YALE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

'And God Said: Let There Be [a Structural Approach to Syntactic Diachrony in the Hebrew Bible]'

Oliver Shoulson

Advisors: Raffaella Zanuttini and Jim Wood

April 2020

Submitted to the faculty of the Department of Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

Acknowledgements

My thanks (with one exception) to:

- ✡ Raffaella, for your bottomless well of enthusiasm, support, guidance and brilliance. You make it seem so easy. Thank you for stoking my curiosity.
- ✡ Jim; your Introduction to Linguistics course was the flap of a butterflies wings that lead to the tropical depression that is this thesis. If it weren't for that class, I might be a Theater major, and that should be thanks enough.
- ✡ Christine Hayes, for ruining the Bible for me (not really).
- ✡ My adoring parents, for giving me language and a love of language; my grandparents for my Judaism, my education, and my Jewish education; Sophia and Emily for providing me with abundant old books and dank memes respectively; Ruby and Gareth for all of the love and occasional indifference; Erika for being my muse in all things.
- ✡ COVID-19
- ✡ My friends, castmates and Doox of Yale for involuntarily attending my various impromptu lectures.
- ✡ Finally, to all of the Hebrew Bible's contributing authors: five stars.

Contents

1 Introduction: The Hebrew Bible and the Bible's Hebrew 1
1.1 What is this Bible? . . . 1
1.2 Biblical Hebrew Diachrony and Linguistic Dating . . . 2
1.3 This Essay . . . 9

2 Behold! A Complementizer: From *v-hine* to *asher* 11
2.1 Direct and Free-Indirect Perception: *hine* and *v-hine* . . . 12
2.2 *Asher* and the Subordinate Clause . . . 22
2.3 Grammaticalization Proposal . . . 23
2.4 Section Conclusions . . . 31

3 Changed Hebrew its Word Order? VSO & SVO across the Bible 33
3.1 Givón (2012): Quantifying and Exemplifying the Phenomenon . . . 33
3.2 Doron (2005):VSO and SVO . . . 35
3.3 Cowper and DeCaen (2017): Pushing Back on VSO . . . 37
3.4 Doron (2005) vs. Cowper and DeCaen (2017): the Synchronic Dispute . . . 40
3.5 Section Conclusions . . . 44

4 Make You an Ethical Dative: The Subject-Coreferent *l*-Pro 45
4.1 Givón (2013): the progression in question . . . 45
4.2 Personal Datives in Appalachian English . . . 49
4.3 Proposal: Reduction of Spec-ApplP . . . 50
4.4 Section Conclusions . . . 56

5 Conclusions and Grounds for Further Inquiry 58
5.1 What have I done? . . . 58
5.2 Theoretical Innovations . . . 58
5.3 Moving Forward . . . 59

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, ACC = accusative, ALL = allative, BEN = benefactive, COMP = complementizer, DAT = dative, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, ED = ethical dative, F = feminine, FUT = future, IMP = imperative, IMPERF = imperfect, IND = indicative, IRR = irrealis, LOC = locative, M = masculine, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, OBJ = object, OBL = oblique, OP = wh-operator, PERF = perfect, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PREP = prepositional, PRET = preterite, PRS = present, PST = past, REFL = reflexive, REL = relativizer, SG = singular, SUB = subject, SUBR = subordinator, VOC = vocative.

Abstract

This thesis takes a structural-syntactic approach to the task of linguistically dating Biblical texts. More specifically, I take up three grammaticalization progressions/chains described quantitatively and cognitively in three papers by Talmy Givón and demonstrate how each of these progressions can be explained as a process of (crucially, unidirectional) structural syntactic evolution, allowing us to better position texts along a diachronic continuum with respect to the phenomena under discussion. These phenomena are: (1) The loss of complement-clause constructions built around *v-hine* and their usurpation by the subordinator *asher*, (2) the gradual shift of Biblical Hebrew word order from preferring VSO to preferring SVO, and (3) the emergence of an Ethical Dative from other grammatical progenitors. In each case, I find that the progression can be attributed to principles of Economy or Reduction which we know to operate unidirectionally in historical syntax. Along the way, I propose new syntactic derivations for the *v-hine* construction, the VOS clause and the Ethical Dative, shedding light on other parallel phenomena cross linguistically. Ultimately, this work serves as another arrow in the quiver of Biblical historians who believe that Hebrew Bible texts exist along a diachronic continuum and that their chronological position is reflected in their language.

1 Introduction: The Hebrew Bible and the Bible's Hebrew

1.1 What is this "Bible"?

Many people–myself included–spend a good portion of their lives deeply ingrained in the study and consideration of the Hebrew Bible without allotting much critical thought or scrutiny to its composition and origins. Regardless of one's particular beliefs about Biblical authorship, we often default to approaching the Bible as a single unified work instead of–as anyone would acknowledge–a collection of stylistically and typologically diverse writings compiled from the works of different authors working at different points in history. Although we are accustomed to thinking of the Bible as "the Good *Book*", Christine Hayes in her *Introduction to the Bible* prefers to think of the it as an entire "library." (Hayes, 2012, ix). It is also important to note that this library has included different sets of documents for different sets of people throughout history. Various sects of Christianity still differ on which particular books are included in "the Bible," but for our purposes, we will be dealing with the Massoretic versions (see further discussion in 1.2.4) of Hebrew documents ranging from Genesis to II Chronicles. For much of the Bible's history, the origins of its component parts were thought to be self evident; many books bear the names of their eponymous purported authors and the Pentateuch–known to some as the Five Books of Moses–was thought to be the final testament of Moses himself. For many of its readers, the Hebrew Bible is a *history* because it appears to recount one: the history of the formation and dominion of the Kingdom of Israel in Canaan; however, the library that is the Hebrew Bible represents a history in its very existence: a history of transmission, redaction and interpretation of a particular collection of documents which became and remained significant to various groups of people over thousands of years. As those centuries and millennia unfolded, it became clear to readers that it was not always possible to think of this library–or even its component books as they have long been divided–as unified under one hand or even one cultural tradition. Readers noticed stylistic variation, contradictory or redundant accounts of similar events, and at the same time, scholars noticed similarities between the stories and legal codes of the Hebrew Bible and parallel documents from other Ancient Near Eastern civilizations.[1]

[1] See for example Hayes' 2012, 132 discussion of the Decalogue in its Ancient Near Eastern Context including the laws of Ur-Nammu, Lipit Ishtar and the Code of Hammurapi.

1.1.1 Biblical Sources and The Documentary Hypothesis

Though certainly the grounds of substantial debate and the subject of ongoing development, much of the scholarship around the origins of the Pentateuch has coalesced around the Documentary Hypothesis (DH). This is the notion that what we know as the Pentateuch–the books from Genesis through Deuteronomy– began as (most say) four independent and hypothetical source documents, which, over the generations of redaction and transmission came to be combined and intertwined into the books that we know. These four documents are the Yahwhist (**J**) (called so because of its preference for the tetragrammaton YHWH when referring to God), the Elohist (**E**)(called so because of its preference for *elohim* when referring to God), the Priestly source (**P**)(called so for its particular attention to cultic ritual) and the Deuteronomist (**D**)(called so for comprising most of Deuteronomy) (Baden, 2012, 21). It is important to reiterate that these documents do not refer to individual books or chapters within those books; some analyses attribute consecutive verses or even consecutive phrases within verses to different documents. As noted, methods for differentiating the disparate sources of a passage vary (from comparative literary approaches to historical-critical approaches to theological-exegetical approaches), and this project emerged out of the idea that Linguistics might prove a formidable method. After all, the Hebrew Bible is not just a fascinating cultural, anthropological and historical artifact, but it also forms the bulk of the extant corpus of ancient Hebrew.

1.2 Biblical Hebrew Diachrony and Linguistic Dating

Biblical Hebrew refers to the Ancient Hebrew of the Hebrew Bible. Ancient Hebrew falls within the Northwest Semitic branch of the Semitic group of languages, which is, in turn, within the Afroasiatic (often referred to in older literature as Hamito-Semitic) family. Among Hebrew's better-known relatives within Northwest Semitic are Aramaic, Ugaritic and Phoenecian; of course there are lexical and grammatical cognate forms traceable throughout the Semitic phylogeny into even the more distant relatives of Arabic, Akkadian and the Ethiopic languages. Although much of this introduction is spent discussing the diachronic study of Hebrew, the meat of this essay will take a *synchronic* approach to the grammatical variants addressed herein and will employ comparative linguistic techniques accordingly, not necessarily with a Historical-Linguistic bent toward Hebrew in its phylogenetic context (more on this essay's approach in 1.3). Below is a selected phylogenetic tree of the Northwest Semitic branch.

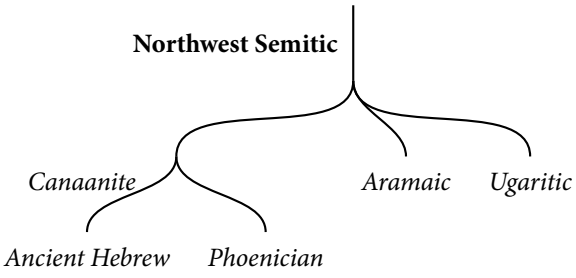


Figure 1: Biblical Hebrew Phylogeny (Rubin, 2008, 62)

1.2.1 The Diachronic Approach

In identifying the origins of the diachronic-linguistic approach to the Hebrew Bible, many have pointed to Wilhelm Gesenius' *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* published in 1815 (Young et al. 2008, 8, Kim 2013, 11, Rooker 1990, 27). In his work, Gesenius establishes the rudiments of a

framework which–among those who abide by even the most broad periodization of Biblical Hebrew–is still reflected to this day, namely that the Babylonian exile in 586 BCE marked a significant speciation event in the Hebrew language, and that there are linguistic characteristics which differentiate the Hebrews before and after this event. These two linguistic periods of Biblical Hebrew would be dubbed Early Biblical Hebrew (EBH) or Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) respectively, and in the decades and centuries following Gesenius, a handful of scholars would undertake more detailed linguistic descriptions of EBH and LBH with respect to one another and–especially as new sources were unearthed such as the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) in 1947–with respect to other heirs of the Hebrew linguistic lineage. For our purposes, I will focus this literature-review on the diachronic BH work of the past few decades which has become both increasingly regimented in method and contentious in findings. As both our understanding of linguistic diachrony more broadly and our cross-disciplinary appreciation of the history of the Hebrew Bible expand in knowledge and nuance, the task of doing Historical Linguistics on the Hebrew Bible has become inextricably intertwined with the broader search for the origins and history of the Bible. The question of whether and how one can actually *date* the texts of the Hebrew bible, either relatively or absolutely, via Linguistics comes to the forefront.

1.2.2 Avi Hurvitz: the Project of Linguistic Dating

Perhaps the best known and most influential scholar of Ancient Hebrew typology and diachrony of the last half-century is Avi Hurvitz who spent his career championing the idea that EBH and LBH differ by identafiable linguistic variants which mark stages in a linguistic evolution. One of Hurvitz's contributions was the implementation of a rigid method for conducting this kind of typological work which rested on three criteria for characterizing a linguistic feature as a *late* innovation (i.e. an LBH feature). These are named in Hurvitz (1973, 74-79) as "late frequency," "linguistic opposition" and "external sources" and are revised–usefully, I think–in Kim (2013, 21-22) to "linguistic distribution," "linguistic contrast," and ""extrabiblical sources.""

1. The first criterion is that a linguistic feature **must occur primarily in books that we know to be post-exilic.** Some portions of the Hebrew Bible simply must have been composed after the exile of 586 BCE because this very event is either described in or forms the backdrop of the events in the composition itself; these books include Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles.

2. The second criterion is that a potential LBH variant **should contrast directly with an EBH alternative** which distributes similarly in the respective EBH sources.

3. Finally, Hurvitz also notes that it strongly supports the notion that a variant is in fact *late* if **we see this variant in other Hebrew documents of later date** including the DSS, the Wisdom of Ben Sira or Mishnaic Hebrew (MH).

One crucial component of Hurvitz's process is that he bases his analysis purely on the Massoretic Text (henceforth $\mathfrak{M}$) of the Hebrew Bible. $\mathfrak{M}$ is the version of the Hebrew text that one would most likely encounter in print today; *mesora* translates to 'tradition' in Hebrew, and $\mathfrak{M}$ is the version of the Hebrew Bible that has become traditionally ingrained in the Judeo-Christian religious vernacular. Given Hurvitz's mission of using the Linguistics of $\mathfrak{M}$ to date the original compositions of the Hebrew Bible, there is an implicit assumption that the language of $\mathfrak{M}$ is actually the same–or similar enough–to the texts as they were originally composed that one could draw any conclusions about the originals at all. This becomes one of the main points of contention around Hurvitz's work amongst his supporters and critics.

Some Hurvitzian Examples: One case study of Hurvitz's style and methodology which is brought up frequently by both Hurvitz and his critics is the analysis of the lexical pair *shesh* and *butz*. These are two words that appear in the Hebrew Bible to refer to cloth or linen used in the adornment of ritual spaces or in ritual contexts, and they are both translated in the Aramaic Targumim of Onkelos and Jonathan (two roughly contemporaneous Aramaic translations of portions of the Bible that emerged circa the second century CE) as *butz(a)* (Hurvitz, 1967, 118). Hurvitz finds a complete lack of *butz* in the P source of the Pentateuch and a preponderance of it in later sources, especially Chronicles, wherein there is a passage (1 Chronicles 15:27) that direct parallels one in 2 Samuel (6:14) (part of the Deuteronomistic history), but includes the word *butz* where Samuel does not:[2][3][4]

(1) (a) *ve-david mexarker be-kol oz lifne* YHWH *ve-david xagur efod bad*
and-David danced in-all might before YHWH and-David wore efod linen
'And David danced before the LORD with all his might; and David was girded with a linen efod.'

