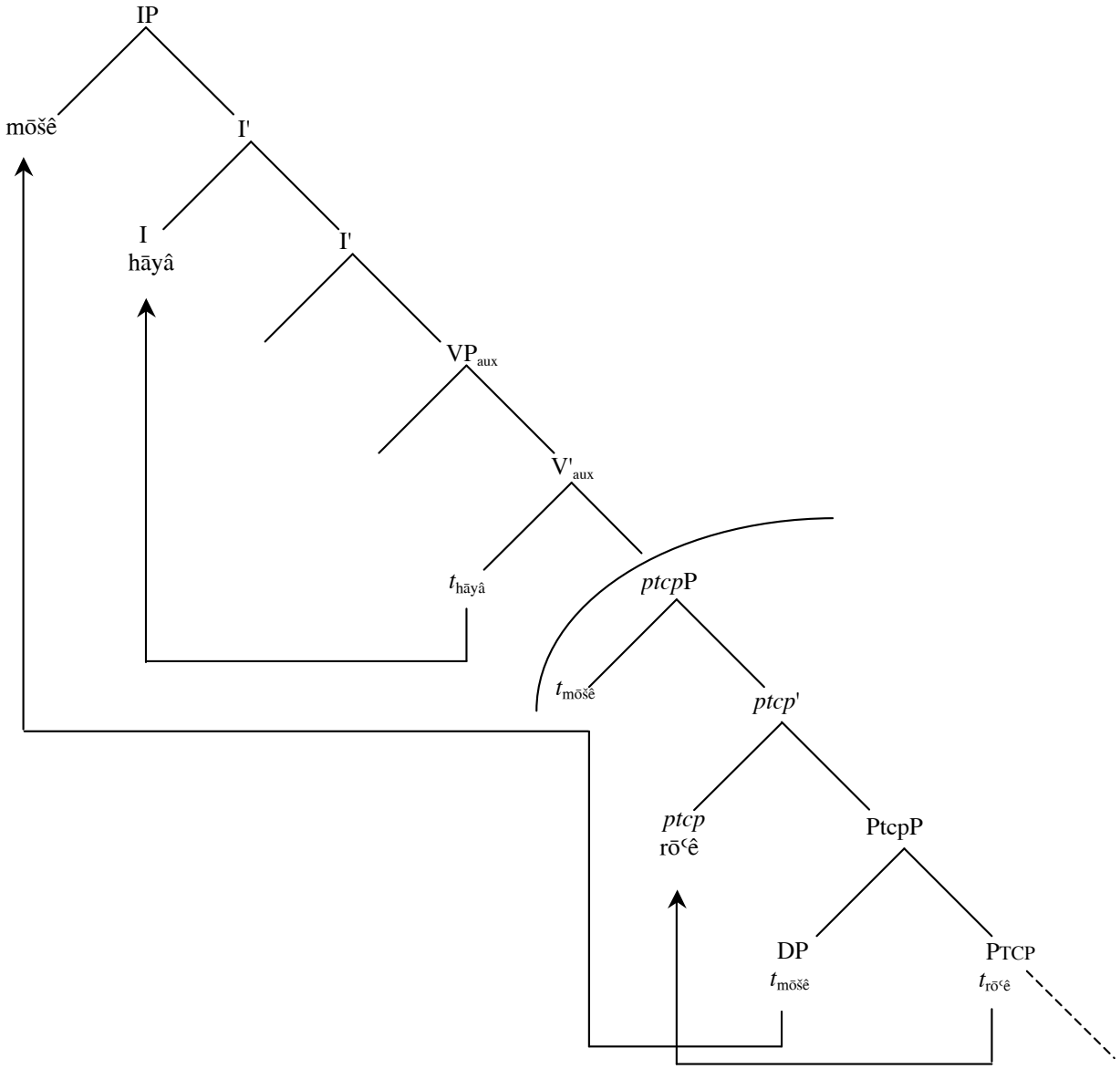
From this initial configuration in the computational system, both the participle and the subject DP would be attracted to the head *ptcp* and the [Spec, *ptcp*P] respectively in order to check agreement features between the DP and the participle. From this point, the derivation could proceed in two directions depending on the use of the participial clause. The first option is that the participial clause functions as the small clause complement of another matrix verb, as

in (71). In this case, the last relevant move is for the (null) subject DP to raise to match and eliminate the accusative Case feature in [Spec, IP] of the matrix clause.

(71) kî šāmaʿtî **ʾōmərîm** nēləḵâ
because hear(1CS PERF) *pro* say(MP PTCP) go(1CP IMPF)
'Because I heard (them) ***saying****: Let us go...'* (Gen 37.17)

The second option for the derivation is that the participial clause functions as the complement of the auxiliary verb "to be." In this case, the subject DP must raise to the [Spec, IP] to match and eliminate the strong D-feature of the head I, checking the nominative Case feature of I and any agreement features. Unlike the participle, which may never pass beyond the *ptcp*P (illustrated by the arc), the tensed auxiliary verb is attracted to I by the 'tense' V-feature and checks agreement features as well. The resulting convergent derivation for a BH past participle is given in (72).

(72) ûmōšê **hāyâ** **rōʿê** ʾeṯ ṣōʾn yiṯrô ḥōṯənô
and-Moses be(3MS PERF) shepherd(MS PTCP) ACC flock.of Jethro father-in-law-his
*'and Moses **was shepherding** the flock of his father-in-law Jethro'* (Exod 3.1)



Notably, this structure suggests that the pragmatically neutral word order in a participial clause is Subject-(Auxiliary)-Participle-(Object) (see 3.2.7).

This analysis is similar to that of Shlonsky 1997 regarding the Modern Hebrew participle. What is notable about the use of participles in Modern Hebrew is that the auxiliary

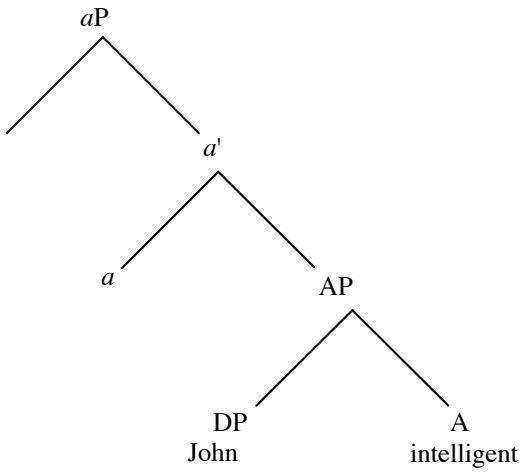
is always present in the past and future tenses, but never in the present, since there is no present tense form of the auxiliary "to be" verb. Traditionally, the grammars of Modern Hebrew have concluded that the "participle" forms serves as the present tense verb (Glinert 1989:121-22, 458). Shlonsky argues against this analysis (that this single verbal form functions both as a participle and as a tensed verb) and proposes that in present tense clauses the auxiliary is there, but phonologically null (1997:38-40).

In comparison to Modern Hebrew, BH is slightly more complicated. The primary difference is that in BH past and future participial clauses, the auxiliary is often not present. Rather, it seems that participial clauses adopt the tense of the context, as established by proximal finite verbs. I propose that the auxiliary exists in these clauses as well, but is phonologically null as in the present tense. The phonological presence of the auxiliary is necessary for past and future clauses when there exists either a tense shift in the narrative or lack of adequate tense marking in the context. Now that we have discussed the BH participial clause, let us examine the single remaining clause type in BH: the verbless clause.

3.4.3. An Minimalist Approach to Verbless Clauses in BH

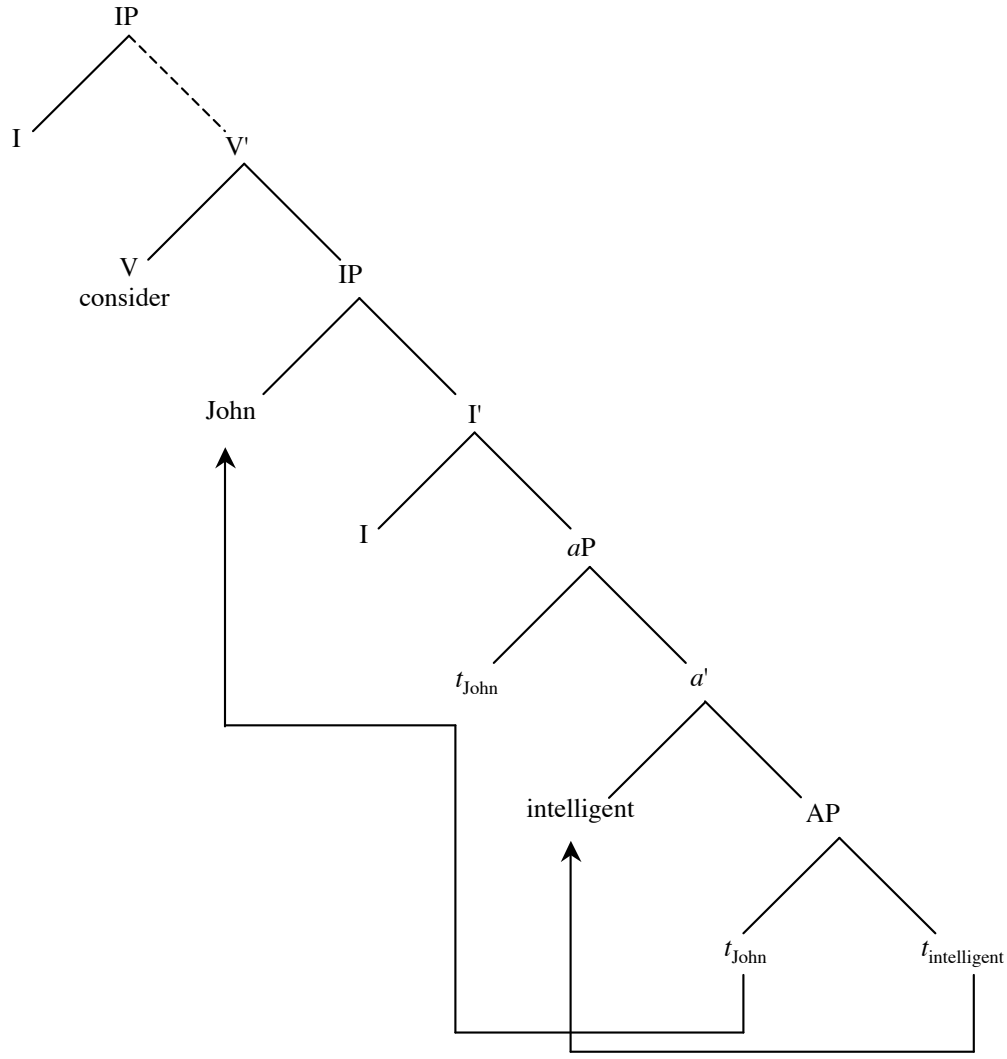
Chomsky (1995b:353-54) proposes the structure in (73) for predicate adjectives as they enter the computational system. (A/AP stands for adjective/adjective phrase; *a*/*aP* stands for the functional category *adjective/adjective phrase*, which is analogous to the light *v(erb)* in the verbal clause.)

(73)



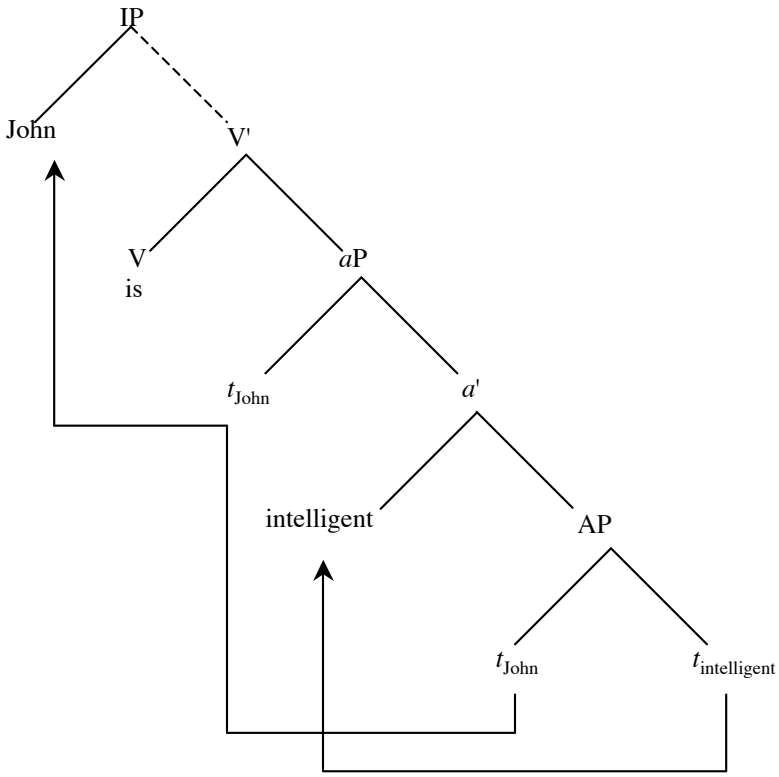
From this point, this part of a derivation could become a small clause complement of a verb like *consider*, as in (74). In this case, the subject DP is attracted to [Spec, *a*P] and the adjective is attracted to *a* for the purpose of DP-adjective agreement. Then the subject DP is further attracted to [Spec, IP] in order to match and eliminate the accusative Case feature of I, which is motivated by the governing verb *consider*. This is reflected in the choice of personal pronouns: only the accusative pronoun *him* allows the derivation to converge.

(74) Rob considers John/him/*he intelligent



The other option besides functioning as a small clause complement of a verb like *consider* is to function as the complement of a copular verb like English *be*. In this case, the subject DP is attracted to the [Spec, IP] of the matrix clause in order to match and eliminate the nominative Case feature of I. The resulting derivation is illustrated in (75).

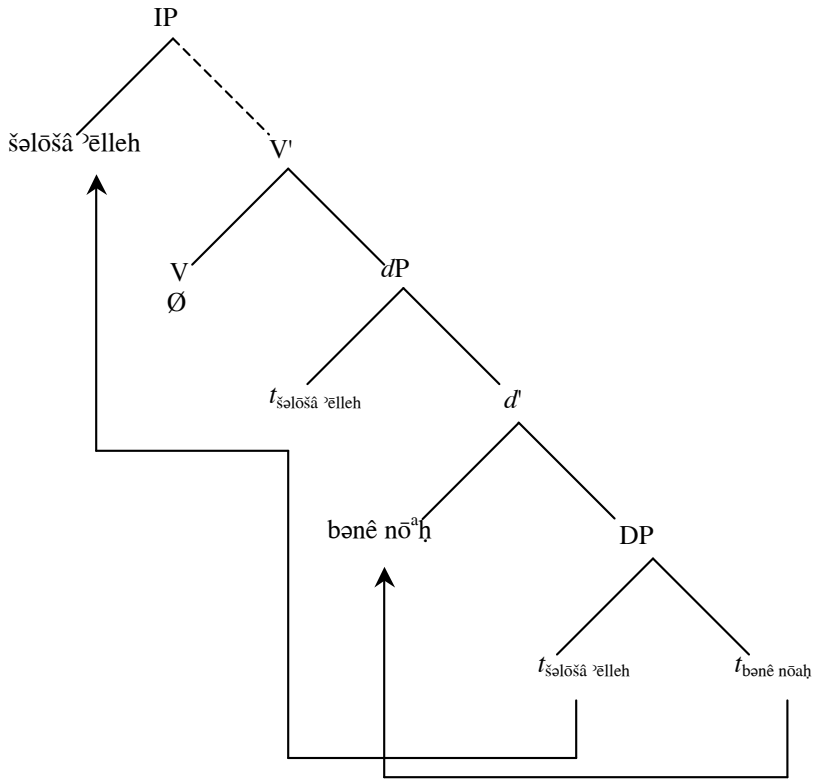
(75) John is intelligent



I shall assume that this is essentially the structure of both the predicate adjective and the verbless clause in BH, as in (76), except that the copular verb selected from the lexicon is phonologically null, as in many of the participial clauses analyzed above.[80]

[80] See Naudé 1994 for a similar analysis of the verbless clause in Biblical Aramaic using the analysis of Chomsky 1993 (=1995:chp. 3).

(76) šəlōšâ ʾēlleh bənê nōᵃḥ
three these Ø sons.of Noah
'these three (are) the sons of Noah' (Gen 9.19)



As with predicative adjectives, the subject DP and the predicate DP of the verbless clause must raise to the higher shell for agreement checking. Then the subject DP is attracted by the strong D-feature of I, raising to [Spec, IP] of the matrix clause to match and eliminate that D-feature, checking the nominative Case feature of I in the process.

A significant implication of this analysis is that the pragmatically neutral word order within a BH verbless clause is subject-predicate (see 3.2.7); the order predicate-subject is pragmatically marked due to discourse considerations (see 4.2.3 for further discussion).

3.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have examined BH word order and clause structure. On the basis of the data from the book of Genesis, I have concluded that BH is fundamentally an SV language, but that the SV order in finite verbal clauses may be inverted to VS when triggered by an initial function word or fronted phrase. Such syntactically motivated inversion does not take place in either participial clauses or verbless clauses. Furthermore, I proposed an explanation that syntactically accounts for the position of the narrative *wayyiqtol* verb: the first *y* represents a function word that triggers VS inversion. I also noted that the word order in BH clauses is affected by the modality of the verb: modal clauses exhibit VS order and indicative clauses exhibit SV order. Finally, I described all of these features of BH word order within the linguistic framework of the Minimalist Program in order to illustrate both how the BH data can be explained as a coherent system and how the Minimalist Program is uniquely able to provide such an explanation.

4. THE PRAGMATICS OF BIBLICAL HEBREW WORD ORDER

In her introductory essay in the 1995 collection of papers on the subject of word order in discourse, Pamela Downing states that "ongoing work on word order in discourse has been revolutionizing our understanding of the complex web of factors that determine the word order that a particular speaker of a particular language is likely to use in a particular speech context" (1995:5). One page later, however, she also states that even these "very fruitful" discourse-based approaches have exhibited shortcomings: "In the real world situations in which the texts are produced, several potential determinants of word order may typically co-occur, making it difficult to see exactly which is decisive in a particular instance" (1995:6).

In this chapter, I will continue the investigation of the word order of Biblical Hebrew, taking into account that there may be determinants of word order that have not previously been discussed. In chapter three I provided an exclusively *syntactic* overview of BH clausal architecture and word order within the framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. I presented data that suggest that BH has SV basic word order; however, the SV order is inverted to VS in modal clauses, negative clauses, and when a function word or a fronted phrase resides at the beginning of the clause (see 3.2). Though this analysis explains the majority of the clauses in the Hebrew Bible, there remain many clauses that exhibit word order that does not accord to the analysis given in chapter three. This chapter will address such clauses and present an argument for how the remaining word order variation found in the Hebrew Bible is influenced by *pragmatics*.

What is pragmatics and how does it affect syntactic phenomena such as word order? A good starting point is the preliminary definition provided in Mey 1994:

> Pragmatics is the study of language in a human context of use. Language use is the process by which people communicate, for various purposes, using linguistic means. This process is governed by the conditions of society, inasmuch as these conditions determine the users' access to, and control of, those means. Hence, pragmatics can also be described as a societally oriented and societally bound linguistics. (1994:3268)

Pragmatics is also often defined by placing it in relation to syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. For example, unlike syntax, which is the study of the relationship of linguistic expressions in a clause or between clauses to each other, pragmatics incorporates the notion of the larger linguistic and extra-linguistic *context*. Also, unlike semantics, which is the study of the relationship between linguistic expressions and the objects to which they refer, as well as the conventional meaning and the truth or satisfaction conditions of utterances, pragmatics is the study of non-conventional meaning, e.g., implicature, deixis, presupposition (see Levinson 1983:8-10; Horn 1988:113-122; Montague 1998:24).

Fillmore (1981) describes the relationship of pragmatics to the other linguistic fields as a supplementary relationship rather than as a complementary relationship. Thus, to Fillmore, the three disciplines work together in the following way:

> Syntax, in short, characterizes the grammatical forms that occur in a language, whereas semantics pairs these forms with their potential communicative functions. Pragmatics is concerned with the three-termed relationship that unites (a) linguistic form and (b) the communicative functions that these forms are capable of serving, with (c) the context or settings in which those linguistic forms can have those communicative functions. Diagrammatically,
>
> Syntax [form]
> Semantics [form, function]
> Pragmatics [form, function, setting] (Fillmore 1981:144)

In summary, we may say that pragmatics is the study of how the relationship between an utterance, the speaker, the addressee, and any other aspect of the context/discourse is encoded in the structure of a language.[1] As Yule (1998) states, "[Pragmatics has] more to do

[1] See Malmkjær (1991:354-58) and Yule (1998:3-8) for brief introductions to the field of pragmatics; see Levinson (1983:1-35) and Mey (1993:3-52) for detailed discussions of the definition and scope of pragmatics.

with the analysis of what people mean by their utterances than what the words or phrases in those utterances might mean by themselves" (1998:3). The extent of the 'utterances' that the field of pragmatics studies ranges from the level of the clause (i.e., how the syntax, or word order, of constituents reflects pragmatic/communicative concerns) to the levels of discourse beyond the clause (i.e., how pragmatic concerns affect the structure of an entire conversation/text).

In this chapter, I will proceed in three steps in order to investigate the influence of pragmatics on BH word order. In 4.1, I will introduce the area of pragmatics often called information structure. In 4.2, I will investigate how information structure concepts are manifested in BH. Finally, in 4.3 I will propose a unified model for the syntax and pragmatics of the BH clause.

4.1. INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Information structure refers to the interface between the linguistic content of a discourse/text and how the addressee/reader cognitively processes that linguistic information. Information structure and the associated (and elusive) concepts referred to by the commonly used terms *topic*, *comment*, and *focus* have for many years been the object of much linguistic attention. Although information structure is studied from many different theoretical approaches, in this work, Lambrecht's (1994) description of information structure is general enough (and relatively theory neutral) to suffice as a starting point for further discussion:

> The student of information structure is . . . concerned with . . . the discourse circumstances under which given pieces of propositional information are expressed via one rather than another possible morphosyntactic or prosodic form . . . . discourse pragmatics [≈ information structure] is concerned with the question of why one and the same meaning may be expressed by two or more sentence forms. (Lambrecht 1994:4-5)

Information structure is thus concerned with both **what** a text or discourse communicates and **how** the text or discourse communicates (in other words, the specific linguistic strategies by which the information is presented, e.g., word order, prosody, or special grammatical markers) (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:81; cf. Lambrecht 1994:6).

Of the central concepts to the study of information structure, the concept *focus*, more than any other, has been problematic. Intuitively, which element in a given clause is "focused," or "emphasized," seems to be rather clear to a native speaker. However, describing precisely how or why a constituent is "focused" has proven to be a difficult task. Moreover, the term has been used in a variety of (often disparate) ways within phonology, syntax, semantics, psycholinguistics, and other linguistically oriented fields. Complicating the issue are the differences among the general linguistic approaches, i.e., functional approaches versus formal approaches.

One of the common criticisms directed towards generative linguistics, the formal approach used in this work, has concerned the lack of attention it has given to issues beyond the level of the sentence. Fortunately, this shortcoming has begun to be addressed overtly in the last decade. In fact, generative linguists interested in the syntax-pragmatics interface have been laboring for the last five years to articulate an approach, in keeping with the recent "minimalist impulse," that includes both semantic and pragmatic concepts (see Zubizarreta 1998; Culicover and McNally 1998).[2] Indeed, the move to include pragmatic issues within a generative model can be seen in Chomsky's latest works. While Chomsky 1995b excludes any features from the derivation which are not properties of items in the lexicon (1995b:225), in Chomsky 1998 he

[2] This is not to say that generative linguists ignored pragmatic concerns before the nineteen-nineties; see, for example, Rochemont 1986, a monograph dedicated to the issue of focus in generative linguistics.

appears to allow for movement motivated by pragmatic features such as "force, topic, focus" (1998:21-22).[3]

The following section of this work is by no means an attempt to sketch an entire linguistic theory which incorporates both minimalist and pragmatic concerns, nor will a comprehensive formulation of focus be given. Rather, I will propose a working model of information structure that complements the syntactic theory I sketched in chapter three and describe how information structure concepts are manifested in the grammar of BH. In 4.1.1, 4.1.2, and 4.1.3, I will provide further details of the information structure model which will be used before moving on to 4.2, where I will illustrate the basic information structure of BH discourse.

4.1.1. The Basic Components of Information Structure

The primary pragmatic elements of a clause are variously referred to as theme/rheme or topic/comment. *Theme* and *rheme* are the terms coined by the Prague School of Linguistics to describe the information presented by the syntactic constituents of a clause. Within the Prague School's 'Functional Sentence Perspective' linguistic model, the theme is that element in the sentence which carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism (Firbas 1966:272; Firbas 1987; Firbas 1992:72-3; see also Lyons 1977:506-7; Halliday 1985:38). In other words, the theme of a sentence adds very little extra meaning to what has already by communicated by previous sentences. In contrast, the rheme is that element in the sentence which advances the communication the most; for a given sentence, the rheme adds the largest amount of extra

[3] "Indirect feature-driven movement (IFM) subdivides into types depending on the attracting head H in the final stage: (I) A-movement when H has □-features (yielding the Case-agreement system), or (II) A'-movement when H has *P-features* of the peripheral system (force, topic, focus...)" (Chomsky 1998:21-22; emphasis his).

meaning to that stage of the discourse (Firbas 1966:278, note 18; Firbas 1992:72-3; see also Lyons 1977:506-7; Halliday 1985:38).

Outside of the Prague school approach, the terms *topic* and *comment* seem to be preferred over theme and rheme, particularly within American linguistics. The topic is often defined as the "constituent [which] presents the entity 'about' which the predication predicates something in the given setting" (Dik 1980:16; Dik 1997a:313-15; Lyons 1977:501; Goutsos 1997:1; Lambrecht 1994:117-127). The comment, then, is the predication, or 'what' is being said (i.e., the predication) (Lyons 1977:501; Lambrecht 1994:121).

In addition to the choice of terminology, another issue within the study of word order and pragmatics is whether there is a 'universal' basic ordering of pragmatic constituents, i.e., whether languages tend to present information in a particular linear order, such as 'theme-to-rheme' order. Many linguists working on the pragmatic structure of clauses (e.g., Firbas 1966:270; Firbas 1992:188; Greenberg 1966:100; Lyons 1977:508; Givón 1979:296, 299-300; Mallinson and Blake 1981:151) have suggested that the theme-to-rheme (or 'topic-comment') order is normal.

Other linguists have criticized this approach. Lambrecht (1994), working with the notion that the theme/topic position in a clause is typically an NP (see also Brown and Yule 1983:127), proposes that data from languages with the basic verb-initial (i.e., VOS or VSO) order weighs against the theme-to-rheme analysis: "A theory according to which sentence-initial position is a natural, cognitively based, requirement for topic NPs would not be able to account for the fact that such [verb-initial] languages normally require a naturally non-topical constituent, i.e. the verb, to appear in initial position" (1994:200). Similarly, Mithun (1992)

argues that the theme-to-rheme analysis also fails to account adequately for the pragmatically motivated word order of languages with flexible word order:

> A number of facts indicate that the interaction between basic word order and pragmatic theme-rheme reordering principles is not constant from one language to the next. Following work initiated by Mathesius (1928), Thompson (1978) pointed out that languages can vary in the relative effects of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic considerations on surface word order. In languages like English, the syntactic roles of constituents are the primary determinants of word order, while in languages like Russian and Czech, pragmatic considerations have a stronger effect. When pragmatic factors do play a role, furthermore, it is not clear that all languages follows the "natural" progression from theme to rheme. Tomlin and Rhodes [1992] point out that in Ojibwa, a VOS Algonquian language, the umarked distribution of thematic information is reversed from the language-general tendency for thematic information to come earlier in a sentence or clause. Givón (1983:145) reports that Ute, "a mature SOV language with a high degree of pragmatically-controlled word-order flexibility", shows comment-topic order. Similarly, Biblical Hebrew "is rigidly VO but shows a pragmatically-controlled VS/SV variation (Givón 1983:28), also with the order comment-topic. (1992:17)

What is clear from both Lambrecht's and Mithun's comments is that languages tend to have a distinct preference for a particular order; however, whether one order of pragmatic constituents, theme-to-rheme (or vice versa), is universal is clearly a controversial issue. Another controversial issue with respect to the pragmatic structure of clauses is the problematic concept often labeled *focus*.

4.1.2. Focus

Focus is often defined as "relatively the most important or salient [piece of information] in the given communicative setting" (Dik 1997a:326; see Comrie 1989:63; Halliday 1985:278; cf. Vallduví and Engdahl 1996). In slight contrast, a second approach to focus defines it as the binary opposite of the *presupposition*: the presupposition is information in a clause which is 'shared' by the speaker/author and listener/reader; the focus is the information in a clause which is 'non-shared' (and thus "new" or "added" for one of the participants) (see Lyons 1977:509; Rochemont 1986:9-10; Zubizarreta 1998; cf. Lambrecht 1994:206-18). These two

definitions of focus are similar in that they assign to focus the function of presenting information which is being 'added' to the discourse in some way. Let us start with this facet of focus and consider the question-answer examples in (1)-(6). Question-answer pairs are commonly used to provide a context so that the focused elements are easier to identify; subscript $_F$ marks the focused constituent:

(1) What happened? [$_F$ John [shut [the door]].	Sentence-Focus
(2) What did John do to the door? [John [[$_F$ shut] the door]].	Predicate (Verb)-Focus
(3) What did John shut? [John shut [$_F$the door]].	Argument (Object)-Focus
(4) Who shut the door? [$_F$ John] [shut [the door]]].	Argument (Subject)-Focus
(5) What did John do? [John [$_F$ shut [the door]].	Verb Phrase Focus
(6) What happened to the door? [[$_F$ John] [[$_F$ shut] [the door]]].	'Subject + Verb' Focus

Using the same answer clause in each example (in terms of lexical items and syntactic structure), examples (1)-(5) illustrate the variety of options for presenting the focus: any one of the constituents within a given clause may be the focus element, depending on the context. In addition, (6) illustrates that the focus may encompass material that does not constitute a single syntactic constituent (since the subject and the (transitive) verb together without an object or any adjuncts do not constitute a single constituent).[4]

[4] Examples such as (6) as well as those which correspond to multiple *wh*-questions (e.g., Who bought what?) present a problem for many theories on focus: most descriptions of focus assume that the focus of a clause must correspond to a single constituent. Zubizarreta's (1998) assertion structure is a novel proposal by which we may account for those propositions which have not one, but two open variables (thus two separate constituents marked for focus): "The A[ssertion] S[tructure] contains two ordered assertions representing the focus-presupposition of a statement; the first assertion is the existential presupposition provided by the context question; the second assertion is the equative relation between a definite variable and a value" (1998:4-7).

4.1.3. Focus Problems and a Solution

In the preceding section I presented a basic introduction to the pragmatic concept of focus. However, descriptions of focus as both "the most important or salient piece of information" and "the new/added information" have contributed to considerable confusion in the study of focus. On the one hand, focus is new information; on the other hand, focus is the most important piece of information. While these two linguistic functions often overlap, it is not obligatory that they do. Certainly there is nothing intrinsic to "new/added" information that binds it to being the most salient piece of information; vice versa, there is nothing inherently "new/added" about whatever constituent is determined to be the most salient piece of information. The two approaches to defining focus have produced a rather tangled state of affairs: the term 'focus' has come to be used for fundamentally different semantic and pragmatic concepts.

The first use of focus to refer to information that is new or added to the discourse is more often found in pragmatics literature and is similar in nature to the concept of rheme (see 4.1.1); this is the type of focus that stands in a binary relationship with presupposition. The second use of focus to refer to information in a clause that is somehow prominent or "emphasized" is more often found in semantics literature and is related to the concept of *operators*, constituents that affect the truth-conditional status of a statement. This latter 'focusing' can happen to any constituent in the clause, regardless of whether that constituent is the presupposed information or the non-presupposed/new information (i.e., the former type of focus). This second, or operator, type of focus is often qualified by adjectives describing its

semantic effect, e.g., exhaustiveness focus, contrastiveness focus, and identification focus (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:80-81).[5]

Clearly, these two types of focus (the one referring to a constituent that is new/added information, the other referring to a specific type of "emphasis" placed on a constituent) function differently in the semantico-pragmatic structure of a given discourse. This confusion has led some linguistics to eschew using the term 'focus' altogether. That is the approach I will be following in the remainder of this work: Vallduví and Vilkuna's (1998) distinction between the two formulations of what is often called 'focus' and their terminology will play a central role in the model of BH information structure presented in this chapter.

In Table 4.1 I have provided the three information structure concepts which we will be discussing and using. Each concept, *Theme*, *Rheme*, and *Kontrast*,[6] is given with the set of instructions that each concept directs the listener/reader to undertake.

Table 4.1

Label	*Information Instruction*
Theme	"'Anchor' information"
Rheme	"Add information" (i.e., Information Focus)
Kontrast	"Relate *X* to its alternatives" (i.e., Operator Focus)

The *Theme* is that piece of information which anchors the added information to the existing information state; it is the presupposed information in a discourse. Thus, the Theme is

[5] Neither Zubizarreta 1998 nor Lambrecht 1994 adequately treat the type of "focus" which is associated with contrast. On the one hand, Zubizarreta purposefully sets the issue of contrastive focus aside in her study since she is primarily concerned with the interaction of non-contrastive focus and prosody. On the other hand, Lambrecht actually dissolves contrastive focus, considering it an epiphenomenon which should not be considered a grammatical category: "the impression of contrastiveness which we receive when we hear such sentences arises from particular inferences which we draw on the basis of given conversational contexts." (Lambrecht 1994:290). However, I would argue that contrastive focus as a distinct category is justifiable on empirical grounds, which will become clearer as we proceed.

[6] Kontrast is spelled with a *k* in order to distinguish it from the more general notion of *contrast*.

a known, active entity within the discourse and stands in contrast to the Rheme.

As the information counterpart to the Theme, the *Rheme* represents that information which has been added to a discourse situation (i.e., it is the non-presupposed information), often marked in languages by word order, prosody, or both. Rhematicity is a relational notion which applies to a constituent only by virtue of the discourse context, not by virtue of any inherent linguistic (e.g., semantic) features of that constituent. While the Rheme may often mark "new" discourse items, it may also mark "old" discourse items which are, in some way, satisfying an open parameter within the discourse (i.e., elements which are being "re-added" to the discourse). Consider again the contextualizing question-answer pairs from (1)-(6), modified here in (7)-(12) (subscript $_R$ marks the Rheme; subscript $_T$ marks the Theme).

(7) What happened? $_R$[John shut the door].	Sentence Rheme
(8) What did John do to the door? [$_T$John [[$_R$shut] the door]].	Predicate (Verb)-Rheme
(9) What did John shut? [$_T$John shut [$_R$the door]].	Argument (Object)-Rheme
(10) Who shut the door? [$_R$John] [$_T$shut the door]].	Argument (Subject)-Rheme
(11) What did John do? [$_T$John [$_R$shut the door]].	Verb Phrase Rheme
(12) What happened to the door? [[$_R$John] [[$_R$shut] [$_T$the door]]].	'Subject + Verb' Rheme

In (7)-(12), I have replaced the F(ocus) marking of (1)-(6) with T(heme) and R(heme) in order to illustrate how these latter two information structure concepts are manifested within the various contexts established in (7)-(12). Each *wh*-question in (7)-(12) sets up the context in which the corresponding utterances are felicitous. However, while superficially useful, *wh*-questions such as those in (7)-(12) are inherently misleading: they are not the appropriate

contextualization for rhematicity (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:85). In certain utterances it is clear that the rhematic constituents (i.e., added information) given in answers to the questions are not the only pragmatically prominent constituents. For example, in (13) the question is preparing the way for a 'verb phrase Rheme' (see (11) above). However, in this case I have underlined the constituent *Kathy* to indicate that it is being stressed prosodically and thus "emphasized" in some way (that is not rhematic).

(13) What did John do at the party?
[$_T$John [$_R$introduced <u>Kathy</u> to me]].

On the basis of examples like (13) in which there is a constituent (the VP) that is the Rheme as well as a separate constituent (the DP object *Kathy*) that is pragmatically prominent in some other way, Vallduví and Vilkuna have proposed a third information structure concept: *Kontrast*. Kontrast can be represented by the following: if an expression *x* is kontrastive, the addressee is instructed to generate a membership set[7] M = {*x*, *y*, *z*, . . . } and then to place *x* in relation to the semantically related alternatives in set M (Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998:83).[8] In other words, the term Kontrast refers to the type of 'focus' which instructs the addressee to consult a membership set, established either contextually or ontologically, to which the "focused" item belongs. Once the membership set is established, the kontrastive item is placed in relation to the alternatives.

---

[7] "A set is any collection of objects, which are described as its members. We can specify a set by reference to a property which all members share: for example, we can speak of a set of British towns with a population over 1 million, or a set of English sentences. Alternatively, a set can be specified by listing its members: for example, there is a three-membered set whose members are Margaret Thatcher, the number 7, and the city of San Francisco. As this example indicates, the members of a set need not 'belong together' in any natural fashion" (Malmkjær 1991:401; see also van der Does 1994).

[8] Although the notion of "contrast" is not a crucial element within the definition of Kontrast, a contrast is often inferred in the context of a Kontrast when "alternative members of some salient set are evoked and, most importantly, when there is felt to be a salient opposition in what is predicated of them" (Prince 1998:290-91).

We can now see why *wh*-questions set up a Kontrast with the result that the constituent corresponding to the *wh*-word is selected from and related to a membership set. Consider (13) again, modified and presented in (14).