(b) *ve-david mexurbal be-me?il* ***butz*** *...ve-al david efod bad*
and-David was-clothed in-robe **butz** ...and-upon David efod linen
'And David was clothed with a robe of fine linen...and David had upon him an ephod of linen.'

In neither Hurvitz (1967) nor Hurvitz (1973) does Hurvitz present an actual tabulation of instantiations of each variant in the sources of concern, but the impression is nonetheless that *butz* qualifies as an LBH feature because 1) it is prevalent in late books like Chronicles 2) it contrasts with *shesh*, a word thought to be an early variant and 3) it (or a very close cognate) is used in Aramaic sources as well. Much of Hurvitz's work is done on lexical data like this, and he goes on to establish an entire vocabulary of contrastive lexemes between the P source and later books. This kind of work does, however, extend to grammatical rules in the realm of morphology and syntax.

One such case is of the contrast between the pronominal endings *-otam* and *oteyhem* to mean 'of theirs' i.e. establish posession of the root noun by a third-person plural entity. The textbook example of this contrast is between *avotam* and *avoteyhem* to mean 'their fathers.' It has been posited by many, including Hurvitz (1982, 24-27) that *-oteyhem* gradually supersedes its counterpart in the later books. A complete tabulation of all instances of these suffices in the Hebrew Bible, DSS and Ben Sira is provided in Rezetko and Young (2014, 353-361). They find 162 unique nouns bearing these suffices resulting in 792 tokens. In the Pentateuch, the ratio *-otam*:*-oteyhem* is 209:9 whereas in Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles it is 49:58. As two of Hurvitz's most vocal critics; however, Rezetko and Young go on to argue that this data does not necessarily indicate what Hurvitz might say it does, and we will touch on their criticism momentarily. Unlike the two examples above, however, this essay will venture beyond the lexical and beyond the morphological grammatical variation within BH into syntactic variants, a topic touched on little by either Hurvitz or Rezetko and Young.

1.2.3 Rezetko and Young: Variationism and Challenging Hurvitz

As noted, the most vocal opponents to Hurvitz's method and findings are Robert Rezetko and Ian Young. Their two books *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* and *Historical Linguistics & Biblical Hebrew: Steps Toward and Integrated Approach* take Hurvitz and his ilk to task for both the methodology and assumptions behind their findings of diachronic linguistic variation and evolution and the findings themselves.

[2] In this and all examples, the tetragrammaton יהוה is transcribed and glossed as YHWH. Free translations will vary according to the source

[3] I will be transcribing glottal stops as *?*, and you can go home if you don't like it.

[4] Free translations are the JPS 1985 translation unless otherwise noted.

The Problem of $\mathfrak{M}$: Perhaps the most overarching incompatibility between the approach of Hurvitz and that of Rezetko and Young is how they treat $\mathfrak{M}$ in relation to the hypothetical original compositions of the Hebrew Bible. For Hurvitz, since $\mathfrak{M}$ is the text that we actually have, it is intellectually irresponsible to draw any conclusions based on hypothesized original compositions regardless of how much we propose them to differ from $\mathfrak{M}$ or to undertake any kind of reconstruction of the original composition for the purpose of linguistic analysis. On the contrary, Rezetko and Young frequently point out that, since the Hebrew Bible is the product of generations of transmission and redaction, there is practically nothing about the text we currently know that can be taken for granted as *original*. Rezetko and Young also point out that this notion of originality when it comes to Biblical compositions is inherently amorphous and ill-defined in Rezetko and Young (2014, 60), they pose 8 possible and entirely distinct interpretations of the phrase "original text" when it comes to the text-critical approach to $\mathfrak{M}$:

1. The "original text" of the *source* incorporated by an early author or tradent (e.g. the Canaanite or Aramean stories incorporated by J)
2. The "original text" of the work produced by an early author or tradent (J, D or P)
3. The "original text" of the *complete* book, recognizable as a form of our biblical book, as it left the hand of the last major author or redactor (e.g. the book of Exodus or Jeremiah)
4. The "original text" as it was (in developed form) at the state of development when a community accepted it as an authoritative book.
5. The "original text" as the consonantal text of the Rabbinic Bible (the consonantal text that was later used by the Masoretes)
6. The "original text" as the original or superior form of $\mathfrak{M}$ as interpreted, vocalized, and punctuated by the Masoretes.
7. The "original text" as fully attested in extand manuscript witnesses.
8. The "original text" as reconstructed from the extant testimony insofar as possible but with the most plausible conjectural emendations when it is generally agreed that no extant witness preserves a sound reading.

This enumeration is a useful framework for discussing the goals of diachronic work on BH and the efforts to date linguistic texts. It's fair to say that when Hurvitz strives to date Biblical texts, he is referring to something along the lines of #2 above, with the assumption that, until proven otherwise, the language of #3 is sufficient to draw conclusions about the linguistic context of #2, and he entirely rejects the efforts of #8.

Lexical Data: Another issue that many of Hurvitz's critics have taken with his approach is his widespread uses of lexical data like we saw in Section 1.2.3. The criticism here is somewhat obvious: to say that one can identify an author based on a choice to use one word over another only works infallibly if one can guarantee that the alternative author did not even *know* that word. This point is summed up well by Joel Baden in his essay "Why is the Pentateuch Unreadable":

> In his writings, my former teacher and now colleague Harold Bloom uses the word "uncanny" with what is, to my mind, alarming frequency. I have maybe used it once in everything I have published. This statistical observation does not mean that my sentence should be attributed to Harold Bloom (Baden, 2016, 245-246)

Disputing the Findings: the *Variationist Approach*: The philosophy of the programme undertaken in Rezetko and Young (2014) is that of a Variationist Analysis (VA). This type of study falls under the veil of historical sociolinguistics and undertakes to quantitatively (and, ideally, qualitatively) document and describe linguistic variation in the context of time and the relevant social variables. The first publication to actually apply this method to the Hebrew Bible was Kim (2013), and the first step in such a method is compiling a fair and unbiased quantitative picture of the linguistic variants in question. This involves comparing the instances of a given variable to its zero-instances (places where it could have appeared but did not) and the ratios there-between. Crucially, however, the explanations for variation within a VA go beyond the axiomatic notion that language changes over time to include the influence of social stratification, regional variation etc.
One of the findings taken up directly in Rezetko and Young (2014) is the aforementioned *-otam/-oteyhem* distinction. Despite the ratios discussed above under Hurvitz's findings, Rezetko and Young point out that one's interpretation of a variant like this depends entirely on which specific books and which specific examples one sees. Like the *shesh/butz* example, there is an oft-cited pair of parallel passages in Chronicles and Kings which are nearly identical apart from the substitution of *-oteyhem* in the later source (examples below from enumeration in Rezetko and Young 2014, 367):

(2) (a) *v-salaxta* *l-xatat* *am-xa* *israel* *v-hashev-otam* *el-ha-adama*
and-forgive.IMPERF sins.DAT nation-your israel and-return-them to-the-land
asher *natata* *la-av-**otam***
that gave.2MSG.PST to-father-theirs
'And pardon the sin of Your people Israel, and restore them to the land that You gave to their fathers.'
(1 Kings 8:34)

(b) *v-salaxta* *l-xatat* *am-xa* *israel* *v-hashev-otam* *el-ha-adama*
and-forgive.IMPF sins.DAT nation-your israel and-return-them to-the-land
asher *natata* *la-hem* *v-la-av-**oteyhem***
that gave.2MSG.PST to-them and-to-father-theirs
'And pardon the sin of Your people Israel, and restore them to the land that You gave to them and to their fathers.'
(2 Chron 6:25)

However, there are four instances when the Chronicler and the earlier equivalent text agree on the earlier form *-otam* such as:

(3) (a) *l-bn-ei* *merari* *l-mishpx-**otam**...arim* *shtem-esrei*
to-sons-of Merari to-family-theirs...towns twelve
'[And] to the Merarites, by their clans...12 towns'
(Josh 21:7)

(b) *l-bn-ei* *merari* *l-mishpx-**otam**...arim* *shtem-esrei*
to-sons-of Merari to-family-theirs...towns twelve
'To the Merarites according to their families were allotted twelve cities'
(1 Chron 6:48) [5]

[5] JPS Translation differs despite identical Hebrew

Additionally, there are trends involving the extrabiblical sources which also complicate the notion that *-oteyhem* is characteristically late. According to Rezetko and Young (2014), 54 of the 161 unique nouns accounted for, appear in DSS and Ben Sira with **only** the *-otam* ending, which is supposedly the early form. Rezetko and Young thus hold that, although one cannot deny the existence of linguistic variation across the Hebrew Bible, we cannot responsibly conclude that this is the result of diachronic language change as opposed to stylistic preference, the chaos of transmission, or coincidence.

1.2.4 Givon: Bridging the Diachronic Continuum

An example of some work that has gone beyond either the Hurvitzian or the Variationist approach to grammatical variation across the Hebrew Bible is that of Talmy Givón, who, in addition to quantifying syntactic variants scarcely addressed in the aforementioned literature, goes beyond a quantitative or sociolinguistic approach to understand the cognitive mechanisms of grammaticalization by which one grammatical construction might broaden its distribution over another. In Givón's 1991 essay, he traces the evolution of the clause relativizers *ki* and *asher* (reduced: *she-*) as it becomes the preferred complementizer for two other kinds of subordinate clauses: ADV-phrases and V-complements. Givón's analysis relies on the notion of an *analogical pathway* or *analogical* bridge which is a partially overlapping syntactic construction that bridges the cognitive-semantic gap between expressing a given meaning through one construction or another. Examine, for example, the following pathway for a relative clause construction to take over what Givón calls a V-complement construction (the underlined verbs are the perception verbs which make these parallel cases, square brackets in free translations mark my own translations in order to elucidate the bridge phenomenon):

(4) (a) ***Asher* as relativizer**

mi-kol *mlax-to* ***asher*** *asa*
from-all work-his REL did
'[God finished] the work that He had been doing'

(Genesis 2:2)

(b) **V-complement construction**

va-ya?ar *elohim* ***et***-*kol* *asher* *asa* ***v-hine*** *tov* *me?od*
and-saw.3MSG.PST elohim ACC-all that made.3MSG.PST **and-lo** good very
'And God saw all that He had made, and found it very good.'

(Genesis 1:31)

(c) **Bridge Construction : early**

va-ya?ar *elohim* ***et***-*ha-or* ***ki***-*tov*
and-saw.3MS elohim ACC-the-light COMP-good
'[God saw the light that it was good]'

(Genesis 1.4)

(d) **Bridge Construction : late**

l-har?ot *ha-amim* *v-ha-sarim* ***et***-*yofi-a* ***ki***-*tovat* *mar?e* *hi*
to-show the-peoples and-the-officials ACC-beauty-hers COMP-good.F visage she
'[...to show the peoples and officials her beauty that she was a beautiful woman.] '

(Esther 1:11)

(e) ***Asher* as general subordinator**

ro-im *atem* ***et****-ha-ra?a* *asher* *anaxnu* *ba* ***asher*** *yerushalayim* *xareva*
see-P you.PL **ACC**-the-evil REL we in-it **SUBR** Jerusalem ruined
'You see the bad state we are in *that* Jerusalem *lies* in ruins and its gates *are* destroyed by fire'

(Nehemiah 2:17)

(adapted from Givón 1991, 8)

The above sequence portrays the complementizer *asher* in its earlier role as purely a relativizer (4a) in contrast with a complement clause construction in 4b centered around the element *v-hine*, which conjoins the independent clauses. Next we see a similar proposition to that expressed in 4b but with a complementizer introducing a subordinate clause rather than a conjoined independent clause; this is what we call the bridge construction because it paves the way for the gradual displacement of complement clause constructions via the use of subordination. This same kind of construction appears in a late text in 4d, and by 4e, the kind of proposition expressed in 4b through *v-hine* now uses *asher* to introduce a subordinate clause. We will take up this sequence again in detail in section 2; however, it provides us with a clear pathway by which the speaker of the language could have extended the distribution of *asher* as facilitated by these bridge constructions. In that sense Givón's analysis goes beyond the quantitative approach of demonstrating variation or diachronic development into explicating the cognitive mechanisms by which such a development might be possible. The next step is to develop an underlying grammatical analysis for the phenomena involved in a given diachronic progression, ideally helping to illuminate what change in grammatical parameters or structure could have caused the change that we see, in the direction that we hypothesize it to have occurred. This approach to diachronic syntax is not original to this thesis. Anthony Kroch's work on the rise of do-support in Modern English employs a similar model of singular underlying grammatical shifts causing intricate chains of diachronic development. What follows is a brief exemplar of this work that models the approach of this thesis.

1.2.5 Anthony Kroch: Structural Approaches to Grammaticalization and Reanalysis

Kroch's fundamental claim about syntactic change and variation over time is that different contextual variants of a syntactic development "are merely surface manifestations of a single underlying change in grammar" (Kroch, 1989, 199). In his 1989 paper, Kroch establishes that the rise of do-support is a consequence to the loss of V-to-T movement. Take for example a yes/no question in English. Kroch bases his theory on the notion that English tense marking occurs via the transfer of an affix from T to the verb embedded within it; thus if V-to-T movement does not occur and the subject remains between T and the verb, the insertion of "do" is required to provide lexical support for that tense affix (Kroch, 1989, 221) To illustrate this, observe the following example taken from Shakespeare, who wrote on the cusp of this grammatical development (i.e. late 16th century).

(5) (a) **Dost** thou not see my baby at my breast? (Antony and Cleopatra V.2)
- $[_C$ Do-**st**$_i[_T$ t_i thou not $[_V$ see...]]]]

(b) ...**seest** Thou this, and **bearest** so long? (Henry VI Part II II.1)
- $[_C$ See$_i$-**st**$_j[_T$ <t_i>t_j thou $[_V t_i$...]]]]