(14) What did John do at the party?
[$_{T}$John [$_{R}$introduced [$_{K}$Kathy] to me]].
Kontrastive Set = {*Kathy*, *Sue*, *Joyce*, . . . }

In (14), the membership {*Kathy*, *Sue*, *Joyce*, . . . } is established either by appealing to previously mentioned entities (i.e., *a contextually established set* – that is, Kathy is related to, for instance, other women who were at the party) or to logically inferable entities (i.e., *an ontologically established set* – that is, Kathy is related to other people [either women, men, or both] who have not necessarily been mentioned but are logical alternatives). Once the addressee has established this membership set, Kontrast further instructs the addressee to place Kathy in relation to the other comparable members in the set and, in English, to assign it nuclear stress. The effect of this structure is to communicate something like, "John introduced *Kathy* (not Sue, Joyce, or any other alternative) to me." Note that in (14) the kontrastive element *Kathy* is located within the rhematic VP. Since the Theme and Rheme are the core information structure concepts in the clause, any constituent that is also kontrastive will necessarily be either a part of the Theme or Rheme; thus, kontrastive constituents fulfill two roles within their respective clauses.

Adding the concept of Kontrast to our pragmatic model allows us to refine our understanding of question-answer pairs, such as those given in (7)-(12), repeated below in (15)-(20) with the Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast marked by subscripts.

(15) What happened? $_{K,R}$[John shut the door].	Sentence Kontrast
(16) What did John do to the door? [$_{T}$John [[$_{K,R}$shut] the door]].	Predicate (Verb)-Kontrast
(17) What did John shut? [$_{T}$John shut [$_{K,R}$the door]].	Argument (Object)-Kontrast
(18) Who shut the door? [$_{K,R}$John] [$_{T}$shut [the door]]].	Argument (Subject)-Kontrast
(19) What did John do? [$_{T}$John [$_{K,R}$shut the door]].	Verb Phrase Kontrast
(20) What happened to the door? [[$_{K,R}$John] [[$_{K,R}$shut] [$_{T}$the door]]].	'Subject + Verb' Kontrast

In (15)-(20) I have added the subscript K in the answers in order to illustrate that questions such as these necessitate the presence of Kontrast in the answer. If the answers were given without the kontrastive expectations established by the questions, the pragmatic structure of the answer clauses would not include a Kontrast; the appropriate constituents would be marked solely for Theme or Rheme, as in (7)-(12). However, once they are in direct response to a question, the element matching the variable introduced by the *wh*-word becomes kontrastive in addition to being rhematic, as illustrated by (15)-(20): the marked constituents are both new/added as well as "emphasized" such that they are set over against the items in their respective membership sets (i.e., they function "konstrastively"). As in (14), the Kontrast in each of the answers in (15)-(20) serves both as the Kontrast and as part of the Rheme; however, it is also possible that a Kontrastive constituent may be part of the Theme.

In summary, I have defined the two basic pragmatic elements of a clause: the Theme and Rheme. In addition, I introduced the concept of Kontrast to account for those constituents which, regardless of whether they are thematic or rhematic, are presented with some sort of emphasis in the clause. Finally, I have argued that when question-answer pairs are used to

establish the context and thus highlight the pragmatic contour of the statement in the answer, the question always requires a kontrastive constituent in the answer. In other words, answers to direct questions can never be simply theme-rheme; they must always include a Kontrast.

4.2. MAPPING THE INTERFACE BETWEEN SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS IN BH

Up to this point, I have outlined a approach to word order and focus based primarily on the works of Lambrecht 1994, Zubizarreta 1998, and Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998. To summarize briefly, I have chosen to avoid using the problematic term *focus* and instead have described the basic pragmatic structure of the clause using the pragmatic concepts of Rheme/'new or added information' and Theme/'anchoring information'. Furthermore, I suggested that the concept Kontrast adequately accounts for those elements in a clause that appear to be particularly "emphasized." Discovering how these three communicative concepts are packaged in BH syntax is the task of this section.

4.2.1. Theme and Rheme in BH Finite Verbal Clauses

As I argued in chapter three, the word order of the basic BH clause is SV unless VS inversion is triggered (i.e., an element such as a complementizer stands before the subject DP and verb and results in X-VS order). A significant part of my conclusion was that there is no *syntactic* motivation for movement beyond SV and X-VS orders; hence, clauses that exhibit word order differing from SV/X-VS must represent additional, pragmatically motivated movement. In the following analysis I will investigate whether these claims are borne out by a discourse analysis of specific Hebrew texts using the pragmatic model I have outlined above.

To start with, if BH has SV order as its basic word order, then cross-linguistic word order studies suggest that it should also exhibit a basic order of pragmatic constituents within the clause (cf. Firbas 1966:270; Greenberg 1966:100; Lyons 1977:508**;** Givón 1979:296; Mallinson and Blake 1981:151): thematic material should be nearer the beginning/left-edge of a clause, and rhematic material should be nearer to the end/right-edge of a clause. If BH is SV (as I have argued) and it also exhibits a Theme-to-Rheme order, there are only three options for the mapping of Theme and Rheme onto any given SVO clause in BH. (Precisely which mapping has taken place is distinguishable only by the full discourse context.) (21)-(23) provide the scheme of each of the three mapping options.

(21) $_{R}$[S V O] 'Sentence' Rheme—entire clause presents added information (i.e., there is no Theme)

(22) [$_{T}$S [$_{R}$V O]] VP Rheme—the Subject DP is thematic; the VP is added information

(23) [$_{T}$S V [$_{R}$O]] Object Rheme—the Object DP is the only added information

(24)-(26) provide illustrative BH examples for each of the options in (21)-(23) (the Rheme is marked in boldface in the word-for-word gloss; the Theme is italicized).

(24) $_{R}$[S V O] 'Sentence' Rheme

[14]And Abram heard that his relative had been taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred eighteen, and went in pursuit as far as Dan. [15]He divided he and his servants against them at night, and he smote them and pursued them as far as Hobah, north of Damascus. [16]And he brought back all the goods, and he also brought back Lot, his relative with his goods, and even the women and the people. [17]And the king of Sodom went out to meet him after his return from the smiting of Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him, at the Valley of Shaveh (that is, the King's Valley). [18][*And Melchizedek, the king of Salem, took out bread and wine*.] He was priest of God Most High, [19]and he blessed Abram, saying, "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth. [20]And blessed be God Most High, who delivered your enemies into your hand." And (Abram) gave him a tenth of everything. [21]And the king of Sodom said to Abram, "Give me the people and keep the goods for yourself."

$_{R}$[ûmalkî-ṣeḏeq melek̲ šālēm [hôṣî᾽ [leḥem wāyāyin]]]
and-Melchizedek king.of Salem go out(3MS PERF CAUS) **bread and-wine**

'and Melchizedek, the king of Salem, took out bread and wine' (Gen 14.18)

In Genesis 14.18, there is nothing given in the initial clause ('and Melchizedek, the king of Salem, took out bread and wine') to "anchor" the information to the existing information state (i.e., the preceding discourse context). Rather, all the elements, the subject DP *Melchizedek*, the verb *took out*, and the object DPs *bread and wine*, are new to the discourse, hence there is no syntactic motivation for a word order other than SVO, which is exactly what we find in this clause.

Many commentaries suggest that there might be a "subtle contrast" being made with the verbs *went out* (King of Sodom) and *took out* (Melchizedek) which both derive from the same Hebrew root *yṣʾ* : the King of Sodom comes out and makes demands (cf. v. 21) while the King of Salem, Melchizedek, comes out and provides bread and wine (Sarna 1989:109; see also Wenham 1987:305; Hamilton 1990:410-11). While this interpretation seems reasonable, such a conclusion is not warranted by the syntactic-pragmatic structure of the clauses in Genesis 14.14-21.

Why is the SVO clause highlighted in (24) not contrastive? First, based upon the discourse context, all three of the primary constituents (the subject DP, the verb, and the object DP) are discourse-new and hence rhematic. Second, I have argued elsewhere that rhematic entities are never topicalized (i.e., fronted to create a Kontrast) in BH (Holmstedt 2000). Rather, if a constituent carries both rhematicity and kontrastiveness, the normal BH construction is left-dislocation. Thus, if Genesis 14.18 intended to set up a Kontrast, it would most likely be structured as follows: *ûmalkî-ṣeḏeq meleḵ šālēm* ***hûʾ*** *hôṣîʾ leḥem wāyāyin* 'and Melchizedek, king of Salem—**he** brought out bread and wine'.

Because most Hebraists assume that VS is the normal word order for BH and that the *wayyiqtol* form is used to carry narrative forward, the SVO clause in (25) often bewilders

commentators—"the peculiar order of words is difficult to explain" (Skinner 1910:101, fn. 1; cf. Sarna 1989:31).

(25) [$_T$S [$_R$V O]] VP Rheme

> [3.20]And the man named his wife Eve, because she was the mother of all living. [21]and Yhwh God made garments of skins for the man and for his wife, and clothed them. [22]and Yhwh God said, "See, the man has become like one of us, by knowing good and evil; and now, lest he reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever . . ."—[23]and Yhwh God cast him out from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. [24]and he drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a flaming and turning sword to guard the way to the tree of life. [4.1][*And the man knew Eve, his wife*] and she conceived and bore Cain, saying, "I have produced a man with the help of Yhwh."

[$_T$wəhāʾāḏām	[$_R$yāḏaʿ	[ʾeṯ	ḥawwâ ʾištô]]]
and-*the-man*	**know**(3MS PERF)	**ACC Eve**	**wife-his**

'and the man knew (i.e., sexually) Eve, his wife' (Gen 4.1)

However, if BH is an SV language, the word order in Genesis 4.1 is not difficult to explain. In the case of Genesis 4.1, the subject DP, *the man*, is thematic while the VP, *knew Eve, his wife*, is rhematic since this event is discourse-new.

There is an additional, secondary, reason for the SVO (and not *wayyiqtol*/X-VSO) construction in Genesis 4.1: the verse represents a scene change (see Bandstra 1992; Niccacci 1995; Longacre 1996; Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999), from the episode in the garden to the new life and family outside of paradise (see Cassuto 1961:197; cf. Coats 1983:64; Sarna 1989:31-2). Since the *wayyiqtol* form is the usual narrative verb form, it is avoided in (25) to mark the transition from one scene to the next (see 3.2.4; cf. Wenham 1987:100; Hamilton 1990:219; Westermann 1984:288). However, this use of SVO order—to mark a scene change—does not entail that the SVO order in (25) (or in any example) reflects *pragmatically* motivated word order.

In (26) Genesis 4.18 provides easily recognizable examples of SVO clauses with only the object DP marked as the Rheme.

(26) [$_T$S V [$_R$O]] Object Rheme

[16]And Cain went away from the presence of Yhwh, and settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden. [17]And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bore Enoch; and he built a city, and he called the name of city after the name of his son Enoch. [18]And to Enoch was born Irad; [*and Irad begat Mehujael, and Mehujael begat Methushael, and Methushael begat Lamech.]*

[$_T$wəʿîrāḏ yālaḏ [$_R$ʾeṯ məḥûyāʾēl]
and- Irad beget (3MS PERF) ACC **Mehujael**

[$_T$ûməḥîyāʾēl yālaḏ [$_R$ʾeṯ məṯûšāʾēl]
and- Mehujael beget (3MS PERF) ACC **Methushael**

[$_T$ûməṯûšāʾēl yālaḏ [$_R$ʾeṯ lāmeḵ]
and-Methushael beget (3MS PERF) ACC **Lamech**

'and Irad begat Mehujael; and Mehujael begat Methushael; and Methushael begat Lamech' (Gen 4.18)

Clearly neither the subject DPs *Irad*, *Mehujael*, *Methushael* nor the verb *begat* are discourse-new in any of the three clauses; only the object DPs *Mehujael*, *Methushael*, and *Lamech*, respectively, are available as the Rheme. The combination of this pragmatic structure and SV order appears to be common for list-like narrative stretches, such as genealogies (e.g., Ruth 4.18-22; 1 Chronicles 1-2), due to the repetitive nature of such lists (i.e., the use of the same verbs and DPs to create continuity; contra Wenham 1987:95, fn. 18b).

We have now examined three BH clauses which correspond to the three basic pragmatic configurations for an SV clause. For each of the SV examples in (24)-(26), I have explained this pragmatic structure based upon their respective discourse contexts. Significantly, (24)-(26) support the proposal for BH that the rhematic material is always in contact with the end (or, right edge) of the clause, whether the Rheme is the sentence (= IP), the VP, or simply the object DP.

However, as I discussed in chapter three, such syntactically and pragmatically simple clauses as those given in (24)-(26) are not statistically dominant in the Hebrew Bible: non-SV

clauses, illustrated in (27)-(28), are frequently used precisely because a literary work such as the Hebrew Bible is often rife with constituents conveying some sort of "emphasis." Examples (27)-(28) illustrate the types of non-SV clauses in Genesis *that are not preceded by a clause-initial function word or fronted phrase* (i.e., they are not X-VS). (Note that in the rest of the examples in this chapter, I have provided an initial notation that summarizes the pragmatic structure of the clause and the resulting word order. In other words, the notation SOV < S_RVO, as in (27), means that the SOV word order that is found in the clause derives from an underlying SVO word order in which the verb is rhematic and the subject DP and the object DP are thematic.)

(27) SOV < [$_T$S [$_R$V $_T$O]] (i.e., thematic subject and object DPs and a rhematic verb)

[1]And Sarah lived one hundred twenty-seven years; this was the length of Sarah's life. [2]And Sarah died at Kiriath-arba (that is, Hebron) in the land of Canaan; and Abraham went in to mourn for Sarah and to weep for her. [3]And Abraham rose up from beside his dead, and said to the Hittites, [4]"I am a stranger and an alien residing among you; give me property among you for a grave, so that I may bury my dead out of my sight." [5]The Hittites answered Abraham, [6]"Hear us, my lord; you are a mighty prince among us. In the choicest of our graves, bury your dead; [*No man among us will withhold from you his grave*] for burying your dead."

[ʾîš mimmennû [ʾeṯ qiḇrôi [$_R$lōʾ yiḵlê [*t*i mimməḵā]]]]
a man from-us ACC grave-his **NEG** **withhold**(3MS IMPF) **from-you**'

'a man among us will not withhold from you his grave' (Gen 23.6)

Wenham (1994) proposes that the word order involved in Genesis 23.6 is stylistic: "[The Hittites] echo [Abraham's] own terminology exactly in their double reply: positively they say, 'Bury your dead [A] in the pick of our graves [B]"'; negatively in chiastic opposition they add, 'None of us would withhold his grave [B] from you to prevent you burying your dead [A].'" (1994:127). However, the word order in Genesis 23.6 is explicable apart from an appeal to

stylistics.[9] The only constituents within the clause that are not discourse-old are the verb with its negative, *not withhold*, and the PP *from you*.

Moreover, if, as I have suggested, non-rhematic material moves leftward (i.e., to the beginning of the clause) in order to allow the rhematic material to align with the end (right edge) of the clause, the implication for (27) is that the object was forced to move left of the verb, resulting in the SOV order. The only difficulty with Genesis 23.6 is discerning the pragmatic status of the PP *from you*. Either it is included in the Rheme, or it is considered transparent for pragmatic purposes. In any case, the most salient details for this clause are that the subject DP and the object DP are thematic and thus both are positioned to the left of the rhematic verb.

The general acceptance of VS order in BH is the likely explanation for the lack of any discussion about the word order of (28) in the commentaries on Genesis. However, if my proposal that BH is an SV language is correct, then the VSO clause in (28) must be explained pragmatically.

[9] Although Sternberg's (1991) rhetorical reading of Genesis 23 is clearly a literary analysis rather than a linguistic analysis, it offers insights into how the participants in the passage are using the full range of linguistic devices in order to manipulate each other. Sternberg's work is a good example of how his type of literary analysis and the linguistic approach of pragmatics share a common goal—to understand how language is being used in order to achieve specific purposes—but approach the object of study (i.e., the text) from different directions.

(28) VSO < [$_{R}$S [$_{T}$V [$_{R}$O]]] (i.e., a thematic verb and rhematic subject and object DPs)

> [9]And Leah saw that she had ceased bearing children, and she took her maid Zilpah and gave her to Jacob as a wife. [10]And Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a son. [11]And Leah said, "Good fortune!" and she named him Gad. [12]And Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a second son. [13]And Leah said, "Happy am I, because the women will call me happy"; and she named him Asher. [14]And Reuben went out in the days of wheat harvest and found mandrakes in the field, and brought them to his mother Leah. And Rachel said to Leah, "Please give me some of your son's mandrakes." [15]But she said to her, "Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband? Would you take away my son's mandrakes also?" Rachel said, "Therefore he may lie with you tonight in exchange for your son's mandrakes." [16]And Jacob came from the field in the evening, and Leah went out to meet him, and said, "You must come; because I have hired you with my son's mandrakes." And he lay with her that night. [17]And God listened to Leah, and she conceived and bore Jacob a fifth son. [18]And Leah said, "[*God has provided my reward*], (I) who gave my maid to my husband"; and she called his name Issachar.

[nāṯan$_{i}$ [$_{R}$ʾelōhîm [t_{i} [$_{R}$śəḵārî]]]]
give(3MS PERF) **God** **reward-my**

'God has provided my reward' (Gen 30.18)

In fact, we have a string of these VS clauses beginning direct quotes in chapter 30 as the two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, continue to produce children and praise God as the source of the blessing. Genesis 30.6, 20, and 23 (e.g., 30.23 *ʾāsap̱ ʾelohîm ʾeṯ ḥerpāṯî* 'God has removed my shame')[10] all present VS clauses that bear some type of exclamation following childbirth. For Genesis 30.18, given in example (28), I propose that VS order reflects the rhematic marking on the subject DP 'God' and the object DP 'my reward'. From the perspective of the character Leah, God has been re-introduced into the narrative at this point as the agent of her pregnancy and delivery (note that the narrator explicitly tells the reader that Leah had stopped bearing children back in v. 9). In addition to the rhematic subject, the object, Leah's reward, is rhematic—she had bartered with Rachel, her rival-wife, for her husband's sexual attention, and she received from God her son Issachar as her much sought-after goal.

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[10] There are two logical possibilities for the pragmatic structure of the VS clauses in Genesis 30.6, 20, and 23: either the verb is kontrastive (and thus has moved left), or the verb is merely thematic, resulting in the raising of the verb over the rhematic subject (and object). In both cases, the verb has raised, producing the VS order. For the clauses in Genesis 30.6, 20, and 23, I suggest that the VS order in each case reflects a kontrastive verb; see below, example (31), for further discussion.

The verb ‘give’ is the thematic constituent in Genesis 30.18; this verb has been used throughout Genesis 30 in reference to the activity of Jacob’s two wives—both *give* their maidservants to Jacob in order to have children in their names (Gen 30.4, 9). Furthermore, Rachel exclaims ‘God . . . has *given* me a son’ when her maid Bilhah bears a child from Jacob (Gen 30.6). Finally, Rachel requests that Leah’s son *give* her some of the mandrakes that found in Genesis 30.14—this event sets the stage for God *giving* Leah another son.

I shall conclude our overview of BH clauses that contain only Themes and Rhemes with the example in (29). (29) illustrates one of the most common pragmatic structures that exists in the Hebrew Bible: in this clause a function word (in particular, the function word within the *wayyiqtol* verb; see above in 3.2.4, 3.4.1.2) triggers the raising of the verb.

(29) X-VSO < X-$_{R}$**SVO** (i.e., an entire rhematic clause)

> [7.24]And the waters swelled on the earth for one hundred fifty days. [8.1]And God remembered Noah and all the wild animals and all the domestic animals that were with him in the ark. And God made a wind blow over the earth, and the waters subsided; [2]and the fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed, and the rain from the heavens was restrained. [3]And the waters gradually receded from the earth. And the waters diminished at the end of one hundred fifty days; [4]and the ark came to rest in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the mountains of Ararat. [5]Now, the waters continued to diminish until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains appeared. [6]And it was at the end of forty days, [*and Noah opened the window of the ark that he had made*] [7]and sent out the raven; and it went to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth.

[wayyip̱taḥ$_{i}$ $_{R}$[no^{a}ḥ [t_{i} [ʾeṯ ḥallon hattēḇāh ʾašer ʿāśāh]]]]
and-**open**(3MS PAST) **Noah** ACC **window.of the-ark** **REL** **make**(3MS PERF)

‘and Noah opened the window of the ark that he had made’ (Gen 8.6)

Genesis 8.6 presents an example that illustrates the combination of ‘sentence’ rhematic structure (which would normally result in SV order) and verb raising due to the phonologically underspecified and semantically vacuous complementizer in the *wayyiqtol* form (see above in 3.2.4 and 3.4.1.2). Noah, although a main character in the flood narrative of chapters six through nine, has been noticeably quiet as an agent in the material preceding Genesis 8.6. The

clause in verse 6 reintroduces Noah and adds that he performed a new activity upon the previously unmentioned window of the ark;[11] thus, all of the constituents are rhematic and the word order (on account of the use of the *wayyiqtol* form) is X-VSO.

This conclusion for Genesis 8.6 should not be taken to imply that all *wayyiqtol* clauses will be solely rhematic. In *wayyiqtol* clauses the syntactic raising of the verb overrides any other pragmatically motivated movement. Thus, any two *wayyiqtol* clauses may exhibit quite diverse pragmatic structures; it is merely that the verb will always precede any other constituents. See 3.2.4 and 3.3.1 for discussion of the *wayyiqtōl* form.

In summary, the data provided in (24)-(29) strongly support the proposal that the SV language BH exhibits rhematic material that aligns with the right-edge of the BH clause. Furthermore, the examples given in (27) and (28) support the corollary that non-rhematic material actually moves left in order to avoid being aligned with the right-edge of the clause (i.e., the rhematic domain). Let us now consider the more complex clauses in which a constituent also functions as a Kontrast.

4.2.2 Kontrast in BH Finite Verbal Clauses

In the last section, I discussed only the syntactic manifestation of the Rheme and the Theme in BH. I demonstrated how rhematic constituents lines up with the right-edge of the clause and how thematic constituents move leftward, if needed, in order to preserve this alignment. In this section, I shall present clauses with a kontrastive element added to the

[11] It is possible that the window refers to the *ṣohar* 'skylight'(?) of 6.16 (cf. Wenham 1987; Sarna 1989; Hamilton 1990); however, if not discourse-new, the item is certainly reintroduced into the discourse in 8.6 and is thus rhematic.

information structure. Examples (30)-(33) illustrate BH clause types that include a Kontrast and that are not preceded by a syntactic trigger such as a complementizer. (The Rheme is marked with boldface; the Theme is marked with italics; and the Kontrast is underlined.)[12]

(30) OVS < [$_{T}$S $_{R}$[V[$_{K}$O]]] (i.e., a thematic subject DP, a rhematic VP, and a kontrastive object DP)

[36]And Jacob became angry, and challenged Laban, and Jacob responded and said to Laban, "What is my offense? What is my sin, that you have hotly pursued me? [37]Although you have felt through all my goods, what have you found of all your household goods? Set it here before my kinsmen and your kinsmen, that they may decide between us two. [38]These twenty years I have been with you, your ewes and your female goats did not miscarry, and I did not eat the rams of your flocks. [39]The torn carcass I did not bring to you; I bore the loss of it myself; of my hand you required it, whether stolen by day or stolen by night. [40]Thus I was; by day the heat consumed me, and the cold by night, and my sleep fled from my eyes. [41]These twenty years of mine in your house, I served you fourteen years for your two daughters, and six years for your flock, and you have changed my wages ten times. [42]If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been on my side, surely now you would have sent me away empty-handed. [*God has seen my affliction and the labor of my hands*], and rebuked you last night."

[ʾeṯ ʿonyî wəʾeṯ yəgîʿ kappay]$_{i}$ [rāʾâ$_{j}$ [$_{T}$ʾelōhîm $_{R}$[*t*$_{j}$ [$_{K}$*t*$_{i}$]]]]
ACC **<u>affliction-my</u> AND-ACC <u>toil.of hands-my</u> see**(3MS PERF) *God*

'God has seen my affliction and the labor of my hands' (Gen 31.42)

Although the object-initial word order of (30) is not discussed at any length in many commentaries, this example exhibits wonderful word order complexity, initiated by the fronting of the kontrastive object DP. In (30) the subject DP *ʾelōhîm* 'God' represents an entity that has already been invoked (see v. 42) and is thus thematic. The only entity that is available to function as the Rheme/"added information" is the VP. However, the kontrastive object DP within the VP has raised leftward to the front of the clause; in turn, the presence of the fronted object so high in the clause triggers the raising of the remainder of the Rheme,[13] the verb *rāʾâ*,

[12] There are many logical Kontrast configurations which do not occur in Genesis, but may occur elsewhere. The examples given in this section represent the limited corpus of Genesis. For instance, VOS which derives from a kontrastive VP and a rhematic subject DP is a construction that may exist in the Hebrew Bible, but does not appear in Genesis.

[13] As I noted above in 4.1.3, kontrastive constituents are also part of either the Theme or Rheme. In (30), the kontrastive object DP is also rhematic since it is part of the rhematic VP. When the object DP is fronted, however, it leaves behind the remaining elements of the Rheme (in the case of (30), only the verb remains). It just

over the Theme/subject DP. Thus, the normal order of the Theme and Rheme in BH is inverted due to the fronting of the object DP just as when the presence of a complementizer triggers VS inversion (see chapter three). Significantly, the end result is that the Rheme (the verb *rāʾâ* '(he) has seen') is no longer aligned with the right-edge of the clause due to the 'X' element (the object DP *ʾeṯ ʿonyî wəʾeṯ yəgîʿ kappay* 'my affliction and the labor of my hands') at the front of the clause.

The function of the Kontrast in (30) is first to orient the reader to the fronted object DP *ʾeṯ ʿonyî wəʾeṯ yəgîʿ kappay* 'my oppression and the toil of my hands' and then to relate it to the membership set which the reader must establish. In this case, at least two logical membership sets exist; the membership set could take its cues from the possessive pronoun and be {**my** oppression/toil, **your** oppression/toil, **their** oppression/toil, . . .} or it could be built upon the noun and be {my oppression/toil, my offense, . . .}. The former set would highlight *who* was being afflicted, whereas the latter set would highlight the difference between the two men's interpretations of what Jacob had done—whether Jacob was culpable (Laban's assumption) or not (Jacob's assertion). Perhaps both membership sets are intended. In any case, this fronting of the object DP is communicating something like the following: *Though you (Laban) have continually treated me unfairly, God has indeed noticed both my hard work as well as this oppression of me by you.*

As I mentioned above in the discussion of example (28) (see note 10 above in particular), the clause in (31) as well as the VS clauses in Genesis 30.6 and 20 include kontrastive verbs (i.e., the actions or events communicated by the verbs are the pieces of

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so happens that in (30), the only remaining part of the Rheme, the verb, is raised (due to Triggered Inversion on account of the fronted object DP), leaving no part of the original Rheme located at the end/right-edge of the clause.

information that are highlighted), which is the reason for the uncommon word order (i.e., VS order without an initial 'triggering' constituent).

(31) VSO < [$_{T}$S [$_{RK}$V [$_{T}$O]]] (i.e., a kontrastive/rhematic verb, and thematic subject and object DPs)

> [1]And Rachel saw that she did not bear (any children) for Jacob, and she envied her sister; and she said to Jacob, "Give me children—and if not, I shall die!" [2]And Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel, and he said, "Am I in the place of God, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?". . . [22]And God remembered Rachel, and God hearkened to her and opened her womb. [23]And she conceived and bore a son, and said, ["*God has removed my shame*"]; [24]and she called his name Joseph, saying, "May Yhwh add to me another son!"

[ʾāsap̱$_{i}$ [$_{T}$ʾᵉlōhîm [$_{RK}$*t*$_{i}$ [$_{T}$ʾeṯ ḥerpāṯî]]]]
<u>remove</u>(3MS PERF) *God* *ACC* *shame-my*

'God has removed my shame' (Gen 30.23)

In the case of Genesis 30.23 (unlike Genesis 30.18 in example (28)) the motivating factor for VS order is the kontrastive verb. The subject DP in Genesis 30.23 (as well as in 30.6 and 20) is *God*, but this constituent cannot be rhematic since the referent, God, is not a new discourse item in the context of any of the examples; nor can we say that God is re-introduced in the clauses since he is present throughout the narrative as a backgrounded agent. Thus, the subject DP *God* is thematic.

Given an SV analysis of BH, the only explanation in each of these cases for the VS order is that God's action as expressed in the rhematic verb is kontrastive and thus raised over the subject. For instance, in Genesis 30.6 Rachel says *dānannî ʾelohîm* 'God has vindicated me'; the membership set for the verb is established ontologically: "either God vindicates me, or he does not vindicate me/adds to my shame."[14] Likewise, in Genesis 30.23 neither God nor Rachel's shame are new/added discourse items (Rachel's shame, i.e., her barrenness, has been a

[14] Theoretically, any verb can be kontrastive since it with its possible negative counterpart easily create a membership set. However, this is true of most constituents: when I speak in the first person, the non-first person (the second and third persons) readily creates a membership set. Thus, it is the context of each utterance that controls both which constituents are kontrastive as well as what other constituents make up the membership set.

main theme of the narrative since Genesis 29.31 when God effectively shut her womb (cf. 30.2)). What is *both* rhematic and kontrastive is the *removal* of Rachel's shame in verse 23.

SVO order that does not represent pragmatically neutral word order is illustrated in example (32). Genesis 31.25 presents us with two clauses that illustrate that SVO order can also be used to present a kontrastive subject DP.[15]

(32) SVO < [$_{TK}$S [$_{R}$VO]] (i.e., the subject DP is kontrastive/thematic, and the VP is rhematic)

[22]And it was told Laban on the third day that Jacob had fled, [23]and he took his kinsmen with him and pursued him for seven days and followed close after him into the hill country of Gilead. [24]And God came to Laban the Aramean in a dream by night, and said to him, "Be careful that you do not say a word to Jacob, either good or bad." [25]And Laban overtook Jacob. [*And Jacob pitched his tent in the hill country*,] [*and Laban pitched (his tent) with his kinsmen in the hill country of Gilead.*]

[$_{K}$wəya^{ᶜa}qōḇ$_{i}$ [$_{R}$tāqa$^{ᶜ}_{j}$ [t_{i} [t_{j} [ʾeṯ ʾoh^{o}lô bāhār]]]
and-*Jacob* **pitch**(3MS PERF) **ACC** **tent-his in-the-hill country**

'and Jacob had pitched his tent in the hill country' (Gen 31.25)

[$_{K}$wəlāḇān$_{i}$ [tāqa$^{ᶜ}_{j}$ [t_{i} [t_{j} [$_{R}$ʾeṯ ʾeḥāyw bəhar haggilᶜāḏ]]]
and-*Laban* pitch(3MS PERF) **with brothers-his in-the-hill country.of the-Gilead**.

'and Laban pitched (his tent) with his kinsmen in the hill country of Gilead' (Gen 31.25)

The commentaries say nothing about the word order in Genesis 31.25; rather, most focus on the semantics of the verb "pitched," the lack of an object for the verb in the third clause of 31.25 "Laban pitched (his tent)," or the ambiguous reference "in the hill country" in the second clause (cf. Skinner 1910:397; Sarna 1989:217; Hamilton 1995:296, note 3). What has been noticeably overlooked about these two clauses is that both contain a Kontrast and that the kontrastive constituents actually establish the membership set for each other!

[15] Note that the pragmatic structure of (32) differs from that of (24), for which I argued that the subject DP could not be kontrastive. In (24) the subject DP was rhematic and I have argued that rhematic constituents are never fronted, or 'topicalized'; rather, if a kontrastive and rhematic constituents is desired, left-dislocation is more often used. In the case of (32), the subject DP can be kontrastive and hence fronted because it is also thematic, not rhematic.

In both clauses in (32), the kontrastive constituents, *Jacob* and *Laban*, respectively, refer to prominent characters in the narrative context; thus, they cannot be rhematic. Laban is the agent in the clause which initiates 31.25, "and Laban overtook Jacob." Hence, the switch to Jacob as the agent in the second clause sets up the Kontrast, which in turn provides for the second Kontrast in the third clause where Laban is again the agent. The only pragmatic difference between the second and third clauses of 31.25 is that the verb is rhematic in the first, whereas it is not in the third. The rhematic material in the third clause is the location where Laban encamped, presumably in close vicinity to Jacob.

The use of SV word order to present a kontrastive subject DP, as in the two clauses in (32), does not in any way challenge my proposal that BH has SV order as its basic word order. There must be an order for presenting a kontrastive subject DP; this order is no different than that used to present a kontrastive object DP, as in (30): the movement of the kontrastive constituent to the left edge of its clause. In clauses like (32), the raising of the kontrastive subject DP would trigger the raising of the verb to the C position in the clause (see above in 3.4); however, since the raised subject DP would already reside higher than C (in [Spec, CP]), the final word order would remain SV. The syntactic-pragmatic model I have outlined in chapter three and in this chapter enables us to identify a nuanced pragmatic structure such as we have in Genesis 31.25.

Unlike the examples presented up to this point, and demonstrating the complexity available in BH grammar, the SOV order in (33) illustrates constituent movement for multiple pragmatic reasons.

(33) SOV < [$_{TK}$S [$_{R}$V[$_{T}$O]]] (i.e., kontrastive/thematic subject DP, rhematic verb, thematic object DP)

[1]And Abram was ninety-nine years old and Yhwh appeared to Abram, and said to him, "I am God Almighty; walk before me, and be blameless. [2]And I will make my covenant between me and you, and will multiply you exceedingly." [3]And Abram fell on his face; and God said to him, [4]"I—see!—my covenant is with you, and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations. [5]And no longer shall your name be Abram, but your name shall be Abraham; because I have made you the father of a multitude of nations. [6]And I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. [7]And I will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your descendants after you. [8]And I will give to you, and to your descendants after you, the land of your sojournings, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God." [9]And God said to Abraham, ["*and*[16] *you shall keep my covenant*], you and your descendants after you throughout their generations."

[$_{K}$wəʾattâ$_{j}$ [ʾet̲ bərîṯî$_{i}$ [t_{j} [$_{R}$t̲išmōr [t_{i}]]]]
and-*you* (MS) *ACC covenant-my* **keep**(2MS IMPF)

'and you shall keep my covenant' (Gen 17.9)

First, we should notice that the referent of "you," Abram/Abraham, is not discourse-new and neither is the item "my covenant" (see vv. 2, 4, 7 in chp. 17).[17] However, the verb *t̲išmōr* '(you) shall keep' has not been used previously in the context of this discussion between God and Abram/Abraham; therefore, it is the rhematic element. Since, as I have noted, *bərîṯî* 'my covenant' has been introduced previously (multiple times), it is thematic in 17.9 and thus

[16] See Miller (1999b) for a discussion of the pragmatics of the conjunction *wa/wə* when it is used in a speech-initial position. In particular, Miller argues that the *wə* at the beginning of Genesis 17.9 "serves to link Abram's responsibilities with the previous quotation that enumerates God's responsibilities. In other words, the two linked quotations describe the obligations of the speaker (God) and the addressee (Abram)" (1999b:183).

[17] Naudé (1999) argues that post-verbal coordinate subjects with independent personal pronouns, like the second subject phrase in Genesis 17.9, are adjuncts to the clause rather than the syntactic subjects of the clause. He suggests that the syntactic subject of the clause is a covert/null subject pronoun that is coindexed either with the personal pronoun in the adjunct or with the entire adjuncted phrase. Furthermore, he proposes that the adjunct phrase has the syntactic status of right-dislocation.

In the case of Genesis 17.9, there is an overt subject pronoun present as well as a coordinate subject phrase adjunct. The issue that arises is the pragmatic status of the adjunct phrase: where does it fit into the information structure of Genesis 17.9? If we combine Naudé's (1997) proposal with a proposal that I have submitted elsewhere (Holmstedt 2000), that right-dislocation in BH serves as a Kontrast, we may conclude that there are two kontrastive elements in Genesis 17.9. The initial subject pronoun in Genesis 17.9 initiates the Kontrast while the adjunct coordinate phrase resumes the Kontrast at the end of the clause and serves to specify further the elements of the membership (by adding the coordinated phrase 'and your descendents after you').

moves left of the rhematic verb, thereby preserving the appropriate alignment for Theme and Rheme.

Finally, the use of the independent person pronoun in Genesis 17.9, which is unnecessary in BH verbal clauses because of BH's *pro*-drop character (see 3.4.1.3), immediately alerts the reader/listener to establish a Kontrast, i.e. Abram/Abraham (and by extension his descendents) alone (not God, see 17.4, or anyone else) is responsible for keeping his part in the covenantal agreement that God has been talking about (cf. the cursory notes on the syntactic element of this clause in Skinner 1910:293; Sarna 1989:125; Hamilton 1990:468; Wenham 1994:15). This clause exhibits quite a bit of pragmatically motivated constituent movement: the subject moves left because it is kontrastive and the thematic object moves left precisely because it is not rhematic. The result is the SOV word order exhibited in (33).

In (30)-(33), I have presented BH clauses that illustrate how BH word order is influenced by a kontrastive constituent (i.e., a phrase fronted due to pragmatic concerns). The next example illustrates the type of clause that, in addition to a fronted kontrastive phrase, includes an introductory function word.

(34) X-Adv-VSO < [$_{T}$S [$_{R}$VO [$_{K}$Adv]]] (i.e., thematic subject DP, rhematic VP, kontrastive /rhematic adverb)

[1]And the whole earth had one language and few words. [2]And as (men) migrated from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there. . . [4]And they said, "Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower and its top shall be in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, so that we will not be scattered upon the face of the whole earth." [5]And Yhwh came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built. [6]And Yhwh said, "See, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is the beginning of what they will do; and now nothing that they intend to do will be impossible for them. [7]Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language . . . " [9]Therefore its name was called Babel, [*because there Yhwh confused the language of all the earth*]; and from there Yhwh scattered them over the face of all the earth.