Similarly in Han and Kroch (2000, 11), Kroch and Chung-hye Han use the structural proposals of Zanuttini (1991),1997 and Baltin (1993) regarding the two functional projections available for negation (one below TP and one below AspP) to explain the development of do-support in negative imperatives in both high and low negation. It is in this vein that my essay will proceed. I will attempt to uncover the structural mechanisms behind syntactic variants/evolutions by analyzing their respective derivations and exploring for a conceivable way that such a change or variant may have emerged.

1.3 This Essay

The work of this thesis is therefore an application of my own take on the theories of syntactic diachrony of Kroch and Ely Van Gelderen (whose work is discussed at length in section 2) toward an elaboration on the work of Givón pertaining to Biblical Hebrew. Givón's work is in turn embedded in the broader project of describing Hebrew Bible language variation that I have summarized in this Introducion. My goal is to understand the underlying structural derivation behind each of these variants and thereby illustrate the process of reanalysis by which one becomes another or at least highlight some similarity between the constructions that might lie beneath the analogic progression. This is, of course, assuming that we find an approach like Givón's to be compelling in a given case, as opposed to a synchronic sociolinguistic VA approach like Rezetko and Young often promote.

One of the advantages of Rezetko and Young's approach is that–with respect to the actual dating of biblical sources–it is intellectually conservative. It is impossible to be wrong about the claims made with respect to language and the Bible's origins because none are made at all. For my part, this essay is not especially concerned with the distinction between analyzing the "original text" and, say, the final redaction resulting in 𝔐, since, in either case, establishing any relative diachrony between linguistic variants will tell us something about the origins and history of the Bible in its present form: it remains to be seen what. This does mean we abandon the possible goal of establishing any kind of definitive absolute dating of Biblical texts on a linguistic basis, but that is a lofty and unrealistic goal that the combined efforts of many fields of study has yet to achieve. Locatell (2017, 149) puts it well:

> I will take a moderate view which does not demand an absolute dating of texts based on linguistic considerations on the one hand, but also does not eschew the relative ordering of texts (especially in clearer cases) as a completely fruitless exercise on the other.

1.3.1 Roadmap

Each of the sections of this thesis follows a syntactic variant described by Talmy Givón in his 1991,2012 and 2013 essays respectively. My goal is to see whether the diachronic progressions which Givón tries to attest quantitatively and cognitively are viable from a structural model of syntactic change. In Section 2, I rely heavily on the work of Ely van Gelderen on the development of English relativizers in more thoroughly analyzing the phenomenon in 4. Along the way, we must establish a viable derivation for the *v-hine* construction which is one of the ways complement clauses are introduced in texts thought to be EBH. I spend a good deal of time talking about the syntactic theory of presentatives and structural representations of the discourse context because doing so is necessary to develop a derivation of *v-hine*, which, to my knowledge, has not been done before. Ultimately the progression in question has two components: 1) the usurpation of CLAUSE *v-hine* CLAUSE by a single matrix clause with a subordinator and 2) the development of *asher* from a relativizer to universal subordinator. I conclude that, indeed, both phenomena can be accounted for through van Gelderen's principles of Grammaticalization as Economy and the reanalysis of the Information Layer as a single matrix clause.

Next we turn to BH word order and Givón (2012)'s essay paper the gradual decline of VSO clauses across the diachronic continuum. Our primary work in attempting to account for this change is finding a convincing syntactic explanation for BH V1-clauses. In Section 3 we take up two possible explanations, one by Edit Doron and one by Cowper and DeCaen, ultimately falling upon Doron's analysis as the most elegant for explaining a VSO-SVO shift and other phenomena in BH clause structure.

Finally, Section 4 takes up the so-called Ethical Dative construction which, according to Givón (2013) increases in prevalence across the diachronic continuum. Givón's essay provides us with a concrete grammaticalization pathway by which this form comes about from other related applicative

arguments. It turns out that precisely this grammatical pathway can be modeled as the reduction of the ApplSpec from a full PP through a DP down to a φP bearing only a set of unvalued φ-features.

Ultimately I conclude that each of Givón's phenomena, in addition to being attested quantitatively, have clear structural pathways by which they are likely to have emerged only in the direction that they did. This work further bolsters the notion that our sense of the timeline along which the Hebrew Bible's composition occurs is indeed reflected in the language and, more specifically, the syntax.

2 Behold! A Complementizer: From *v-hine* to *asher*

This section addresses the progression outlined in Givón (1991) and in example 4. Givón proposes that in earlier texts, the language favors a verb complement construction rooted in either *v-hine*, which I will analyze shortly, or *ki*, a general subordinator. Later on, however, the relativizer *asher* becomes grammaticalized as a general subordinator and usurps the roles of both *v-hine* and *ki*. This progression is exemplified quantitatively below.

		Total	*ki/v-hine*			*asher/she-*		
			#	%	Avg. %	#	%	Avg. %
EBH	Genesis	24	24	100%	100%	__	0%	0%
	II Kings	20	20	100%		__	0%	
LBH	Lamentations	8	7	87.5%	39.4%	1	12.5%	60.6%
	Esther	14	7	50%		7	50%	
	Nehemiah	21	7	33.3%		14	66.7%	
	Ecclesiastes	35	12	34.3%		23	65.7%	
	Song of Songs	6	__	0%		6	100%	
MH	Zraʔim	24	__	0%	0%	24	100%	100%

Table 1: Givón's (1991) Progression

One of Givón's main innovations, however, is pointing out that there are "bridge" constructions which facilitate the process of *v-hine* constructions becoming replaced by a regular subordinate clause (possibly headed by *ki*) before *asher* takes over. Our goal in this section, therefore, is to see how this whole progression, including the "bridges" fits into contemporary theories of syntactic grammaticalization and change.

The section is organized as follows: In 2.1, I present my analysis of *hine* and *v-hine* as presentatives and discourse particles that are profoundly intertwined with the circumstances of the speech event and therefore rooted in the manifestations of these circumstances as upper structure functional projections. This portion of the section goes on in some detail, but is necessary for the broader goal of developing a structrucal basis for the synactic change involving *hine* and *v-hine*. In 2.1.1, I introduce some preliminary examples of how *hine* and *v-hine* are used, and also present some themes and analyses from prior literature on the topic. In 2.1.2, I look at Zanuttini's work regarding Italian *ecco* and discuss the ways in which *hine* seems to be similar; I use Zanuttini's presentative architecture to form a preliminary analysis of *hine*. 2.1.3 focuses on the ways *hine* is unique, particularly regarding its ability to introduce discourse-new entities and events, and the particular nuances and patterns of *hine* vs. *v-hine*. I refine my analysis of *hine* and introduce the ideas of Free Indirect Discourse and Perception. 2.1.4 presents my analysis of the latter explicitly and discusses some additional evidence for it and peculiarities of Free Indirect Perception with respect to Free Indirect Discourse. Next, in 2.2, I present the workings of *asher* as a relativizer based on the work of Holmstedt (2002) and (2016) before proceeding in 2.3 to outline my proposal for how the grammaticalization trajectory explained above may be accounted for syntactically. I first introduce the work of Van Gelderen (2004) who explains the origins and development of the English subordinator *that* through principles of Economy. Our process of grammaticalization then becomes divided into two components: the promotion of *asher* from relativizer to general subordinator and the reanalysis of *v-hine* constructions as a subordinate clause. These are addressed in sequence in 2.3.2 and 2.3.3. 2.3.4 addresses some pushback from Holmstedt (2016) against a component of Givón's progression before concluding.

2.1 Direct and Free-Indirect Perception: *hine* and *v-hine*

I aim to ground my analysis of these particles and the constructions that they form in the most recent and ongoing inquiries into presentatives cross-linguistically. Presentatives have piqued the interest of syntacticians and semanticists in recent years because of how they seem to encode aspects of the discourse context into the syntax itself (Zanuttini, 2017) and how—despite on the surface resembling declaratives (specifically locatives)—they do not seem to denote a typical declarative proposition in the semantic sense (Zanuttini, 2017). My analysis will posit that *hine*, as it appears in direct discourse in the Hebrew Bible, is quite similar to Italian *ecco* as analyzed by Zanuttini, in both form and function. Meanwhile *v-hine*, using much of the same functional architecture, introduces a narrative style similar to Free Indirect Discourse (Giorgi, 2010), but instead of describing events as though from the perspective of an internal source (i.e. a character in the story), we are presented with an image of events as though they are being perceived by an internal source. This narrative device is accomplished similarly to FID, by transferring the discourse coordinates from those of a narrator to those of an internal source, thereby allowing the narrator to invoke something like direct perception without the context of direct speech—I call this Free Indirect Perception.

2.1.1 Background on *hine*

Often translated as 'Behold!' or 'Here's ___,' hine is used over a thousand times in the Hebrew Bible (Miller-Naudé and van der Merwe, 2011). The following examples demonstrate a range of its uses ranging from introducing inanimate DPs (6a) to animate DPs (6b-c) to entire events (6d-e).

(6) (a) ***hine*** *ha-esh* *v-ha-etzim*
hine the-fire and-the-trees
'Here are the firestone and the wood'
(Genesis 22:7)

(b) *v-ata* ***hine*** *isht-echa* *kax* *va-lex*
and-now **hine** wife-your take and-go
'Now, here is your wife; take her and begone'
(Genesis 12:19)

(c) *va-yagidu* *le-melex* *l-emor* ***hine*** *Natan* *ha-navi*
and-told to-king to-say **hine** Nathan the-prophet
'They announced to the king, "The prophet Nathan is here"'
(1 Kings 1:24)

(d) *v-ra'iti* *ani* *Daniel* ***v-hine*** *shna'im* *axerim* *omdim*
and-looked I Daniel **v-hine** two others standing
'Then I, Daniel, looked and saw two others standing'
(Daniel 12: 5)

(e) *va-yisa* *ein-av* *v-ra'a* ***v-hine*** *ish* *omed* *l-negd-o*
and-raised eye-his and-saw **v-hine** man standing to-opposite-him
'he looked up and saw a man standing before him'
(Joshua 5:13)

It is clear that the translators have a number of strategies for dealing with this peculiar word. Translations (6a-b) show what I will soon identify as presentative constructions, (6c) is a locative declarative,

and (6d-e) have no direct translation for the hine-word, but interpret it as introducing indirect perception, that is, the narrator or character speaking describes what a person perceived as a third-person event.

***hine* previous literature–Kogut (1986):** According to Kogut, the translation of (6c) above would be entirely apt because there are cases in which hine functions merely as an "adverbial predicate"—i.e. the aforementioned locative declarative. Kogut argues that the following two constructions are semantically equivalent:

(7) (a) *hine ha-bayit*
hine the-house
'Here's the house'

(b) *kan ha-bayit*
here the-house
'The house is here'

Kogut notes; however, that hine does seem to obey certain restrictions which other locatives (e.g. kan (2b)) do not. For example, hine must precede the entity that it points to in the sentence and is ungrammatical following it, while other locative predicates may appear either before or after (compare 7b and 8b):

(8) (a) **ha-bayit hine*
the-house hine
'Here's the house/ *the house is here'

(b) *ha-bayit kan*
the-house here
'The house is here'

However, since Biblical *hine* does seem to serve many more functions than simply as an adverbial predicate, Kogut abandons this analysis in favor of a more unified theory based on the pervasive cooccurrence of *hine* and the verb ra?a meaning to 'see.' The preponderance of instances in which these two words appear together leads Kogut to conclude that *hine* must in fact be derived from the imperative of a word meaning 'look!' and therefore commands the addressee to look at whatever is being described. Despite this imperative/verbal interpretation, Kogut nonetheless articulates the intuition that *hine* does not seem to be actually part of the clause, rather "it mut[es] the contrast between the psychological and grammatical structures of the sentence" (Kogut, 1986, pp)

Sadka (2001): Sadka has a similar intuition about *hine*'s place in the hierarchical syntax, comparing it to an exclamative: "I propose that [*hine*] as a phono-semantic interjection cannot be a part of the phrasal syntax." Sadka describes *hine* as having the "communicative-performative function of declaration" in the sense that the very uttering of it in some way invokes the existence of the entity that it points to. For example, referring to the verse in example (6a): "Before this declaration, the fire and the wood were hidden from sight and did not exist."(Sadka, 2001, pp) However, this declaration of existence does have a specifically here-and-now interpretation; it is not a general assertion of existence. That is to say, example (6a) does not merely declare the existence of firestone and wood somewhere at some time; it renders their appearance in our immediate circumstances. This notion is also reflected in van der Merwe's analysis which is rooted in hine denoting different types of spatial/cognitive/temporal proximity (Van der Merwe, 2007).
Sadka refutes Kogut's intuition that *hine* is inherently tied to the sense of sight presenting a number

of both Biblical and Modern Hebrew examples of *hine* being paired with other senses. I have chosen some of the most relevant for my study of Biblical Hebrew below:

(9) (a) **aural**

kol *dod-i* *hine-ze* *ba*
voice beloved-mine hine-it come
'Hark! My beloved! There he comes'

(Song of Songs 2:8)

(b) **extra-sensory perception**

hine *nata-ti* *le-xa* *lev* *xaxam*
hine gave-I to-you heart wise
'I grant you a wise and discerning mind'

(1 Kings 3:12)

This evidence is sufficiently compelling to extricate *hine* from a unique linkage to sight; however, it reinforces my notion that *hine* is somehow connected to perception, be it auditory or even some kind of extrasensory cognitive perception.

2.1.2 *hine* as a presentative

Hine might be called the prototypical presentative because the term was first used in linguistic analysis to describe *hine*. In recent literature (e.g. Zanuttini 2017), the term has come to refer not just to the individual words, but the entire constructions that they form. This section will attempt to demonstrate what makes these constructions unique and how hine seems to pattern with presentatives cross-linguistically using largely the criteria established by Zanuttini to distinguish presentatives from locatives.

Non-locativity: similarity to presentative *ecco*: Using Zanuttini's 2017 tests, I will now attempt to show that what is so often interpreted as adverbial or locative *hine* is in fact a construction much more similar to a presentative like *ecco* and differs from locatives in a number of crucial ways:

Restrictions: No post-verbal /copular presentatives

One of the first criteria Zanuttini offers to differentiate presentatives from locatives is precisely the restriction shown in example (3), namely that presentatives cannot appear post-verbally or after the entity that they point to:

(10) (a) *Ho* *messo* *la* *giacca* *qui* / **ecco*
have put the jacket here/ *ecco
'I put the jacket here'

(b) *Le* *chiavi* *sono* *qui* / **ecco*
the keys are here / *ecco
'The keys are here'

(Zanuttini, 2017, 224)

Recall that this exact same restriction was demonstrated for *hine* in (8).

Restrictions: presentatives cannot be modified

Another restriction on *ecco* that Zanuttini notices is that, unlike locative adverbs, it cannot be modified. The following are examples from Italian, but one will notice that the English glosses, which are designed to represent the analogous locative or presentative construction in English, is subject to the same restriction:

(11) (a) *Abito proprio qui*
Live-I right here
'I live right here'

(b) **Proprio ecco le chiavi*
Right ecco the keys
'*Right here are the keys'

(Zanuttini, 2017, 225)

There are likewise no attestations of a modified *hine* in Biblical Hebrew.

Other similarities: cliticization

One property of ecco that Zanuttini points out is that ecco can take pronominal clitics. For Zanuttini, this is evidence of the presence of a TP in clitic constructions, since Italian cliticization has been shown to be linked to T; however, for us, this offers an explanation of the "copular" constructions of *hine* which were exemplified in (4b). There are a number of instances in the Bible where *hine* forms a cliticized construction much like those outlined in (11). Perhaps the most common is *hineni*, which is usually the response to a call of one's name and is typically translated 'Here I am!' as in (12a). It seems likely, then, that what appears to be the conjugation of the "copular" *hine* for the features of the subject is really the attachment of a pronominal clitic that denotes the entity being pointed to, followed by a phonologically-null present tense copula (as Hebrew is known to have) and the predicate modifier. Interpreted this way, these examples now show cliticization of first person clitics (12a), second person (12b—translation adjusted to reflect my new analysis) and third person like the example in (12b).

(12) *ecco=mi ecco=ti ecco=la*
ecco=1s ecco=2s ecco=3fs
'Here I am. Here you are. Here she is.'

(13) (a) *va-yomer Moshe* ***hine=ni***
and-said Moses **hine=1s**
'[Moses] answered, "Here I am."'
(Exodus 3:4)

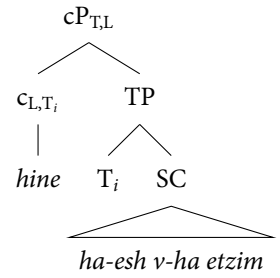
(b) ***hine=xa*** *yafa re?i-ti*
hine=2s beautiful beloved-mind
'Behold you, you are lovely, dear.'
(my translation) (Song of Songs 1:15)

Preliminary Analysis: Ultimately the analysis proposed in Zanuttini (2017) is that the presentative particle *ecco* comes to occupy the head of a functional projection which encodes the temporal and locative coordinates of the speaker, $cP_{T,L}$. This analysis is updated in Zanuttini (2017) to suggest that the presentative is, in fact, base-generated in that position. The attachment of the presentative particle to a functional head of the left periphery explains both why it can never appear post-verbally and why it cannot be modified with an adverb in the usual sense. This position also reflects the intuition of both Sadka and Kogut that *hine* is somehow outside the syntax of the main clause. Additionally, as I have discussed, there must be a TP present to allow for cliticization. This T-head, however, bears anaphoric tense which is bound by the temporal coordinates on $cP_{T,L}$ meaning it does not actually contribute any new temporal or tense features to the dervation. Finally, there is the content-portion of the sentence (i.e. the entity or event being pointed to) and—in Zanuttini (2017)—a null locative. Sadka shares this intuition that the hine constructions actually contain a null locative element when discussing how *hine* can be used to answer a locative Wh-question such as "Where is the book?":

> The complete answer is not "hine is the book," but rather "hine the book is here/there." So the predicate is not *hine* but rather "here" or "there." The location is not mentioned by the answerer, because both him and the questioner "see" it. (Sadka, 2001)

This more predicate-like locative element was eliminated in Zanuttini and Wood's 2018 analysis in order to achieve a model more consistent with the non-propositional qualities discussed above; therefore, my preliminary analysis, then, is depicted in (14) using the example from (6a) and modeled entirely on the architecture proposed in Zanuttini (2017) and Wood and Zanuttini (2018).

(14)



2.1.3 Nuances and Patterns of *hine*

I will now touch briefly on the primary difference between hine and ecco, namely the former's lack of restriction to discourse-old entities, and also outline the subtleties of the different distributions of hine and v'hine. I will also attempt to account for the unique properties of the former while retaining much of the structure outlined in my preliminary analysis.

Mirativity and New Information: Another of the restrictions which Zanuttini argues that ecco is subject to is that the entity which it points to must be discourse-old—that is, it cannot be entirely new to the context. Zanuttini illustrates this with example (15), arguing that it would be infelicitous to use a presentative construction in a context where one had no expectation to see Obama or where Obama had not been previously mentioned.

(15) *#Guarda! Ecco Obama!*
look ecco Obama
'#Look! There's Obama!'

This is not to say that presentatives have no mirative force. Presentatives can indicate discovery, but only in a context where the entity was already under discussion or salient in the discourse presuppositions as in example (16).

(16) (a) B: Are you still looking for your keys? A: (seeing them) There they are!

(b) B: (knowing that A is looking for A's keys) A: (seeing them) There they are!

According to Zanuttini (2017), this discourse-oldness accounts for how a presentative can update the discourse, but not be semantically propositional like a declarative. Instead of introducing some entirely new entity into the discourse or making a claim about it that the addressee can refuse or accept, a presentative takes something that was already salient in the context and brings it into the discourse's sphere of perception such that it can now be a presupposed feature of our communication. This is similar to Sadka's notion of *hine* having a "communicative-performative function of declaration" (Sadka, 2001). The very speaking of a presentative has the performative function of invoking the presence of an entity. One effect of the notion that presentatives are not propositional is that they cannot be refuted. If I present someone with a book saying: 'Here's a book,' the recipient cannot refute this utterance. They can object to my classification of the object as a book or they can refuse to accept the book, but the fact that my saying 'Here's a book' has brought something—presumably a book—into our mutual sphere is not a refutable proposition. This notion will become relevant in testing my comparison of *hine* to constructions like *ecco* and 'Here's' discussed previously.

The idea of obligatory discourse-oldness, however, comes in stark contrast to Sadka's intuition that hine is present—overt or otherwise—in all mirative expressions/exclamations regardless of context. For example according to Sadka, if one were suddenly to see a deer and shout 'A deer! A deer!' the real underlying expression is:

(17) *hine* a deer! *hine* a deer!

or in the following Biblical example, where Atalia's exclamation is one of surprise and the notion of 'treason' was certainly not under previous discussion, the following is Sadka's interpretation of the true underlying form of the exclamation:

(18)

va-tikra	*Atalia*	*et-begade-ha*	*va-tikra*	*[hine]*	*kesher*	*[hine]*	*kesher*
and-tore	Atalia	ACC-clothes-hers	and-cried	*[hine]*	treason	*[hine]*	treason

'Athaliah rent her garments and cried out, 'Treason, treason!'

(2 Kings 11:14)

Whether or not there is actually a covert presentative in those examples, Sadka's intuition is supported by Miller-Naudé's 2011 survey of the corpus which found:

> In about two-thirds of the occurrences in the corpus, it is unambiguously clear that [hine] is used to point to something for which wither addressees or characters were not prepared (Miller-Naudé and van der Merwe, 2011, 81)

It is not entirely obvious that—in all cases—this unpreparedness utterly precludes the notion of contextual salience as described in Zanuttini (2017); however, there are certainly contexts in which *hine* introduces an absolutely new entity as in the following, where Miriam is suddenly struck with a scaly skin disease as a punishment for speaking out against Moses:

(19) *va-yipen Aharon el Miriam v-hine metsora-?at*
and-turned Aaron unto Miriam v-hine leprous.F
'When Aaron turned toward Miriam, he saw that she was stricken with scales.'
(Numbers 12:10)

There is hardly an argument to be made that Aaron or Miriam were somehow expecting this punishment or that leprosy was in any way under discussion or salient in the discourse. Examples like these seem to be fairly overt violation of the presentative restriction to discourse old entities and events.

***hine* vs. *v-hine*:** Throughout a significant portion of the literature, hine and v-hine are treated as largely the same phenomenon. While the former might be translated 'behold,' the latter could be most simply translated 'and behold.' Zewi (1996) is the first I have found to treat these as essentially distinct particles and to codify their respective distributions:

> "The particle [hine] is found to appear with the verb *amar* only, introducing direct speech. The particle [v-hine] is found to occur with verbs of sight and related contexts only, introducing content clauses…" (Zewi, 1996, 21)

In looking at the full contexts for my initial examples of hine, it is clear that she is right. Hine on its own only appears in direct speech (i.e. quotation) of biblical characters. Example (20) shows the complete contexts of the quotations containing *hine* shown in (6a-b) and that, indeed, they are always accompanied by a verb with the root *amar*.

(20) Complete contexts for (6a-b)

(a) ***va-yomer*** *Yitzxak el-Avraham avi-v…* ***va-yomer*** *hine…*
and-said Isaac unto-Abraham father-his and-said hine
'Then Isaac said to his father Abraham…and he said: here…'
(Genesis 22:7)

(b) *va-yikra Par'o l-Avram,* ***va-yomer****…* *hine…*
and-called Pharaoh to-Abraham **and-said**...hine
'Pharaoh sent for Abram and said:…[hine]'
(Genesis 12:19)

I will account for the distributional properties of *hine* with the popular notion in the literature that *hine* introduces 'direct sight.' I will abstract this to direct perception since I have shown *hine* to be compatible with other senses as well. This notion would explain why *hine* can only appear in direct discourse because it initiates a rhetorical device in which a speaker describes something that is happening in their sphere of perception, and we are to understand that they are perceiving it directly. It is not an indirect narration of the event of the form 'I see that X,' rather it is like a verbal quotation mark or colon that instead of introducing speech introduces perception: 'I see: X!' This notion accounts for the many apparent structural similarities of *hine* to *ecco*. While *hine* allows for discourse-new entities and *ecco* does not, they are both deeply rooted in the here-and-now coordinates and perceptual sphere of the speaker, and update the discourse in a way that is not a refutable proposition by another party:

(21) (a) *ecco* X → discourse-old-X is now in our mutual sphere of perception
(b) *hine* X → I am suddenly perceiving: discourse-new/old-X

The entity being pointed to is also not entirely un-salient because it has to be perceived by the speaker at least slightly before the utterance, so in that sense the uttering itself does not bring something entirely new into the context. For this reason, the distinction outlined in (21) is largely splitting hairs, but it will help us understand the role of *v-hine* which I will turn to presently.

***v-hine* and Free Indirect Discourse:** There is a particular narrative device which has received some attention in recent years called Free Indirect Discourse (FID) in which a narrator (i.e. external source (Giorgi, 2010, 184)) will describe an event in the third person, but as though from the perspective of a character in the story (i.e. internal source). The effect is that any indexicals used in FID are interpreted with respect to the coordinates of the internal source, not the narrator or speaker; this is exemplified in (22):

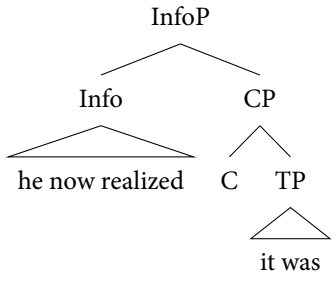
(22) (a) "It was, *he* ***now*** *realized*, because of this other incident that he had suddenly decided to come home and begin the diary today" (Orwell, 1984, ch. 1)

(b) "**Tomorrow** was Monday, Monday, the beginning of another school week"(Lawrence, Women in Love, p. 185)

(Giorgi, 2010, 197)

The bolded elements above are temporal indexicals which, despite being used in third person narration, are interpreted in reference to the temporal coordinates of the character described, not the narrator (i.e. the 'speaker' in the most literal sense). The underlined words are the tensed elements referencing the temporal coordinates of the external source with which the indexical interpretation of the bolded component would seem to contradict, and the italicized component in (22a) is the Introducing Predicate, which, according to Giorgi, occupies the Information Layer of the utterance and licenses a transfer of speech-coordinates from the default of the external source to those of the internal source. This transfer licenses many grammatical constructions that would be highly strange or outright unacceptable in other types of discourse such as 'Tomorrow was Monday' above. The architecture described in Giorgi (2010) is sketched out in (23):

(23)



Neither indirect nor free indirect discourse is, to my knowledge, attested in the Bible; however, I want to argue that *v-hine* achieves a similar effect of changing the perspective of narration to that of an internal source without the context of direct speech (and thereby direct perception). This transfer of perspective also licenses some strange grammatical forms which I will discuss shortly, but this idea of an exchange of perspective is also reflected in the intuitions of Kogut:

> "[*hine* is] a word that indicates a switch in point of view - from that of the narrator to that of a character in the story." (Kogut, 1986)

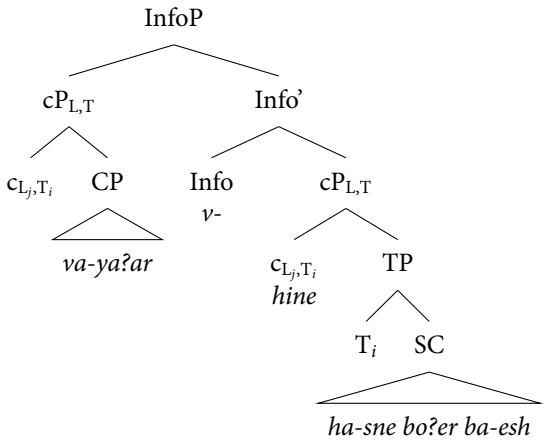
2.1.4 Free Indirect Perception

My proposed construction is called Free Indirect Perception (FIP), and like FID, FIP requires an introducing predicate—often involving sight—to license a transfer of discourse coordinates to those of an internal source, and the subsequent entity or event can be described exactly as it is being perceived in that moment by the internal source.