[kî [šām$_{j}$ [bālal$_{i}$ [$_{T}$yhwh $_{R}$[*t*$_{i}$ [śəp̱aṯ kol hāʾāreṣ [$_{K}$*t*$_{j}$]]]]]]]
because there **confuse**(3MS PERF) Yhwh **language.of** **all.of** **the-land**

'because there Yhwh confused the language of all the earth' (Gen 11.9)

Commentators tell us that Genesis 11.9 is an etiology for the name of the location Babel, using a simple word-play between the name Babel, which may have originally meant 'gate of the god', and the Hebrew verb *bālal* 'he confused' (see Wenham 1987:241; Sarna 1989:84; Hamilton 1990:357). The text thus asserts that the tower built in Babel gained notoriety not as the symbol of humanity's unity and power, but as the source of fragmentation and alienation from God. The word order of the clause highlighted in (34) reinforces this interpretation.

The VSO order in (34) follows both an initial function word (the subordinating conjunction *kî* 'because') and a fronted adverb phrase *šām* 'there'. The kontrastive adverb phrase instructs the reader/hearer to establish a deictic membership set such as {. . . there, here, somewhere else, . . .} in order to communicate effectively that this place and no other was where God confused the language of humankind and divided it into many different groups. In this type of clause, two elements (i.e., the fronted kontrastive adverb phrase and the initial function word) stand at the left edge of the clause; either one is enough to trigger the raising of the rhematic verb over the thematic subject DP, resulting in VS word order.

In summary, the data presented in (30)-(34) demonstrate that, in addition to rhematic material being aligned with the right-edge of the BH clause (as I proposed above in 4.2.1), kontrastive material moves left in order to be as close as possible to the left edge of the BH clause. This fronting of kontrastive material triggers the raising of the verb, producing VS order (when the kontrastive DP is not the subject DP). Now that I have discussed how Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast are manifested in the syntax of finite verbal clauses, let us examine the pragmatic structure of participial and verbless clauses.

4.2.3. Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast in BH Participial and Verbless Clauses

In the last chapter, I noted that the word order of participial clauses (3.2) and verbless clauses (3.2) differ from that of verbal clauses: in the former two (which have a basic Subject-Predicate order) function words or fronted phrases do not trigger inversion (i.e., Predicate-Subject order). Thus, when Predicate-Subject order does occur in participial clauses and verbless clauses, the motivation is entirely pragmatic. For example, the participial clause in (35) illustrates Subject-Predicate order and its context suggests that the entire clause is marked for rhematicity: all three elements in the clause, the subject DP 'the wind of God', the verb 'hovering', and the PP 'upon the surface of the waters', are new information in the creation narrative.

(35) [1]In the beginning of God's creating the heavens and the earth, [2]and the earth was formless and void and darkness was upon the surface of the deep [*and the wind of God was hovering upon the surface of the water*]

[$_{R}$wərûᵃḥ ʾᵉlōhîm [məraḥepeṭ [ʿal pənê hammāyim]]]
and-**wind.of God hover**(FS PTCP) **upon surface.of the-water**

'and the wind of God was hovering upon the surface of the water' (Gen 1.2)

In contrast, the Predicate-Subject example in (36) illustrates pragmatically affected word order; in the context, the verb 'knows' is clearly kontrastive and thus it has been raised over the subject.

(36) [1]And the serpent was more crafty than any other wild animal that Yhwh God had made, and he said to the woman, "Did God say, 'You shall not eat from any tree in the garden'?" [2]And the woman said to the serpent, "We may eat of the fruit of the trees in the garden; [3]but from the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden God said, 'You shall not eat from it, nor shall you touch it, lest you die.'" [4]And the serpent said to the woman, "You will certainly not die; [5][*because God knows that on the day of your eating from it*], (and) your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods, who know good and evil'

kî [$_{K.R}$yōd̲ēᵃʿ [$_{T}$ʾᵉlōhîm kî bəyôm ʾᵃk̲olk̲em mimmennû
because **know**(MS PTCP) God COMP on-day.of eat(INF)-your from-it

'because God knows that on the day of your eating from it' (Gen 3.5)

Genesis 3 opens by presenting the interaction of the Serpent and the Woman in the Garden of Eden. It is also clear from the context that God cannot be rhematic in (36); he has been mentioned as an agent by the narrator and by both active characters within the narrative, therefore the constituent 'God' must be thematic. If the predicate is kontrastive and the subject is thematic, the question arises: What element is the Rheme? As I proposed above in 4.1.3, a constituent can function as both Rheme and Kontrast; this is exactly the case for the predicate 'knows' in (36).

Previous to Genesis 3.5 there is no discussion of "God knowing" in any similar context; thus the participle 'knows' is added information (i.e., rhematic). However, though the participle is rhematic, it has been raised higher than the normal rhematic position. Its position higher than the subject DP indicates that it also functions as a Kontrast. Thus, in the case of Genesis 3.5, the Predicate-Subject order of the second clause reflects the pragmatic roles of the constituents in the clause; in particular, the rhematic verb is also kontrastive, which has resulted in its position before the subject DP.

The dual pragmatic status of the predicate explains why it is not placed at the right edge of the root/matrix clause, as rhematic material should be: the kontrastiveness takes precedence and causes the predicate to move left over the subject towards the front of the clause. The kontrastive nature of the predicate in Genesis 3.5 requires the establishment of a membership set such as {knows, does not know, . . . }.[18] The Predicate-Subject word order in Genesis 3.5 suggests that the Serpent's intent is to impute an ulterior motive to God for his command to abstain from the tree in the garden. According to the Serpent, God's command is misleading and self-interested: God *knows* the status available to the man and woman if they eat from 'the

[18] See above, note 14.

tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (2.17), so he forbids them access and declares death the penalty for disobedience in this matter.

> The facts that the serpent maintains are, in the narrator's opinion, largely accurate. It correctly indicates the secret power of the tree. Knowledge truly makes one like God (3:22). It is also true that people do not die immediately after eating. At the same time, the serpent hints at an elucidation of these facts: God may be jealous so that he begrudges people the great good. (Gunkel [1910] 1997:17)

Much like participial clauses, such as those I presented in (35) and (36), verbless/nominal clauses exhibit a base Subject-Predicate order and a pragmatically motivated Predicate-Subject order. Subject-Predicate order is typically used to convey either that both the subject and predicate are rhematic or that just the predicate is rhematic (and hence the subject is thematic). If we look again at Genesis 1.2 (given with Genesis 1.1) in (37), we see an example of the first type: a Subject-Predicate clause in which all the elements are rhematic. In other words, in (37) the subject DP 'darkness' and the predicative PP 'upon the surface of the deep' are both new/added to the discourse.

(37) [1]In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, [2]and the earth was formless and void, and the earth was formless and void [*and darkness (was) upon the surface of the deep*] and the wind of God was hovering upon the surface of the waters'

wə[$_{R}$ḥōšeḵ [ʿal pənê t̲əhôm]]
and-**darkness upon face.of deep**

'darkness (was) upon the surface of the deep' (Gen 1.2)

Unlike the Subject-Predicate clause in (37), the Predicate-Subject example in (38) exhibits a kontrastive predicative PP 'to your husband'. Both the subject DP 'your longing' and the predicative PP 'to your husband' are rhematic; as such, we expect Subject-Predicate order. However, the Predicate-Subject order in Genesis 3.16 indicates that the narrator is also marking the predicate 'to your husband' as a Kontrast. Thus, the predicative PP is both

rhematic and kontrastive and the latter function motivates its placement at the left edge of its clause.

(38) [14]Yhwh God said to the serpent, "Because you have done this, cursed are you more than all cattle, and more than every beast of the field; On your belly you will go, and dust you will eat all the days of your life. [15]And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your seed and her seed; he shall bruise you on the head, and you shall bruise him on the heel." And to the woman he said, "I will greatly increase your pain and your pregnancy; in pain you shall bear children, [*and your desire (shall be) for your husband*] and he shall rule over you"

wə[$_K$ʾel ʾîšēk$_i$ [$_R$təšûqāṯēk t_i]] wəhûʾ yimšāl bāk
and-to man-your **desire-your** and-he rule(3MS IMPF) in-you

'and your desire (shall be) for your husband (and he shall rule over you)' (Gen 3.16)

When scholars comment on this verse, they tend to focus on the last two clauses of the verse that together deal with the woman-man relationship: *and to your husband (shall be) your desire and he shall rule over you* (cf. Skinner 1910:82-83; Gunkel 1997:21; Hamilton 1990:201-202; Sarna 1989:28). The presence of the overt subject pronoun (see 3.4.1.3) in the clause 'he shall rule over you' indicates that the woman will not have the power of self-rule or even co-rulership in her relationship with man. On this point, commentators have correctly recognized that the curse on the woman in Genesis 3.16 indicates that there will be marital disharmony as a consequence of the woman's disobedience in the Garden of Eden. What is rarely addressed is the word order in the first half of this stich.

Why is the PP 'to your husband' fronted in (38)? There are at least two logical explantions. Either the fronted PP establishes a kontrastive set with an explicit constituent from the previous clause, 'sons', or the fronted PP establishes a kontrastive set between 'your husband' and 'yourself' (i.e., the wife). In the first case, the answer is built upon the relationship of the clause 'to your husband shall be your desire' with the clause preceding it ('in pain you shall bear children'), not necessarily with the clause following it ('he shall rule over

you'). The the fronting of the PP (in order to indicate a Kontrast) creates a syntactically and pragmatically explicit relationship between child-bearing and the marital relationship. The kontrastive relationship between 'husband' and 'children' in this verse might indicate that, as a result of the couple's disobedience, tension will thereafter exist within the entire family, not merely between the husband and wife. The context explicitly provides the members of the kontrastive set: {your husband, your children, yourself}.

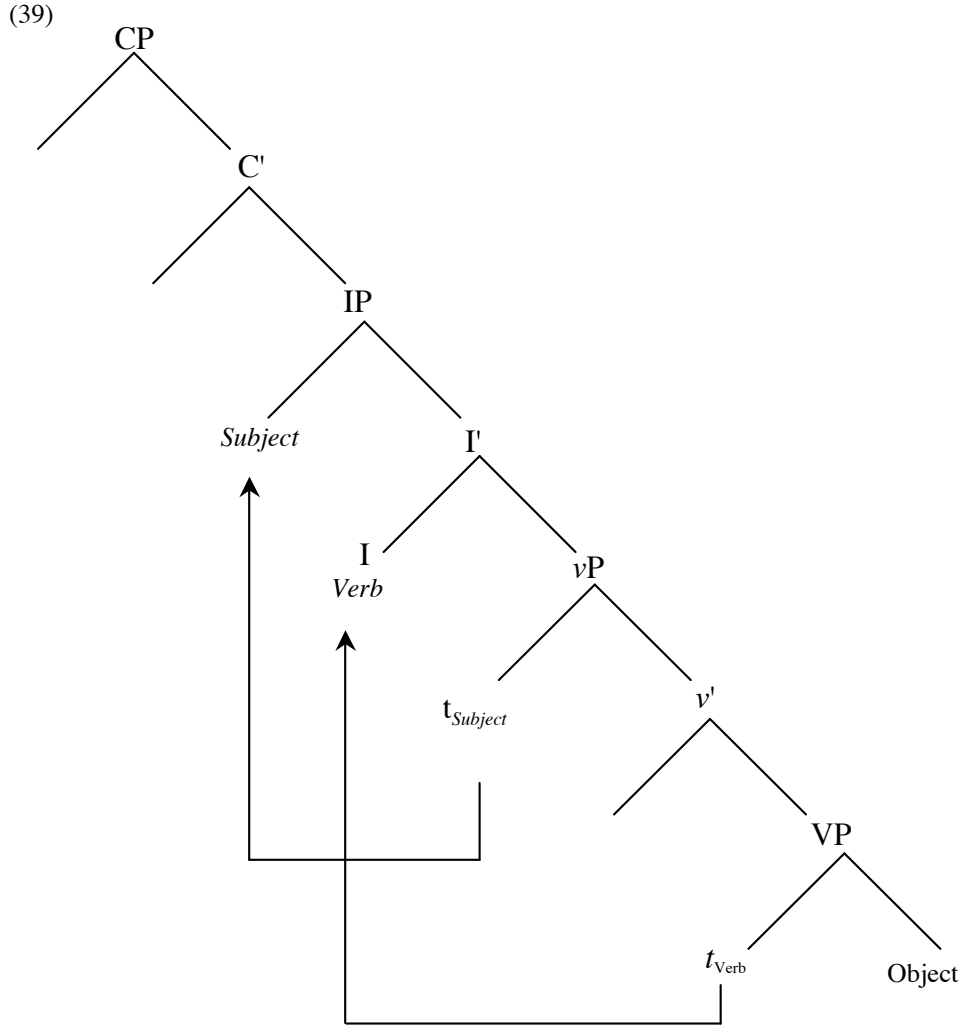
The second possible explanation for the kontrastive PP 'to your husband' in (38) is that the membership to be established is {your husband, yourself}, which does not necessarily have anything to do with the preceding clause or the constituent 'sons'. In this case, the fronted PP merely highlights the fact that the woman's curse is the loss of self-rule. The implication is that the woman had self-rule before the curse and that the loss of self-rule was contrary to her expectations, thus motivating the fronted, kontrastive PP. The loss of self-rule, then, is reinforced by the following clause, which serves to make clarify beyond doubt the meaning of the first clause.

I have now discussed how the pragmatic concepts Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast are mapped onto BH syntax to produce sundry possible pragmatic structures. At this point I will propose how we may integrate the pragmatic model that I have presented in this chapter with the syntactic model for BH clause structure that I proposed in chapter three.

4.3. PRAGMATICS AND BH CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Throughout the last two sections I have discussed syntax in rather basic terms, focussing on word order and the right or left edges of the clause. I argued that BH rhematic material lines up with the right-edge of the clause, BH non-rhematic material moves left to avoid the right-edge, and BH kontrastive material moves the furthest left. The issue that now arises is how we can fit this pragmatic analysis of the BH clause into the analysis of clause structure that I presented in chapter three. In this section I will return to the phrase structure and feature checking components of Chomsky's Minimalist Program, for which the basic BH tree diagram is repeated in (39), to see how we might incorporate the pragmatic notions of Rheme, Theme, and Kontrast.

(39)



4.3.1. The Recursive CP and Information Structure

The first and most significant point for melding our syntactic and pragmatics models is that examples like (34) and (36), which each have multiple items at the front of the clause, reinforce the proposal that BH allows the recursion of the CP domain (see above in 3.4.1.1. In other words, each of the examples have a function word in the [Spec, CP] (that is, the specifier position of the Complementizer Phrase) and also have a kontrastive phrase that has been raised to a position that is below the function word but above all the other constituents in the clause. Consider example (40) (repeated from (34)).

(40) [kî [šām$_j$ [bālal$_i$ [yhwh [t_i [śəp̱aṯ kol hāʾāreṣ [t_j]]]]]]]
because there confuse(3MS PERF) Yhwh language.of all.of the-land
'because there Yhwh confused the language of all the earth' (Gen 11.9)

In (40) the raising of the rhematic verb 'confused' was triggered by the 'X' element *kî* 'because' at the front of the clause; the only landing-site for the verb is C. Hence, when the kontrastive adverb *šām* 'there' also raised, it can only raise above the C that holds the raised verb, and the only phrasal position above C is [Spec, CP]. However, if the function word 'because' is in [Spec, CP] and the Kontrast raises to [Spec, CP], then it is obvious that two such specifier positions are needed. The best solution is to describe the phrase structure of BH as one that fully employs a recursive, or multi-layered, CP.

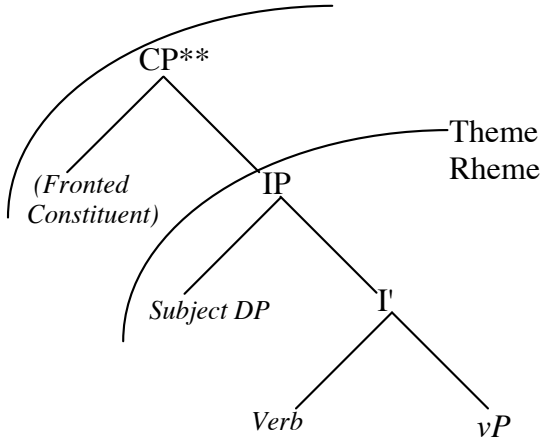
In the last chapter (specifically in 3.4.), I introduced the concept of the recursive/multi-layered CP and I indicated that multiple CPs in BH are used in cases of pragmatically motivated constituent movement. In a similar analysis of the multi-layered CP and its role in the pragmatic structure of clauses, Haegeman and Guéron (1999) propose that for English "the functional level dominating IP may contain a projection whose specifier hosts focalized

material (FocP) and one or more functional projections whose specifiers host topicalized material (TopP)" (1999:347; see also pp. 520-522).[19]

For BH, I propose that the IP (i.e., the 'intonational phrase') is the domain of the Theme and Rheme, and that the multi-layered CP is the domain of any raised constituent, whether a raised verb (triggered by an initial X constituent) or a fronted kontrastive phrase. In the terminology of the Minimalist Program, the pragmatic *features* associated with Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast attract corresponding features (and their lexical items) in order to be checked; the effect on constituent movement is that rhematic constituents follow thematic constituents in the clause and that kontrastive constituents are attracted to the highest open [Spec, CP] position. The domains of Kontrast, Theme, and Rheme are illustrated in (41) where the arc represents the pragmatic division of the phrase structure, and the ** on the CP indicates that the CP can be recursive. (Note that the order of the subject and the verb in (41) represent untriggered, or basic, order. The parens around the *fronted constituent* in [Spec, CP] are present to indicate that if a fronted constituent, or an introductory function word, exists in this position, the verb would raise from I to C.)

[19] Importantly, Haegeman and Guéron do not discuss splitting the notion of "focus" into two distinct concepts; thus, their pragmatic model necessarily differs from mine, in which Kontrast and Rheme label two significantly different pragmatic concepts.

(41)



When multiple elements (e.g., a complementizer and a fronted phrase) reside in the CP domain, the ordering for BH will usually be 1) function words, 2) kontrastive constituents, and 3) *syntactically* triggered raised verbs. The structure in (41) essentially indicates that everything above the domain of the IP is thematic, unless a rhematic verb has been raised due to a syntactic trigger. (The highest arc separates constituents which are a part of the clause proper from those that are not, e.g., left-dislocated items.) Thus, BH is basically a Theme-Rheme ordered language that exhibits a syntactically triggered inversion, to Rheme-Theme (primarily when the narrative verb *wayyiqtol* is employed).

4.4. SUMMARY

In the previous chapter, I introduced Chomsky's Minimalist Program as the guiding linguistic methodology for this work and presented the basic BH clause types in the language of this linguistic theory. In this chapter I bridged the gap between syntax and pragmatics in BH by sketching a working model for the relationship between the two in the BH clause. I introduced the pragmatic notion of information structure, i.e., the study of how language

encodes the relationship between (in our case) a text, the author, the reader, and any other aspects of the textual context. In addition, I discussed the typical notion of focus and then proposed a more refined understanding of the concept by dividing it into *Rheme* and *Kontrast*. Finally, the notion of pragmatic movement was introduced in order to account for the various word orders which are not motivated solely by syntax. Two proposals, summarized in (42)-(43), were outlined for the correspondence between BH word order and the pragmatic concepts of Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast:

> (42) Basic BH word order is SV, but VS order is triggered by an initial function word. All other word order structures that deviate from (43) result from the pragmatically motivated movement of constituents.
>
> (43) The basic pragmatic structure of the BH clause has rhematic material aligned with the right-edge of the BH clause and kontrastive material aligned with the left-edge of the BH clause.[20]

With the syntactic analysis of chapter three and the two proposals given here in (42) and (43), we have now laid an adequate foundation for a proper analysis of the relative clause in BH, which I will undertake in chapter five. There I will return to an analysis of the BH relative clause and set it within the syntactic-pragmatic model sketched in chapters three and four.

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[20] An in-depth study of the interaction of specific 'focus particles' and word order is beyond the scope of the present work. However, a preliminary analysis of the most common BH focus operators, *raq* 'only', *'ak* 'only', and *gam* 'even, also', does show that most occurrences of these kontrastive operators are situated immediately preceding the kontrastive constituent at the left-edge of the clause. Enough examples exist in a clause medial position, though, to suggest that Kontrast operators like these may remain *in situ* instead of moving left. This remains an issue for further research; in the meantime I direct the reader to the brief treatment provided in Heimerdinger 1999:181-82.

PART III: STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

5. THE BH RELATIVE CLAUSE: PUTTING ALL THE PIECES TOGETHER

In this chapter I will return to the BH relative clause and examine its syntactic and pragmatic features within the linguistic framework that I outlined in chapters three and four. 5.1 is an overview of the Chomskyan generative approach to restrictive relative clause structure. 5.2 covers the linguistic properties of basic BH restrictive relative clauses. 5.3 is an investigation of the role of resumptive elements in BH relative clauses in which I present both syntactic and pragmatic explanations for resumption. 5.4 examines BH relative clause extraposition. Finally, 5.5 returns to the issue of restrictiveness in BH relatives.

5.1. THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES WITHIN CHOMSKY'S MINIMALIST FRAMEWORK

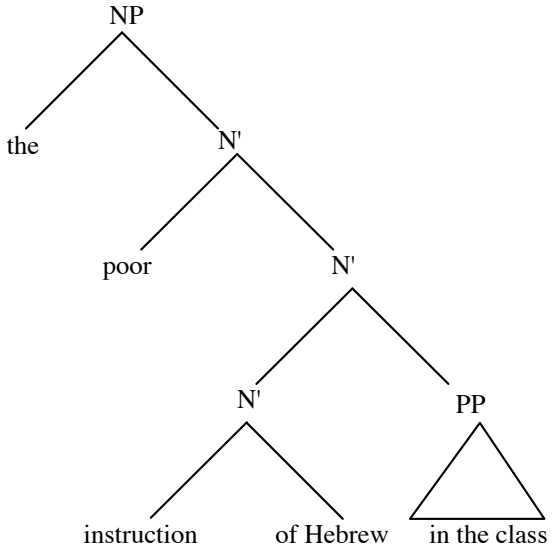
As I stated in chapter one, the precise structure of the relative clause has been, and will continue to be, controversial within linguistics.[1] Not only does the syntactic difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives remain somewhat opaque, the superficial simplicity of the restrictive relative conceals complexities of, for example, the relationship between the head and the modifying clause. In this section, I shall review proposals for the structure of restrictive relatives and identify which one will serve as the foundation for the following sections of this work.

In chapter two, I illustrated the semantic qualities of relative clauses by comparing them

[1] Compare Fabb 1990, Borsley 1992, 1997, and Bianchi 2000; also see Ouhalla 1999:462-65 for a brief comparison of the more standard analyses of relative clause structure with Kayne's (1994) analysis, which is motivated by his Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). Finally, for an overview of the NP versus DP relative clause structures, see Hoshi 1995:157-78.

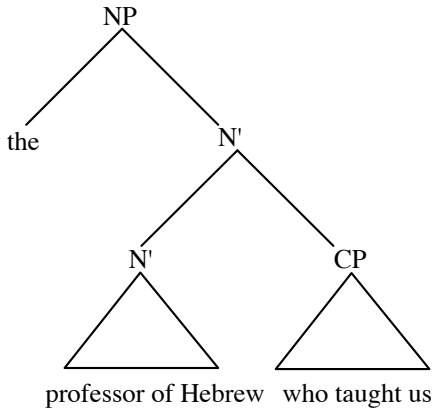
to the semantics of adjectives. Similarly, there is a proposal that the syntactic structure of the relative clause is the same as that of an adjective, in that both are adjuncts of N' (McCawley 1998:381-90). The structure of noun being modified by both an adjective and a PP is illustrated in (1).

(1) the poor instruction of Hebrew in the class



In (1), the adjective *poor* and the PP *in the class* are taken to be adjoined to N' (see 2.2.2.), in other words, they are adjoined to the projection(s) of the head noun *instruction*. (In contrast, the genitive phrase *of Hebrew*, is analyzed as a complement [i.e., a necessary constituent to "complete" the noun] and therefore as the daughter of N' and the sister of N.) Similarly, a relative clause can be analyzed as in (2) (see McCawley 1998:381-90, 432-36).

(2) the professor of Hebrew who taught us



In this analysis, the relative clause *who taught us* is adjoined to N' and thus contained within the NP. This analysis seems to explain coordinated heads and their relatives that share a determiner, as in (3).

(3) those [[seniors who study theology] and [juniors who study philosophy]] are presenting another colloquium.

The example in (3) suggests that a head and its relative may form a constituent without the determiner (which is positioned in the *specifier*, or highest, position within the NP; see above 3.3.4, particularly note 59). Furthermore, the constituent test '*one*-replacement', in which *one* may replace a N' or NP in a conjoined phrase, also suggests that the head and its relative form a constituent without a determiner (Hoshi 1995:164; McCawley 1998:382; cf. Freidin 1992:46-7; Haegeman and Guéron 1999:76-7). Consider the following example:

(4) The book that was used that was autographed by the author was worth more than the one that was not autographed.

The fact that the underlined head-relative combination (without determiner) is replaced by *one* indicates that there is a syntactic constituent that includes the relative but excludes the determiner. However, analyzing (restrictive) relatives as adjunction to N' faces problems when

words such as *someone*, *anything*, and *nobody* are modified by relatives (5)-(7) (McCawley 1998:436).

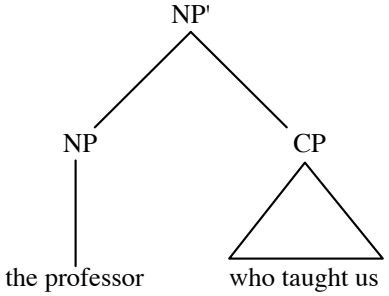
(5) I saw someone who I knew in college.

(6) Did you see anything that you recognized?

(7) Nobody who I met last night has called me.

Each of these words appears to be an NP by itself, since it cannot have a determiner (e.g. **the anything*) or be a modifier for another noun (e.g. **the nobody man*). This suggests, then, that the relative clauses in (5)-(7) modify nothing less than the entire NP (including the determiner). This fact has motivated other linguists to propose the structure for relative clause illustrated below in (8), where the relative clause is adjoined to the entire NP, which itself consists of a D and an N (Ross 1967; Cinque 1982; Andrews 1985; Safir 1986; Alsayed 1998; Haegeman and Guéron 1999:187).

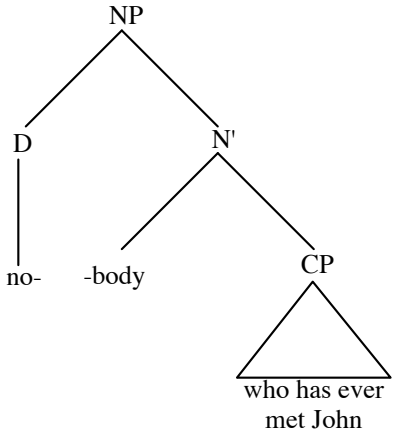
(8) the professor who taught us



This structure indicates that the relative clause will always modify the entire NP; in other words, the relative clause cannot modify anything less than the entire NP (including any determiners, complements, or adjuncts), as in the examples above with *someone*, *anything*, and *nobody*.

In contrast, McCawley (1998) suggests that the words *someone*, *anything*, and *nobody* can be decomposed into parts, a D (*some-*, *any-*, *no-*, *every-*, etc.) and an N' (*-one*, *-thing*, *-body*, *-where*, *-time*, etc.) (1998:436-7). In this way, McCawley is able to preserve his analysis of restrictive relatives as adjuncts to N', as in (9).

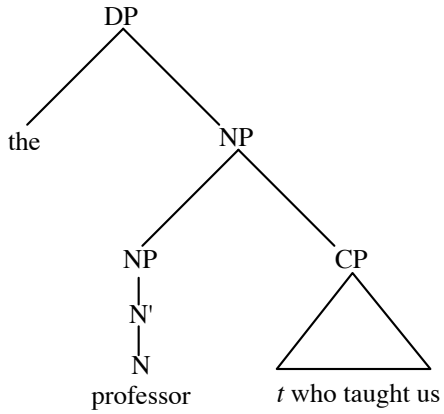
(9) nobody who has ever met John (= his example (31))



The issue of relative clause structure is even more complex, though—the two options that I have presented here have been situated only within the older NP framework of noun phrase structure. In chapter three, however, I adopted the DP framework for noun phrases (see above in 3.3.2., particularly note 54). Accordingly, if we look at the options for the relative clause structure within the newer DP framework, there are seven logical possibilities, which can be divided into two categories: *NP-Internal* and *NP-External* (Hoshi 1995:161). The NP-Internal analysis, illustrated in (10), includes four possible configurations. In (10)a) the relative clause is adjoined to the NP *professor*. Thus, the relative clause is a sister of the entire NP and both are dominated by a projection of the NP.

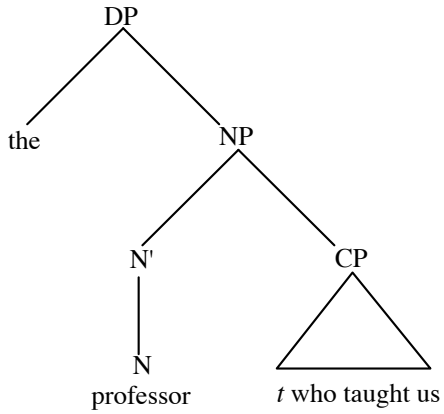
(10) NP-Internal Analysis:

a) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



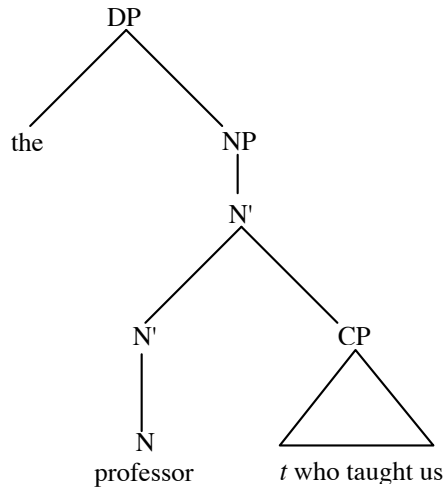
In (10)b), the relative clause is a sister to N', that is, the relative clause is a sister of a non-maximal projection of the noun *professor*. Both the N' and the relative CP are dominated by an initial NP node, indicating that the relative CP is fully a constituent within the NP (unlike (10)a) in which the relative CP, as an adjunction to NP, is not quite a full constituent of the NP).

b) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



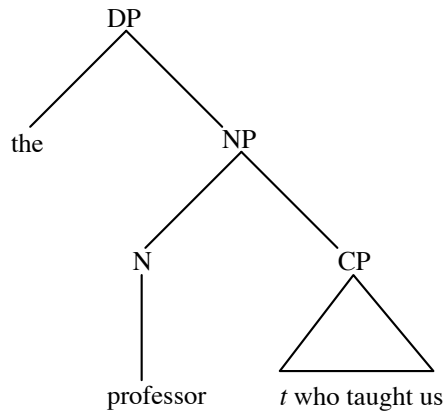
In (10)c) the relative clause is adjoined to an N' and also dominated by another N'. In this configuration, the relative clause is a sister of one projection of the noun *professor* and yet it is also dominated by another non-maximal projection of the N.

c) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



Finally, in (10)d), the relative clause is a sister of the head noun itself. Furthermore, both the head noun and the relative CP are immediately dominated by the NP.

d) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us

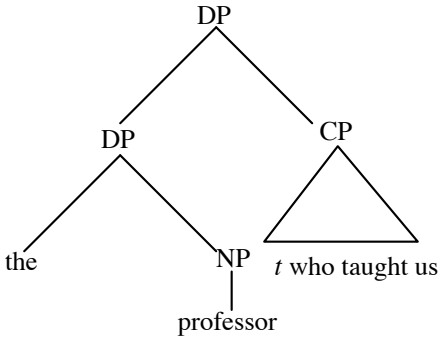


In summary, all four of the structures in (10) illustrate that an analysis in which a restrictive relative clause is contained within the NP and does not form a constituent with the *determiner* (D) at any level. In contrast to these NP-Internal options, the NP-External analysis relates the relative CP to the D rather than to any projection of the head noun. For the NP-External analysis, there are three logical configurations, illustrated in (11). The example in (11)a) presents a restrictive relative CP adjoined to the entire DP, both being dominated by a

projection of the DP. In this structure, the relative CP is a sister to the DP *the professor*. In this way, the relative CP is "contained" within the highest projection of the DP; however, the relative CP is clearly not contained within any part of the head NP.

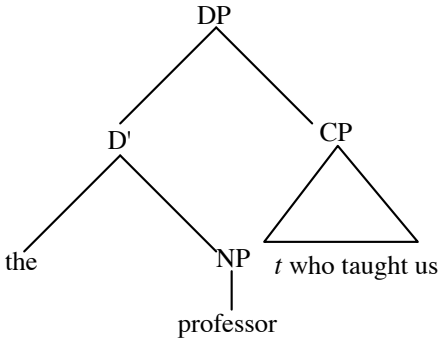
(11) NP-External Analysis:

a) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



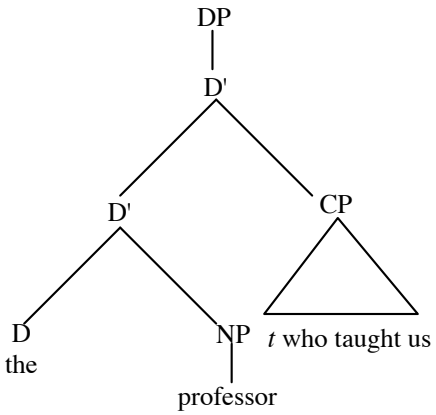
In (11)b) the relative CP is a sister to D', the projection of the determiner that includes the head NP. Both the D' and the CP are immediately dominated by the maximal projection DP.

b) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



Finally, in (11)c) the relative CP is adjoined to D', meaning that both the first D' and the relative CP are dominated by another non-maximal projection, D'.

c) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us

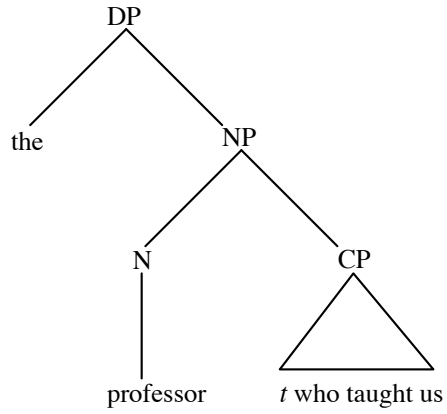


On the one hand, the NP-Internal structures in (10) visually represent the analysis wherein the relative CP is contained within the NP and that the NP and the relative CP constitute a constituent apart from the D. On the other hand, the NP-External structures in (11) represent the analysis wherein the relative CP stands outside of the NP so that the D, NP, and relative CP together (i.e., nothing less than all three combined) form a constituent. The only difference among the individual possibilities contained in (10) and (11), respectively, is the attachment site of the relative CP—whether the relative CP is adjoined to the highest projection of the NP/DP, respectively, or to some node lower in the clause.

With seven logical possible structures for the relative clause, we must resort to empirical data to suggest which one we should use. First, the NP-External configurations in (11) fall short on the same grounds that the adjunction to NP (see example (8)) did in the pre-DP hypothesis analysis above: coordination and *one*-replacement constituents tests as well as the evidence of the complex words *someone*, *anyone*, etc., suggest that the relative clause and the head form a constituent without the determiner. This leaves the four NP-Internal configurations given in (10). Setting aside (10)a) for theoretical reasons (see Chomsky

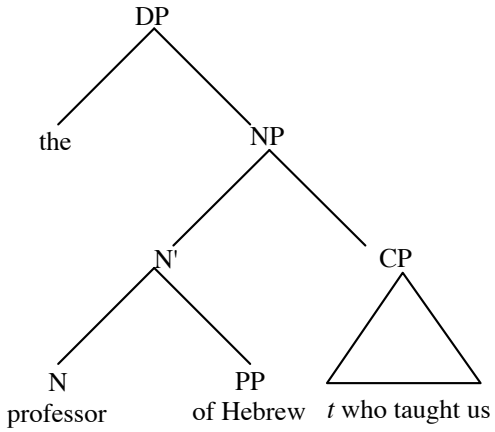
1995b:330-4), Hoshi (1995) argues that all three of the relative clause structures in (10)b)-d) are possible and the choice regarding which one is used depends on the structure of the overall NP (see Hoshi 1995:165-78 for more discussion). This accords well with Chomsky's *bare phrase structure* in that the relative clause is attached to whatever projection of the head noun is necessitated by the overall structure of the entire NP. For example, if the NP is simple, as (12)a), the relative clause may be a sister of N.

(12) NP-Internal Analysis:
a) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



However, if the head NP has a complement, as in (12)b), the relative CP is positioned as a sister of N', under NP.

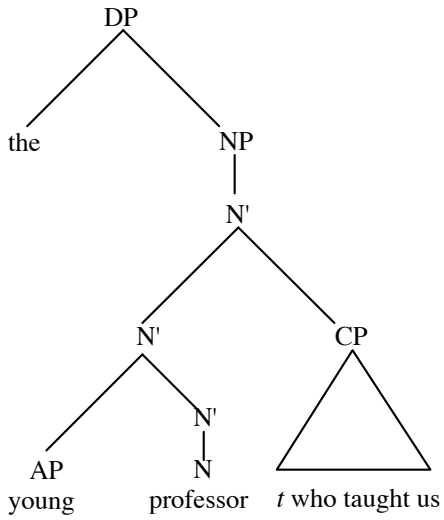
b) the professor of Hebrew$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



The complement PP that modifies the head noun necessitates that the N' node is projected in order for the structure to contain a complement position for the PP *of Hebrew*. Thus, the restrictive relative CP in (12)b), as an adjunct, is located farther from the head noun than the head's complement.