(24) *va-ya?ar* *v-hine* *ha-sne* *bo?er* *ba-esh*
and-looked v-hine the-bush burns.PRT in-fire
'He looked and this is what he saw: The bush is aflame!'
(Exodus 3:2) (Translation altered to reflect my proposal)

The functional affix *v-* is actually the manifestation of that Information Layer described in Giorgi and occupies its head, while the Introducing Predicate is in specifier position. The result is a structure like the one illustrated in (25)

(25)



I will not be elaborating too much further on this analysis since, recall, our larger aim here is to account for the *disappearance* of *v-hine* in LBH texts; however, the crucial points are as follows:

- FIP involves an Introducing Predicate and a Clause of Perception, wherein the tense, aspectual, and indexical items in the clause of perception appear as though the event perceived were happening here-and-now.
- The Introducing Predicate and the Clause of Perception are structurally linked via InfoP.
- Both the Introducing Predicate and the Clause of Perception have an upper structure projection, cP, which contains the location and time information ($_{L,T}$) of that clause and which give reference to tense, aspectual and indexical items.
- The Introducing Predicate cP forms some sort of relation with the clause of perception cP (which, recall, it c-commands via the InfoP) such that it shares its coordinates with the internal clause of perception, allowing the event being perceived to have the same grammatical space/time reference as the action of perceiving.

- The tense/aspect projections of the Clause of Perception (i.e. TP in 25) are anaphoric such that they are coindexed with the coordinates in cP.
- Overall, the Clause of Perception in a *v-hine* construction has the same structure as a normal *hine* clause. The difference is that the *v-* conjunction is a manifestation of the Information Layer attaching it to the Introducing Predicate.

I mentioned above that indexical elements in FIP get their reference from the Introducing Predicate i.e. the internal source, and this is exemplified below. In (26) *ba?im* means 'coming,' an indexical with the denotation: moving toward the source. Here it is clear that 'coming' is interpreted with respect to Isaac, not the narrator:

(26) *va-yisa* *ein-av* *va-ya?ar* *v-hine* *gmalim* ***ba?im***
and-raised eye-his and-saw v-hine camels **coming**
'He lifted his eyes and looked and saw: camels are coming!'
(Genesis 24:63) (Translation altered to reflect my proposal)

v-hine does also appear in direct speech but only when the characters themselves are narrating in the style of FIP as in the following, where Ezeikiel adopts the coordinates of those of his past self:

(27) *va-er?e* *v-hine* *yad* *shluxa* *el-ai*
VA-looked v-hine hand sent unto-me
'I looked and this is what I saw: a hand is sent out unto me!'
(Ezekiel 2:9) (Translation altered to reflect my proposal)

2.1.5 Tense and Aspect

One of the features of FID noted by Giorgi is that it seems to be restricted to the past tense. According to Giorgi, the past is the tense most detached from the external source; and the result is infelicitous if one attempts to use present or future tense in the FID style as in (28):

(28) It **is**, he now **realizes**, because of this other incident that he **has** suddenly decided to come home and begin the diary today

In Italian, this results in the frequent usage of the imperfect form, which is typically translated as past tense, and in Biblical Hebrew, where the reverse is true, one would expect to see the perfect form in FIP. Looking at the examples in (6d-e), (24), or (26), however, it seems that, instead, all verbs following *v-hine* take the participle form (usually translated in present tense) just like after plain *hine* in cases of direct sight. This makes intuitive sense if FIP is understood to be the external source invoking an event as though it is being perceived in the present by the internal source in the moment; however, it seemingly violates Giorgi's restriction on FID, which we had hoped would be an entirely analogous construction. The tense/aspect effects of FIP are actually similar to what we see in the spoken English phenomenon sometimes called the Narrative Present, in which a narrator assumes the spatial and, crucially, temporal coordinates of a character in a story so as to describe the events as the character experiences them in the moment of action:

(29) (relating a story of something that happened to the speaker in the past) "So **I'm** just **walking** down the street, **minding** my own business, when suddenly a cop car **starts screaming** toward me and I **have** no idea what to do, so I just **start running** the other way!"

I have thus offered a new analysis of the particles *hine* and *v-hine* in Biblical Hebrew rooted in our growing understanding of presentative constructions and how they differ from locatives. I have shown that all of the usages of *hine* and *v-hine* differ in crucial syntactic and semantic ways from typical declaratives, and that they introduce a kind of perception which updates the discourse in a similar way to ecco in Italian. I have also shown parallels between the narrative device invoked by *v-hine* and Free Indirect Discourse, and have coined the term Free Indirect Perception to capture this particular phenomenon. We will now turn to the phenomenon of clause subordination via *asher/ki* and the question of whether or not we can posit some structural-grammatical pathway between this newly described structure of *hine* and *v-hine* and the subordinate clause.

2.2 *Asher* and the Subordinate Clause

2.2.1 Background on Hebrew Relativization

The majority of this subsection is derived from Holmstedt's 2016 formidable work on the Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew. Holmstedt identifies four relative elements in Hebrew: pronouns, relative markers, complementizers and resumptive pronouns–which are used in combination with all but one of the complementizers. These are each exemplified in turn below:

(30) **Relative Pronoun** (wh-words)

u-dvar ***ma****-yir?e-ni* *v-higadti* *lax*
and-word **what**-showed.2MSG-me and-tell.1SGFUTto-you
'whatever He reveals to me I will tell you'
(Numbers 23:3)

(31) **Relative Markers** (derived from demonstratives, more on this later)

makom ***ze*** *yasadta* *la-hem*
place **this** you-established for-them
'the place You established for them'
(Psalms 104:8)

(32) **Complementizers**

(a) *asher*

v-xiper *ha-kohen* ***asher*** *yimshax* *ot-o*
and-atones the-priest **that** one-anoints ACC-him
'The priest who has been anointed ...shall make expiation.'

(Leviticus 16:32)

(b) *she-*

ashrei *ha-am* ***she****-YHWH* *elo-hav*
happy the-people **that**-YHWH god-its
' happy the people whose God is the LORD'

(Psalms 144:15)

(c) *ha-*

v-sheva *ha-parot* *ha-rakot* *v-ha-ra?ot* ***ha**-olot* *axarei-hen*
and-seven the-cows the-lean the-ugly **the**-ascend after-them
'The seven lean and ugly cows that followed'
(Genesis 41:27)

(33) **Resumption**

l-ma?an *David* *avd-i* *asher* *baxarti* ***ot-o***
for-sake David servant-mine that I-chose **ACC-him**
'for the sake of My servant David...which I have chosen'
(1 Kings 11:13)

(34) **Zero Relatives**

va-yipol *b-shaxat* ∅ *yipal*
and-fall.IMPERF in-pit ∅ he-made
'[He] will fall into the trap he made'
(Psalms 7:16)

2.2.2 Syntax of Hebrew Relativization

The first and broadest thing to grasp about the syntax of relatives in Hebrew is that they fall into the same camp as English relatives in terms of their position with respect to being *embedded* and not *correlated*. In some languages (e.g. Hindi), the relative is left-adjoined with a correlative marker and co-references a fully fledged copy of the noun within the matrix clause. As noted, Hebrew relatives do not do this, and are instead embedded within the DP that they modify like in English. One thing Holmstedt emphasizes about relatives and Hebrew clause structure more broadly is the availability of recursive CPs where one CP is the direct complement of another. This comes into play with multiple embeddings where one relative is embedded within another.

(35) *yare* *ani* *et-*$[_{DP}$*adon-i* *ha-melex...*$[_{\mathbf{CP^2}}$ OP$_i$$[_{C^2}$ *asher* $[_{\mathbf{CP^1}}$ *lama* $[_{C^1}$ *yir?e* $[_{TP}$ t_i $t_{yir?e}$
fear I ACC-$[_{DP^1}$ lord-my the-king...$[_{\mathbf{CP^2}}$ OP$_i$$[_{C^2}$ that $[_{\mathbf{CP^1}}$ why $[_{C^1}$ see $[_{TP}$ t_i t_{see}
et-pne-xem *zo?afim* t_{lamma}
ACC-faces-yours dejected t_{why}
'I fear that my lord the king... will notice that you look out of sorts'
(Daniel 1:10)

2.3 Grammaticalization Proposal

2.3.1 Grammaticalization as Economy

This subsection is named after the book of the same title by Van Gelderen whose 2004 work will form the basis of my analysis of a dual-clause construction like *v-hine* being reanalyzed as a subordinate clause construction via the adoption of a relativizer (*asher/ki*) for general subordination purposes. Van Gelderen's analysis is rooted in notions of Economy and therefore a Minimalist syntactic program. The two principles of interest in her book are:

1. **Head-over-Spec** the notion that it is less structurally costly for a syntactic unit to be a head rather than its own phrase.

2. **Late-Merge** a corollary to Merge-over-Move, this principle states that it is more efficient for a structure to merge into a derivation later rather than merging early and needing to move up later on.

Through these principles, Van Gelderen brings into focus a number of syntactic universals regarding grammaticalization, reanalysis and specifically uni-directional changes. These changes are often cyclical as a result of the ongoing clash of economy and innovation; for example, regarding Head-over-Spec, Economy continuously eliminates specifiers while innovation reintroduces new ones. Van Gelderen illustrates this exact process using the evolution of the English relativizer *that* from its demonstrative origins through the specifier position to the head position it currently occupies.
Van Gelderen presents threefold evidence that *that*–as it appears as a relativizer in Old English–is a specifier. 1) *That* <*þæt*> occurs in sequence with *þe*, a well-established C-head in some relative contexts, 2) *that* allows pied piping, showing that it is part of a phrase that can move to a specifier (which would be prohibited as illegal head-extraction if in C) and 3) SOV word order occurs, implying once again that *þæt* is fronted into a specifier along with the rest of the phrase it occupies. These three phenomena are demonstrated in sequence below:

(36) *eall* ***þæt*** ***þe*** *styraþ and leofaþ*
all [$_{CP}$that $_{C}$that stirs and lives]
'everything that stirs and lives [6]'
(Van Gelderen, 2004, 83)

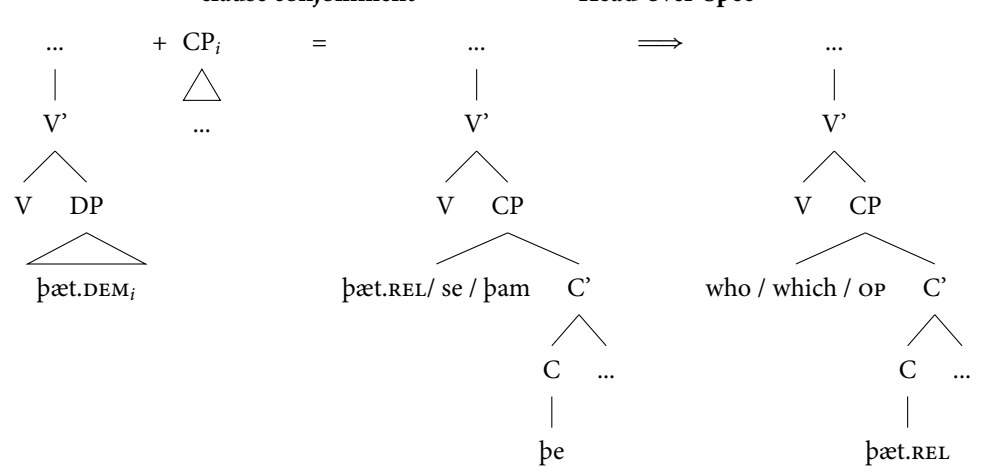
(37) *þæt is seo lufe* ***embe*** ***þæt*** *he wite*
that is the love about that he knows
'that is the love he knows'
(Van Gelderen, 2004, 83)

(38) *on an igland þæt is ut on þære sæ þæt is Meres ig haten*
on an island that is out on the sea that is Mere's island called
'on an island out in the sea that is called Mere's island'
(Van Gelderen, 2004, 83)

To summarize Van Gelderen's story of the English relativizer *that*, it begins as a demonstrative, becomes grammaticalized as a SpecCP relativizer as demonstrated in 37-38, and ultimately becomes a Head due to the Economy principle Head-over-Spec and leaving room for the null nominal operator which occupies the Spec position in Modern English relatives.

[6] Genesis 9:3, Alfric

(39)



The first step in this progression may seem somewhat opaque, but cross-linguistic accounts of DEM-to-COMP grammaticalization confirm this notion that cataphoric demonstratives first grammaticalize onto SpecCP before left-adjoining onto the C-Head via Head-over-Spec reduction. This is the precise sequence recounted in McConvell (2006) for Ngumpin-Yapa languages, a subset of Pama Nyungan languages in Australia where we can see residues of this process in Dem+C constructions such as:

(40) Gurindji

*[**Nyila***	***nyamu**=rna*	*nga-rni*	*wararr]*	*ngu=yi*	*kampa-rnana*	*maju-la*
[**that.DEM**	**C**=1SGSUB	eat-PST	fat]	CAT=1SGOBJ	burn-PRS	stomach-LOC

'That fat that I ate is hurting me in my stomach'

(McConvell, 2006, 113)

The final step in the progression is to move from one functional projection within C to a higher one via Late Merge. This is of course only possible once a split CP becomes available, which, Van Gelderen argues, occurs in English for non-matrix CPs in the 15th century. Initially, at least, *þæt* is grammaticalized in the Fin position of the Rizzi (1997) elaborated CP as demonstrated by *for þæt* constructions such as in the following:

(41)

for	*þat*	*he*	*hadde*	*islehSe*	*moche*	*of*	*hire*	*cunne*
[$_{\text{Force}}$for	[$_{\text{Fin}}$that	he	had	slain	much	of	their	people]]

'because he had slain many of their people'

(Van Gelderen, 2004, 104)

Corpus data shows that the use of *for* as a complementizer only starts appearing around the 12th century, and, once it becomes fully grammaticalized on its own, Late Merge takes over and demands that *for* have a C-domain slot in which to enter the derivation, not just move into. This grammaticalization+economy process is what triggers the split CP we see in 41. Soon, however, we see evidence that *þæt* has moved up to Force since it precedes topic phrases such as *as for such mony that..* in the following example:

(42) And I told him that, as for such mony that shuld …, I wold …
(Van Gelderen, 2004, 106) (circa 1465)

2.3.2 In Isolation: Relativizer-to-Complementizer as Economy

Before incorporating our new analysis of *v-hine* and accounting for how it was superseded by *asher*, we must first investigate, in isolation, how grammaticalization from a relativizer to a general complementizer may fit into Van Gelderen's–or some other–structural framework of grammaticalization and syntactic change. It turns out that there is a rather intuitive progression for this process assuming–as Van Gelderen does for English *that*–that *asher* at one point in its evolution occupied the slot of a relative pronoun instead of a relative complementizer. This is altogether a reasonable conjecture because many trace the etymology of *asher* back to a semitic nominal element *atar* deriving from the triconsanantal verbal root [ʔ-t-r] 'stride, march' to mean 'step, trace, footprint' (Holmstedt, 2016, 87). Though not a demonstrative like *that*, it makes sense that a nominal element would have come to serve a pro-nominal function in relativization before being reanalyzed–via Head-over-Spec–as a complementizer head. Once a complementizer head, there is nothing to prevent an ancient Hebrew learner from experimenting with full TP gapless clauses as its complement. This progression from relativizer to general subordinator must be unidirectional, however, because it relies on the idea of a nominal element being interpreted first as a relative *pronoun* as a specifier before undergoing Van Gelderen's unidirectional process of reanalysis as a head that can take all kinds of complements.

2.3.3 Reconstructing Givon's Progression

This process of phrases becoming functional heads becoming higher functional heads is one of the larger unifying and unidirectional principles in Van Gelderen's work. We can now take this story of the English relative and see how it applies to Givon's work on the Hebrew relative clause and its usurpation of the *hine/v-hine* construction.

One thing worth noting is that, although *asher* does not trace back to a demonstrative like English *that* (Holmstedt, 2002, 8), Biblical Hebrew does occasionally use demonstratives such as *zu/zo* 'this' as relativizers in a comparable manner across diverse Biblical texts:

(43) (a) *am* ***zu*** *ga?al-ta*
nation **this.REL** redeemed-you
'a people **that** you have redeemed'
(Holmstedt, 2002, 80)

(b) *im* *yishmeru* *ban-exa* *brit-i* *v-edot-i* ***zo***
if will-listen son-yours covenant-mine and-laws-mine **this.REL**
alamd-em...
teach.1SGIRR-them
'If your sons keep My covenant and My decrees **that** I teach them'
(Psalms 132:12)

As we just saw, *Asher* also does have its own particular history of grammaticalization into its functional status. By the time we have epigraphic attestations of Ancient Hebrew, however, the nominal usage is entirely gone and *asher* has fully assumed its complementizer role. All of this is to say that when we first find *asher* in the earliest texts of the Hebrew Bible (whatever that may be), it is already well-embarked on a journey of reanalysis and grammaticalization.

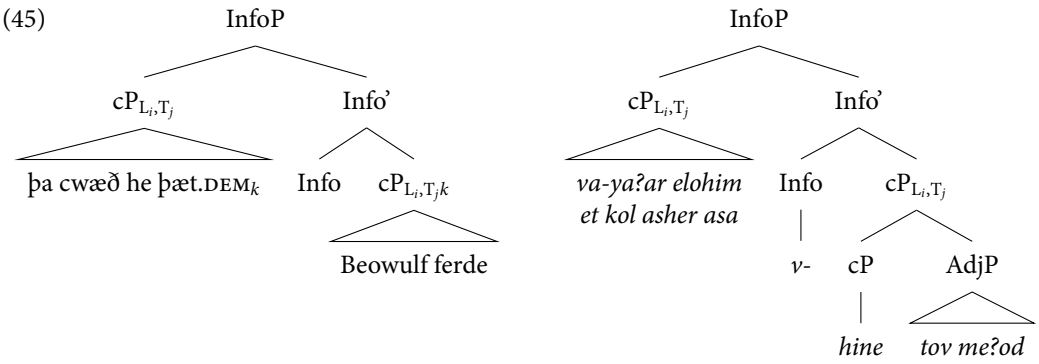
The story of a *v-hine* construction being replaced by a subordinate clause construction could be summarized by the very first sentence of Van Gelderen's 2004, 3 book: "Independent clauses that are semantically related to each other tend to become structurally connected over time." The Introducing Predicate and the complement of *v-hine* are certainly semantically related in that the latter is what

the subject of the former perceived, and I have shown in the beginning of this section how this might translate to the beginnings of a structural connection via some architecture designed to transmit spacial and temporal coordinates. I now want to propose that this stage may shed some light on what is happening in the black box of the "clause conjoinment"0 stage of 39. The example that Van Gelderen provides of *þæt* as a demonstrative having a parallel meaning to its relative usage is:

(44) *þa cwæð he þæt. Beowulf ferde*
then said he that Beowolf went
'Then said he that: Beowulf went.'

Note the similarity between this quotative construction and the clausal relationship in 24. This is something we already addressed in our discussions of direct and free indirect discourse. In both cases, the temporal and indexical items of the discourse/perception need to acquire their coordinates from the introductory predicate. When the speaker in 44 says 'went' that is in past tense with respect to the internal source, not the external source. Therefore, in accordance with our proposed derivation in 25, the first stage of the progression in 39 may look something like:[7]

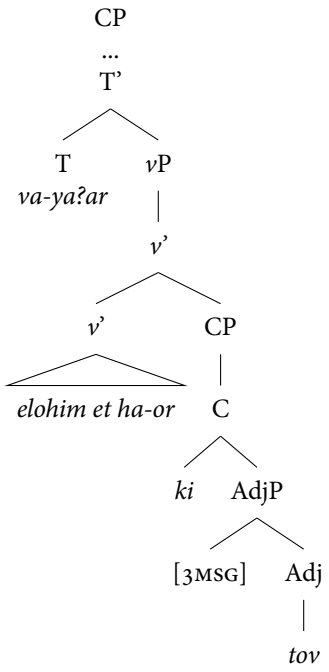
(45)



The unidirectionality of grammaticalization then demands that these clauses, which, aside from their temporal and spatial dependence, remain largely structurally independent, become reanalyzed as a single matrix. This is particularly easy to imagine in Hebrew where the matrix CP allows for recursive embeddings of CPs (e.g. Holmstedt 2016, 52) where, in the bridge construction of 4c we could imagine the predicate as a small clause adjoined to one of the matrix CPs via the complementizer *ki*:

(46) *va-ya?ar elohim et-ha-or ki-tov*
and-saw.3MS elohim ACC-the-light COMP-good
'*God saw the light that it was good*'

[7] Note that this is not an attempt to totally reanalyze or revolutionize the derivation of demonstratives or quotative constructions, it's merely an illustration of how the principles of my analysis of FIP maps back onto this kind of direct reported speech, and therefore, how our analogy between the history of *that* and the progression from *v-hine* to subordinate *asher* continues to be relevant.



This adjunction analysis makes sense because the small clause, in this case, is entirely optional. It would be perfectly grammatical to simply say

(47) *va-ya?ar elohim et ha-or*
'and God saw the light'

It's also supported by the fact that the small clause could survive the elision of part of the matrix *v*P as in

(48) *va-ya?ar elohim...ki tov*
'and God saw that [it] was good'

which would also be grammatical. This is also the case in the later bridge construction (4d) where

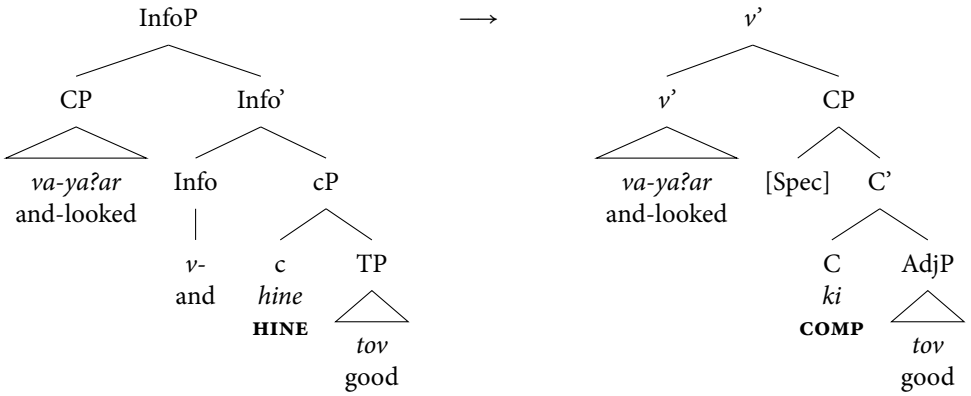
(49) *l-har?ot ha-amim v-ha-sarim et-yofi-a*
'to show the peoples and officials her beauty'

is perfectly grammatical, as well as an elided VP:

(50) *l-har?ot...ki tovat mar?e hi*
'to show...that she was a beautiful woman'

Taking one of these examples with matrix *vP* elided at the lower *v'*, we can really see the structural resemblance between the derivation in 46 and 45. Imagine our entire structure enveloped beneath InfoP reanalyzed as a single CP. The specific node InfoP corresponds to in our uniclausal construction in 46 is this upper *v'* where the adjunction occurs. The Introducing Predicate i.e. the matrix verb phrase is introduced to the left (before the verb moves up to T) and in place of Info' we have a new CP . Observe the two structures side by side below and observe how *hine* and the complementizer *ki* line up.

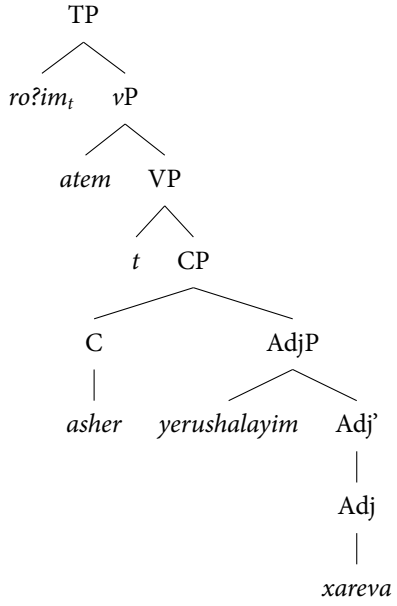
(51)



(Nehemiah 2:17)

The final step is to incorporate this adjunct as a fully fledged subordinate clause in complement position. This would happen as a result of an Economy principle very closely related to Head-over-Spec in that the goal is to reduce the total number of Merge operations required to reach a construction. An adjunct is more expensive than a complement because it requires the merging of an additional X' node, so just like Head-over-Spec, we could make a rule Complement-over-Adjunct: this leads us to our final construction in 4e

(52) *ro-im* *atem...* *asher* *yerushalayim* *xareva*
see-P you.PL SUBR Jerusalem ruined
'You see... [that] Jerusalem [lies] in ruins...'



In case it wasn't obvious in Example 4, there are really two changes happening here. One is that *v-hine* constructions which are really bi-clausal come together into one matrix clause via some kind of subordination, and the other is that *asher* is promoted from just a relativizer to the general subordinator

used in these cases. In that sense, the complementizer *ki* paves the way for *asher* to exercise a new-found distribution by the slot that it opens up in this reanalysis of bi-clausal constructions (i.e. *v-hine*).

It is at this point I should mention that Holmstedt (2016), from whom so many of our examples and much of the analysis has come, strongly disputes the latter of these progressions–that is, that *asher* came to be a general subordinator from the relativizer at all.