Finally, if the NP is modified by an adjective (which is itself an inner adjunct), the relative may be adjoined to a higher N', as in (12)c).

c) the young professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us



In summary, the examples in (12) illustrate how the phrase structure of the NP adapts to accommodate whatever modifying constituents are inserted from the lexicon. (12) provides a progression of NP phrase structure that includes relative clause modification, from a simple NP head, to a head NP with a complement, and finally to a head NP with an adjunct that is closer than the relative CP.

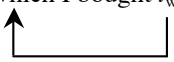
Up to this point we have merely discussed the relationship between the relative clause and its head. Notice that in each case the head of the relative is also coindexed with the relative word. While on one level it is intuitive that the head and the relative word share the same

reference, this fact is often given linguistic explanation in the form of the *predication rule* (Safir 1986; Fabb 1990; Haegeman 1994:408-409; Alsayed 1998:48-49; cf. Hoshi 1995:181-93). The predication rule assumes that a subject and its predicate are sisters and share an index; thus, since the relative clause modifies, or is 'predicated of' the head, it is also a sister and is coindexed to the head.

The final crucial feature of the generative analysis of relative clauses is the movement nature of relative clause formation. Looking at examples (13) and (14), we can apply the generative notion of constituent movement introduced in chapter three in order to explain the gap/trace[2] inside the relative clause. (13) represents the base structure of the matrix clause and the relative clause before any movement. (Note that once the relative word *which* replaces *the dog* as the object of the second clause, these two clauses represent an incomplete derivation—the second clause clearly cannot serve as a grammatical product without further operations.) In (14) we see that the movement of the relative word *which* (that has replaced the object DP *the dog*) creates the gap/trace in the relative clause. Movement of the object *which* explains how the accusative Case of the transitive verb *bought* can be checked.

(13) I love the dog. I bought [the dog].

(14) I love the dog which I bought t_{which}



In (14) the relativized (*wh*-word) object of the verb bought (which corresponds to *the dog*, as in (13)) moves to the [Spec, CP] position.

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[2] Within the Minimalist Program, the *copy theory* of constituent movement has again been adopted: ". . . the trace left behind [when a constituent moves] is a copy of the moved element, deleted by a principle of the P[honological] F[orm] component in the case of overt movement. But at L[ogical] F[orm] the copy remains, providing the materials for 'reconstruction'" (Chomsky 1995b:202). In this approach, the relativized constituent leaves a copy behind that is deleted when the derivation reaches the Phonological Form by virtue of Spell-Out. However, the copy remains in the original position at the Logical Form for the purposes of interpretation.

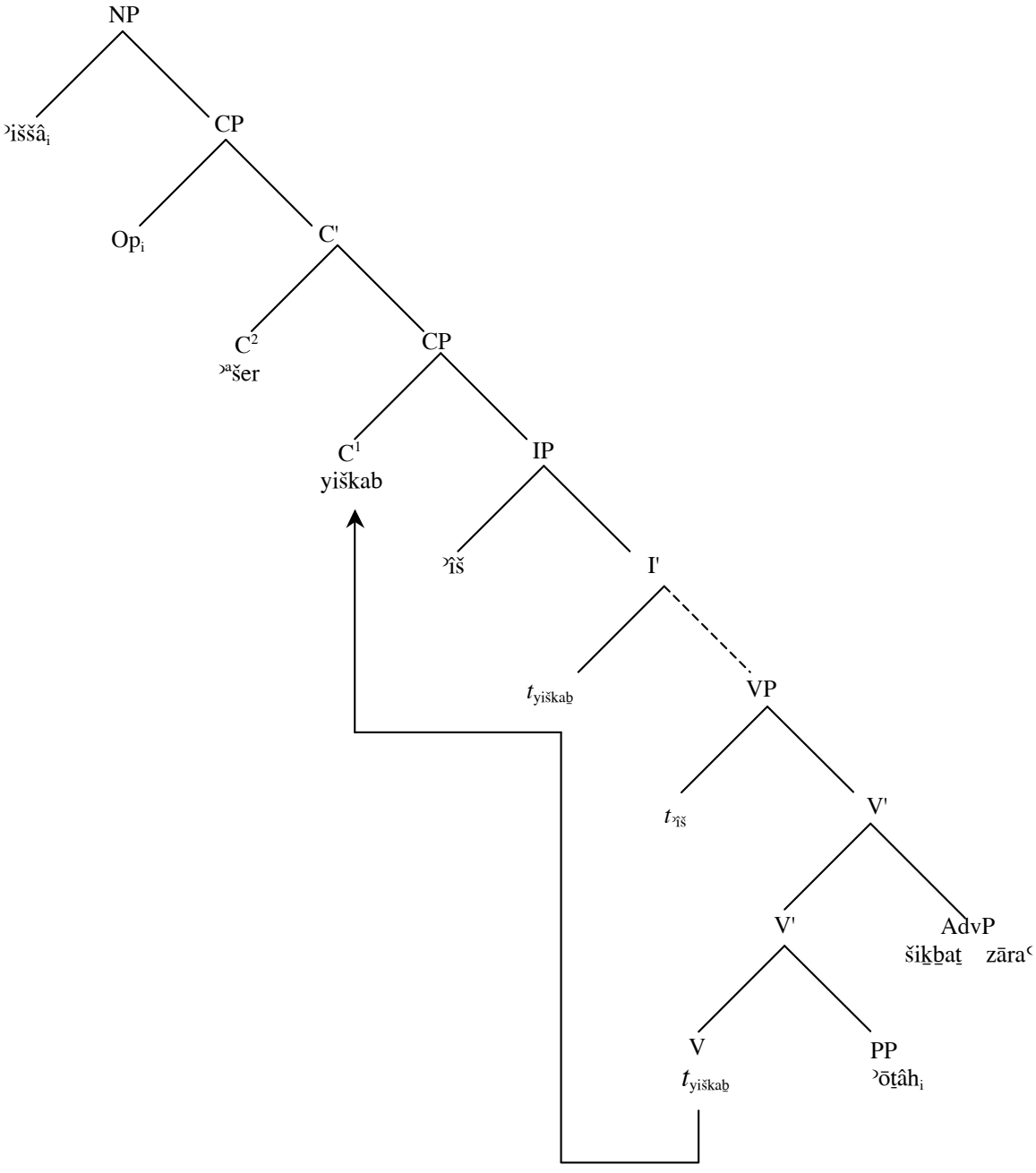
In summary, in this section I have presented the basic syntactic features of restrictive relative clauses. In particular, I have described the various analyses concerning the attachment cite of the relative CP and have concluded that Hoshi's (1995) proposal for the NP-Internal position of the relative clause, set within the DP framework for noun phrases, is the most appropriate. With the general framework for relative clause structure that I have outlined in this section, let us now examine the structure of BH relative clauses.

5.2. Basic BH Relative Clauses Within the Minimalist Framework

In 5.1 I presented the basic issues of relative clause structure within Chomskyan Generative linguistics. We may now use this generative understanding of the relative clause as we turn to our analysis of the BH relative clause. By re-analyzing the BH relative clause data presented in chapter two and building upon the BH clause structure proposed in chapter three, I will demonstrate in the rest of this chapter that the generative analysis provides insights into the structure of the BH relative clause that 1) need to be incorporated into our understanding of BH grammar, and 2) lead to insightful exegetical results. As a foundation for the ensuing discussions of more complex issues (e.g., null heads, null relative words, resumption), the next section will describe the basic headed restrictive relative, the headless restrictive relative, and the unmarked/bare relative in BH.

The structure of the basic headed restrictive relative in BH is slightly more complex than the English example in (12) above. The additional complexity is due both to the presence of relative complementizers in BH (i.e., *ʾašer*, *še*, and *zeh*/*zû*/*zô* are similar to *that* in English, as opposed to the English relative pronouns, e.g., *who*, *which*) and to Triggered Inversion word order (see chapter three). This complexity requires that two C positions exist in the phrase structure of BH relatives: one to accommodate the relative complementizer and one to accommodate the raised verb (see 3.4.1.1 for further discussion of the recursive CP), as in (15).

(15) wə**ʾiššâ** **ʾᵃšer** **yiškaḇ** **ʾîš** **ʾōṯâh** šiḵḇaṯ zāraʿ
and-woman Op REL lie(3MS IMPF) man with-her[3] lying.of seed
'(as for) ***a woman***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***who a man lies with her***$_i$ *(with regard to) copulation . . .'* (Lev 15.18)



[3] Although the vocalization of *ʾōṯâh* suggests that it is the accusative marker *ʾēṯ* with the 3FS suffix, in Lev 15.18 I analyze it as the preposition *ʾēt* 'with' with the 3FS suffix. The confusion between these two homonymous words in later BH is not uncommon (see Joüon and Muraoka 1993:343).

Furthermore, even though BH does not use overt relative *pronouns* (i.e., relative words that carry morphological features [e.g., Case, person, number, gender] that agree with either the head of the relative or with the position that the relative word corresponds to within the relative clause), it is proposed for theoretical reasons that a null relative pronoun, *Op(erator)*, still resides in [Spec, CP]. This *Op* is coindexed with both the head noun as well as with any resumptive constituent (e.g., the object of the PP *ʾōṯâh* in (15)) or trace within the relative clause. Since (15) contains a resumptive pronoun within the PP that is inside the relative clause, the null relative pronoun (Op) is selected from the lexicon and placed directly in [Spec, CP]. Thus, there is no constituent movement that relates to the relativized DP. (See below in 5.3 for further discussion of the syntactic structure of resumptive relative clauses.)

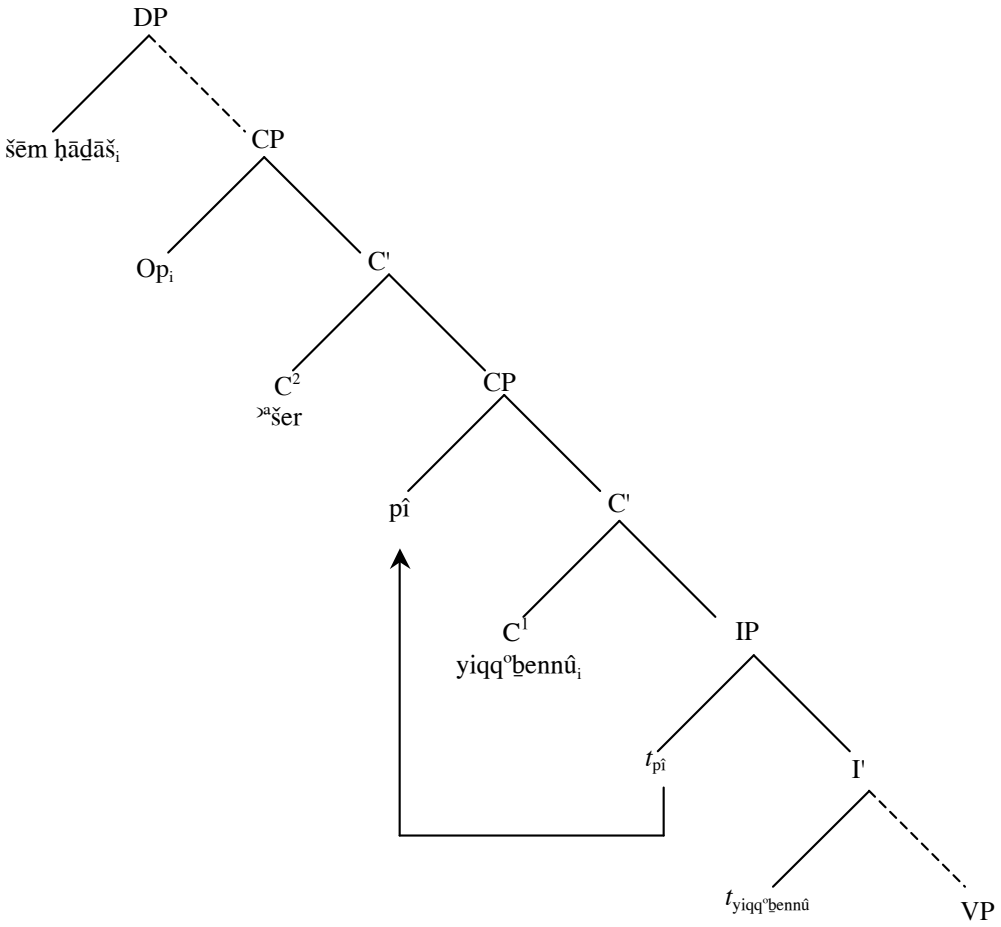
The arrows in (15) illustrate the Triggered Inversion of the verb *yiškaḇ*, which must raise from I (where it has already overtly raised to from V in order to check its agreement features) to C to check its features against the head C. That Triggered Inversion occurs in BH relatives is supported by the statistical fact that out of the almost 1,200 BH *ʾăšer* relative clauses with an overt subject in a finite verbal clause, only 2% exhibit SV word order;[4] in other words, an overwhelming 98% of BH *ʾăšer* relatives clauses with a finite verb exhibit VS word order (see 3.2 for a discussion of the word order in finite verbal clauses versus that of participial and verbless clauses).

The basic recursive structure of the CP within BH relative clauses extends beyond the two layers needed for the relative complementizer and the raised verb. Although the typical order of constituents in BH relatives is *complementizer-VS*, the fact that a few relatives clauses

[4] See, for example, Lev 4.22; Deut 9.2; 2 Kgs 22.13; Isa 62.2; 66.13; Jer 1.17; 22.25; 29.25; 31.32; 39.17; Mic 6.12; Zech 1.15; 11.2; Mal 2.14; Psa 1.3; 104.17; 144.8, 11; Job 3.23; 5.5; 15.18; 19.27; Qoh 6.12; 7.22; Dan 1.10.

(e.g., just 2% of *ʾašer* relatives) with different orders exist, necessitates that our syntactic explanation of BH be able to describe this diversity. First, examples of SV order following the relative complementizer, as in (16), suggest that the recursive CP is able to account for the fronted subject DP.

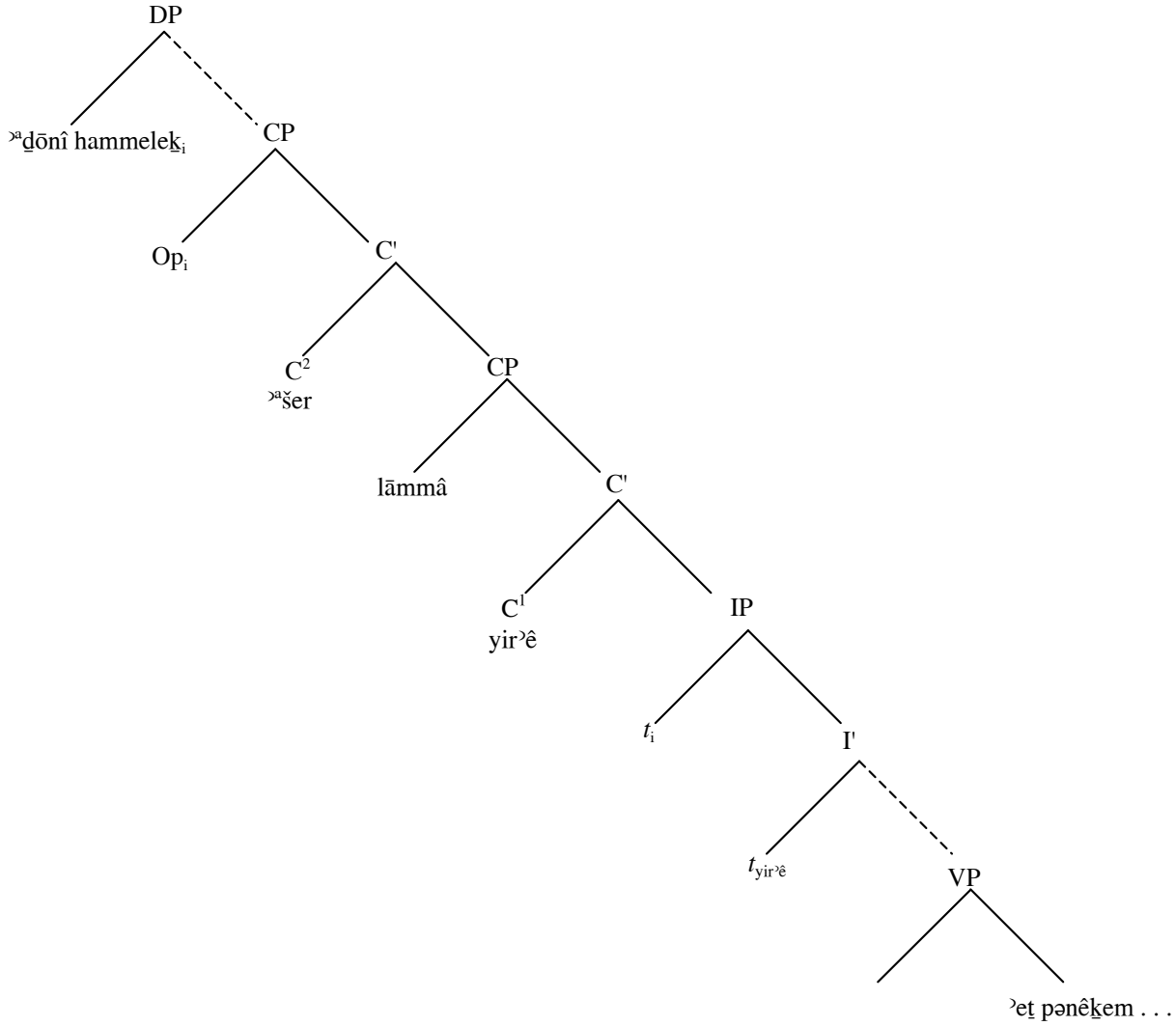
(16) wəqōrāʾ lāḵ **šēm ḥāḏāš ʾašer pî yhwh yiqqᵒḇennû**
and-call(3MS PERF MOD PASS) to-you name new Op REL mouth.of Yhwh designate(3MS IMPF)-it
*'and to you shall be called **a new name**ᵢ **Op**ᵢ **which the mouth of Yhwh shall designate it**ᵢ'* (Isa 62.2)



In addition to the fronting of a subject DP, there are a few relative clauses, as in (17), that exhibit multiple embedding, necessitating a recursive CP structure. In (17), the relative

clause contains within it another level of embedding: a interrogative clause headed by a *wh*-word, *lāmmâ*.

(17) yārēʾ ʾanî ʾeṯ ʾadōnî **hammelek̲** . . .**ʾašer lāmmâ yirʾê ʾeṯ pənêk̲em zōqpîm**
afraid I ACC lord-my the-king Op REL why see(3MS IMPF) ACC faces-your dejected(MP PTCP)
'I am afraid of my lord the ***king***$_i$ *. . .* ***Op***$_i$ ***who why should*** **t**$_i$ ***(he) see your faces dejected*** *. . .?'* (Dan 1.10)



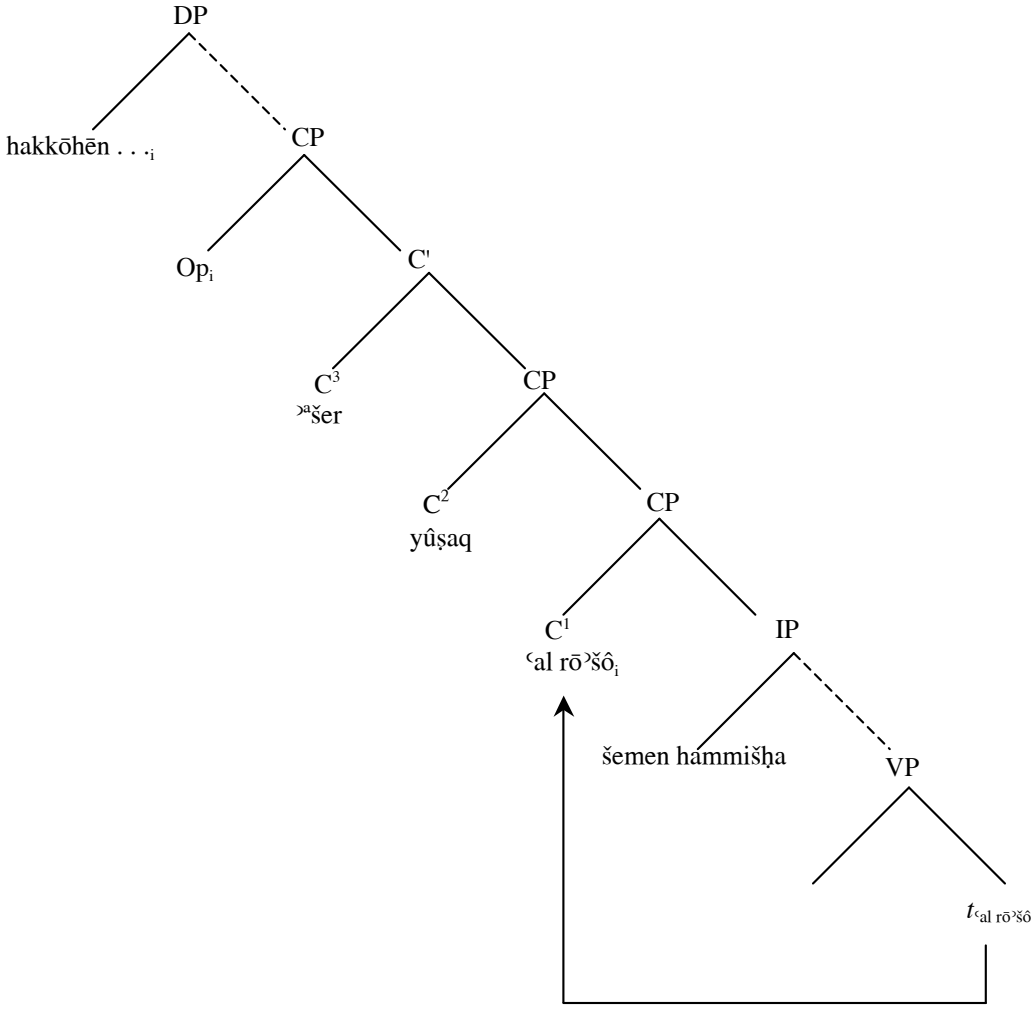
In addition to rare examples like (17) (which exhibits only *syntactically* motivated constituent movement), there are examples of BH relatives in which movement is also *pragmatically* motivated (example (16) above is one). In chapter four (see especially 4.3), I

proposed that the BH word order data are best explained by the basic principle that rhematic material remains near the right edge of the clause while thematic and kontrastive material moves to a position near the left edge of the clause. If we apply this proposal to the relative clause, we see that the recursive CP can accommodate BH relative clauses that exhibit both typical verb raising (i.e., Triggered Inversion) as well as the raising of non-rhematic constituents, such as the PP in (18).

(18) wə**hakkōhēn** haggāḏôl mēʾeḥāyw **ʾašer yûṣaq** **ʿal rōʾšô** **šemen**
and-the-priest the-great from-brothers-his Op REL pour(3MS IMPF PASS) upon head-his oil.of

hammišḥâ
anointing

*'and **the priest**$_i$ greater than his brothers, **Op**$_i$ **who upon his**$_i$ **head is poured the oil of anointing**'*
(Lev 21.10)



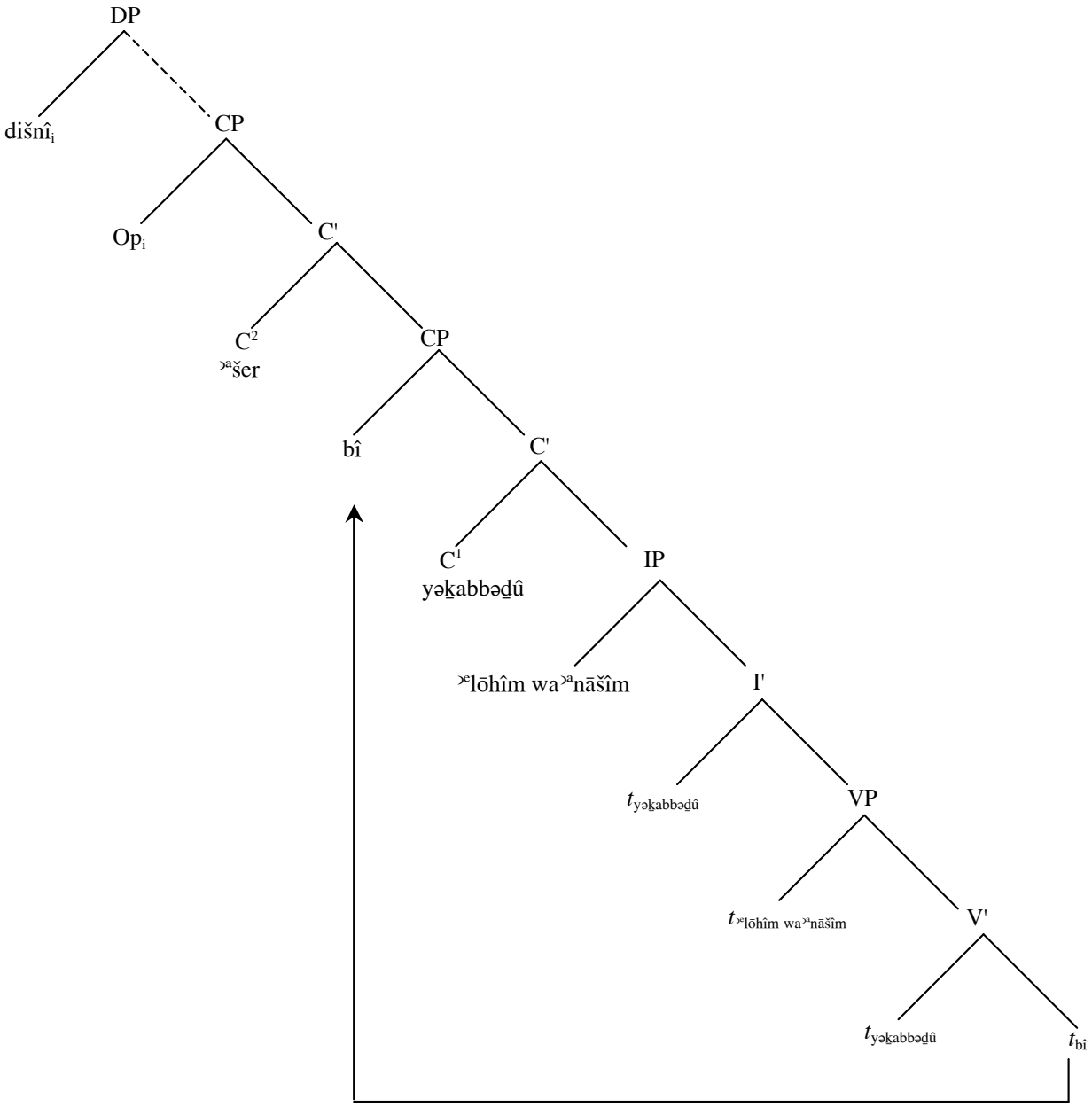
In the relative clause in Leviticus 21.10, the verb *yûṣaq* 'is poured' is attracted to a C position by the feature that is associated with the relative word *ʾašer* in the higher C. In addition, we see the raising of the PP *ʿal rōʾšô* 'upon his head' over the subject DP *šemen hammišḥa* 'the oil of anointing'. Clearly, the raised PP cannot be kontrastive since it has not been raised higher than the verb in C (i.e., if the PP or any constituent within the PP were kontrastive, we would see a PP-V-S order inside the relative clause). A possible explanation for the position of the raised PP, higher than the subject but lower than the raised verb, is that it carries *thematic* status. The PP contains an NP-internal resumptive constituent, indicating the NP object of the preposition is in some way coreferential with the head NP, thus the entire PP must be assigned thematic status by virtue of being linked to a previously mentioned item in the discourse.

There are even a few BH relative clauses in which the constituent that is fronted for pragmatic reasons lands in a site *higher* than that of the raised verb (such as example (16) above; see Peretz 1967:97). Examples (19) and (20) illustrate the positioning of a constituent after the complementizer but before the raised verb. In (19) the fronted PP *bî* 'by me' functions as a Kontrast, highlighting the olive tree's claim that it is only *by it* that gods and men are honored.

(19) wayyōʾmer lāhem hazzayiṯ heḥʿḏaltî ʾeṯ **dišnî** **ʾᵃšer** **bî**
and-say(3MS PAST) to-them the-olive tree WH-cease(1CS PERF) ACC fatness-my Op REL in-me

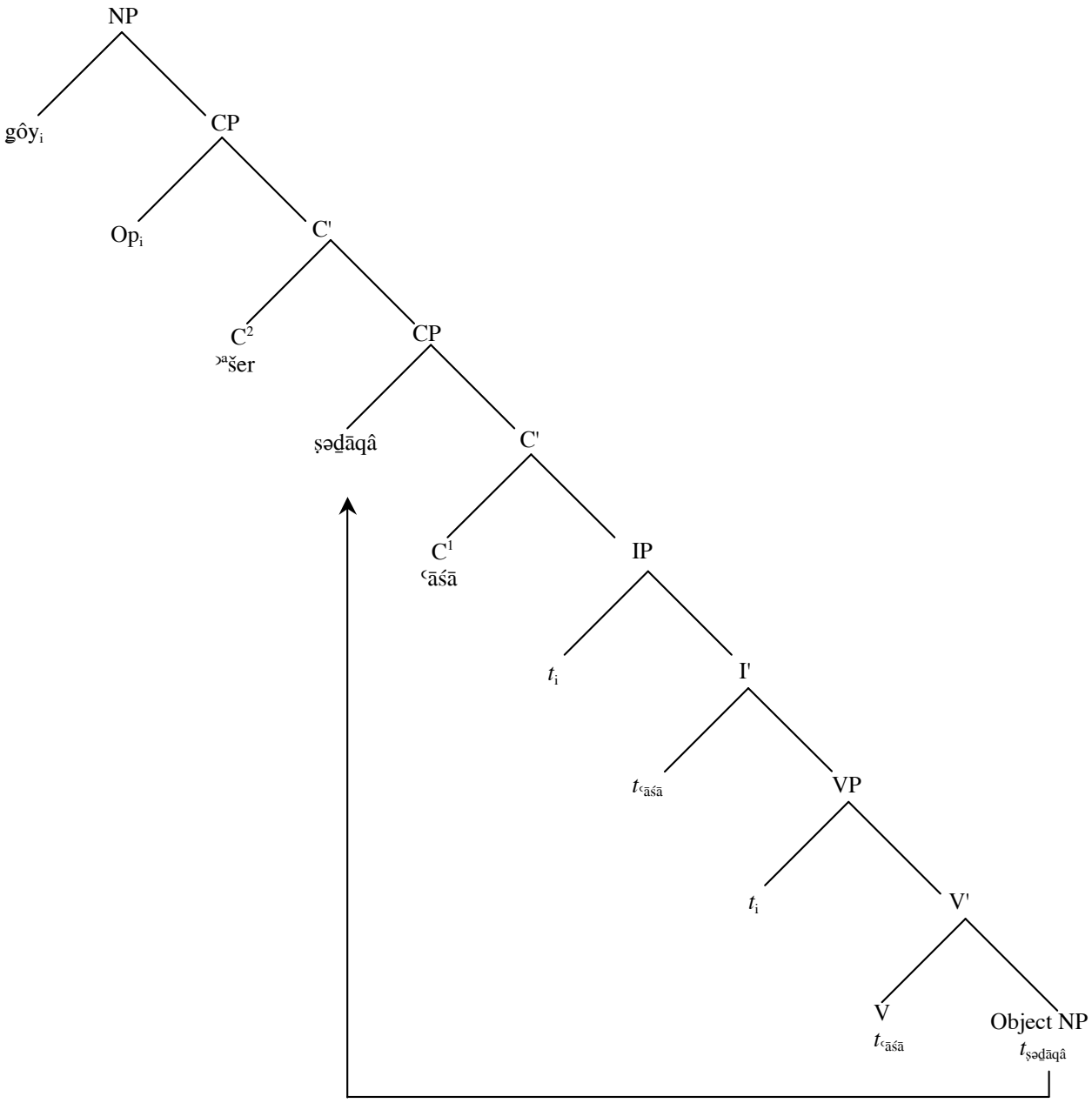
yəḵabbəḏû **ʾᵉlōhîm** **waʾᵃnāšîm**
honor(3MP IMPF) gods and-men

'and the olive tree said to them: Should (I) cease (producing) ***my***$_i$ *fatness* ***Op***$_i$ ***which by me***$_i$ ***gods and men are honored'*** (Judg 9.9)



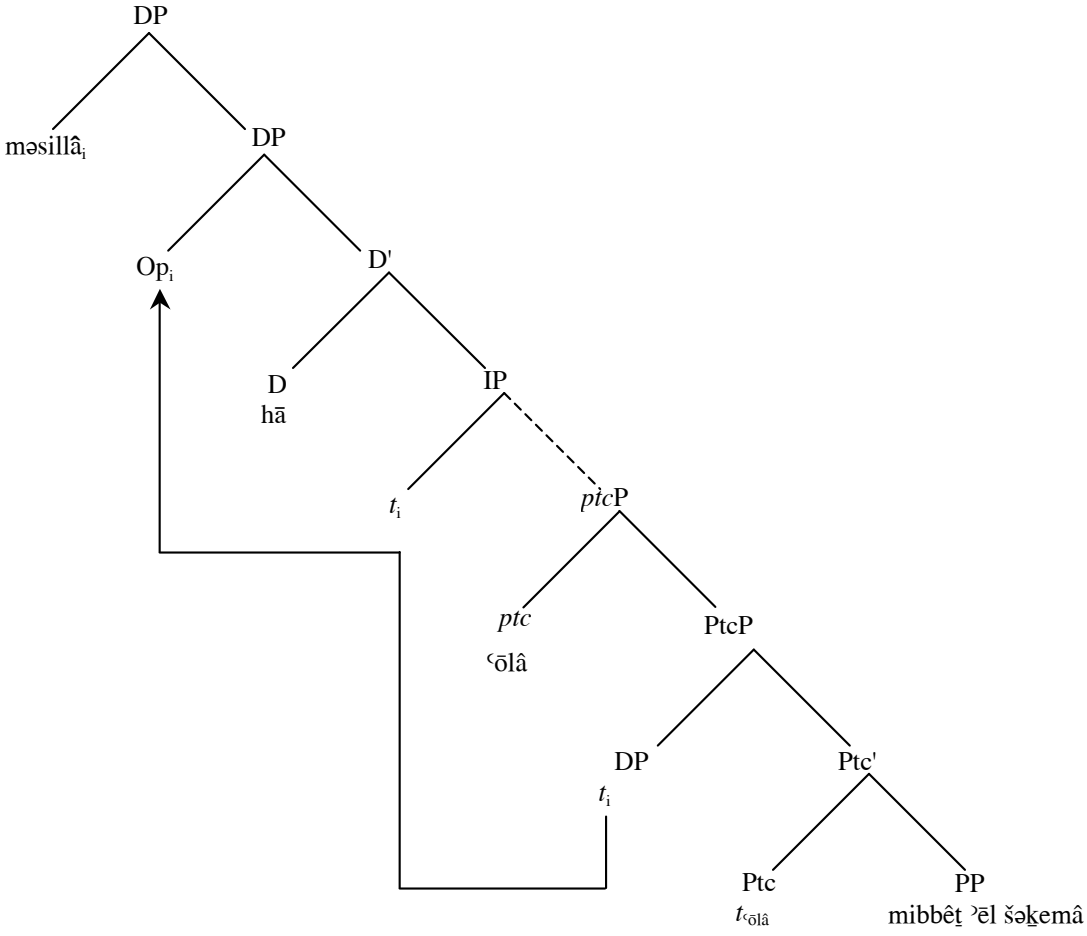
Similarly in (20), the object DP *ṣəḏāqâ* 'righteousness' is fronted (indicating its kontrastiveness) in order to highlight the sarcasm of the prophet's description: sinful Israel continues to seek God as if it was 'like a nation that has done [any] righteousness'.

(20) kə**gôy** **ʾašer** **ṣəḏāqâ** **ʿāśā**
like-nation Op REL righteousness do(3MS PERF)
'like ***a nation***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***that*** **t**$_i$ ***has done righteousness'*** (Isa 58.2)



Besides the basic BH relative clause that is introduced by a relative complementizer, I have also claimed (in 2.4) that the morpheme *haC-* (which also functions as the Hebrew definite article) serves as a relative word. Following Siloni 1995, I claimed that, as in Modern Hebrew, this type of BH relative is restricted to subject relatives (i.e., the head of the relative must also be the subject within the relative). According to Siloni, the structure of *haC-* relatives does not differ significantly from normal DPs, apart from that fact that the D (i.e., *haC-*) in *haC-* relatives takes a clausal complement, as in (21). (See 3.4.2 for a discussion of the structure of BH participial clauses.)