2.3.4 Holmstedt's History of *Asher*: Nominalization

Many of Holmstedt's qualms with Givón's work comes from his assumptions about the sources of his data and their statistical significance. While it is true, for instance, that among the the Biblical texts considered to be "archaic" (Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Numbers 23-34 Deuteronomy 32-33 Judges 5 and Psalm 68), none of the instances of *asher* introduce complement clauses, the few instances of *asher* as a relativizer come from the prosaic framing text within these sources, which is posited by some to be a later editorial addition, and any tokens from these texts should therefore be taken with a hefty grain of salt (Holmstedt, 2016, 230). Additionally there simply aren't enough tokens in these "ancient" texts to really draw any conclusions at all about the usage of *asher* during the period of composition. When we turn our attention to the EBH, Transitional BH and LBH framework, Holmstedt points out that examples of subordinator-*asher* can be found in all of these, and although, the number of subordinator-*asher* does increase in LBH texts, Holmstedt also notes that a number of the attestations of *asher* in late extrabiblical texts (e.g. Qumran and Ben Sira) which were thought not to be relativizer-*asher* could actually be interpreted as such when you consider the possibility that a relative head is null or extraposed:

(53) (a) Ben Sira Null-Headed Relative

ma *itxaber* *parur* *al* *sir* *asher* *hu* *nokesh* *b-o* *v-hu*
how will-go-together pot$_i$ upon vessel$_j$ that it$_i$ will-knock on-it$_j$ and-it$_i$
nishbor
will-break

'how can the pot go with the vessel? ∅ (the time)$_k$ [*when*$_k$] that they knock together __$_k$ the pot will be smashed'

(Sir 13:2, Holmstedt 2016, 234)

(b) Qumran Extraposed Relative

v-gam *al* *yavi* *ish* *al* *re?e-hu* *davar* *lifne* *ha-ravim* *asher*
and-also NEG will-bring man upon fellow-his word before the-masses that
lo *b-toxaxat* *lifne* *edim*
NEG in-rebuke before witnesses

'also, let a man not bring a word against his neighbor$_i$ __$_j$ before the many, [[*which*]$_i$ that __$_i$ has not been in rebuke before witnesses]$_j$'

(Holmstedt, 2016, 234)

For all of these reasons, Holmstedt prefers an analysis which unifies the relativizer and subordinator *asher* under one semantic-syntactic function: nominalizer. In both cases *asher* turns a clause into a nominal entity which can then either be used to modify a DP or become the complement of a verb. The essence of this analysis is that the distinction outlined by Givón 1991 and others is not actually substantial, and that really *asher* has one broader usage that encapsulates all of its complementizer functions. Holmstedt therefore objects to the notion that *asher* underwent any change from relativizer

to complementizer at all. I am not inclined to disagree with Holmstedt who is surely the reigning expert on BH relativization; however, as we will discuss momentarily, the promotion of *asher* from solely a relativizer to general complementizer is only the final portion of the progression outlined in Example 4 and is entirely separate from the process of *v-hine* constructions becoming uniclausal.

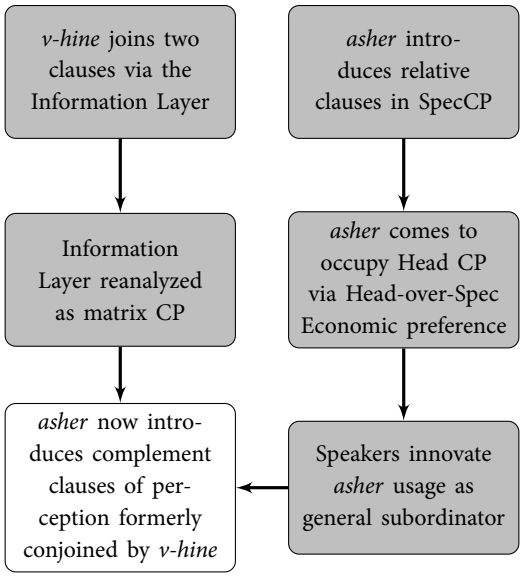
2.3.5 The Two-Pronged Evolution and the Relevance of Holmstedt's Objections

As we noted in 2.3.3, the evolution in Example 4 from Givón (1991) is actually two-pronged. There is indeed the purported evolution of *asher* from a relativizer to a complementizer, but beneath that is the analogic pathway by which a construction like *v-hine* came to be grammaticalized or reanalyzed as any kind of subordination at all. This is the progression we see in the decreasing instantiations of *v-hine* in later sources, and the notion that this kind of construction came to be usurped by a subordinate clause construction (whether or not *asher* already had that capacity) is still supported by Givón's data. If you are at all convinced by the progression in 45-46, 52, then there is some extent to which Givón's research reveals the underlying architecture of a diachronic change via the processes of grammaticalization with which we have established (i.e. clause conjoinment, economy). Once this grammaticalization occurs, it hardly matters for our purposes which complementizer (of the multitude in 30-34 or any of the non relative complementizers) end up performing the task.

2.4 Section Conclusions

The final analysis upon which we have arrived for the progression in Givón (1991) is summarized thus: In our earlier iterations of BH, there was a construction *v-hine* which utilized the same kind of complex inter-clausal structure as English FID in order to bridge the temporal-spatial gap between an external narrator and an internal experiencer. This structure allows *v-hine* to introduce a complement clause wherein–although narrated in the third person as from an external storyteller–indexical and aspectual items are interpreted with respect to the time and space of the internal character perceiving the described events. This is essentially to perception what FID is for discourse, thus, I have named this phenomenon Free Indirect Perception (FIP). Another analog to *v-hine* in its grammatical function is the historical predecessor to the English complementizer *that*. *That* begins as just a demonstrative, which comes to be used to introduce complement clauses via nominalizing them as a discourse entity to be pointed at. The semantic intertwinement of these two clauses which begin as structurally distinct causes them to be reanalyzed under a single matrix CP, with *that* reanalyzed as a subordinating conjunction. Meanwhile, the second prong of our progression is underway: the relativizer *asher*, which also traces back to a nominal item like *that*, is in the process of being reanalyzed as a general subordinator. We know that *that*–when it first becomes a subordinating conjunction after being solely a demonstrative–first occupies the Spec position of an internal CP since it co-occurs with and linearly precedes other complementizers. Following Van Gelderen's principle of Head-over-Spec, *that* is ultimately reanalyzed as a CP-Head. This same position shift in *asher* paves the way for its becoming a more productive general complementizer introducing gapless complement clauses in addition to relative clauses. There is now nothing preventing *asher* from swooping in and taking the CP-Head position in all of the now-subordinate clause constructions formerly arranged as distinct CPs around *v-hine*. The resultant unified progression is one of *v-hine* gradually fading out of usage while *asher* becomes much more prevalent and productive in usage ultimately usurping *v-hine*'s grammatical function.

The crucial point for our broader task of arranging biblical texts along a diachronic continuum based on their syntax is that the above progression relies on the unidirectional principles of Head-over-Spec and the syntactic conjunction of formerly unconnected–but semantically interdependent–clauses. For a supplemental illustration of the diachronic progression I have analyzed and accounted for in this section, see the flow chart below.



In the following section we take on the question of Word-Order change relying on similar principles of economy and unidirectional grammaticalization.

3 Changed Hebrew its Word Order? VSO & SVO across the Bible

In this section, we take up another shifting parameter that Givón identifies along the chronological progression of Biblical composition: a shift from default VSO to SVO word-order. In Givón (2012), he proposes that this shift correlates with a tense/aspect shift from a preference for the Preterite (PRET) form to a preference for the Perfect (PERF), the former of which is strongly associated with V1 clause structure and the latter is strongly associated with V2. In 3.1, I summarize the progression under discussion quantitatively and also present some of Givón's intuitions around the pragmatic constraints surrounding the respective word-orders. In 3.2 I present Doron's analysis of this same VSO-to-SVO shift between Ancient Hebrew more broadly and Modern Hebrew which lacks SVO entirely. Next, we transition to an alternative analysis by Cowper and DeCaen which accounts for other V1 clause-structures using an elaborated left periphery but brings with it its own complications in terms of understanding the grammaticalization in question. In 3.4 we take up the conflicting analyses between Doron and Cowper and DeCaen in detail and elaborate on the relative strengths of Doron's. This section thus contains my ultimate analysis of the diachronic progression described in Givón (2012). Finally, Section 3.5 contains a brief conclusion and summary.

3.1 Givón (2012): Quantifying and Exemplifying the Phenomenon

For EBH texts containing an abundance of both Preterite and Perfect forms, the Preterite is generally dominant, but Givón accounts for the authorial choice to use one or the other by invoking the pragmatic parameter of *thematic continuity*. When a sentence represents a continuation of a discourse-old theme, the author will retain the Preterite verb form *va-yiQToL* (for a given verb root $\sqrt{QTL}$), and when the topic shifts, the verb will assume the Perfect *QaTaL* and the V2 position. This makes intuitive sense, since pragmatically, a shift in topic would naturally prefer a topic-comment sentence in order to establish what is under discussion. This trend is illustrated beautifully in Genesis' account of the creation of light where each sentence retains the Preterite/V1 form while on the topic of *light* (54) only to shift to Perfect/V2 when *darkness* is introduced in 55:

(54) Preterite/V1

(a) *va-yomer* *elohim* *'yehi* *or'*
and-said.PRET God 'let-there-be light'
'God said, 'Let there be light"
(Genesis 1:3a)

(b) *va-yehi* *or*
and-was.PRET light
'and there was light'
(Genesis 1:3b)

(c) *va-yar* *elohim* *et-ha-or* *ki-tov*
and-saw.PRET God ACC-the-light SUBR-good
'God saw that the light was good'
(Genesis 1:4a)

(d) *va-yavdel* *elohim* *bein* *ha-or* *u-vein* *ha-xoshex*
and-divided.PRET God between the-light and-between the-dark
'and God separated the light from the darkness'
(Genesis 1:4b)

(e) *va-yikra* *elohim* *l-a-or* *yom*
and-called.PRET God to-the-light day
'God called the light Day'
(Genesis 1:5a)

(55) Perfect/V2

ve-l-a-xoshex *kara* *laila*
and-to-the-dark **called.PERF** night
'and the darkness He called Night'
(Genesis 1:5b)

(Givón, 2012, 43)

As for the other end of the diachronic continuum, Givón continues to favor Song of Songs as his exemplar of LBH, wherein both the Perfect aspect and the correlated SV word order have become common and unmarked. See below where this poetic sequence maintains entirely the SVO Perfective form, switching to VSO Perfective for one sentence in 57 before resuming in 58.

(56) (a) *pashati* *et-kuttan-ti* *eixaxa* *elbash-enna*
[1SG] took-off.PERF ACC-dress-mine how wear-IRR
'I had taken off my robe— Was I to don it again?'
(Song of Songs 5:3a)

raxatsti *et-ragl-ai* *eixaxa* *atanf-em*
[1SG] washed.PERF ACC-foot-mine how dirty-them.IRR
'I had bathed my feet— Was I to soil them again?'

(Song of Songs 5:3b)

(b) *dod-i* *shalax* *et-yad-o* *min-ha-xor*
beloved-mine **sent.PERF** ACC-hand-his through-the-hole
'My beloved took his hand off the latch [8]'
(Song of Songs 5:4a)

u-me-i *hamu* *eil-av*
and-guts-mine **called.PERF** unto-him
'And my heart was stirred for him'

(Song of Songs 5:4b)

(Givón, 2012, 48)

(57) *kamti* *ani* *li-ftoax* *l-dod-i*
rose.PERF **I** to-open to-beloved-mine
'I rose to let in my beloved'
(Song of Songs 5:5a)

(Givón, 2012, 48)

[8] Apologies for the very desensualized translation.

(58) *v-yad-ai* *natpu* *mor*
and-hands-my **dripped.PERF** myrrh
'My hands dripped myrrh'
(Song of Songs 5:5b)
(Givón, 2012, 49)

Overall, the shift from Preterite VSO preeminence in Genesis to Perfect SVO in Song of Songs is illustrated in the following table, and this trend is further strengthened by the continued usurpation of the Preterite by the Perfect in other LBH texts as well as its complete dominance in Mishnaic Hebrew:

EBH Genesis				LBH Song of Songs			
PRET		PERF		PRET		PERF	
VS	SV	VS	SV	VS	SV	VS	SV
179	__	40	21	5	5	26	20
47%		16%		6%		30%	

Table 2: Word order and Tense/Aspect: Genesis & Song of Songs (Givón, 2012, 47-49)

		VS	SV	Total	%SV	Avg.	PERF	Total	%PERF	Avg.
EBH	Genesis	196	109	305	35%	32%	61	274	22%	27%
	2 Kings	215	94	309	30%		125	399	31%	
LBH	Esther	103	56	159	35%	59%	76	226	33%	45%
	Lamentations	45	49	94	52%		90	119	75%	
	Ecclesiastes	43	120	163	73%		60	185	32%	
	Song of Songs	27	96	123	78%		46	64	71%	
MH	Mishna Beraxot	9	115	124	93%	93%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 3: Word order and Tense/Aspect: EBH-MH (Givón, 2012, 50) (Averages weighted by total tokens, Averages and Periodization not original to Givón (2012, 50), aspect not applicable to MH because of shift to tense-system.)

3.2 Doron (2005):VSO and SVO

Edit Doron's 2005 article parallels the progression in Givón (2012) except instead of the progression from VSO to SVO within Biblical Hebrew, Doron discusses this same shift between portions of Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew wherein SVO is the unrivalled dominant word order :

(59) (a) Biblical Hebrew

hir?a-ni *YHWH* *ot-xa* *melex* *al-aram*
showed-me YHWH ACC-you king over-Aram
'The LORD has shown me a vision of you as king of Aram'

(2 Kings 8:13)

(b) Modern Hebrew

*(*her?a-li)* *ha-seret* **(her?a-li)* *et-dani* *menaceax* *b-a-taxarut*
(*showed-me) the-film *(showed-me) ACC-Dani winning in-the-race
'The movie showed me Dani winning the race'

(Doron, 2005, 242)

Doron's explanation for this change is elegantly simple. We assume that in all tensed clauses in Biblical Hebrew, the verb raises to T. This is a general consensus in Hebrew studies, but can be demonstrated in part by the fact that Biblical Hebrew verbs appear to the left of sentential adverbs as in:

(60) *v-lo* *yikare* ***od*** *et-shim-xa* *avram*
and-NEG will-call **more** ACC-name-yours Avram
'And you shall no **longer** be called Abram'
(Genesis 17:5)

Therefore, VSO word order arises via the optionality or perhaps–in some stages of BH–absence of an EPP feature on T, leaving subjects in the V layer. This explanation works especially beautifully to account for the phenomenon of left-conjunct agreement in conjoined VSO subjects. For VSO clauses in Hebrew, the verb agrees in phi-features only with the leftmost conjunct of the subject phrase:

(61) *va-tashar* *dvora* *u-barak* *ben-abinoam*
and-sang.**3FSG** Deborah.F and-Barak.M son-Abinoam
'Deborah and Barak son of Abinoam sang'
(Judges 5:1)

whereas, in SVO clauses, the verb agrees with the conjoined subject as a whole:

(62) *u-moshe* *aharon* *v-hur* *alu* *rosh* *ha-giv?a*
and-Moses Aaron and-Hur ascended.**3PL** top the-hill
'Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill'
(Exodus 17:10)

By slightly reframing the Chomsky (2000) framework of Agree, this phenomenon can be accounted for without the need for a higher functional head than T. Doron's adapted Agree-relation is the following:

(63) AGREE:

(a) The relation AGREE holds between the φ-features of T and the φfeatures of D which is closest to T (in terms of c-command) in T's domain (all the nodes dominated by its sister).