(21) li**msillâ** **hāʿōlâ** **mibbêṯ ʾēl** **šəḵemâ**
to-highway Op REL-ascend(FS PTCP) from-Bethel Shechem-to
'*of* ***a highway***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***that*** **t**$_i$ ***goes up from Bethel to Shechem***' (Judg 21.19)

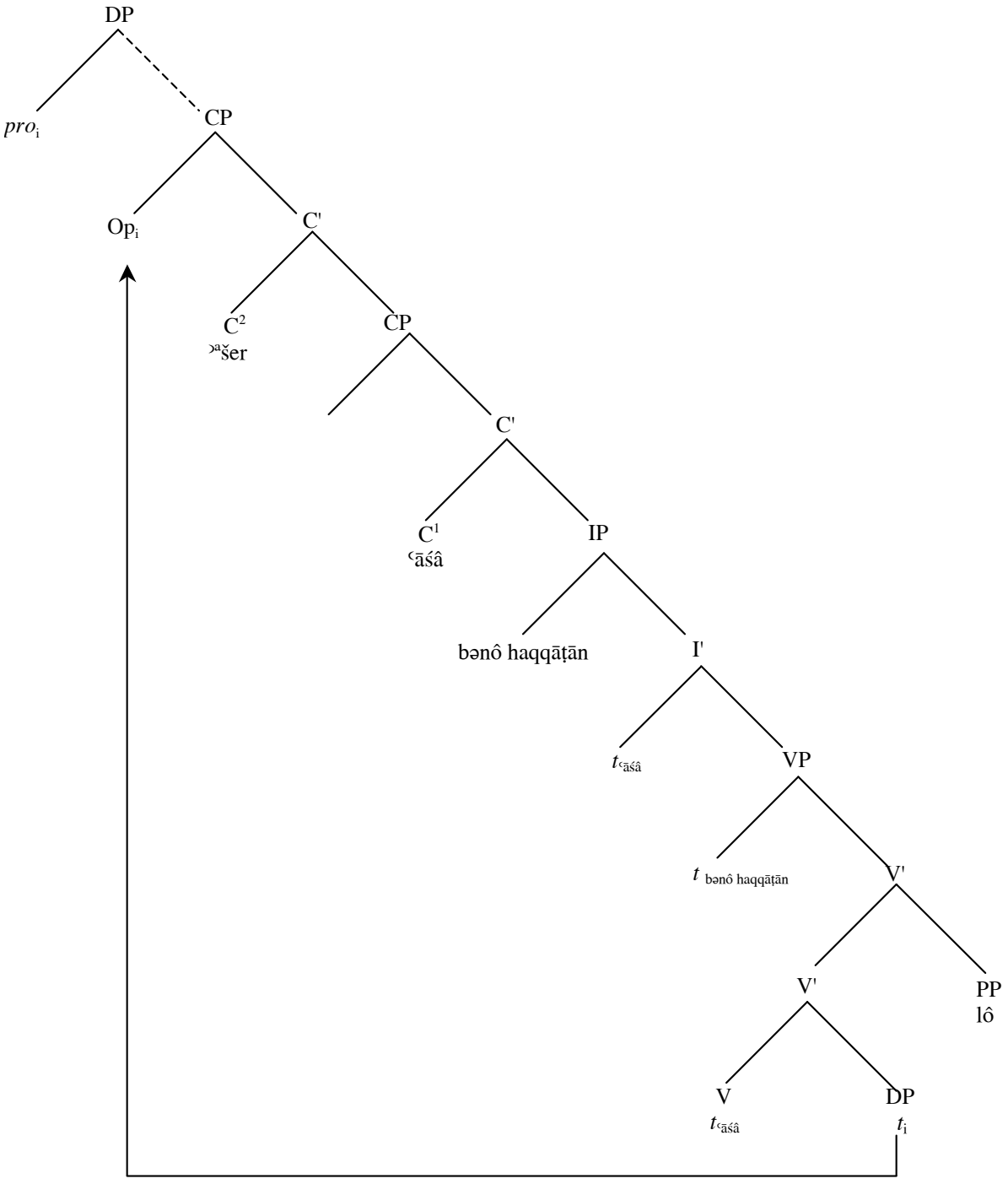


In this section I have described the basic syntactic structure of BH restrictive relative clauses. I have discussed how the presence of a relative word triggers VS order in the vast majority of BH relative clauses. I have also presented a few of the rare non-VS BH relative clauses to illustrate how pragmatic concerns (e.g., kontrastiveness) influence the word order. However, all of the relative clauses that we have examined up to this point have been overtly headed. Next I will investigate how we may describe the syntax of those BH relatives that have covert/null heads.

The structure of null head BH relatives (i.e., relatives without an overt head) does not differ at all from the more common overtly headed relatives. Null head BH relatives contain a null relative pronoun (Op) and a relative complementizer (e.g., *ʾašer*). Since relatives constitute a CP, and CPs function syntactically as the clausal equivalent to a noun, null head relatives (like overtly headed relatives) may be in the subject, object, or oblique position. The null head (*pro*) is licensed by whatever head governs it (V, I, or P are all able to license *pro* in BH). Two factors determine the interpretation of the null head: the position of the trace within the relative clause and the discourse context (see Haegeman and Guéron 1999:604-9). For instance, in (22) the position of the trace within the clause indicates that the referent of the null head *pro* is the object of the verb *ʿāśâ*, a verb that selects an inanimate object. Furthermore, the prior context suggests that the referent of the null head is the event of Noah's youngest son, Ham, "seeing his father's nakedness" (Gen 9.22).

(22) wayyēḏaʿ ʾēṯ **ʾašer ʿāśâ lô bənô haqqāṭān**
and-know(3MS PAST) ACC ***pro***$_i$ Op$_i$ REL do(3MS PERF) t_i to-him son-his the-young

'and he knew pro$_i$ ***(the thing/offense) Op***$_i$ ***that his youngest son had done*** **t**$_i$ ***to him'*** (Gen 9.24)



Although null head relative clauses are fairly common in the Hebrew Bible, they are often misinterpreted (see below, 5.4). For instance, Exodus 14.13 has been analyzed and translated in various ways, sometimes as a relative clause (with the antecedent inside the relative!; see the NRSV, NIV, NAS95, JPS, Durham 1987), other times as the "modal" use of *ʾašer* 'just as' (equivalent to *kaʾašer*) (Childs 1974; Clements 1972). Consider Exodus 14.13 given with its context in (23).

(23) [10]And Pharaoh drew near, and the Israelites lifted their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians were coming after them. And the Israelites feared greatly and cried out to Yhwh. [11]And they said to Moses, "Was it because there were no graves in Egypt that you have taken us away to die in the wilderness? What is this that have you done to us by bringing us out of Egypt? [12]Is this not the thing that we told you in Egypt, 'Let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians'? Because serving the Egyptians is better than dying in the wilderness." [13]And Moses said to the people, "Do not be afraid, stand firm, and see the deliverance that Yhwh will accomplish for you today; *[because you who see the Egyptians today—you shall never see them again].* [14]Yhwh will fight for you, and you shall keep silent."

kî	**ʾašer**	rəʾîṯem	ʾeṯ	miṣrayim	hayyôm	lōʾ	ṯōsîpû	lirʾōṯām
because *pro*	OP REL	see(2MP PERF)	ACC	Egypt	the-day	NEG	add(2MP IMPF)	to-see(INF)-them

ʿôḏ ʿaḏ ʿôlām
again until ever

*'because pro$_i$(you) **Op**$_i$ **who** t$_i$ see the Egyptians today—you shall never see them again'* (Exod 14.13)

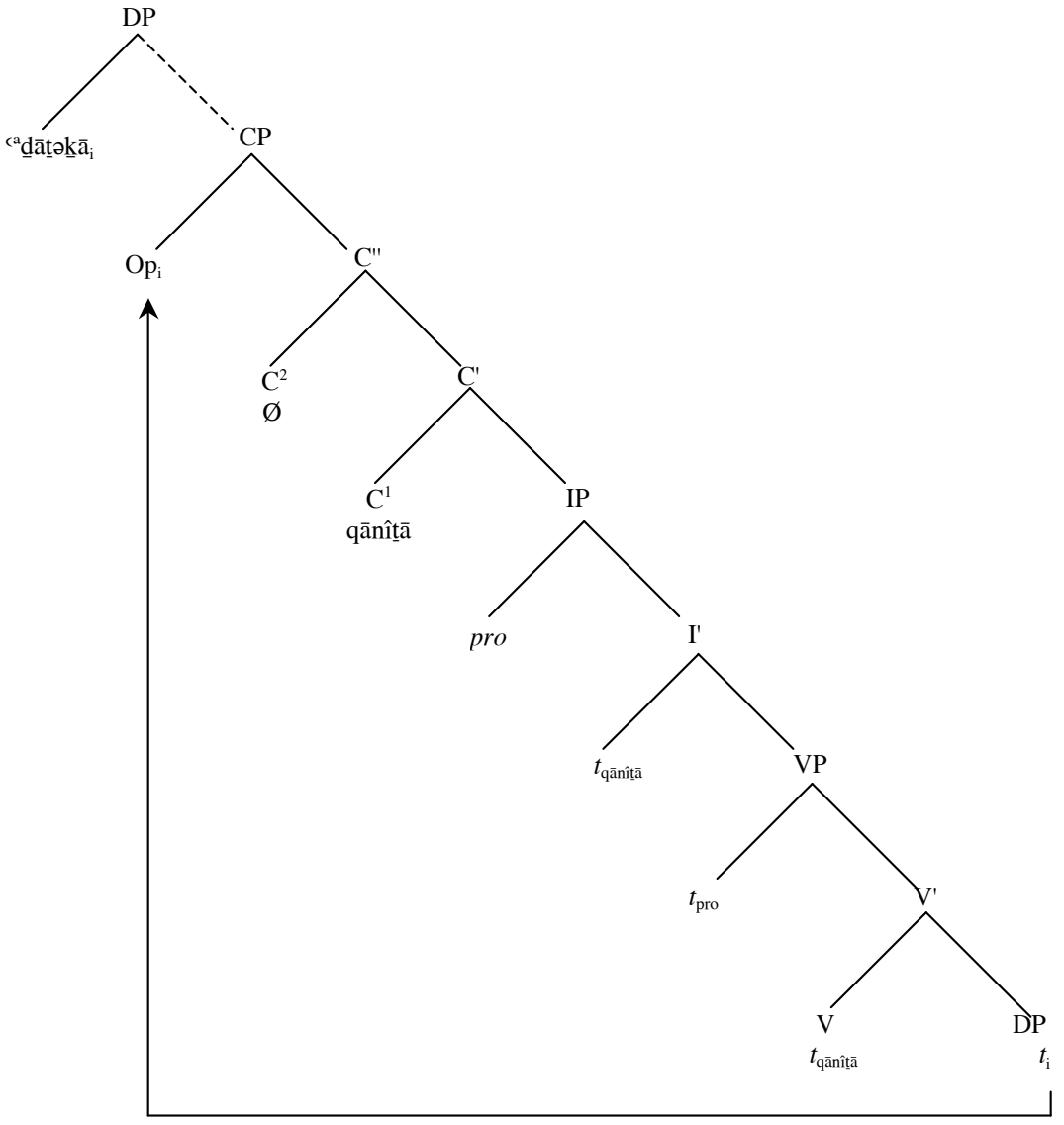
Clearly, the first option I described above, that the second *ʾašer* clause in Exodus 14.13 is an internally-headed relative, reflects a misunderstanding of BH grammar: BH only uses an externally-headed relative clause formation (see 2.1-2). Furthermore, the second option, that the *ʾašer* clause in Exodus 14.13 is analogous to a *kaʾašer* clause (see 2.2.2) '(just) as/when', avoids directly addressing the structure and function of the simple *ʾašer* clause. On the basis of these similar observations, Vervenne (1995) examines the function of the second *ʾašer* clause in Exodus 14.13 and proposes a third option. Vervenne suggests that the *ʾašer* clause in (23) is a "initial superordinate clause," i.e., a null head relative (1995:197). This conclusion is at once the simplest analysis, since it avoids treating the *ʾašer* clause as a more complex *kaʾašer* clause,

and a grammatically accurate analysis, since it avoids implicitly claiming that BH employs internally-headed relatives.

The final basic variety of BH relatives is the unmarked, or bare, relative clause (see 2.6). These clauses may have either an overt or a null head; what distinguishes them from other relatives is the absence of a relative complementizer, such as *ʾašer*. In the examples below, it is assumed that these bare relative clauses still have a null relative pronoun, *Op*; the absence of the relative complementizer is marked by the Ø).

(24) ʿadāṯəkā qānîṯā qedem
congregation-your Op **Ø** acquire(2MS PERF) ancient *t*

'*your congregation Op*$_i$ *Ø(**which**) you acquired* t$_i$ *long ago*' (Psa 74.2)



In this section, I examined the basic structure of BH relative clauses within the linguistic framework of the Minimalist Program. I presented BH data from overtly headed relative clauses, covertly/null headed relative clauses, and unmarked/bare relative clauses. I connected the overwhelmingly VS word order of BH relatives to the phenomenon of Triggered Inversion, which I introduced in chapter three. Finally, I illustrated how we can explain the rare non-VS examples by means of the pragmatic model I outlined in chapter four. In the next section, I will reexamine the issue of resumption within relative clauses (see above in 2.5) and submit a proposal for i) the syntactic differences between resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses, and ii) the semantic/pragmatic function of resumption or the lack of resumption within BH relatives.

5.3. Resumption and BH Relatives within the Minimalist Framework

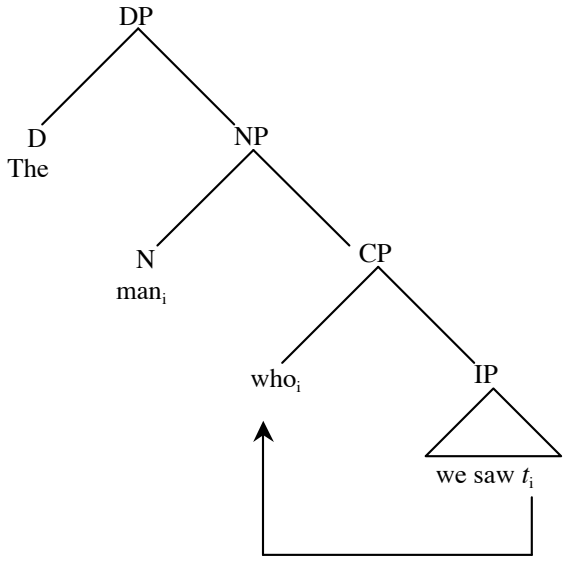
In 2.5 I introduced and surveyed the phenomenon of resumption in BH relative clauses. There I suggested that there are constraints on when resumption is used. In this section we shall investigate current proposals for resumption cross-linguistically to discern whether they illuminate the BH phenomenon of resumption in relative clauses.

The phenomenon of resumption in relative clauses has engendered hundreds, if not thousands, of pages in the linguistic literature in the attempt to solve two questions: 1) how does the syntax of resumptive relative clauses relate to that of non-resumptive relative clauses?; and 2) what motivates the choice between resumption or the lack of resumption—syntax, semantics, or pragmatics (see Sells 1984; Prince 1990; Demirdache 1991; Shlonsky 1992; Prince 1997; Suñer 1998; Sharvit 1999a)? The following discussion shall address both issues.

5.3.1. Structure of Resumptive Restrictive Relatives

Above, in 5.1.1, I briefly described the various possibilities for the restrictive relative clause and concluded that the structure in (25) (see (12)a-c)) best accounts for the relationship between the relative clause proper, the relative word, and the modified head.

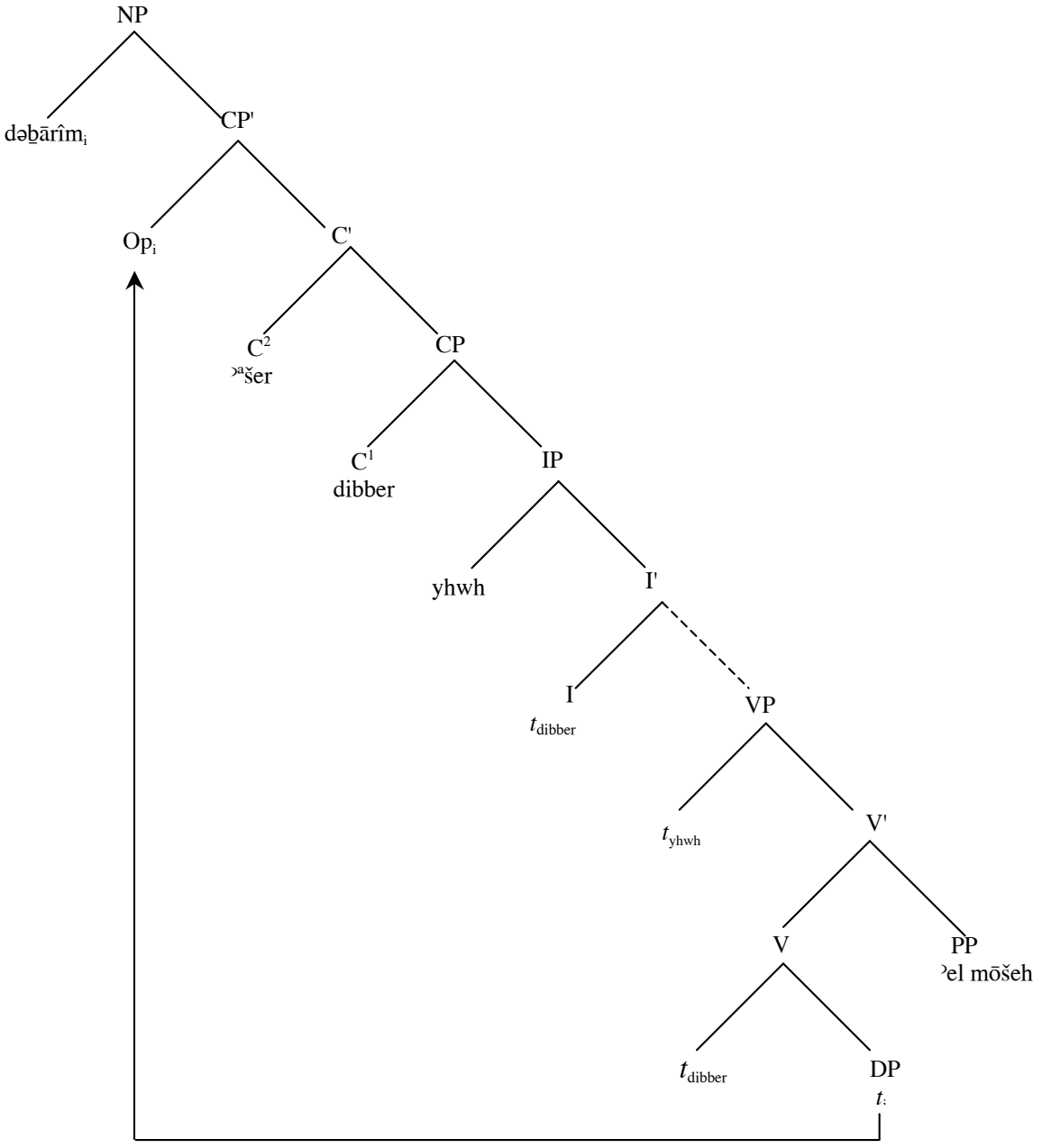
(25) The man who we saw



The relative clause structure in (25) illustrates the formation of a relative clause by the movement of a constituent within the relative to [Spec, CP]. A trace (or a *copy* of the moved constituent that is later deleted at the Logical Form interface; see Chomsky 1995b) is left in the position from which the constituent is raised. Hence, typical relative clauses in English, as in (25), lack overt resumption of their head.

In a similar fashion, in typical BH relative clauses, which are non-resumptive, illustrated in (26), the moved constituent is attracted to the highest [Spec, CP] because the head C^2 (i.e., the higher C, which contains the complementizer *ʾašer*) has features that must (and can only) be checked and eliminated by the relativized constituent.

(26) **ʾēṯ kol haddəḇārîm ʾᵃšer dibber yhwh ʾel mōšeh**
ACC all.of the-words Op REL speak(3MS PERF) *t* Yhwh to Moses
'all of the words$_i$ *Op*$_i$ *which Yhwh said* **t**$_i$ *to Moses'* (Exod 4.30)

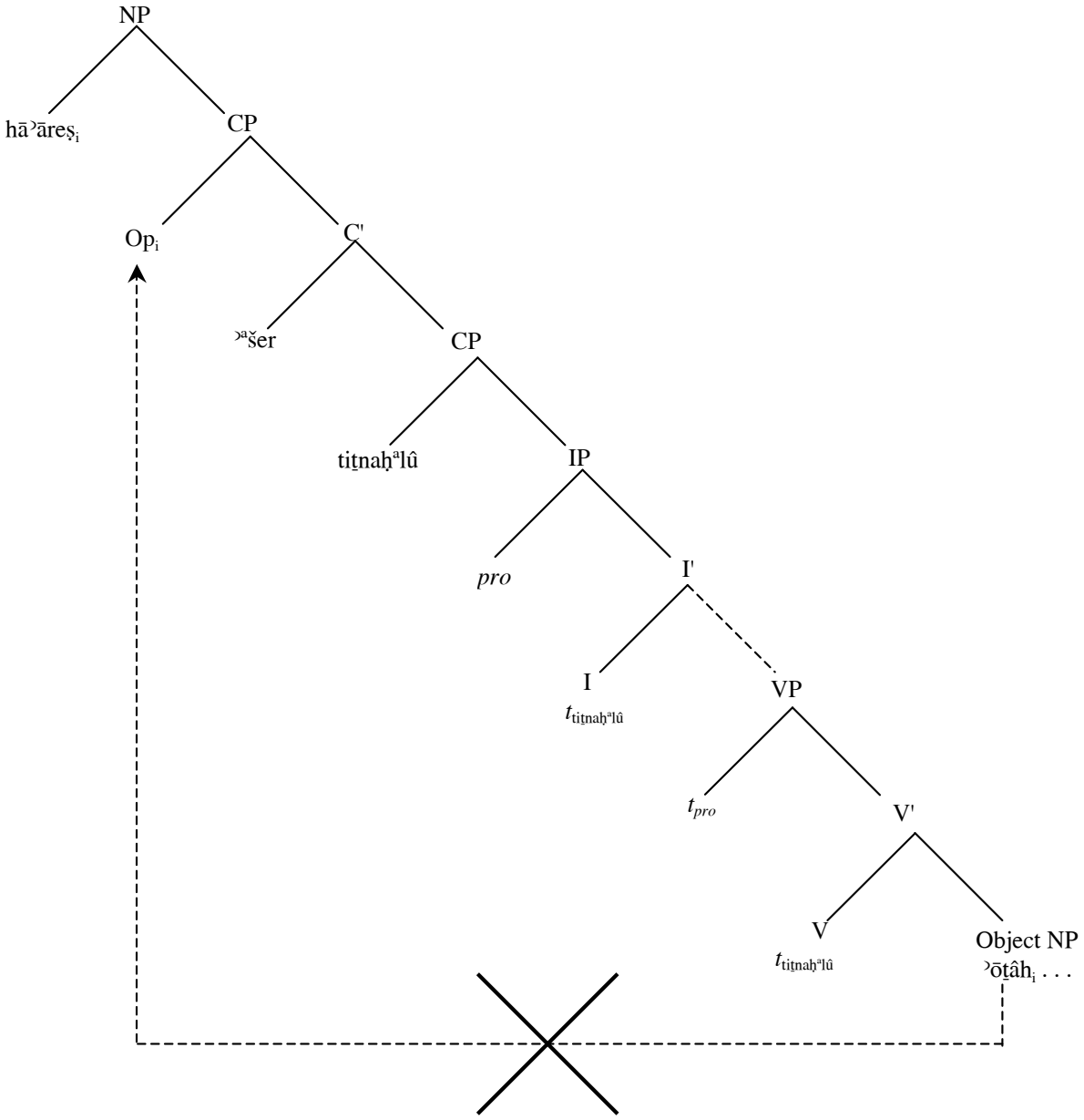


In relative clauses such as the one presented in (26), the feature that is associated with C must be a strong feature to motivate overt movement in this type of relative. Suñer (1998)

suggests that we label this feature of C [+pronominal] (1998:344); as such, the [+pronominal] feature attracts the relative pronoun (which is a null operator in BH, represented by *Op*) from its position of origin to [Spec, CP] in order that the features on both may be checked via Spec-Head agreement.

In contrast to relative clauses that leave a trace/copy and thus follow the pattern illustrated in (26), many BH relatives (and relatives in numerous other languages, e.g., Standard Arabic, Yiddish, Irish, Spanish; see Demirdache 1991; Suñer 1998) contain resumption of the head noun by means of an overt constituent within the relative clause that is coreferential with the head. The structure of such relative clauses cannot be the product of movement since the resumptive pronoun has not moved from its position within the relative clause. In other words, there is no gap/trace in the relative clause that indicates that a constituent has moved. Rather, in BH resumptive relative clauses the head C does not have a feature that attracts the raising of the resumptive pronoun from within the relative clause. Using Suñer's analysis, the C of resumptive relatives must carry the feature [– pronominal], indicating that the feature is not strong and thus does not motivate movement in the overt syntax (1998:344). In resumptive relative clauses, since the pronoun within the relative clauses that corresponds to the head of the relative clause remains *in situ* (i.e., it is not raised to function as the relative pronoun), then a null relative operator (Op) must be directly inserted into [Spec,CP] from the lexicon at the initial stages of the derivation. The structure of BH resumptive restrictive relatives is illustrated in (27).

(27) zōʾṯ **hāʾāreṣ** **ʾᵃšer** **tiṯnaḫᵃlû** **ʾōṯâh** **bəgôrāl**
this the-land Op REL inherit(2MP IMPF) ACC-it in-lot
*'this is **the land**$_i$ **Op**$_i$ **that you shall inherit it**$_i$ **by lot**'* (Num 34.13)



In (27) the head of the relative clause, *hāʾāreṣ* 'the land', is resumed within the relative by the coreferential 3FS pronominal suffix attached to the accusative marker, *ʾōṯâh* 'ACC-it'. This resumptive constituent serves as the object within the relative clause; thus there is no

empty position (i.e., gap) within the relative from which the relative pronoun could have moved. The result is insertion of the relative pronoun *Op* directly from the lexicon; without such insertion, the formation of the relative clause would not be complete.

In summary, BH has two syntactic strategies for relative clause formation. In one strategy, the computational system selects from the lexicon a C that carries the feature [+ pronominal]; this strong feature attracts the null relative pronoun (Op) to [Spec, CP] in overt syntax. Thus, there is a gap/trace left within the relative clause from which the moved constituent raised. In the other strategy, the computational system selects from the lexicon a C that carries the weak feature [–pronominal]; in this case, the constituent is not attracted to [Spec, CP] in overt syntax. Thus, the constituent remains *in situ* in the form of a resumptive element (e.g., the accusative marker *ʾeṯ* plus a pronominal suffix, as in (27)).

5.3.2. Resumption – Why?

Although it is well-known that Biblical Hebrew has two syntactic ways to form relative clauses, the question of why each is used in a given context has yet to be addressed (see 1.1.4 for an overview of previous studies). In the linguistic studies of resumption in other languages, there have been three basic types of proposals: those that attempt to describe the difference in purely syntactic terms (Shlonsky 1992; Doron and Heycock 1999); those that suggest a semantic solution (Doron 1982; Sells 1984); and finally, those that find the answer in pragmatics (Prince 1990, 1997; Suñer 1998). In this section I briefly describe each approach and comment on the applicability of each to Biblical Hebrew; I will start with the syntax-based approach.

Shlonsky (1992) suggests that resumption in Modern Hebrew is a 'last resort' strategy, that is, it is required to overcome what would otherwise be a failure to meet grammaticality (see also Chomsky 1995b:28, 257, 261, 280). He begins his analysis by examining the environments in which resumption is obligatory in Modern Hebrew relative clauses. The first is when the head noun corresponds to an NP-internal position within the relative, as in (28) (see also Sells 1984:65; Glinert 1989:364).

(28) hāʾîš šerāʾîṯî ʾeṯ **ʾištô/*ʾišt-** (Shlonsky 1992:445)[5]
the-man that-see(1CS PERF) ACC wife-his
*'the man who I saw **his wife**'*

In (28) the resumptive constituent is a cliticized possessive pronoun. As such, it resides within the structure of the DP that hosts it, a structure which is morphologically and syntactically ungrammatical without the attached pronoun. The second environment in Modern Hebrew in which resumption is obligatory is when the head of the relative corresponds to the object of a preposition within the relative, as in (29) (see also Cole 1976; Borer 1984:220, fn. 1; Glinert 1989:362).

(29) hāʾîš šeḥāšaḇtî **ʿālāyw/*ʿāl-** (Shlonsky 1992:445)
the-man that-think(1CS PERF) about-him
*'the man that I thought **about him**'*

In (29) the resumptive constituent within the relative is the object of the preposition *ʿāl* 'about'. As I mentioned in 2.5.2, Hebrew does not allow prepositions to be stranded, i.e., to be left without an overt object (cf. English *any object that he sits upon*). Shlonsky suggests that this preposition stranding constraint in Hebrew is essentially a consequence of the Empty Category

[5] I have regularized Shlonsky's (1992) transcription in these examples in accordance with the transcription system of the present work.

Principle (Shlonsky 1992:446; see Hornstein and Weinberg 1995; Reintges 1996). The implication of this analysis is that the trace (i.e., the empty category) left by a moved (i.e., relativized) DP is not licensed by a preposition; thus, in Hebrew a 'preposition-trace' construction is ungrammatical. In order to save such a construction, Hebrew, according to Shlonsky, employs resumption as a last resort strategy: an overt DP (coindexed with the head of the relative) is licensed by the preposition making the structure grammatical.

Building upon this proposal—that resumption within NP-internal arguments and oblique (i.e., PP) objects is obligatory due to the Empty Category Principle, Shlonsky argues that "not only do relativized oblique objects and NP-internal arguments utilize resumptive pronouns to circumvent ungrammaticality, but in fact the full distributional paradigm of resumptive pronouns in Hebrew . . . can be assimilated to the last resort strategy" (1992:444). In order to support this claim, he reexamines the three cases in Modern Hebrew where a resumptive element is often considered to be "optional": in the direct object position (30) and (31), and in the embedded subject position (32) (1992:444).

(30) hāʾîš šerāʾîṯî (***ʾōṯô***)
the-man that-see(1CS PERF) (him)
*'the man that I saw (**him**)'*

(31) hāʾîš šeḥāšaḇt šeḏānî pāgaš (***ʾōṯô***)
the-man that-think(2FS PERF) that-Dani meet(3MS PERF) (him)
*'the man that you thought that Dani met (**her**)'*

(32) hāʾîš šeḥāšaḇt še(***hûʾ***) məlamēḏ ʾanglîṯ
the-man that-think(2FS PERF) that-(he) teaches(MS PTCP) English
*'the man that you thought that (**he**) teaches English'*

Often clauses such as those in (30)-(32) are used to illustrate the 'free variation' of resumption in Hebrew (see Hayon 1973; Glinert 1989; Borer 1984), but Shlonsky argues that resumption is obligatory in these environments in the same way that resumption in obligatory

in oblique or NP-internal positions. In order to account for the differences between resumption and non-resumption, Shlonsky proposes that "[Modern] Hebrew has two morphologically nondistinct complementizers" which he labels *še*$_{\text{Arg}}$ and *še*$_{\bar{\text{A}}\text{rg}}$. The first complementizer, *še*$_{\text{Arg}}$, identifies its specifier as an *Argument*-position, that is, a canonical grammatical positition to which Case is assigned (see Haegeman and Guéron 1999:218, 268). However, movement from the direct object (an Argument-position) within the relative to [Spec, CP] (identified by *še*$_{\text{Arg}}$ as an Argument-position) is blocked by an intervening Argument-position (the position of the subject, [Spec, IP]) (Shlonsky formulates this in terms of the Specified Subject Condition, 1992:451-53).[6] (33) illustrates resumption as a last resort phenomenon.

(33) hāʾîš$_i$ Op$_i$ šerāʾîṯî t_i ⇏ hāʾîš$_i$ Op$_i$ šerāʾîṯî **ʾōṯô**$_i$

[Lexicon]

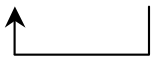
In (33) the [Spec CP] position (occupied by the null relative operator) is an argument position; thus, it cannot serve as a landing site for the relativized object NP (which is corefential with the head of the relative, *hāʾîš* 'the man'). The result is a relative clause formed without the movement of the relativized constituent. However, without a trace at the object position within the relative clause, the transitive verb *rāʾîṯî* 'I saw' is incomplete. In order to preserve this structure, Modern Hebrew inserts at the object position a pronoun that is coreferential with the head of the relative, thus fulfilling the requirements of the transitive verb.

In contrast to resumptive relative clauses, Shlonsky's second complementizer, *še*$_{\bar{\text{A}}\text{rg}}$, identifies its specifier, [Spec, CP], as an Ārgument-position, that is, a position neither associated with canonical grammatical functions nor with an assigned Case (see Haegeman and

[6] Movement of the direct object from an Argument-position to another Argument-position would also seem to violate the Case filter (i.e., the direct object would be assigned Case twice), thus suggesting another motivation for the ungrammaticality of relative movement with this type of complementizer.

Guéron 1999:218, 268). As an Ārgument-position, the specifier of $še_{\bar{A}rg}$ can serve as the landing site for the movement of the relativized DP without violating any grammatical conditions, as in (34).

(34) hāʾîš$_i$ Op$_i$ šerāʾîṯî t_i



In summary, Shlonsky proposes that the apparently free variation of resumptive elements within Hebrew relatives is to be attributed to the two homophonous relative complementizers, $še_{Arg}$ and $še_{\bar{A}rg}$. When the former is used, resumption is obligatory; when the latter is used, resumption is prohibited. Thus, Shlonsky can economically account for resumption in Modern Hebrew by analyzing all instances (e.g., resumption within an oblique object position or within an NP-internal position) as a last resort strategy.

The last resort analysis is attractive as the general explanation for the syntactic motivation of resumption or lack of resumption in BH (see 2.5). However, BH employs other relative words in both resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses. Indeed, BH uses the relative *ʾašer* much more than the relative *šeC*—just the opposite of Modern Hebrew. Therefore, instead of proposing that each of the Hebrew relatives (*ʾašer*, *šeC*-, and *zeh*/*zû*/*zô*) has (phonologically) nondistinct counterparts, it might be more economical to associate the distinguishing feature with the head C rather than with the lexical items serving as the relative words. In other words, if we combine Shlonsky's proposal with that of Suñer (see above 5.3.1), the computational system for BH must select a head C that has either the feature [+pronominal] or [-pronominal] and that selects its own specifier as either an A-position or an Ā-position. If C is [+pronominal] and selects an Ā-specifier, the result is a non-resumptive BH

relative. If C is [-pronominal] and selects an A-specifier, the result is a resumptive BH relative. Any other combination of these features must necessarily crash at Spell-Out since the features require opposing results.[7]

As a final note, it is clear that syntax-based proposals provide no *motivation* for the use of the different complementizers (e.g., Shlonsky's $še_{Arg}$ and $še_{\bar{A}rg}$) or for different relative clause structures (i.e., resumptive or non-resumptive). In other words, such proposals do not address whether we can answer the the question "*why?*"[8]

In contrast to Shlonsky's syntax-based proposal, Doron (1982) offers a semantic assessment of the difference between resumption and the lack of resumption in Modern Hebrew relatives (see also Sells 1984). She argues that the difference is fundamentally an issue of scope. She illustrates her argument by using the two clauses given in (35) and (36) (1982:18). In both examples there are two available constituents (i.e., the object, either as a trace or as a resumptive pronoun, and the object of the PP 'to') that are available for the head of the relative to bind (indicated by the coindexation). The example in (35) includes a relative without resumption of the head noun, while the relative in (36) includes resumption.

(35) hāʾiššâ$_i$ šedānî herʾā lāh t_i
the-woman Op REL-Dani show(3MS PERF) to-her
'the woman$_i$ Op$_i$ that Dani showed t_i to her'

[7] Regardless of the features associated with C, the computational system must also be able to insert *any* of the overt relative words into C. Thus, the lexical items that serve to introduce relative clauses in BH are not necessarily directly associated with the abstract morphological features that the head C carries and that either effect resumption or prohibit it.

[8] See Doron and Heycock 1999 for another syntax-based proposal that, while it does not directly address the issue of relative clause resumption, does contain signficant implications for the syntactic analysis of resumption.

(36) hāʾiššâ šedānî herʾā lāh ʾōṯāh
the-woman Op REL Dani show(3MS PERF) to-her ACC-her
'the woman$_i$ Op$_i$ that Dani showed her$_i$ to her' (same meaning as (35))
or *'the woman$_i$ Op$_i$ that Dani showed her to her$_i$'*

Doron claims that the difference between the two relatives in (35) and (36) is an issue of binding:[9] in example (35), which lacks resumption, the gap (i.e., trace) is bound by the head of the relative; in example (36), which contains resumption, the head can bind either the resumptive direct object pronoun *her* or the object within the PP *to her*. Thus, the lack of resumption (i.e., the presence of a gap) unambiguously indicates which constituent (i.e., the trace) is bound by the head, whereas the presence of resumption allows for two possibilities and is thus ambiguous. Doron suggests that this syntactic difference between traces and resumptive pronouns creates different possibilities for the way that the two types of relative clauses are assigned semantic readings. Consider the additional data from Doron, given in (37) and (38).

(37) dānî yimṣāʾ ēṯ hāʾiššâ$_i$ šehûʾ məḥappēś t_i
Dani find(3MS IMPF) ACC the-woman Op REL-he seek(MS PTCP)
'Dani will find the woman$_i$ Op$_i$ that he seeks t_i'

(38) dānî yimṣāʾ ēṯ hāʾiššâ$_i$ šehûʾ məḥappēś ʾōṯāh$_i$
Dani find(3MS IMPF) ACC the-woman Op REL-he seek(MS PTCP) ACC-her
'Dani will find the woman$_i$ Op$_i$ that he seeks her$_i$'

On the basis of the relative clauses in (37) and (38), Doron claims that Modern Hebrew relatives without direct object resumption (37) may have either a *de dicto* reading (that is, a reading in which the direct object is assigned a non-specific interpretation), or a *de re* reading (that is, a reading in which the direct object is assigned a specific/individual interpretation). In

[9] Binding is a term used to describe the relationship between antecedents and the anaphors or pronouns that share the same reference. See Haegeman 1994 and Ouhalla 1999 for clear introductions to the concept of binding in generative grammar

contrast, she claims that Modern Hebrew relatives with resumption (38) *only* have a *de re* reading. Thus, (37) can be interpreted to mean something like 'Dani will find the type of woman that he is looking for' (i.e., a *de dicto* reading) or 'Dani will find the woman (e.g., his wife Rachel) that he is looking for' (i.e., a *de re* reading). In contrast, (38) can only have the latter, *de re*, interpretation.[10]

In summary, Doron suggests that when the syntax is ambiguous, i.e., when there are two constituents within the relative clause that can be bound by the head, the semantic reading is also ambiguous. However, when the syntax is unambiguous, so are the semantics. Unfortunately, if Doron's proposal were the case in Biblical Hebrew, the fact is that we simply cannot access the semantic judgment necessary to validate the claim; this type of analysis is predicated upon the ability to elicit both native speaker examples and judgments. (In any case, the proposed semantic differences between resumption and non-resumption in Modern Hebrew may not be accurate [see Prince 1990 for a brief discussion], and Doron herself has recently proposed a different analysis for resumption [Doron and Heycock 1999].)

In place of syntax- or semantics-based solutions, Prince 1990, 1997 offers a pragmatically-based solution to the phenomenon of resumption (see also Suñer 1998; Sharvit 1999a); in both works, Prince suggests that the presence or absence of resumption is connected to discourse-pragmatic concerns. She observes a correlation between the presence of resumption and whether the relative is either a non-restrictive relative or an indefinite restrictive relative. In other words, non-restrictive and indefinite restrictive relatives exhibit a much higher frequency of resumptive elements than do definite restrictive relatives. Why the

[10] Cf. Sells (1984), who builds upon Doron's basic semantic assessment and analyzes the interpretation of resumptive pronouns by using Kamp's Discourse Representation Theory.

difference? Prince suggests that the relationship among the definiteness of the head, the restrictiveness of the relative, and resumption is the result of the information status of the head of the relative within the "hearer's knowledge-store" (1990:491).

Prince's basic approach to the information status of restrictive relative clauses can be briefly summarized as follows. Definite nouns represent entities that are already known to the hearer (i.e., they have already been invoked in the discourse, or they are implicit within it); thus, when definite nouns are used again in a discourse, the hearer is instructed to activate the referent of the definite noun. When definite nouns are modified by restrictive relatives, the relative is not merely additional information; the relative presents information necessary for the proper identification of the definite noun's discourse referent. Thus, the information within the relative must already by known to the hearer as well, since the definite noun and its relative are considered to work together in order to refer to their referent (1990:491).

Prince describes the information status of resumption in relatives in terms of Heim's metaphor of a file cabinet and file cards on which information is stored. Consider Prince's English examples in (39). (The English examples are illustrative in terms of the types of heads and relatives, but they do not illustrate the issue of resumption since English does not employ the same type of relative clause resumption that appears in Hebrew, Palestinian Arabic, Yiddish, Irish, Spanish, etc.; see Sells 1984)

(39)

a) He bought a house in Society Hill and a house down the shore.
b) <u>The house that's in Society Hill</u> is a colonial
c) <u>The First Lady who introduced ice cream in America</u> lived in it for three years.
d) But <u>the part of the roof that's over the dormer</u> is shot.

> In the typical case, if the NP is indefinite, it represents a 'Brand-new' entity, as in [(39)a)], and the hearer must add that entity, or construct a new file card . . . . And typically, if the NP is definite, it represents something already invoked in the discourse model, as in [(39)b)], or something assumed to be present in the hearer's knowledge-store, as in [(39)c)], in which case the hearer must activate the appropriate existing file card, or else it represents an entity which

> the hearer is assumed to be able to infer on the basis of prior knowledge s/he is assume to have, as in [(39)d)], in which case the hearer must construct a file card out of existing material. (1990:491)

In contrast to definite nouns with restrictive relatives, indefinite nouns with restrictive relatives represent brand-new discourse entities, as in (40). Although both the head and the information within the relative are discourse-new, according to Prince, they are given separate entries in the hearer's knowledge-store even though they are associated with each other (1990:492).

(40)
a) He bought a house which he'll move into in June.
b) A realtor that I had recommended found it for him.

Regarding both the relative clauses in (40), Prince argues that "the hearer has to add a new file card, as signaled by the indefiniteness of the [head] NPs. And, in each case, the file card to be added need represent only the entity described by the head, the information in the relative clause simply being an additional property of that entity to be noted on the independently constructed file card" (1990:492). Similarly, non-restrictive relatives, as in (41), provide discourse-new information; even if the referential heads they modify are not discourse-new.

(41)
a) He bought a house, which, by the way, I had found, and a car.
b) The house, which is in Society Hill, is a colonial.
c) Dolly Madison, who he always admired, lived in it for three years.
d) But the roof, which is slate, is shot.

For the non-restrictive relatives in (41), Prince argues that file cards must be constructed based solely upon the head and that the non-restrictive clauses represent information "that presumably does not yet exist on those file cards and which must be added to them" (1990:491).

So how does the definiteness of the head and the restrictivness of the relative clause relate to the use of resumption? Prince suggests that resumptive pronouns may be used in English and Yiddish relative clauses when "the entity evoked by the whole NP is in fact evoked by the head, the relative clause serving simply to predicate some property of that entity" (1990:492), as in (42).

(42) He bought a house which he'll move into ***it*** in June.

Prince also claims that her file card account "means that resumptive pronouns work exactly like ordinary discourse pronouns" and also explains "why one finds other anaphoric expressions in the place of resumptive pronouns, e.g., demonstratives, as in [(43)a)], coreferential full NPs, as in [(43)b)], and even referentially relative but non-coreferential pronouns, as in [(43)c)], and full NPs, as in [(43)d)]" (1990:492).

(43)

a) I had a handout and notes from her talk that **that** was lost too.

b) He's go this lifelong friend who he takes money from the parish to give to **this lifelong friend**.

c) I have a manager, Joe Scandolo, who **we've** been together over twenty years.

d) You assigned me to a paper which I don't know anything about **the subject**.

Prince's analysis of English and Yiddish suggests that resumption may have a pragmatic cause and function, even if the specific cause and the specific function differ from language to language.[11] Even so, the precise function for resumption that Prince has identified with regard to restrictiveness and the definiteness of the head does not adequately explain the BH data. Simply, we have clear non-restrictive relatives with (44) and without (45) resumption.

[11] Interestingly, Prince admits that her discourse/pragmatic analysis of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses does not explain the Modern Hebrew or Arabic data, since Semitic resumptive pronouns seem to exhibit different pragmatic functions than in English and Yiddish (1997:231-34).

(44) ləmaᶜan **dāwiḏ ᶜaḇdî** **ᵓᵃšer bāḥartî** **ᵓōṯô** ᵓᵃšer šāmar
for-sake.of David servant-my Op REL choose(1CS PERF) ACC-him REL keep(3MS PERF)

miṣwōṯay wəḥuqqōṯāy
commandments-my and-statutes-my

*'for the sake of **David, my servant**$_i$, **Op**$_i$**who** I chose **him**$_i$, who has kept my commandments and my statutes'* (1 Kgs 11.34)

(45) šēḇeṭ ᵓeḥāḏ ᵓettēn liḇneḵā ləmaᶜan dāwiḏ ᶜaḇdî ûləmaᶜan
tribe one give(1CS IMPF) to-son-your for-sake.of David servant-my and-for-sake.of

yərûšālayim **ᵓᵃšer bāḥārtî** ***t***
Jerusalem Op REL choose(1CS PERF)

*'one tribe I will give to your son, for the sake of David my servant and for the sake of **Jerusalem**$_i$, **Op**$_i$ **which** I chose* **t**$_i$*'* (1 Kgs 11.13)[12]

In 2.6 I argued that in the great majority of BH relative clauses with resumption, the resumptive constituent was either syntactically or semantically obligatory. In those cases, if the resumption did not occur, the relative clause would crash, either at the phonological form interface or at the logical form interface. This type of resumption in BH accords well with Shlonsky's (1992) claim that resumption in Modern Hebrew is a 'last resort' strategy. Thus, we might say that the normal structure for BH relative clauses is one in which the C is [+pronominal] and selects an Ā-specifier, and the result is a non-resumptive BH relative. For those relative clauses, though, that require resumption for grammaticality or interpretability, the

[12] As I noted above in 2.5 (fn. 52), the verb [*b-ḥ-r*] 'to choose' exhibits resumption with *b* and with *ᵓeṯ* as well as the lack of resumption. Since resumption with this verb cannot be obligatory, given that it takes two complements and yet can stand the lack of resumption (in any case, there is no discernible semantic difference between the two complements), I suggest that the presence of a resumptive constituent is needed to disambiguate the head (e.g., Num 16.5; 1 Sam 10.24; 1 Kgs 11.32 [cf. 1 Kgs 11.36]; 1 Kgs 11.34) or is pragmatically motivated (e.g., Judg 10.14; Isa 41.8 [cf. Isa 43.10]; Jer 33.24).

With that said, it must be admitted that with this particular verb, there 23 specific cases—when a [*b-ḥ-r*] relative clause modifies the noun *māqōm* 'place' when the head refers to the 'designated place of sacrifice' (see Deut 12.5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; 14.23, 24, 25; 15.20; 16.2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 17.8; 18.6; 23.17; 26.2; 31.11; Josh 9.27; Neh 1.9)—when it is difficult to determine a rhyme or reason for the presence or absence of resumption. The pragmatic motivation in these cases with resumption may be rather subtle and possible theologically nuanced.

C is [-pronominal] and selects an A-specifier, and the result is a resumptive BH relative (see above for more discussion on the two structures).

I also noted, though, that there was a small number of relative clauses with resumption that does not appear to be obligatory. In 2.6 I suggested that the motivation might be pragmatic, but did not provide an analysis. It is possible, as Prince 1990 suggests for Yiddish and English, that Biblical Hebrew allows the use of unnecessary resumptive pronouns in order to influence the shape of the information structure of the discourse (cf. Tsujita 1991; Parunak 1996). In fact, a plausible explanation for many, if not all, of the cases of non-obligatory resumption that the resumptive constituents are *kontrastive*.

In the 32 cases of non-obligatory resumption in verbless relative clauses, I propose that resumptive pronouns may fulfill a pragmatic role in one of two ways. Either the resumptive pronoun indicates that the head is kontrastive or the resumptive pronoun is necessary in order for the word order to indicate that the predicate is kontrastive.[13] An example of the former type is given in (46).

(46) wənāṯattâ ʾel **hakkōhᵃnîm halwîyîm ʾᵃšer hēm mizzeraᶜ ṣāḏôq**
and-give(2MS PERF MOD) to the-priests the-Levites Op REL they from-seed.of Zadok

haqqərōḇîm ʾēlay nəʾum ʾᵃḏōnāy yhwh ləšārəṯēnî par ben bāqār
the-near(MP PTCP) to-me declaration.of lord Yhwh to-serve(INF)-me bull son.of cattle

ləḥaṭṭāʾṯ
for-sin offering

'*and you shall give to* ***the Levitical priests***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***who they***$_i$ ***(are) from the seed of Zadok****, those who draw near to me—a declaration of the Lord Yhwh—to serve me a bull, a son of cattle, for a sin-offering*' (Ezek 43.19)

[13] See also Gen 7.8; 9.3; 17.12; 30.33; Lev 11.29, 39; Num 9.13; 17.5; 35.31; Deut 17.15; 20.15; 29.14; 1 Kgs 8.41; 9.20; 2 Kgs 25.19; Jer 40.7; Ezek 12.10; 20.9; 43.19; Hag 1.9; Psa 16.3; Song 1.6; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 4.2; 7.26; Neh 2.13, 18; 2 Chr 6.32; 8.7

For (46) the multiple modifiers for *priests* indicates how specific the passage is: *it is only to the precise Levitical Zadokite near-to-God priests that an offering should be given.* In this case, the resumptive pronoun indicates how strong the instruction is—that the offering should be brought to none other than the specified priests; the non-obligatory pronoun helps in this by focusing the head within the relative.

(47) is an example of non-obligatory resumption in verbless relative clauses in which the resumptive constituent is necessary in order for the word order to indicate that the predicate is kontrastive.

(47) mikkōl habbəhēmâ haṭṭəhôrâ tiqqaḥ ləḵā šiḇʿâ šiḇʿâ ʾîš wəʾištô
from-all.of the-animal the-clean take(2MS IMPF) for-you seven seven man and-woman-his

ûmin **habbəhēmâ** **ʾᵃšer** **lōʾ** **ṭəhōrâ** **hîʾ** šənayim ʾîš wəʾištô
and-from the-animal Op REL NEG clean it two man and-woman-his

'*from every clean animal you shall take for yourself seven pairs, a male and its mate, and from the* ***animal*****ᵢ** ***Op*****ᵢ** ***which it*****ᵢ** ***(is) not clean****, two, a male and its mate'* (Gen 7.2)

In the context of the Hebrew Bible, it is surprising and contrary to theological expectations that Israel's God would require Noah to take both clean *and unclean* animals into the ark. Thus, the resumptive subject pronoun in Gen 7.2 provides the minimum number of constituents in the verbless clause (i.e., two) so that the word order can indicate that the predicate *lōʾ ṭəhōrâ* 'not clean' is kontrastive.

In verbal clauses the function of unneccessary resumption serves simply to mark the resumptive constituent, and thus also the head, as konstrastive. The clauses provided in (48) and (49)[14] (note the the translations) illustrate how object resumption is mark the head as a Kontrast.

[14] See also Lev 24.55; Deut 4.19; 1 Kgs 11.34; Ezek 15.6.
The following five examples do not seem, at this time, to fit any of the categories given: Num 13.32; Deut 18.14; 1 Kgs 11.34; Psa 1.4; 94.12.

(48) kî ᶜāḇāḏay **hēm** **ᵓᵃšer** **hôṣēᵓṯî** **ᵓōṯām** mēᵓereṣ miṣrāyim lōᵓ
because servants-my they Op REL bring out(1CS PERF) them from-land.of Egypt NEG
yimmāḵrû mimkereṯ ᶜāḇeḏ
sell(3MP IMPF PASS) sale.of slave
'*because my servants are* ***they***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***who*** *I brought* ***them***$_i$ ***[not just you slave-owners]*** *out from the land of Egypt, they will not be sold (at) a slave sale*' (Lev 25.42)[15]

In Leviticus 25.42, the relative clause exists in the middle of a discourse about the social implications of the Jubilee year among Israelite society. Because God had delivered *all of the Israelites* from slavery in Egypt; thus, Israelite slaveowners are required to remember the slave history they share with their *indentured servants* and to be merciful to *them* in the Jubilee year, as God was merciful to all of them in the Exodus event. The resumptive pronoun in (49) is used similarly.

(49) zōᵓṯ **hāᵓāreṣ** **ᵓᵃšer** **tiṯnaḥᵃlû** **ᵓōṯâh** bəgôrāl
this the-land Op REL inherit(2MP IMPF) ACC-it in-lot
'*this is* ***the land***$_i$ ***Op***$_i$ ***which*** *you shall inherit* ***it***$_i$ ***[no more, no less]*** *by lot*' (Num 34.13)

The extent of Canaan within the theology of the Hebrew Bible is delineated in Numbers 34.3-12. However, from both biblical and extra-biblical references it is clear that the boundaries of the geographical area referred to by the name 'Canaan' changed over time (see Schmitz 1992:828-831). Thus, the kontrastive resumptive pronoun in (49) serves to inform the reader/listener that *the precise extent of the land* described in the preceding geographical list, nothing more, nothing less, constitutes their inheritance from God.

Finally, we arrive at the last type of pragmatically motivated resumption: resumption at the subject position within the relative clause. Because BH is a *pro*-drop language (see 3.4.1.3), i.e., the verbs are fully inflected for agreement features, subject pronouns are not

[15] See also Lev 25.55.

required. Even so, there are a very few number of Biblical Hebrew relative clauses that exhibit resumption at the subject position, a type of resumption that is clearly not syntactically or semantically required.[16] There are five examples of this subject/nominative resumption with a participial predicate, as in (50).[17] Compare (50) to the more common *lack of resumption* in participial predicates illustrated in (51).

(50) ʾeṯ **ʾᵉlōhêḵem** **ʾᵃšer** **hûʾ** môšîʿᵃ lāḵem
ACC god-your Op REL he saves(MS PTCP) to-you
*'**your god**$_i$ **Op**$_i$ **who he**$_i$ saves you'* (1 Sam 10.19)[18]

(51) ʾēṯ **sîḥōn** **melek̲** **hāʾᵉmōrî** **ʾᵃšer** ***t*** yôšēḇ bəḥešbôn
ACC Sihon king.of the-Amorites Op REL dwell(MS PTCP) in-Heshbon
*'**Sihon, king of the Amorites**$_i$, **Op**$_i$ **who** **t**$_i$ is dwelling in Heshbon'* (Deut 1.4)[19]

In example (50), the presence of the independent personal pronoun serves to indicate that the referent of the pronoun *hûʾ* 'he' is kontrastive. Indeed, the entire verse of 1 Samuel 10.19 sums up the contrast that underlies the larger discourse:

> "But today you have rejected your God, who **he** saves you from all your calamities and your distresses; and you have said, 'No! but set a king over us.' Now therefore present yourselves before Yhwh by your tribes and by your clans."

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[16] For example, the following is a list of relative clauses in which there is a *trace* at the subject position, indicating the resumption could have occurred, but did not: Gen 7.8; Num 21.34; Deut 1.4; 3.2; 4.46; 1Kgs 5.13; Isa 11.10; 24.2; 49.7; Jer 38.16; Ezek 9.2; 13.3; 43.1; Zech 11.5; Psa 115.8; 135.18; Qoh 4.1; 8.12; Esth 8.8; Neh 5.2, 3, 4; 2 Chr 34.10.

[17] See also Exod 5.8; Num 14.8; Deut 20.20; Neh 2.13 (reading the *qere*). In 2 Kgs 22.13 there is what appears to be the sole example of subject resumption with a finite verb; however, this form can easily be repointed as a participle. Given that there are no other examples of subject resumption in a finite verbal relative clause, it is possible that we should analyze 2 Kgs 22.13 as a participial relative clause.

[18] See also Exod 5.8; Deut 20.20.

[19] See also Gen 7.8; 39.22; 40.5; Num 21.34; Deut 3.2; 4.46; 28.61; Judg 18.7; 1 Sam 22.2; 1 Kgs 5.13; Isa 11.10; Jer 38.16; Ezek 9.2; 13.3; 43.1; Psa 115.8; 135.18; Qoh 8.14; 2 Chr 34.10.

In the context of the larger discourse of 1 Samuel 8-11, it is clear that the Israelites' wish for a king is contrary to the wish of their god, Yhwh. The rare presence of the personal pronoun in the highest subject position within the relative clause, as in 1 Samuel 10.19, instructs the listener/reader to establish a membership set based on the referent of the pronoun, e.g., for 1 Samuel 10.19 the set might be composed of {he/God, me/Samuel, a (human) king, . . . }. The kontrast that the pronoun in 1 Samuel 10.19 establishes is meant to highlight that the people are rejecting God (the only character who has the ability to deliver them from their calamities) in favor of a king—a mere human and an unknown quantity.

It appears from the data, illustrated by the contrast between (51) and (50), that phonologically null constituents (e.g., traces left by relativization) in BH cannot be kontrastive. It is not altogether clear whether this requirement has to do with the kontrastive feature or with clausal position: in other words, does the kontrastive feature within the derivation require an overt constituent, or does the position to which kontrastive constituents move somehow restrict the type of resumptive constituents (e.g., overt versus covert) that may be used? Whatever the answer, a constituent within a BH relative that is pragmatically marked for Kontrast must be spelled out overtly.

In summary, I have described three general linguistic approaches to the issue of resumption. In each case, I have demonstrated how the semantic and pragmatic proposals do not aid us in the study of resumption in BH relative clauses. The semantic proposal submitted by Doron 1982 cannot be either validated or invalidated since we do not have access to the necessary semantic judgments of the BH data. In addition, Prince's (1990) information structure solution simply does not describe the variation present in BH relative clauses.

I have proposed that resumption exists in Biblical Hebrew in order to fulfill number of specific functions. The one question that remains, then, is whether there is a unified explanation for all of these functions. I believe that we can at least reduce the number of functions to two general ones. First, resumption (or perhaps more accurately, the resumptive relative clause structure) is employed in Biblical Hebrew as a device by which ungrammatical sentences are "saved". When the more common non-resumptive relative clause structure would result in an ungrammatical derivation (that is, the clause is *either* syntactically ungrammatical or semantically uninterpretable), the resumptive relative clause structure, as a type of *last resort* phenomenon, is used in order to produce a grammatical clause. So, when a one part verbless clause would produce a semantically uninterpretable clause, a resumptive constituent is used. Or when a complex noun phrase serves as the antecedent and the precise head of the relative clause is unclear, a resumptive pronoun is used for clarification.

Secondly, resumption that is not obligatory for grammaticality is used for a pragmatic purpose. A non-obligatory resumptive pronoun is kontrastive; in other words, the referent of the head DP is kontrastive within the relative clause.

Now that we have examined the structure and function of resumption within BH relatives, let us investigate the phenomenon within BH relatives that Goshen-Gottstein labeled 'afterthought' (see 1.2).

5.4 Extraposition and BH Relative Clauses

Extraposition describes the placement of a constituent near the *end* of a clause (Ouhalla 1999:87; Crystal 1997:146; cf. Haegeman 1994:60-63).[20] More specifically, it describes the separation of a modifying constituent (such as a relative clause) from its head, with the modifier placed somewhere farther to the right of the head (Mallinson and Blake 1981:316). The English examples in (52)-(53) serve to illustrate the placement of constituents at the end of a clause; the extraposed clause is in brackets and its "normal" position is marked with a coindexed *t(race)* (from Mallinson and Blake 1981:316):

(52) [Some friends whom we hadn't seen for years] came to stay last week.

(53) [Some friends t_i] came to stay last week [whom we hadn't seen for years]$_i$.

In (52), the relative clause modifies the DP *some friends* and, according to the typical relative clause construction in English, it follows immediately after its head. However, (53) exhibits discontinuity between the head *some friends* and its relative *whom we hadn't seen for years*: a VP intervenes.

Typically, extraposition has been considered an example of *rightward movement*, or movement towards the end of the clause.[21] (54)-(55) illustrate extraposition as rightward movement, from the subject and object positions respectively.

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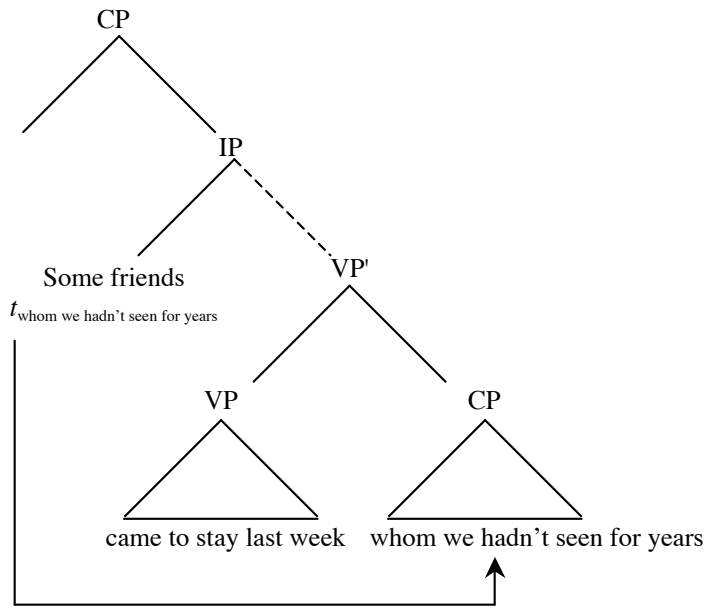
[20] There was a time in the field of linguistics when the term *extraposition* was used for the general movement of constituents, either towards the front or the rear of a clause. It is possible that this broad definition of extraposition can be assigned to Jespersen's 1920's work on English syntax in which he defines extraposition as the case in which "a word, or a group of word, is placed, as it were, outside of the sentence as if it had nothing to do there" (1969:35; cf. 1964:95; 1949(3):72, 357; 1949(7):223). Also see Mallinson (1986) for a survey of usage of the term extraposition in linguistics leading up to the mid-1980s.

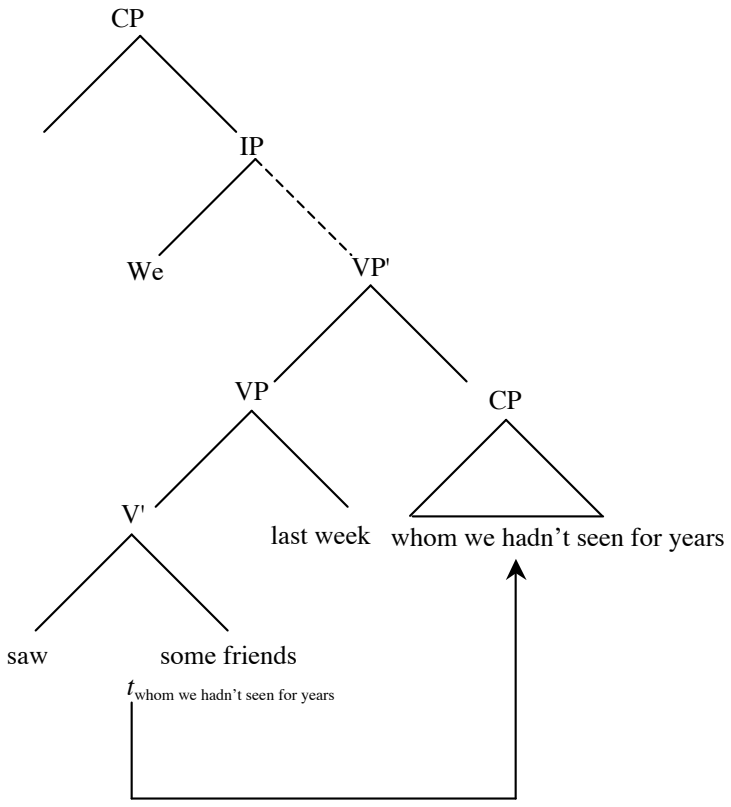
Within the field of Biblical Hebrew linguistics, current linguistic conventions have often been overlooked and the older usage of extraposition has been adopted by a few prolific scholars (e.g., Khan 1988 and Zewi 1996a, 1996b), a move which has resulted in much terminological confusion.

[21] For an early Government and Binding analysis, see Baltin 1984; for discussion of how a rightward analysis fits within more recent trends within generative grammar, see the volume of papers edited by Beerman, LeBlanc, and Van Riemsdijk (1997).

(54) Some friends t_i came to stay last week [whom we hadn't seen for years]$_i$

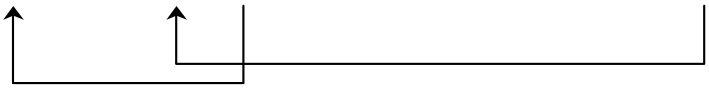


(55) We saw some friends t_i last week [whom we hadn't seen for years]$_i$



With the works of Kayne (1994) and Chomsky (1995b), however, the study of extraposition shifted to a leftward movement analysis. This shift was necessary since both Kayne's and Chomsky's linguistic theories prohibit rightward movement altogether.[22] A possible leftward account for extraposition is illustrated in (56).

(56) we met [some friends][on the street][$t_{\text{some friends}}$ whom we hadn't seen for years]$t_{\text{on the street}}$



In (56) the relative clause actually remains in its base position (i.e., the position into which it was introduced from the lexicon); the constituents that move are the 1) the head *some friend* and 2) the PP, *on the street,* that followed the relative. This leftward movement of the head and the PP gives the illusion that the relative has actually moved right. Whether this leftward movement account is correct is still a matter of vigorous debate, regardless of whether it is formulated based upon the principle of Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom or upon Chomsky's Minimalist Program (see the edited volume of Beerman, LeBlanc et al. 1997 for a number of articles exploring the phenomenon of 'rightward movement' and possible analyses within recent linguistic frameworks). However, for our purposes, it is not critical whether relative clause 'extraposition' is in fact extraposition (i.e., rightward movement) or the leftward movement of surrounding non-relative constituents. The fact remains that a relative clause may be separated from its head and this phenomenon has often been overlooked in BH studies.

[22] Specifically, Kayne's *Linear Correspondence Axiom* prohibits rightward movement outright and Chomsky's *Checking Theory* provides syntactic motivation only for leftward movement. See Beerman, LeBlanc, and Van Riemsdijk 1997 for a collection of papers dealing with the issue of rightward movement within both Kayne's and Chomsky's theories.

In the next section we shall investigate the many functions of the word *ʾašer* in order to discern whether all of the functions typically assigned to this word by grammars are linguistically justifiable. In the end, we shall see that the phenomenon of relative clause 'extraposition' considerably affects how we analyze the function of *ʾašer*.

5.4.1. The Multiple Meanings of ʾašer

BH reference grammars typically analyze the majority of *ʾašer* clauses as either relative or complement clauses. However, often grammars, commentaries, and translations also treat *ʾašer* as a subordinating conjunction which introduces causal, purpose, result, and conditional clauses, illustrated by the "result" use of *ʾašer* in (57).

(57) hinnê nāṯattî ləḵā$_i$ lēḇ ḥāḵām wənāḇôn **ʾašer** kāmôḵā lōʾ
behold give(1CS PERF MOD) to-you heart wise and-understanding REL like-you NEG

hāya ləp̄ānêḵā wəʾaḥ^{a}rêḵā lōʾ yāqûm kāmôḵā
be(3MS PERF) before-you and-after-you NEG rise(3MS IMPF) like-you

'I will give you a wise and discerning heart, ***so that*** *there will never have been anyone like you, nor will there ever be.'* (1 Kgs 3.12 NIV; see also NAS, RSV, KJV; cf. NRSV)[23]

As I have indicated in (57), many English translations interpret the *ʾašer* in 1 Kings 3.12 as a function word introducing a result clause. Many commentators as well understand the *ʾašer* in 1 Kings 3.12 to be introducing a result clause (Keil 1877:42; see also Mulder (1998:148-149), who takes the *ʾašer* in verse 12 to refer to *lēḇ* but the *ʾašer* in verse 13 as a result clause). However, I will argue in the remainder of this section that such an understanding of *ʾašer* clauses (i.e., that the word *ʾašer* introduces result, purpose, causal, or conditional clauses) is

[23] DeVries (1985:46) takes the *ʾašer* in v. 12 to refer to *lēḇ* and the *ʾašer* in v. 13 to refer to *gam ʿōšer gam kāḇôḏ*.

mistaken; rather, such *ʾašer* clauses are either complement clauses, null head relatives, or extraposed relative clauses.

5.4.1.1. ʾašer as an Object Clause Complementizer

After the use of *ʾašer* to introduce relative clauses, the second most common use of *ʾašer* is to introduce the clausal complement of a verb.[24] As a complementizer marking an object clause, *ʾašer* operates much like the Hebrew word *kî* when *kî* introduces an object clause. The following is a minimal pair using the same verb and complementizer combination: (58) presents *ʾašer* introducing an object clause, and (59) presents *kî* introducing an object clause.[25]

(58) ûḇammiḏbār ʾašer rāʾîṯā **ʾašer** nəśāʾăḵā yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā
and-in-the-wilderness REL see(2MS PERF) COMP carry(3MS PERF)-you Yhwh god-your
*'and in the wilderness where you saw **that** Yahweh, your god, carried you'* (Deut 1.31)

(59) wayyōʾmrû rāʾô rāʾînû **kî** hāyâ yhwh ʿimmāḵ
and-say(3MP PAST) see(INF) see(1CP PERF) COMP be(3MS PERF) Yhwh with-you
*'then they said: We saw clearly **that** Yahweh was with you'* (Gen 26.28)

We cannot understand the *ʾašer* in (58) and (59) as a relative word. Within relative clauses there is a position that corresponds to the head (whether the head is overt or covert). In

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[24] *ʾašer* complement clauses should not be confused with *ʾašer* clauses preceded by the particle *ʾeṯ* (which often marks the direct object). The latter type of clause is more accurately a null head relative which stands in the object position; this is distinct from the use of *ʾašer* to introduce object clauses. See 2.2.2 for further discussion.

[25] For other *ʾašer* complement clauses, see Exod 11.7; Lev 5.5; 26.40; Num 32.23; Deut 1.31; 3.24; Josh 4.7; 1 Sam 15.20; 18.15; 24.19; 2 Sam 1.4; 2.4; 14.15; 1 Kgs 22.16; Isa 37.21; 38.7; Jer 28.9; Ezek 20.26; Zech 8.20; 8.23; Psa 10.6; 89.52 (2x); Job 9.5; Qoh 3.22; 5.4, 17; 6.10;. 7.18; 7.22, 29; 8.3, 12, 14; 9.1; Esth 1.19; 2.10; 3.4; 4.11; 6.2; 8.11; Dan 1.8; Ezra 2.5, 63; Neh 2.10; 7.65; 8.14-15; 10.31; 13.1, 19, 22; 1 Chr 21.8; 2 Chr 2.7; 18.15.

The function word *še*, which primarily serves as a relative word, is similar to the word *ʾašer* in that it also occasionally introduces complement clauses; see Job 19.29; Song 5.8; Qoh 1.17; 2.14, 15; 3.18; 7.10; 8.14; 9.5.

See Rooker (1990:111-12, 123) for an argument that the use of *ʾašer* in complement clauses increased in frequency in Late Biblical Hebrew.

Biblical Hebrew that position is often marked by a resumptive pronoun or resumptive adverb (such as the Hebrew word *šām* 'there'); however, the position may also be left as a trace (or gap) within the relative clause (see above 2.5, 5.3). What is significantly different about *ʾašer* complement clauses, as in (58) and (59), is that there is no such open or resumed position within the clause. The lack of either a trace or resumption syntactically distinguishes relative clauses from complement clauses when both are introduced by the same lexical item.

5.4.1.2. Non-Relative, Non-Complement Uses of ʾašer

In the last section I briefly presented data that suggest that the BH word *ʾašer* is used to introduce complement clauses in addition to relative clauses. However, the functions of this word do not end with complement and relative clauses, at least according to most reference grammars. For example, the popular BH grammars of Kautzsch 1910, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, Joüon and Muraoka 1993, and van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999 as well as the lexicons of Brown, Driver, and Briggs [1906] 1979 [=BDB], Clines 1993-2000 [=DCH], and Koehler, Baumgartner et al. 1994-2000 [=HALOT] list a combined sixty-four examples of *ʾašer* used to introduce non-relative and non-complement clauses. The following is a brief summary of these other uses of *ʾašer*. Contextually, some *ʾašer* clauses appear to provide the cause for the preceding event, as in (60)-(62).[26]

(60) wayyāmoṯ ben hāʾiššâ hazzōʾṯ lāylâ **ʾašer** šāḵəḇâ ʿālāyw
and-die(3MS PAST) son-of the-woman the-this night REL lie(3FS PERF) upon-him
*'during the night this woman's son died **because** she lay on him'* (1Kgs 3.19 NIV)

[26] Cf. Gen 30.18; 31.49; 34.13, 27; 42.21; Num 20.13; Deut 3.24; Josh 4.7, 23; 22.31; Judg 9.17; 1 Sam 2.23; 15.15; 20.42; 25.26, 26.23; 2 Sam 2.5; 1 Kgs 3.19; 15.5; 2 Kgs 12.3; 17.4; 23.26; Jer 16.13; Job 34.27; Qoh 8.11, 12; Dan 1.10.

(61) wattōʾmer lēʾâ nāṯan ʾᵉlōhîm śəḵārî ʾᵃšer nāṯattî
and-say(3FS PAST) Leah give(3MS PERF) God reward-my REL give(1CS PERF)

šipḥāṯî ləʾîšî
maidservant-my to-man-my

*'Leah said: God has given me my hire **because** I gave my maid to my husband'* (Gen 30.18 NRSV)

(62) wayyaᶜᵃnû bənê yaᶜᵃqōḇ ʾeṯ šəḵem wəʾeṯ ḥᵃmôr ʾāḇîw
and-answer(3MP PAST) sons-of Jacob ACC Shechem and-ACC Hamor father-his

bəmirmâ wayəḏabbērû ʾᵃšer ṭimmēʾ ʾēṯ dînâ ʾᵃḥōṯām
in-deceit and-speak(3MP PAST) REL defile(3MS PERF) ACC Dinah sister-their

*'the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and his father Hamor deceitfully, **because** he had defiled their sister Dinah'* (Gen 34.13 NRSV)

Alternatively, some *ʾᵃšer* clauses seem to describe the purpose of a preceding event (63)-(65).[27]

(63) wəlōʾ ṯaᶜᵃlê ḇəmaᶜᵃlōṯ ᶜal mizbəḥî ʾᵃšer lōʾ ṯiggālê
and-NEG go up(2MS IMPF) on-steps upon altar-my REL NEG reveal(3FS IMPF PASS)

ᶜerwāṯəḵā ᶜālāyw
nakedness-your upon-it

*'you shall not go up by steps to my altar, **so that** [= in order that] your nakedness may not be exposed on it'* (Exod 20.26 NRSV)

(64) haqhel lî ʾeṯ hāᶜām wəʾašmiᶜēm ʾeṯ
assemble(2MS IMV CAUS) for-me ACC the-people and-hear(1CS IMPF CAUS)-them ACC

dəḇārāy ʾᵃšer yilməḏûn ləyirʾâ ʾōṯî kol hayyāmîm ʾᵃšer hēm
words-my REL learn(3MP IMPF) to-fear(INF) ACC-me all-of the-days REL they (are)

ḥayyîm ᶜal hāʾᵃḏāmâ
alive upon the-land

*'assemble the people for me, and I will let them hear my words, **so that** [= in order that] they may learn to fear me as long as they live on the earth'* (Deut 4.10 NRSV)

(65) wayyōʾmer yhwh ʾel yəhôšuᵃᶜ hayyôm hazzê ʾāḥēl gaddelḵā
and-say(3MS PAST) Yhwh to Joshua the-day the-this begin(1CS IMPF) great(INF CAUS)-you

bəᶜênê kol yiśrāʾēl ʾᵃšer yēḏəᶜûn kî kaʾᵃšer hāyîṯî ᶜim mōšê
in-eyes.of all.of Israel REL know(3MP IMPF) COMP as-REL be(1CS PERF) with Moses

ʾehyê ᶜimmāḵ
be(1CS IMPF) with-you

*'and the LORD [Yhwh] said to Joshua, "Today I will begin to exalt you in the eyes of all Israel, **so** [= in order that] they may know that I am with you as I was with Moses'* (Josh 3.7 NIV)

[27] See also Gen 11.7; 24.3; Exod 20.26; Deut 4.10, 40; 6.3(2x); 32.46; Josh 3.7; 1 Kgs 22.16; Neh 8.14f.

Other *ʾašer* clauses seem to provide the result of the circumstances described in the preceding clause, as in (66)-(68).[28]

(66) wəśamtî ʾeṯ zarʿaḵā kaʿapar hāʾāreṣ ʾašer ʾim yûḵal ʾîš
and-set(1CS PERF MOD) ACC seed-your like-dust.of the-earth REL COND able(3MS IMPF) man

limnôṯ ʾeṯ ʿapar hāʾāreṣ gam zarʿaḵā yimmānê
to-count(INF) ACC dust.of the-earth also seed-your count(3MS IMPF PASS)

'I shall make your offspring like the dust of the earth; ***so that*** *[= with the result that] if one can count the dust of the earth, your offspring also can be counted'* (Gen 13.16 NRSV)

(67) wəhāyəṯāQr niḇlaṯ ʾîzeḇel kəḏōmen ʿal pənê haśśāḏê bəḥēleq
and-be(3FS PERF MOD) corpse-of Jezebel like-dung upon face-of the-field in-district-of

yizrəʿeʾl **ʾašer** lōʾ yōʾmrû zōʾṯ ʾîzāḇel
Jezreel REL NEG say(3MP IMPF) this Jezebel

'the corpse of Jezebel shall be like dung on the field in the territory of Jezreel, ***so that*** *[= with the result that] no one can say, This is Jezebel'* (2 Kgs 9.37 NRSV)

(68) wəlihaṭ ʾōṯām hayyôm habbāʾ ʾāmar yhwh
and-burn(3MS PERF MOD) ACC-them the-day the-coming(MS PTCP) say(3MS PERF) Yhwh

ṣəḇāʾôṯ **ʾašer** lōʾ yaʿazōḇ lāhem šōreš wəʿānāp
hosts REL NEG leave(3MS IMPF) for-them root and-branch

*'"and the day that is coming will set them ablaze," says the LORD [Yhwh] of hosts, "*** so that ***[= with the result that] it will leave them neither root nor branch"'* (Mal 3.19 NAS95)

Finally, many grammarians have noted that *ʾašer* occasionally introduces a conditional clause, as in (69)-(71), serving to mark the protasis in a manner similar to the words *ʾim* and *kî*.[29]

[28] See also Gen 13.16; 22.14; Deut 28.27, 35, 51; 1 Kgs 3.8, 12, 13; 2 Kgs 9.37; Mal 3.19.

[29] See also Lev 4.22; 25.33; Num 5.29; Deut 11.26-28; 18.22; Josh 4.21; 1 Sam 16.7; 1 Kgs 8.31, 33; Isa 31.4.

(69) [26]rəʾê ʾ ānōḵî nōṯēn lipnêḵem hayyôm bərāḵâ ûqəlālâ [27]ʾeṯ
see(2MP IMV) I give(MS PTCP) before-you the-day blessing and-curse ACC

habbərāḵâ **ʾᵃšer** tišməʿû ʾel miṣwōṯ yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵem ʾᵃšer ʾānōḵî
the-blessing COND listen(2MP IMPF) to commandments-of Yhwh god-your REL I

məṣawwê ʾeṯḵem hayyôm [28]wəhaqqəlālâ **ʾim** lōʾ ṯišməʿû ʾel
command(MS PTCP) ACC-you the-day and-the-curse COND NEG listen(2MP IMPF) to

miṣwōṯ yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵem wəsartem min haddereḵ ʾᵃšer ʾānōḵî
commandments-of Yhwh god-your and-depart(2MP PERF) from the-way REL I

məṣawwê ʾeṯḵem hayyôm lāleḵeṯ ʾaḥᵃrê ʾᵉlōhîm ʾᵃḥērîm ʾᵃšer lōʾ
command(MS PTCP) ACC-you the-day to-walk(INF) after gods other REL NEG

yəḏaʿtem
know(2MP PERF)

[26]*'see—I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse:*
[27]*the blessing* ***if*** *you obey the commands of the LORD your God that I am giving you today;*
[28]*the curse if you disobey the commands of the LORD your God and turn from the way that I command you today by following other gods, which you have not known'* (Deut 11.26-28 NIV)

(70) **ʾᵃšer** nāśîʾ yeḥᵉṭāʾ wəʿāśâ ʾaḥaṯ mikkol miṣwōṯ yhwh
REL ruler sin(3MS IMPF) and-do(3MS PERF MOD) one from-all-of commandments-of Yhwh

ʾᵉlōhāyw ʾᵃšer lōʾ ṯēʿāśênâ bišḡāḡâ wəʾāšēm
god-his REL NEG do(3FS IMPF PASS) in-error and-be guilty(3MS PERF)

*'**if** a ruler sins and inadvertently does one of any of the commands of Yhwh, his god, which should not be done, and he incurs guilt'* (Lev 4.22; see DCH:433; HALOT:99)

(71) wayyōʾmer ʾel bənê yiśrāʾēl lēʾmōr **ʾᵃšer** yišʾālûn bənêḵem
and-say(3MS PAST) to sons-of Israel say(INF) REL ask(3MP IMPF) sons-your

māḥār ʾeṯ ʾᵃḇôṯām lēʾmōr mâ hāʾᵃḇānîm hāʾēllê
tomorrow ACC fathers-them say(INF) WH the-stones the-these

*'then he said to the Israelites: **If** your children ask their fathers in the future, "What are these stones?"'* (Josh 4.21; see GKC §159cc; HALOT:99)

These last four functions of *ʾᵃšer* beg the question: Is it syntactically justifiable for *ʾᵃšer* to be assigned a causal, purpose, result, or conditional function? Or are some of these purported syntactic functions perhaps motivated by the pragmatically implied relationship of the *ʾᵃšer* clause to the antecedent (or further, might translation into a target language have been an influence)? Clearly, *ʾᵃšer* marks both relative and complement clauses, and the two are

syntactically distinct and relatively simple to distinguish from one another. As for the rest of the purported functions of *ʾašer*, I suggest that the vast majority of the examples listed in the previous section under causal, purpose, result, or conditional should be treated as the relative use of *ʾašer*. Some of them, like the examples in (63) and (66) can simply be reanalyzed as typical relative clauses modifying the nearest antecedent, repeated in (72)-(73)—there is no *syntactic* justification for an alternate analysis.

(72) wəlōʾ ṯaʿalê bəmaʿălōṯ ʿal mizbəḥî **ʾašer** lōʾ ṯiggālê
and-NEG go up(2MS IMPF) on-steps upon altar-my REL NEG reveal(3FS IMPF PASS)

ʿerwāṯəḵā ʿālāyw
nakedness-your upon-it

*'you shall not go up by steps to my altar **which** your nakedness may not be exposed on it'* (i.e., *upon which your nakedness may not be exposed*; Exod 20.26)

(73) wəśamtî ʾeṯ zarʿăḵā kaʿapar hāʾāreṣ **ʾašer** ʾim yûḵal ʾîš
and-set(1CS PERF MOD) ACC seed-your like-dust.of the-earth REL COND able(3MS IMPF) man

limnôṯ ʾeṯ ʿapar hāʾāreṣ gam zarʿăḵā yimmānê
to-count(INF) ACC dust.of the-earth also seed-your count(3MS IMPF PASS)

*'I will make your offspring like the dust of the earth **which** if one can count the dust of the earth, your offspring also can be counted'* (Gen 13.16)

Other examples are more problematic, especially those with no appropriate antecedent immediately preceding the *ʾašer* clause. However, even these examples can be analyzed as relative clauses by recognizing that the relative clause has a null head. In the case of the example in (74), it is not that the *ʾašer* introduces a conditional; rather, the example is a relative without an overt antecedent—a null head relative.

(74) wayyōʾmer ʾel bənê yiśrāʾēl lēʾmōr ***pro***$_i$ **ʾašer**$_i$ yišʾālûn bənêḵem māḥār$_i$
and-say(3MS PAST) to sons.of Israel COMP REL ask(3MP IMPF) sons-your tomorrow

ʾeṯ ʾăbôṯām lēʾmōr mâ hāʾăbānîm hāʾēllê
ACC fathers-their COMP what the-stones the-these

*'then he said to the Israelites, "**Ø**$_i$ **When**$_i$ your children ask their fathers (in the) **future**$_i$: What are these stones?'* (Josh 4.21)

An overtly headed *ʾašer* relative clause that is similar to the example in (74) is given in (75) for comparison.

(75) [10]yôm$_i$ **ʾašer**$_i$ ʿāmaḏtā lipnê yhwh ʾĕlōhêḵā bəḥōrēḇ . . . [11]wattiqrəḇûn
day REL stand(2MS PERF) before Yhwh god-your in-Horeb and-draw near(2MP PAST)
wattaʿamḏûn taḥaṯ hāhār
and-stand(2MP PAST) under the-mountain
'(on the) day$_i$ ***when***$_i$ *you stood before Yhwh, your god, at Horeb . . . you drew near and you stood at the foot of the mountain'* (Deut 4.10-11)

In (75) the noun phrase *yôm* 'day' serves as the head of the relative; the head and its relative as a whole function as a temporal modifier for the main clause in Deut 4.11. Likewise, in (74) the null head relative functions as a temporal modifier to the verb "ask." In fact, the covert head (*Ø*) is resumed by the adverb *māḥār* 'tomorrow' within the *ʾašer* clause. The clearest explanation of (74) is achieved by comparing a non-relativized version with the relativized version that we have: *Your children shall ask you tomorrow/in the future* vs. *Tomorrow when your children ask you (tomorrow/in the future).* While resumption in the relative clause is not acceptable in English, it is a well-known phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew (e.g. it is syntactically analogous to the BH constructions in which we find phrases such as ***the place*** *which he put his tent* ***there***).[30]

The concept of null head, or covertly headed, relative clauses provides a satisfactory solution for only a small number of "problematic" BH relatives. Now that we have discussed one solution for retaining a relative analysis of *ʾašer* clauses, let us move on to the second, and in many ways, the more significant proposal: *extraposition*.

[30] For example, see Gen 3.23; Num 35.26; Jer 16.15.

5.4.2. BH Relative Clause Extraposition

When we return to the issue of extraposition of the BH *ʾašer* clauses, we see that the data, represented by (76)-(78), exhibit the same type of movement as the English examples given above in (54)-(55).[31] (I have positioned the traces in each example below in accordance with a leftward movement analysis.)

(76) ûrəʾû kî **rāʿaṯḵem**$_i$ rabbâ [*t*$_i$ **ʾašer** ʿaśîṯem] bəʿênê yhwh
and-see(2MP IMV) COMP evil-your great REL do(2MP PERF) in-eyes-of Yhwh

*'and see that your **evil**$_i$ (is) great [t$_i$ **which** you did] in the eyes of Yhwh'* (1 Sam 12:17)

(77) wəhinnê **riḇqâ**$_i$ yōṣēʾṯ [*t*$_i$ **ʾašer** yulləḏâ liḇṯûʾēl ben milkâ
and-behold Rebekah go out(FS PTCP) REL bear(3FS PERF PASS) to-Bethuel son.of Milcah

ʾēšeṯ nāḥôr ʾaḥî ʾaḇrāhām]
wife.of Nahor brother.of Abraham

*'and behold, **Rebekah**$_i$ was coming out [t$_i$ **who** was born to Bethuel, son of Micah wife of Nahor, brother of Abraham]'* (Gen 24.15)

(78) ûləyôsēp yullaḏ šənê **ḇānîm**$_i$ bəṭerem tāḇôʾ šənaṯ
and-to-Joseph bear(3MS PERF PASS) two-of sons in-yet come(3FS IMPF) year-of

hārāʿāḇ [*t*$_i$ **ʾašer** yāləḏâ lô ʾāsənaṯ]
the-famine REL bear(3FS PERF) to-him Asenath

*'and to Joseph, two **sons**$_i$ were born before the two famine years came, [t$_i$ **who** Asenath bore for him]'* (Gen 41.50)

(76) represents a case of *ʾašer* relative clause extraposition with an intervening verbless clause; (77) is an example of *ʾašer* relative clause extraposition with an intervening predicative

[31] For other examples of BH relative clause extraposition, see Gen 1.11; 22.14; 30.2; 33.18; 34.13; 35.14; 48.9, 22; Exod 1.8; 4.17; 5.21; 13.5; 20.2; 29.42; 32.4; Lev 1.5; Deut 4.19, 28; 8.16; 11.10(2x); 19.9; 23.16; Josh 1.15; 6.26; Judg 9.17; 10.4; 18.16; 21.19; 1 Sam 3.11; 10.16; 14.21, 45; 15.2; 24.20; 2 Sam 2.5, 6; 3.8; 7.12, 23; 1 Kgs 5.21; 6.12; 8.24, 33; 10.3, 9, 10; 12.31; 13.14; 15.13; 2 Kgs 9.36, 37; 10.10; 12.3; 17.4; 21.12; Isa 28.4; 29.22; 30.24; 31.4; 54.9; 56.5; 63.7; 65.7; Jer 5.22; 13.25; 19.3; 24.3; 29.19; 37.1; 42.14; 43.1; Ezek 5.16; 6.9; 11.12; 12.2; 14.5; 15.6; 16.17, 45; 17.16; 20.11, 13, 21, 32; 47.14, 22; Mal 3.19; Psa 1.3; 26.9-10; 55.20; 58.5-6; 71.19; 78.5; 84.4; 119.49, 158; 132.2; 139.20; 140.3, 5; Ruth 4.1; Job 6.4; 12.10; 22.15; 30.1; 34.19; 36.28; 38.23; 39.6; Ruth 4.15; Qoh 2.3; 4.9; 7.20, 22, 29; 8.13; 10.15; Lam 1.10; 4.20; Esth 1.19; 2.6; 4.5, 6; Dan 9.1, 8; Ezra 2.2; 9.11; Neh 2.8; 6.11; 9.26; 1 Chr 16.16; 21.17; 2 Chr 1.6; 9.2, 8; 15.16; 22.9; 36.13.

participle; and (78) illustrates *ʾašer* relative clause extraposition with an intervening temporal clause containing a finite verb.

Recognizing the concept of extraposition allows us to analyze many more *ʾašer* clauses as relative clauses. Let us look at two in particular: (79), which I introduced above as a causal *ʾašer* clause in (60), and (80), which I presented in (57) and is typically treated as a result *ʾašer* clause. Such conclusions may seem warranted upon first glance; neither *ʾašer* clause is adjacent to an available antecedent. However, it would be more economical to analyze each clause as extraposition—it resorts to a type of movement which is well-attested in Biblical Hebrew (as illustrated in (76)-(78)) and cross-linguistically[32] and it preserves the basic two-fold function of *ʾašer* as well.

(79) wayyāmoṯ ben$_i$ hāʾiššâ hazzōʾṯ lāylâ [***t***$_i$ **ʾašer** šāḵəḇâ ʿālāyw]
and-die(3MS PAST) son.of the-woman the-this night REL *pro* lay(3FS PERF) upon-him

*'then the son$_i$ of this woman died (at) night, [**t**$_i$ **who** (she) laid upon him]'* (1Kgs 3.19)[33]

(80) hinnê nāṯattî ləḵā$_i$ lēḇ ḥāḵām wənāḇôn [***t***$_i$ **ʾašer** kāmôḵā lōʾ hāyâ
behold give(1CS PERF) to-you heart wise and-understanding REL like-you NEG be(3MS PERF)
ləpānêḵā wəʾaḥ^{a}rêḵā lōʾ yāqûm kāmôḵā]
before-you and-after-you NEG rise(3MS IMPF) like-you

*'see—I give to you$_i$ a wise and discerning mind, [**t**$_i$ **who** there has been none like you before you and after you none will rise like you]'* (1 Kgs 3.12)

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[32] For example, see Bayer (1997), who presents extraposition data from Bengali, Marathi, Hindi, Italian, and German.

[33] There are two possible heads for this extraposed relative: 'the son of this woman' or just 'this woman'. 'The son' is the subject of the clause and the initial logical choice for the head of the relative. If we analyze the relative clause as modifying 'the son', the non-restrictive (and extraposed) relative provides further information about the son that would appear to be necessary in order to place blame upon the boy's mother for his death. Although it is possible to analyze the relative as modifying the second half of the larger construct phrase, 'this woman', this is rather awkward in that the relative clause would modify a DP-internal, non-argument constituent and would split the information structure of the clause so that the predicate is modifying the subject, while the extraposed relative is modifying a modifier of the subject. In the example in (79), I have identified 'the son' as the head of the relative and in order to indicate this clearly, I have placed the coindexation marker (subscript i) on the NP 'the son' rather than on the entire DP 'the son of this woman' even though the larger constituent (i.e., the entire DP) is technically the antecedent.

In (79), the head that the extraposed relative modifies is the DP *ben hāʾiššâ hazzōʾṯ* 'the son of this woman'. The extraposed relative appears to non-restrictively modify the head in that it provides additional information which is unnecessary for identifying the referent of 'the son' (the head 'the son' is already identified by virtue of the construct relationship with 'this woman'). The relative clause is in fact providing the cause of death; the point is, however, that syntactically it is more economical to analyze the *ʾăšer* clause as a relative even if we render it as a causal clause in translation. The second example, (80), is not so ambiguous. Though it is often categorized as a result clause, the *ʾăšer* clause should be understood as an extraposed relative non-restrictively modifying the 2MS object of the preposition in the phrase *ləḵā* 'to you'.[34]

Now that I have described the presence and syntax of extraposition in BH relative clauses, the question remains: is there a functional or pragmatic explanation? A solution might be found by looking to other types of rightward movement such as *heavy NP-shift*, illustrated in (81) and (82) (modified from Haegeman 1994:419).

(81)
a) Jeeves introduced the detective to the guests.
b) Jeeves introduced t_i to the guests $[_{NP}$ the famous detective from Belgium$]_i$.

(82)
a) My doctor told me to drink two glasses of water every night.
b) My doctor told me to drink t_i every night $[_{NP}$ two glasses of mineral water with a slice of lemon$]_i$.

[34] The extraposition from a prepositional phrase in which the preposition and the head are both moved up, stranding the remaining material, also occurs in English, e.g. *I was talking to a woman yesterday in the store who had red hair*. See above in 2.2 where I present other examples of pronominal suffixes that serve as the head of a relative clause.

The clauses in (81)a) and (82)a) represent the normal order of constituents in English, with the complement (i.e., *the detective* and *two glasses of water*) directly following the verb and preceding any adjuncts (i.e., *to the guests* and *every night*). In contrast, (81)b) and (82)b) exhibit a different order, with the complement of the verb actually following the adjuncts. The difference between the two sets of clauses has been attributed to the "heaviness" of the complements in (81)b) and (82)b) (see Haegeman 1994:421; Haegeman and Guéron 1999:222).

Haegeman and Guéron (1999) conjecture that "the heavy NP moves rightward because it is informationally heavy . . . to focalize them, that is, to put them in a prominent position in the sentence" (1999:223). It is possible to work out a similar explanation for BH extraposition. Although focused (or kontrastive; see above 4.1) constituents in BH are usually moved towards the front of the clause, such movement is impossible for the material inside of a relative clause—the relative clause cannot move over its head. Thus, it is possible that extraposition is the strategy by which a relative clause (excluding its head) is marked as kontrastive. Consider the examples of BH relative clause extraposition in (83).

(83) wəhinnê **riḇqâ**$_{i}$ yōṣēʾṯ [***t***$_{i}$ **ʾᵃšer** yullədḏâ liḇṯûʾēl ben milkâ
and-behold Rebekah go out(FS PTCP) REL bear(3FS PERF PASS) to-Bethuel son.of Milcah
ʾēšeṯ nāḥôr ʾᵃḥî ʾaḇrāhām]
wife.of Nahor brother.of Abraham
'and behold, ***Rebekah***$_{i}$ *was coming out [***t***$_{i}$* ***who*** *was born to Bethuel son of Milcah wife of Nahor, brother of Abraham]'* (Gen 24.15)

It could be argued that the relative clause material in (83), *ʾᵃšer yullədḏâ liḇṯûʾēl ben milkâ ʾēšeṯ nāḥôr ʾᵃḥî ʾaḇrāhām* 'who was born to Bethuel son of Milcah wife of Nahor, brother of Abraham' has been moved to the extreme right of the clause in order to present it as kontrastive. In other words, within the narrative what is most important about Rebekah is not

that she is coming out, but that she is one of Abraham's people—she fulfills the requirement that Abraham had set for servant, to find a wife for his son Isaac from his own people.

Similar explanations such as I have provided for (83) can be given for the extraposition above in examples (79) and (80). Unfortunately, there are too many examples of BH extraposition for which such an analysis is unsatisfactory. One would be hard-pressed to explain the examples of extraposition above in (76) and (78) in the same way. Where does that leave us regarding a functional analysis of BH extraposition? It is possible that, like many analyses of heavy NP-shift, extraposition is rightward movement that is done in order to facilitate the processing of the sentence. "Heavier" material tends to obscure the syntax of a clause and is inhibits the ability of the reader/listener to understand the communicative content of the clause easily. Clearly, more works needs to be done on the function of extraposition, both in BH and in language in general.

5.4.3. Summary

The grammatical implications of re-analyzing problematic *ʾašer* relative clauses are clear: we preserve the economy of the function of *ʾašer*, and we are left with only a handful of examples which remain truly exceptional. The exegetical implications are also forthcoming. Let us return to the description of Solomon in 1 Kings 3.12-13, provided in full in (84).

(84) [12]hinnê ʿāśîtî kiḏbārêḵā hinnê nāṯattî ləḵā$_i$ lēḇ ḥāḵām
behold do(1CS PERF) like-words-your behold give(1CS PERF) to-you heart wise

wənāḇôn [*t*$_i$ ʾᵃ**šer** kāmôḵā lōʾ hāyâ ləp̄ānêḵā wəʾaḥᵃrêḵā lōʾ
and-understanding REL like-you NEG be(3MS PERF) before-you and-after-you NEG

yāqûm kāmôḵā] [13]wəḡam ʾᵃšer lōʾ šāʾaltā nāṯattî lāḵ$_i$ gam ʿōšer
rise(3MS IMPF) like-you and-also REL NEG ask(2MS PERF) give(1CS PERF) to-you also riches

gam kāḇôḏ [*t*$_j$ ʾᵃ**šer** lōʾ hāyâ ḵāmôḵā ʾîš bammələḵîm kol yāmêḵā]
also glory REL NEG be(3MS PERF) like-you man in-the-kings all.of days-your

[12]*see—I am acting according to your words; behold, I am giving to you*$_i$ *a wise and understanding heart,* [*t*$_i$ ***who*** *there was none like you before you and there will be none like you after you*]. [13]*Even what you have not requested I am giving to you*$_j$*—even riches and honor—* [*t*$_j$ ***who*** *there was no man like you among the kings all your days*]. (1 Kgs 3.12-13)

If the bracketed *ʾᵃšer* clauses in verses 12 and 13 are understood as result clauses, the passage indicates that Solomon becomes unique only *after* God endows him with a wise and discerning mind, i.e. *God is about to give Solomon wisdom and riches with the result that he will become unique*.

Semantically, there is nothing inherently wrong with this analysis—it is a logical possibility. However, if non-complement *ʾᵃšer* clauses are to be understood syntactically *only* as relative clauses (which are extraposed in these two verse), then BH grammar does not allow us to analyze the *ʾᵃšer* clause as a result clause. Rather, the grammar suggests that God *already* considered Solomon unique among men (note the tense of the verbs within the relatives), i.e. *Solomon alone has shown himself, by his humble request, worthy among kings and God is in the process of blessing him for the character he has demonstrated.* The difference between the two interpretations, based upon differing syntactic analyses, is subtle yet significant.

In this section I have addressed the phenomenon of extraposition in BH relative clauses. I have argued that extraposition (and null head relatives) allows us to maintain an analysis of *ʾᵃšer* that is essentially binary: *ʾᵃšer* marks relative clauses or complement clauses. Recognizing

the two concepts of extraposition and null head relatives allows us to avoid a more complex analysis of *ʾašer* where we add four additional functions to this single functional word: causal, purpose, result, and conditional. We have examined the issues of resumption and extraposition within BH relative clauses. In the next section, we shall complete our investigation our the BH relative clause by returning to the issue of restrictiveness.

5.5. Restrictiveness and BH Relatives within the Minimalist Framework

In 2.1 and 2.7 I introduced the issue of restrictiveness in relative clauses and how it is manifested in BH. The basic semantic difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives is that the former supplies information necessary for identifying the referent of the head, while the latter does not. However, describing this difference in explicit linguistic terms has not been an easy task. In this section I return to that discussion in order to describe the syntax and semantics of restrictiveness in BH within the minimalist framework. First, however, I shall summarize the information I presented in chapter two that concerns restrictiveness in BH.

Non-restrictive relatives are rarely separated from their heads, e.g., by extraposition, as in (85) (Emonds 1979:234-35; Mallinson and Blake 1981; McCawley 1998:447).[35]

(85) *My father came in, who runs his own business
vs. My father, who runs his own business, came in

Proper names can only be modified by non-restrictive relatives, as in (86) (1981:359-66).

(86) I saw John, who studies daily
vs. *I saw John who studies daily

[35] There are occasionally non-restrictive relatives that exhibit extraposition and that appear to be grammatical; Fabb presents the following as such an example (1990:59): *I met John yesterday, who I like a lot*.

Restrictive relatives can only modify NPs (87)a), whereas non-restrictive relatives can modify any XP, e.g., NPs, VPs, PPs, and CP, as in (87)b), (88), (89), and (90), respectively (Fabb 1990:60; Demirdache 1991:108-9; McCawley 1998:447).

(87) Relative Clause Modifying an NP
a) I called a friend *that was working*.
b) I called Rachel, *who was working*.

(88) Relative Clause Modifying a VP
a) John weightlifted, *which I was having a problem doing*.
b) *John weightlifted that I was having a problem doing.

(89) Relative Clause Modifying a PP
a) Rachel put the box in the car, *where I had put the others*.
b) *Rachel put the box in the car that I had put the others.

(90) Relative Clause Modifying a CP
a) John angered his wife, *which was not a good idea*.
b) *John angered his wife that was not a good idea.

Examples (85)-(90) illustrate the various different uses of restrictive relatives and non-restrictive relatives. In addition, (91) demonstrates that null head relatives are, by nature, restrictive since the semantic content of the null head cannot be recovered without, minimally, the information contained in the following relative clause (in many cases, the discourse context is also necessary in order to determine what the null head represents).

(91) Null Head Relative
a) Rachel saw *what I did to the car*.
b) *Rachel saw what, I did to the car.

(85)-(91) accurately represent the characteristics of restrictiveness. However, we must still examine the syntax of non-restrictive relatives in order to see if we can isolate any linguistic features that distinguish non-restrictive relatives from restrictive relatives.

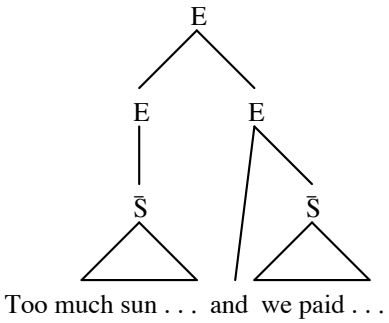
5.5.1. The Structure of Non-restrictive Relatives

While there remains some debate about the structure of restrictive relatives, particularly regarding where the relative clause proper is attached to the head constituent (see 5.1), non-restrictive relatives pose a different set of problems. For instance, since non-restrictive relatives are not really a part of the larger clause in terms of syntactic relationships (i.e., their syntactic status is similar to interjections, exclamations, or parentheticals), the challenge is to identify how they can be incorporated into the phrase structure the their head, or even of the larger clause.

Emonds (1979) examines appositive/non-restricive relatives and proposes that his Main Clause Hypothesis can account for the syntactic characteristics of these relatives. The essence of the Main Clause Hypothesis is that non-restrictive relatives "are derived from [main] clauses which are deep structure coordinate right sisters to the [main] clause containing the modified antecedent" (1979:212). It is through two transformations that the second main clause becomes a non-restrictive relative, illustrated in (92) (1979:211-15). (The symbol E stands for Expression which Emonds uses for the highest category in a sentence.)

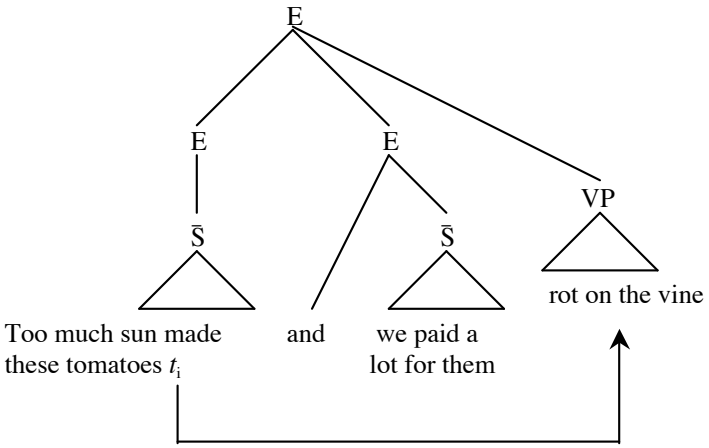
(92) Emonds' Transformation from Main Clause to Non-restrictive Relative

a) Too much sun made these tomatoes rot on the vine, and we paid a lot for them.



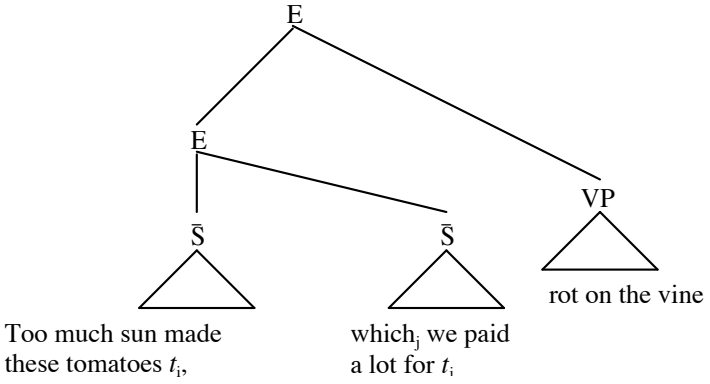
The first transformation ("Parenthetical Formation") serves to move any constituent (the VP in (92)b)) from the left main clause and attach it to the right of the right main clause.

b) Too much sun made these tomatoes, and we paid a lot for them, rot on the vine.



The second transformation ("S̄-Attachment") deletes the coordinating conjunction between the two clauses and attaches the right main clause to the left main clause.

c) Too much sun made these tomatoes, which we paid a lot for, rot on the vine.

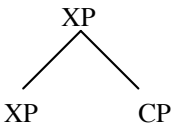


Significantly, in this analysis non-restrictive relatives and their antecedents do not form a single constituent at any stage in the derivation.

Demirdache (1991) builds upon Emonds' earlier analysis, but contra Emonds she argues that *syntactically* non-restrictive relatives are subordinate clauses (thus, they do not differ syntactically from restrictive relatives). In order to identify the structural differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives (since both are syntactically subordinate), Demirdache returns to the distinguishing features I presented above: restrictive relatives can only modify NPs while non-restrictive relatives can modify NPs, APs, VPs, PPs, CPs, etc.; restrictive relatives modify nonreferential NPs while non-restrictive relatives can modify referential NPs (e.g., proper nouns). Therefore, Demirdache concludes that non-restrictive relatives are inserted from the lexicon into a position that is adjoined to their antecedent, illustrated in (93). (93)a) provides Demirdache's basic structure for non-restrictives (where the XP stands for any type of phrasal constituent), while (93)b)-(93)e) illustrate how non-restrictives syntactically modify various types of heads.

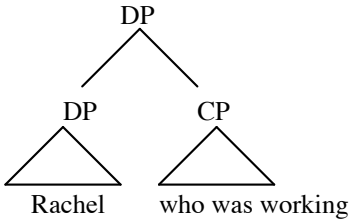
(93) Syntactic Structure on Non-restrictive Relatives

a)



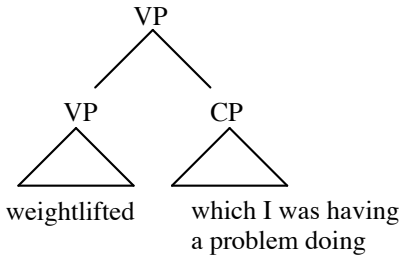
In (93)b), the antecedent is the DP *Rachel*. Thus, the non-restrictive relative CP is adjoined to the DP, necessitating that a higher DP is projected. The entire structure remains a DP.

b) I called Rachel, *who was working*



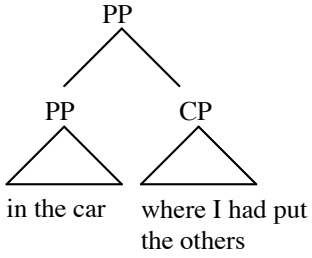
In (91)c), the non-restrictive relative CP is adjoined to the VP *weightlifted*, creating the larger VP that includes both the lower VP and the relative CP.

c) John weightlifted, *which I was having a problem doing*.



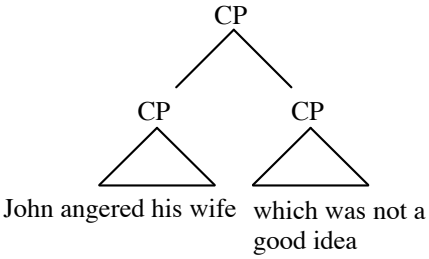
In (91)d), the relative CP is adjoined to the PP *in the car*. The result is a larger PP, *in the car, where I had put the others,* that includes both the lower PP and the relative CP.

d) Rachel put the box <u>in the car</u>, *where I had put the others*.



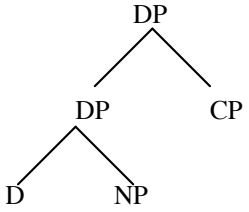
Finally, in (91)e) we have a relative CP that modifies and is adjoined to another CP *John angered his wife*. The adjunction of the relative CP causes the main CP to project, creating the higher CP that includes both the lower, main CP and the relative CP.

e) <u>John angered his wife</u>, *which was not a good idea*.

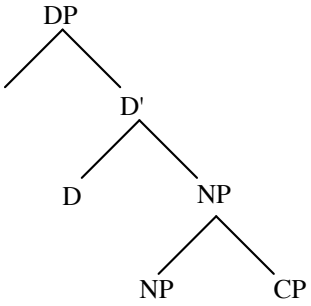


The fundamental difference between the non-restrictive relative modifying the DP in (93)b) and a restrictive relative that modifies a DP is where the relative attachment site is. Demirdache provides (94)a) and (94)b) as illustration.

(94) a) Non-restrictive Relative



b) Restrictive Relative



> "The primary difference between these two types of modification is that non-restrictives can modify referential expressions like proper names, whereas restrictives cannot. . . . [U]nder the DP hypothesis (Abney 1987), DPs are referential categories, NPs are not (they are predicates). Since a non-restrictive relative can be adjoined to any XP, its head can be a referential category (DP) or any predicate including NP (i.e., it can modify an indefinite). In contrast, a restrictive relative always attaches to NP. Thus, its head will never be referential." (Demirdache 1991:111)

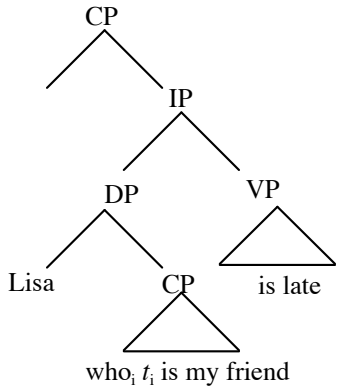
Demirdache also notes that the distinction she makes in (94) between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives correctly predicts that non-restrictive relatives follow the complements and modifiers of a noun, as in (95)a). Thus, the non-restrictive cannot precede the restrictive relative in (95)b).

(95)
a) The girl that I like, who John dislikes.
b) *The girl, who I saw, that John dislikes.

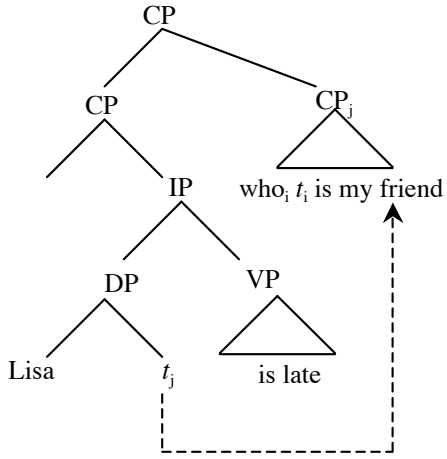
In (93)a) the restrictive relative, being a constituent within the NP, is positioned after the head and before the non-restrictive relative, which is not a constituent within the NP (but a constituent within the DP). (93)b) illustrates that the non-restrictive, since it is constituent of the larger DP structure, cannot precede the restrictive relative, which is constituent of the smaller NP structure.

Demirdache does not follow Emonds' syntactic analysis of non-restrictive relatives by analyzing them and their antecedents as a single constituent. However, she does follow Emonds in proposing that non-restrictive relatives are interpreted as independent clauses. Non-restrictive relatives "are lifted out of the clause in which they were base-generated and adjoined to the root clause at L[ogical] F[orm]" (1991:113). Thus, the non-restrictive, which is syntactically adjoined to the DP in (96) is converted into the structure in (97) at Logical Form in order to receive an interpretation.

(96) A Non-restrictive Relative before Logical Form



(97) A Non-restrictive Relative at Logical Form



In summary, Demirdache combines Emonds' basic proposal that non-restrictive relatives receive an independent clause interpretation with the position that non-restrictive relatives do not differ from restrictive relatives in their syntactic relationship to their antecedent: they are both subordinate modifiers that form a single constituent with their heads. Now let us examine how well this analysis of non-restrictive relative clauses explains the BH data.

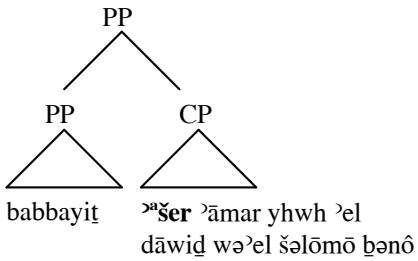
5.5.2. BH Relatives and Restrictiveness

To review, in 2.7 I identified two linguistic features that aid us in distinguishing restrictive relatives from non-restrictive relatives in BH. First, non-restrictive relatives may modify more than just NPs (see 2.3); thus, whenever we have a BH relative modifying, e.g., a PP (98), or even an entire CP (99), it must be a non-restrictive relative.

(98) wayyāśem ʾeṯ pesel hāʾᵃšērâ ʾᵃšer ʿāśâ babbayiṯ **ʾᵃšer**
and-set(3MS PAST) ACC image.of the-Ashera REL do(3MS PERF) in-the-house REL

ʾāmar yhwh ʾel dāwiḏ wəʾel šəlōmō ḇənô
say(3MS PERF) Yhwh to David and-to Solomon son-his

'and he set the image of Ashera that he made in the Temple, where Yhwh had said to David and to Solomon his son: . . . ' (2 Kgs 21.7)

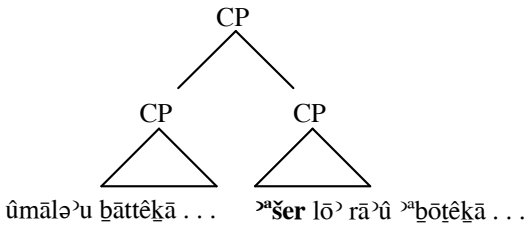


(99) ûmāləʾû ḇāttêḵā ûḇāttê ḵol ʿᵃḇāḏêḵā ûḇāttê ḵol
and-fill(3CP PERF MOD) houses-your and-houses.of all.of servants-your and-houses.of all.of

miṣrayim **ʾᵃšer** lōʾ rāʾû ʾᵃḇōṯêḵā waʾᵃḇôṯ ʾᵃḇōṯêḵā miyyôm
Egypt REL NEG see(3CP PERF) fathers-your and-fathers.of fathers-your from-day.of

həyôṯām ʿal hāʾᵃḏāmâ ʿaḏ hayyôm hazzeh
being(INF)-their upon the-land until the-day the-this

*'and your houses and the houses of all of your servants and the houses of all of Egypt shall be filled [with locusts, v.4]—**which** your fathers and your ancestors have never seen from the day you came to exist upon the land until this day.'* (Exod 10.6)



However, since most BH relatives modify NPs regardless of restrictiveness, this criterion is minimally helpful. The remaining feature I identified in 2.7 is the use of the

construct relationship (i.e., the head noun is in construct with the relative clause). The construct state is only used in restrictive relatives (100), but not all restrictive relatives use the construct (101).

(100) məqôm **ʾᵃšer** ʾᵃsûrê (Kt) hammeleḵ ʾᵃsûrîm
place.of REL prisoners(MP PTCP PASS).of the-king confine(MP PTCP PASS)
*'the place **where** the prisoners of the king (were) confined'* (Gen 39.20)

(101) wayyaḇdēl bên hammayim **ʾᵃšer** mittaḥaṯ lārāqîᵃʿ ûḇên
and-divide(3MS PAST) between the-waters REL from-below to-the-firmament and-between
hammayim **ʾᵃšer** mēʿal lārāqîᵃʿ
the-waters REL from-above to-the-firmament
*'and he divided between the waters **that** were below the firmament and the waters **that** were above the firmament'* (Gen 1.7)

In summary, BH certainly exhibits the use of both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. The differences between the two types do not provide us with any single criterion for distinguishing restrictive from non-restrictive relatives in any absolute way. Rather, the differences exhibit patterns which we can then use to identify the restrictiveness of the majority of relative clauses. If the construct state is used in a BH relative clause construction, the relative clause is restrictive. If there is no resumption within the relative (that is, resumption that is not obligatory; see 5.3), it is a restrictive relative. If the relative clause modifies a head that is not an NP, the relative is non-restrictive. For those relative clauses that are not disambiguated by these criteria, we can only resort to the discourse context in order to make a judgment regarding the relative clause's restrictiveness.

6. SUMMARY

This thesis has been an investigation of all the various syntactic and pragmatic features of the BH relative clause. At the end of a long day's work on the relative clause in BH, what have we learned? First, we have learned that there was much to discover about the BH relative clause from both a traditional grammatical (chapter two) and a modern linguistic (chapter five) perspective. Second, we have learned that generative grammar (in this case, the model of the Minimalist Program) can provide linguistic insight into even ancient, unspoken languages (an argument that I introduced in chapter one). Let us briefly consider the various features of the BH and particularly the BH relative clause that I have discussed in chapters two through five of this study.

In **chapter two** I presented an overview of the BH relative without adopting any particular linguistic theory (although I did accept the existence of linguistic phenomena such as null heads and null relative words). I addressed the issues of the *headedness* of relatives clauses (i.e., what type of constituent is modified by the relative), what *type of function word* introduces the relatives (i.e., *ʾašer, šeC-, zeh*/*zû*//*zô*, *haC-*, or Ø), *resumption* (or the lack of it) in relative clauses, and *restrictiveness*.

In terms of *headedness*, BH relative clauses are no different than the relative clauses in many Indo-European languages. BH relative clauses follow their heads and may modify many different types of heads, e.g., Noun Phrases (1), Determiner Phrases (2), Prepositional Phrases (3), and entire clauses (4).

(1) **šeqer** **ʾᵃšer** lôʾ ṣiwwîṯim
falsehood REL NEG command(1CS PERF)-them
'***a falsehood that*** *I did not command them*' (Jer 29.23)

(2) **yhwh** **ʾᵃšer** hiṯhallaḵtî ləpānāyw yišlaḥ malʾāḵô ʾittāḵ
Yhwh REL walk(1CS PERF) to-face-his send(3MS IMPF) angel-his with-you
'*Yhwh,* ***who*** *I walked before him, will send his angel with you'* (Gen 24.40)

(3) wayyāśem ʾeṯ pesel hāʾᵃšērâ ʾᵃšer ʿāśâ **babbayiṯ** **ʾᵃšer**
and-set(3MS PAST) ACC image.of the-Ashera REL make(3MS PERF) in-the-house REL
ʾāmar yhwh ʾel dāwiḏ wəʾel šəlōmō ḇənô
say(3MS PERF) Yhwh to David and-to Solomon son-his
'*and he set the image of Ashera that he made* ***in the Temple, where*** *Yhwh had said to David and to Solomon his son: . . . '* (2 Kgs 21.7)

(4) **ûmāləʾû** **ḇāttêḵā** **ûḇāttê** **ḵol** **ᶜᵃḇāḏêḵā** **ûḇāttê** **ḵol**
and-fill(3CP PERF MOD) houses-your and-houses.of all.of servants-your and-houses.of all.of
miṣrayim **ʾᵃšer** lōʾ rāʾû ʾᵃḇōṯêḵā waʾᵃḇôṯ ʾᵃḇōṯêḵā miyyôm
Egypt REL NEG see(3CP PERF) fathers-your and-fathers.of fathers-your from-day.of
həyôṯām ʿal hāʾᵃḏāmâ ʿaḏ hayyôm hazzê
being(INF)-their upon the-land until the-day the-this
'***and your houses and the houses of all of your servants and the houses of all of Egypt shall be filled*** *[with locusts, v.4]—****which*** *your fathers and your ancestors have never seen from the day you came to exist upon the land until this day.'* (Exod 10.6)

It is well known that, in addition to the most common relative word, *ʾᵃšer*, BH also employs *šeC-,* and *zeh*/*zû*//*zô* to introduce relative clauses. The syntactic features of relative clauses introduced by these less common relative words are the same as those of *ʾᵃšer* relative clauses. What is not common within BH studies is the analysis of *haC-* (the morpheme that functions as the definite article) as a full-fledged relative word. In 2.4, I proposed that *haC-* introduces a particular type of relatives, which I have called *semi-relatives*, as in (5).

(5) mizrəḥâ haššemeš li**msillâ** **hāʿōlâ** mibbêṯ ʾēl šəḵemâ
east-to the-sun to-highway REL-ascend(FS PTCP) from-Bethel Shechem-to
'*on the east of* ***a highway that goes up*** *from Bethel to Shechem'* (Judg 21.19)

The constraint on these semi-relatives is that the head of the relative may only correspond to the subject position within the relative; furthermore, the fact that the relative word is prefixed to the predicate (whether verbal, participial, or nominal) means that these relatives never contain overt resumption of the head.

In addition to the type of head modified and the type of relative word used, I also addressed the phenomenon of *resumption* in 2.5. I proposed that resumption in BH relatives has both a syntactic and a pragmatic explanation. Syntactically, resumption is obligatory when the resumptive constituent is a possessive pronoun (6) or the object of a preposition (7).

(6) ʾāḥînû **ʾᵃšer** rāʾînû ṣāraṯ **napšô/*napš-**
brother-our REL see(1CP PERF) distress.of life-his
'*our brother, **who** we saw the distress of **his life/*Ø life***' (Gen 42.21)

(7) ḵol hakkəlî **ʾᵃšer** yēšēḇ **ʿālāyw/*ʿāl-**
any.of the-object REL sit(3MS IMPF) upon-it
'*any object **that** he sits **upon it/*upon Ø***' (Lev 15.4)

In (6), without the possessive (and resumptive) pronoun 'his', the Noun Phrase 'life' would not refer back to the head 'our brother'; the lack of the pronoun would render the clause ambiguous at best, if not uninterpretable. In (7) the verb 'to sit' requires Prepositional Phrase complements; thus, if the Prepositional Phrase were not present, the verb would not have its complement, that is, the grammar of the clause would be incomplete. Furthermore, since BH does not allow a bare preposition to be left behind (or 'stranded') within a relative clause, an object for a preposition is always present, and when this prepositional object refers back to the head noun, as in (7), the result is resumption of the head.

There are a number of environments, though, in which BH uses a resumptive constituent (e.g., a subject pronoun, cliticized pronoun attached to a PP, or Adverb) in order to

"save" a relative clause from being semantically ungrammatical. Consider the examples in (8) and (9).

(8) lō᾽ nûḵal laᶜᵃśôṯ haddāḇār hazzeh lāṯēṯ ᵓeṯ ᵓaḥōṯēnû lə**ᵓîš ᵃšer lô**
NEG able(1CP IMPF) to-do(INF) the-thing the-this to-give(INF) ACC sister-our to-man REL NEG
ᶜorlâ
foreskin
'*we are not able to do this thing, to give our sister to* ***a man***$_i$ ***who***$_i$ *there is a foreskin to* ***him***$_i$' (Gen 34.14)

In (8), the resumptive constituent must be present in order to avoid interpreting the relationship between the head and the relative as a subject and predicate relationship (i.e., in order to avoid interpreting the relative clause as 'a man who is a foreskin'). The presence of the resumptive Prepositional Phrase allows 'the foreskin' to function as the subject of the verbless clause, i.e., 'a foreskin is to him', rather than as the predicate of the head, i.e., 'a man who is a foreskin'.

Example (9) presents a verb that can select different prepositional complements. The presence of the Prepositional Phrases (which are often resumptive) is necessary; they must both function as complements of their respective verbs and specify the semantics of their verbs. Without prepositional complements in verbs that take different complements, the semantic nuance of the verb would be ambiguous. (Note that only (9)a) includes resumption of the head; (9)b) is present only for the sake of comparison with regard to the semantics of the verb.)

(9) **[y-r-ᵓ] 'to fear/revere'**

a) kēn yaᶜᵃśê yhwh ᵉlōhêḵā lə**ḵol hāᶜammîm ᵃšer** ᵓattâ **yārēᵓ**
thus do(3MS IMPF) Yhwh god-your to-all.of the-peoples REL you fear(MS PTCP)
mippənêhem
from-face-their
'*thus Yhwh your God will do to* ***all the peoples***$_i$ ***that***$_i$ ***you are afraid of them***$_i$' (Deut 7.19)

b) ḥāḇēr ᵓānî lə**ḵol ᵃšer yərēᵓûḵā** ûləšōmərê piqqûḏêḵā
friend I to-all.of REL fear(3CP PERF)-you and-to-keep(MP PTCP).of precepts-your
'*I am a friend to* ***everyone that reveres you*** *and to those who keep your precepts*' (Psa 119.63)

In addition, resumption is used pragmatically to help the reader/listener identify precisely which constituent among multiple possible antecedents is the head of the relative.

(10) wəʿal yeṯer **hakkēlîm** hannôṯārîm bāʿîr hazzōʾṯ [20]**ʾašer** lōʾ
and-upon remainder.of the-vessels REL-left(MP PTCP) in-the-city the-this REL NEG

ləqāḥ**ām** nebûḵaḏneʾṣṣar melek bāḇel
take(3MS PERF)-them Nebuchadnezzar king.of Babylon

'*and concerning the remainder of* ***the vessels***$_i$ *left in this city* ***that***$_i$ *Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had not taken* ***them***$_i$' (Jer 27.19-20)

In (10), the nearest antecedent for the relative is the feminine singular Noun Phrase 'this city'. However, the masculine plural object pronoun suffixed to the verb indicates that the intended antecedent is actually the more distant masculine plural Noun Phrase 'the vessels'.

Similarly, resumption may serve to disambiguate the syntactic function of the head within the relative clause. Without resumption in relatives such as the example in (11), it would not be clear whether the head of the relative was serving as the subject of the clause within the relative or as the object.

(11) wəḵipper **hakkōhēn** **ʾašer** **yimšaḥ** **ʾōṯô**
and-atone(3MS PERF MOD) the-priest REL anoint(3MS IMPF) ACC-him

'*and* ***the priest***$_i$ ***who***$_i$ *one anointed* ***him***$_i$ *shall make atonement*' (Lev 16.32)

In (11) if the resumptive accusative object was not present, then it would be possible, if not most natural, to interpret the head of the relative as the subject within the relative, producing 'the priest who anoints' rather than 'the priest who is anointed'. However, the 3MS resumptive pronoun attached to the accusative function word specifies that the constituent 'the priest' fills the object role within the relative clause.

In 2.6 I discussed those relative clauses in BH that are introduced by a null relative word, what are often called "reduced" or "bare" relative clauses, illustrated in (12). The null head is represented by Ø.

(12) gēr yihyê zarᶜᵃ̲kā **bəʾereṣ** **lōʾ** **lāhem**
sojourner be(3MS IMPF) seed-your in-land$_i$ **Ø**$_i$ t_i NEG to-them
'your seed will be a sojourner in ***a land***$_i$ ***Ø(that)***$_i$ **t**$_i$ ***(is) not theirs'*** (Gen 15.13)

The clause in (12) is a clear example of a bare relative clause. First, the head *ʾereṣ* 'land' is the object of a preposition and thus itself cannot syntactically fill an additional role. This means that we are forced to find a way to explain the syntactic roles of the remaining material, the one-part verbless clause *lōʾ lāhem* 'not to them'. In order to be interpretable, this verbless clause needs a subject, which, based upon the context, is clearly 'land', producing 'a land is not theirs'. However, the Noun Phrase 'land' cannot be the overt subject of the verbless clause since it is already filling a role, that of the object of a preposition. The solution is to analyze the construction as a relative clause. Thus, the gap/trace left by the relativized subject of the verbless clause is coreferential with the Noun Phrase 'land', producing the relative clause 'a land that is not theirs'.

Restrictiveness of relative clauses is the final issue that I discussed at length in chapter two. In 2.7 I argued that BH grammar employs few linguistic features whereby BH distinguishes between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives. First, we can occasionally identify restrictiveness based upon the type of Noun Phrase that is modified as the head. If a relative clause modifies a proper noun, as in (13), then the relative is unambiguously non-restrictive.

(13) hiššāmer ləḵā pen tiškaḥ ʾeṯ **yhwh** ʾ**ašer**
keep(2MS IMV REFL) for-you lest forget(2MS IMPF) ACC Yhwh REL

hôṣîʾ^{a}ḵā mēʾeres miṣrayim
come out(3MS PERF CAUS)-you from-land.of Egypt

*'watch yourself lest you forget **Yhwh**, **who** brought you out of the land of Egypt'* (Deut 6.12)

Otherwise, common Noun Phrases are overwhelmingly modified by restrictive relative clauses, as in (14).

(14) wayyaʿaś ʾ^{e}lōhîm ʾeṯ hārāqîʿ^{a} wayyaḇdēl bên **hammayim**
and-make(3MS PAST) God ACC the-firmament and-divide(3MS PAST) between the-waters

ʾ**ašer** mittaḥaṯ lārāqîʿ^{a} ûḇên **hammayim** ʾ**ašer** mēʿal lārāqîʿ^{a}
REL from-below to-the-firmament and-between the-waters REL from-above to-the-firmamant

*'and God made the firmament; and he divided between **the waters that** were below the firmament and **the waters that** were above the firmament'* (Gen 1.7)

This second feature that is sometimes used to unambiguously indicate the restrictiveness of a BH relative clause is the use of the *construct state*: the head of a relative may be in construct with the relative clause itself (regardless of which function word introduces the relative, or even if the relative is bare). When the construct state is used in BH relative clauses formation, the relative is restrictive, as in (15).

(15) wayyittənêhû ʾel bêṯ hassōhar **məqôm** ʾ**ašer** ʾ^{a}sûrê (Kt)
and-give(3MS PAST)-him to house.of the-round place.of REL prisoners(MP PTCP PASS).of

hammeleḵ ʾ^{a}sûrîm
the-king confine(MP PTCP PASS)

*'and he put him into the round house, **the place that** the prisoners of the king were confined'* (Gen 39.20)

The relationship between the construct state and restrictiveness is privative: when the head is in construct with the relative clause, the relative is restrictive; however, when the head is not in construct with the relative, the relative may be either restrictive or non-restrictive.

Finally, I argued in 2.6 and 2.7 that bare relative clauses in BH always provide restrictive modification, as in (16).

(16) bôr kārâ wayyaḥpərêhû wayyippōl bəšaḥaṯ yiṗʿāl
cistern dig(3MS PERF) and-dig(3MS PAST)-it and-fall(3MS PAST) in-pit **Ø** make(3MS IMPF)
'he has made a cistern and dug it out and he has fallen into ***the pit***$_{i}$ ***Ø(that)***$_{i}$ *he made'* (Psa 7.16)

In **chapters three** and **four**, I introduced the linguistic theory that would underlie the analysis of the BH relative clause data in chapter five. Chapters three and four together represent an outline for the interaction between word order and pragmatics in BH. Specifically, I presented data from the book of Genesis in support of a Subject-Verb analysis for basic word order in BH. I then illustrated in 3.3 how the data can be coherently and economically explained by using Chomsky's Minimalist Program. In chapter four, I developed a model of the pragmatic structure of the BH clause. The following account summarizes my conclusions for chapters three and four.

In 3.2 I investigated the BH data from the book of Genesis in order to evaluate whether the prevailing Verb-Subject analysis of BH was accurate. I concluded that BH is fundamentally an Subject-Verb language (17), but that the Subject-Verb order in finite verbal clauses may be inverted to Verb-Subject when triggered by a fronted phrase or an initial function word, such as the relative word in (18).

(17) wə**hāʾāḏām** **yāḏaʿ** **ʾeṯ** **ḥawwâ** **ʾištô**
and-the-man know(3MS PERF) ACC Eve wife-his
'and ***the man knew*** *(i.e., sexually) Eve, his wife'* (Gen 4.1)

(18) ḥayyaṯ haśśāḏê **ʾᵃšer** **ʿāśâ** **yhwh** **ʾᵉlōhîm**
animal.of the-field REL make(3MS PERF) Yhwh God
'. . . animal of the field ***that Yhwh God had made'*** (Gen 3.1)

Similarly, I proposed that the *wayyiqtol* verb can also be explained as an example of Triggered Inversion. The doubling of the prefix consonant (e.g., the *y* in *wayyiqtol*) is the remnant of a function word, the presence of which triggers Verb-Subject inversion. In the case of the *wayyiqtol*, the conjunction, the function word, and the prefix verb became fused in a stage previous to BH; thus, we have an explanation for the absolute Verb-Subject order of clauses with this *wayyiqtol* 'narrative' verb.

In 3.2 I also noted that the word order in BH clauses is affected by the modality of the verb: modal clauses typically exhibit Verb-Subject order (19) and indicative clauses typically exhibit Subject-Verb order (20).

(19) **yaʿabḏûḵā** **ʿammîm** wəyištaḥû ləḵā ləʾummîm
serve(3MP MOD) peoples and-bow down(3MP MOD) to-you nations
*'**let the peoples serve** you and let the nations bow down to you'* (Gen 27.29)

(20) wə**raḇ** **yaʿᵃḇōḏ** ṣāʿîr
and-great serve(3MS IMPF) young
*'and **the greater will serve** the younger'* (Gen 25.23)

Significantly, I also proposed that the so-called "*wəqatal*" form is best analyzed as the modal use of the *qatal*. Thus, the modal *qatal*, like other modal verbs, exhibits Verb-Subject order.

(21) ʾim kō yōʾmar nəquddîm yihyê śəḵāreḵā **wəyāləḏû** **ḵol**
COND thus say(3MS IMPF) speckled be(3MS IMPF) wage-your and-bear(3CP PERF MOD) all.of
haṣṣōʾn nəquddîm
the-flock speckled
*'if he would say thus, 'Speckled will be your wage,' then **all of the flock would bear** speckled'* (Gen 31.8)

Finally, I proposed that unlike the case with finite verbal clauses, Triggered Inversion does not take place in either participial clauses or verbless clauses. Rather, both types of

clauses exhibit a basic Subject-Predicate order; when the word order deviates from this, the motivation is pragmatic in nature. Compare the Relative Word-Verb-Subject finite verbal clause in (22) with the Relative Word-Subject-Participle clause in (23)

(22) wəʾākaltā ʾeṯ šəlal ʾōyəḇêḵā **ʾᵃšer nāṯan yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā** lāḵ
and-eat(2MS PERF MOD) ACC booty.of enemies-your REL give(3MS PERF) Yhwh god-your to-you
*'and you may eat the booty of your enemies **that Yhwh your God has given** to you'* (Deut 20.14)

(23) raq mēʿārê hāʿammîm hāʾēlleh **ʾᵃšer yhwh ʾᵉlōhêḵā nōṯēn** ləḵā naḥᵃlâ
only from-cities.of the-peoples the-these REL Yhwh god-your give(MS PTCP) to you inheritance
lōʾ ṯəḥayyeh kol nəšāmâ
NEG let live(3MS IMPF) all.of breath
*'only from the cities of these peoples **that Yhwh your God is giving** to you (as) an inheritance, you must let any breathing thing live'* (Deut 20.16)

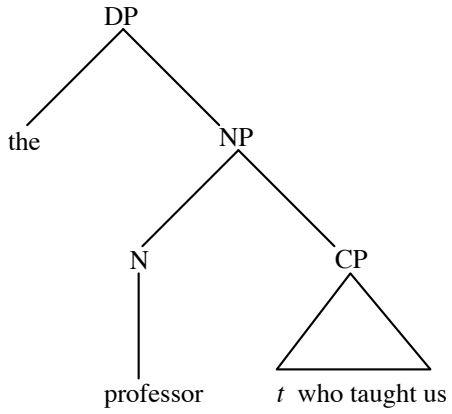
In **chapter four** I introduced the basic concepts of *information structure*, i.e., the study of how language encodes the relationship between (in our case) a text, the author, the reader, and any other aspects of the textual context. Significantly, in 4.1.3 I proposed a refinement of the concept of 'focus' by dividing it into *Rheme* and *Kontrast*. Using these two concepts, in 4.2 I investigated the pragmatic structure of BH clauses based upon an Subject-Verb analysis of basic BH word order. I concluded that the notion of pragmatic movement could account for the various word orders that did not accord with the word order conclusions I arrived at in chapter three. (24)-(25) summarize my proposals for the correspondence between BH word order and the pragmatic concepts of Theme, Rheme, and Kontrast:

(24) Basic BH word order is Subject-Verb, but Verb-Subject order is triggered by an initial function word. All other word orders that deviate from this order are the result of the pragmatically motivated movement of constituents.

(25) The basic pragmatic structure of the BH clause has rhematic material aligned with the right-edge of the BH clause and kontrastive material aligned with the left-edge of the BH clause.

With the syntactic and pragmatic models outlined in chapters three and four, I returned to the BH relative clause as the object of analysis in **chapter five**. In 5.1 I described the various possibilities for relative clause structure within the theoretical framework of Chomsky's Minimalist Program. I argued for the basic structure in (26), which accounts for whatever projection of the head noun is necessitated by the overall structure of the entire head Noun Phrase.

(26) the professor$_i$ who$_i$ t_i taught us

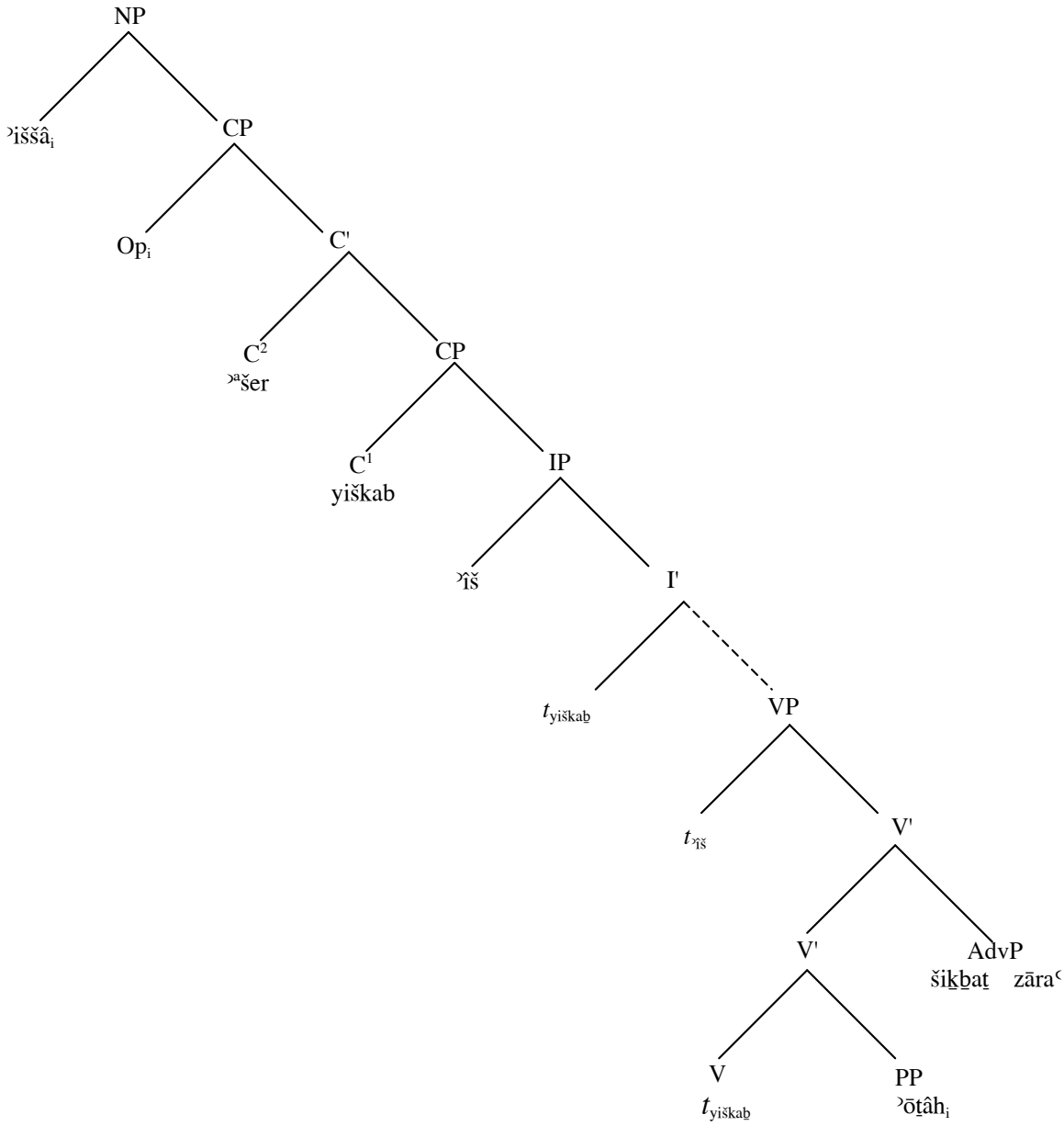


The phrase structure of the Noun Phrase in (26) changes to accommodate whatever modifying constituents are inserted from the lexicon, whether the relative clause modifies a simple Noun Phrase head, a head Noun Phrase with a complement, or a head Noun Phrase with an adjunct that is closer than the relative clause itself.

In 5.2 I applied this relative clause structure to BH relative clauses. The structure of the basic headed restrictive relative in BH is illustrated in (27) (I also discussed null head and bare BH relative clauses within the Minimalist framework). I argued that due both to the presence of relative *complementizers* in BH (i.e., *ʾašer*, *šeC-*, and *zeh*/*zû*/*zô* are similar to *that* in English, as opposed to the English relative pronouns, e.g., *who*, *which*) and to Triggered Inversion word

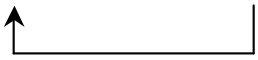
order, there are two syntactic positions in the structure of BH relatives that precede the normal Subject-Verb word order of BH: one to accommodate the relative complementizer and one to accommodate the raised verb (i.e., the verb that is triggered to raise by the preceding relative complementizer). In the tree diagram in (27), these two positions are represented by the notations C^1 and C^2.

(27) wə**ʾiššâ ʾašer yiškaḇ ʾîš ʾōṯâh** šiḵḇaṯ zāraʿ
and-woman REL lie(3MS IMPF) man with-her lying.of seed
'(as for) ***a woman***$_i$ ***who***$_i$ ***a man lies with her***$_i$ *(with regard to) copulation . . .'* (Lev 15.18)



In 5.3 I returned to the issue of resumption in BH relative clauses. First, I addressed the structural differences between non-resumptive and resumptive relative clauses. Example (27) above illustrates a resumptive relative clause in BH. The presence of resumption indicates that there is no constituent movement that is related to the head of the relative or to the relative word; thus, the null relative pronoun (Op) is inserted directly from the lexicon in relative clauses like the one in (27). In contrast, in non-resumptive relative clauses, illustrated in (28), the constituents that are coreferential with the head of relative exhibit movement.

(28) **ʾēṯ kol haddəḇārîm ʾᵃšer dibber yhwh *t* ʾel mōšeh**
ACC all.of the-words Op REL speak(3MS PERF) Yhwh to Moses
'all of the words*ᵢ *Op*ᵢ *that Yhwh said* t**ᵢ ***to Moses' (Exod 4.30)



In addition to discussing the structural differences between resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses in BH, I addressed the issue of *function*. In 2.5 I suggested that non-obligatory resumption had a pragmatic motivation. In 5.3 I proposed that this pragmatic motivation had its explanation in terms of the information structure of BH discourse. In particular, using the information structure model that I proposed in chapter four I argued that resumptive constituents that are not necessary for the grammaticality of the relative clause serve to mark the referent of the resumptive constituent—the head of the relative—as kontrastive, as in (29).

(29) ʾeṯ ʾᵉlōhêḵem ʾᵃšer **hûʾ** môšîᵃᶜ lāḵem
ACC god-your REL he saves(MS PTCP) to-you
*''**your god**ᵢ **who**ᵢ **he**ᵢ saves you'* (1 Sam 10.19)

In example (29), the presence of the independent personal pronoun serves to indicate that the referent of the pronoun *hûʾ* 'he' is kontrastive. The Kontrast in (29) is meant to highlight that

the people are rejecting God (the only character who has the ability to deliver them from their calamities) in favor of a human king.

In 5.4 I moved on to address BH relative clauses in which the relative clauses are located at a distance from their head. This phenomenon, whereby a relative clause is sometimes removed from its head, is often given the label *relative clause 'extraposition'* and is illustrated in (30).

(30) wəhinnê riḇqâ yōṣēʾṯ **ʾᵃšer** yulləḏâ liḇtûʾēl
and-behold Rebekah$_i$ go out(FS PTCP) t_i REL bear(3FS PERF PASS) to-Bethuel
'and behold, Rebekah$_i$ (was) coming out ***t$_i$*** ***who*** *was born to Bethuel'* (Gen 24.15)

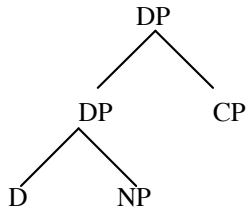
In (30) the head of the relative clause, *riḇqâ* 'Rebekah', is separated from its relative clause by an intervening predicative participle *yōṣēʾṯ* '(was) coming out'. In terms of function, I proposed that the phenomenon of extraposition in BH relative clauses may be a processing issue. In other words, extraposed relative clauses present "heavier" material than other constituents in the clause and are thus moved towards the end of the clause, enabling the reader/listener to better process the syntax.

Recognizing the presence of extraposed relative clauses in BH allows us to reconsider the nature of the relative word *ʾᵃšer*. In fact, I argued that recognizing extraposed relatives (as well as a greater occurrence of null head relatives) paves the way for a much more economical analysis of *ʾᵃšer*: rather than introducing at least *seven* types of subordinate clauses (i.e., relative, complement, result, purpose, causal, temporal, conditional), the function word *ʾᵃšer* introduces only *two* types—relative clauses and complement clauses.

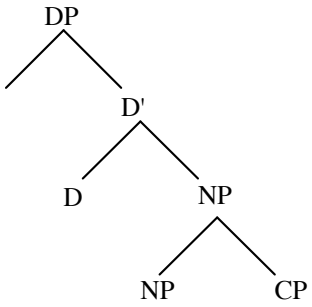
Finally, in 5.5 I returned to the issue of restrictiveness in relative clauses and focused on how we may account syntactically for the difference between restrictive and non-restrictive

relative clauses, since restrictive relative clauses can only modify Noun Phrases, whereas non-restrictive relative clauses can modify a wide variety of constituents. I concluded that the fundamental difference between the non-restrictive relative and a restrictive relative depends on where the relative attaches to its head, illustrated by the tree diagrams in (31)a) and (31)b).

(31) a) Non-restrictive Relative



b) Restrictive Relative



The structure in (31)a) illustrates that non-restrictive relative clauses attach to a projection of the head Determined Phrase (or Noun Phrase, Prepositional Phrase, etc.), whereas (31)b) illustrates that restrictive relative clauses may only attach to an extension of the head Noun Phrase.

In conclusion, this dissertation had two goals. First, I investigated the structure and function of the relative clause, a common subordinate clause type in the Hebrew Bible for which no previous comprehensive study existed. During the course of my investigation (in which I focused on the relative clause, but also examined BH word order), I found that the current state of our grammatical knowledge of BH is often outdated if not simply inaccurate. Second, I demonstrated how Chomskyan generative linguistic theory, specifically the most recent version called the Minimalist Program, is able both to explain the BH data and to provide insightful explanations for overlooked or misunderstood features of BH grammar. In particular I offered significant proposals regarding the type of heads (or antecedents) that BH

relative clauses modify, the type of relative words that BH relatives employ, the structure of resumptive and non-resumptive relative clauses and the function of resumption, the phenomenon of relative clause extraposition in BH, and the presence and features of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. Additionally, I proposed an analysis of the syntax and pragmatics of BH word order that differs considerably from the status quo. Finally, in many of the sections of this dissertation I used specific texts to illustrate how a more nuanced linguistic analysis of BH and the structure of texts can aid the exegete in understanding BH grammar and thus the message of the Hebrew Bible.

Genesis

Exodus

Leviticus

Numbers

Deuteronomy

Joshua

Judges

1 Samuel

2 Samuel

1 Kings

2 Kings

Isaiah

Jeremiah

Ezekiel

Hosea

Amos

Obadiah

Jonah

Job

Proverbs

Ruth

Song of Songs

Qoheleth

Lamentations

Esther

Daniel

Ezra

Nehemiah

1 Chronicles

2 Chronicles

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