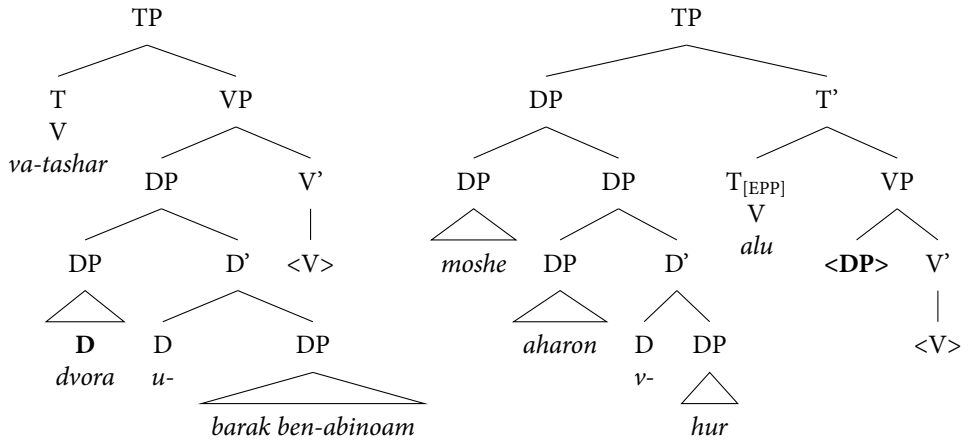
(b) The values of φ-features are copied to T from the D related to it by AGREE.

(c) If T has an EPP feature, D is raised to T.

(Doron, 2005, 252)

If T has an EPP feature, it enters into an Agree relation with the nearest DP-constituent which can move into its specifier without violating movement constraints, which is the entire DP. If T does not have an EPP feature and no movement is forced, then T is free to enter into an Agree relation with the nearest–i.e. leftmost–D head. The two derivations for our examples in 61 and 62 are illustrated here:

(64)



Within Doron's analysis, we could differentiate between VSO and SVO clauses in BH by the presence/absence of an EPP feature just like she does between BH (more broadly) and MH. We need only say that there are two T heads in the EBH lexicon, one with an EPP feature and one without, and speakers select for one or the other based on–perhaps–some pragmatic parameter like the notion of thematic continuity in Givón (2012). As time goes on, speakers appear with grammars that only contain the EPP-bearing TP, and we are left with a multiple-grammars model of syntactic evolution *a la* Kroch (1989).

3.3 Cowper and DeCaen (2017): Pushing Back on VSO

Cowper and DeCaen (2017) complicates our notion of word order in BH and its evolution by proposing an alternate derivation to many VSO clause-types than that which we saw in Doron (2005). The broader goal of Cowper and DeCaen is a general structural proposal for the left periphery of the Biblical Hebrew clause, which elaborates further on the Rizzi (1997) structure. Cowper and DeCaen propose three functional projections within the CP-system: PolarityP (ΣP) and ExistentialP (∃P) between ForceP and TopicP and ConjunctionP (&P) above ForceP, and through this further elaboration, Cowper and DeCaen (2017) argue that BH can be seen for the fundamentally V2 language (at the level of TopicP) that it is, and that many constructions which seem to contradict V2 order on the surface level can be explained through the workings of these functional projections. It's important to emphasize that the grounding assumption of the analysis is that when we talk about BH's V2-pattern, the locus of this pattern is in the TopicP, whereby in clauses with a topicalization, the actual topic is attracted to SpecTopicP in order to satisfy a strong [TOPIC] feature, and the verb comes to Topic^0. This is as high as a topic can go because it would still follow the ForceP complementizer in constructions like the following:

(65) *[$_{ForceP}$ ki [$_{TopicP_{[TOPIC]}}$ ad-ha-yamim ha-hema [$_{Topic^0}$ hayu] bne-yisrael meqaterim l-o]]*
[$_{ForceP}$ for [$_{TopicP_{[TOPIC]}}$ until-the-days the-them [$_{Topic^0}$ were] children-Israel sacrificing to-it]]
'for until that time the Israelites had been offering sacrifices to it'
(2 Kings 18:4)

Likewise from the above example we can see that the Topic cannot occupy SpecTP since it is occupied by the post-auxiliary subject of the finite clause (beginning at FinP beneath TopicP) *bne-yisrael*.

Therefore, in accounting for apparent exceptions to the V2 pattern, the key notion is that constructions will be considered grammatically marked if they arise via a verb moving past Topic to check a strong marked feature. This is where Cowper and DeCaen (2017) diverges from traditional understandings of BH VSO word order as an unmarked alternative.[9] There are three distinct V1 phenomena addressed by the paper, and we will touch briefly on all three here. The first, and most relevant in reference to Givón (2012) is Narrative Inversion. The second is Rhetorical Questions and the last are cases where a verb raises to check some other miscellaneous clause-typing feature.

3.3.1 Narrative Inversion

This is the kind of construction we see all throughout 54 involving the so-called Preterite verb template *va-yiQTol*. Narrative inversion is so abundant in many parts of the Bible that many have concluded (e.g. Givón 2012, Moshavi 2010) that at least some varieties of BH have fundamental VSO word order. Additionally, thematic/pragmatic explanations for its usage as opposed to a Topic-Comment structure–such as Givón's notion of thematic continuity–give the sense that it is the default, at least in cases where the topic is continuous. The impetus behind Cowper and DeCaen's notion that narrative inversion actually involves the verb moving past the Topic and Subject and into some upper structure that it doesn't normally occupy is that in examples like 66 we see phrasal content *el-ha-melex shlomo* between the Verb and the Subject

(66) *va-yikhalu* $[_{TopicP}$ *el-ha-melex shlomo kol ish israel*
and-gathered $[_{TopicP}$ unto-the-king Solomon every man Israel
'All the men of Israel gathered before King Solomon...'
(1 Kings 8:2)

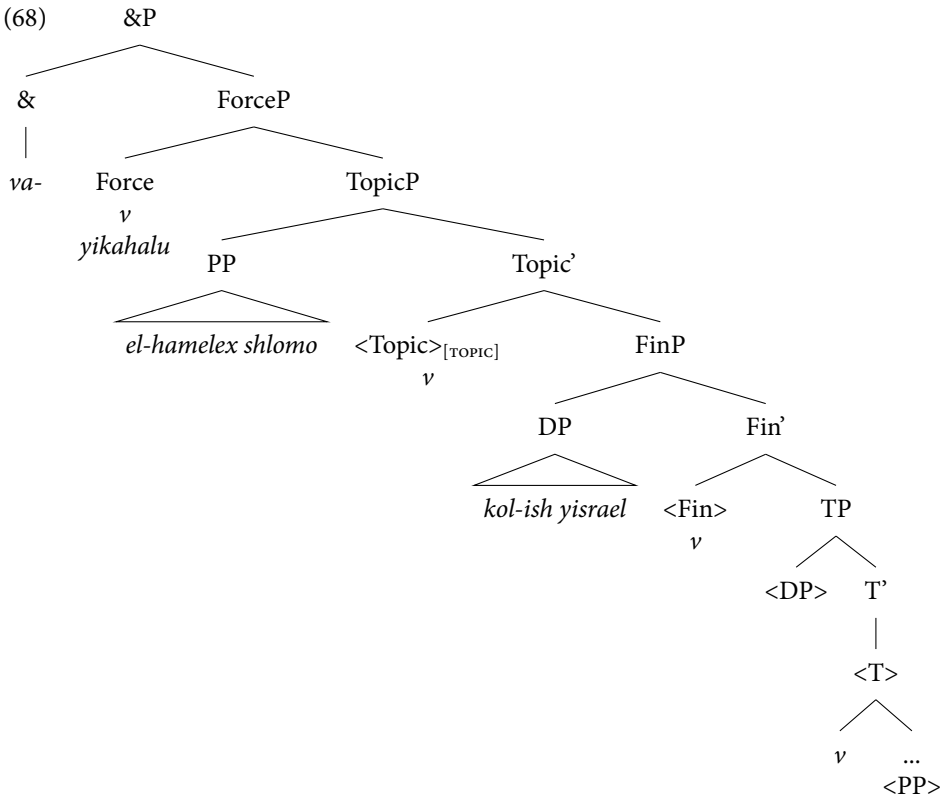
We have been calling this verb template *va-yiQTol*, and it is apparently significant that narrative inversion always comes with the conjunction at the outset, as this phenomenon is reflected in other languages with narrative inversion constructions such as Old French:

(67) *et=al-a chascun-s a son herberiage*
and=go-PST.IND.3MSG everybody-NOM.SG to his harbourage.OBL
'And everybody went to his harbourage.'
(Cowper and DeCaen, 2017, 10)

Thus the ultimate structure proposed by the authors for such a construction involves this ConjunctionP above ForceP which has become home to our fronted verb:

[9] The first component of accounting for some apparent V1 BH clauses has actually already been taken for granted in this essay, namely, that BH allows for phonologically null *pro* subjects. This can be seen in 56 in the first couple of verses where the first spelled-out word is a verb, but it is clearly still taken as a V2 construction, and these are accordingly titled Pseudo-V1 by Cowper and DeCaen.

(68)



(adapted from Cowper and DeCaen, 11)

3.3.2 Rhetorical Questions

Many rhetorical (RH) questions in BH also seem to take a verb-initial form when we get down to the actual topic and finite clause i.e. spelling out as: *is it (not) the case that VERB*. This is where the other two new functional projections ΣP and ∃P come into play. The former, the Polarity Phrase, houses the polarity feature which expresses whether a positive or negative response is expected. The latter, the Existence Phrase, houses the existential words *yesh* 'there is' and *ein* 'there isn't' when an RH question takes the form *is it (not) the case that there is(n't)*. Each of these phrases are below ForceP because they are still preceded by the marker of the Q feature, the interrogative *ha-*, and we can see them in action in examples like the following:

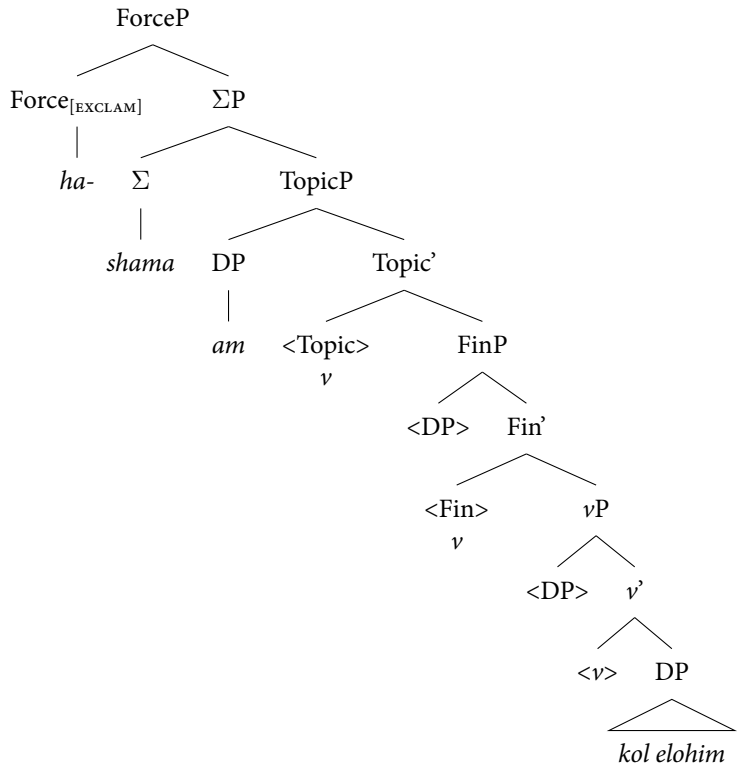
(69) *ha-im* *ein* *ezra-ti* *b-i...*
Q_{Force}-if_{Σ} $\nexists_{\exists}$ help-me in-me...
'Have I no aid for myself?[10]'
(Job 6:13)

The existence and availability of these functional projections helps us to explain RH constructions where the verb moves past TopicP to adjoin with the clause-typing complementizer *ha-* and satisfy a strong [EXCLAMATIVE] feature:

[10] my own translation to reflect polarity of question

(70) *ha-shama* *am* *kol* *elohim*
Q-heard people voice god
'Has any people heard the voice of a god...'
(Deuteronomy 4:33)

(71)



3.3.3 Other Features (e.g. Jussives)

The explanation for this phenomenon is quite similar to that of RH-questions in that the authors posit a clause-typing feature–in this case a [JUSSIVE] feature–at the top of the matrix clause which attracts the verb to a projection above Topic.

(72) *ya?er* YHWH *pan-av* *eile-xa*
[$_{\text{Force}^0_{[\text{JUSSIVE}]}}$] shine YHWH face-his unto-you
'the LORD make his face shine upon you'
(Numbers 6:25)

3.4 Doron (2005) vs. Cowper and DeCaen (2017): the Synchronic Dispute

The conflicting analyses of Doron (2005) and Cowper and DeCaen (2017) amount to a synchronic disagreement regarding the derivation of VSO clauses. In the former, Doron attributes this word order to the failure of the subject to move to TP due to a lack of an EPP feature. In the latter, the authors argue that this word order results from the verb moving far into the left periphery so as to supersede some topical content or satisfy a clause-typing feature. Ultimately, however, our understanding of any diachronic development or grammaticalization is dependent upon resolving this dispute about

the derivation of the initial condition–i.e. the statistically prevalent word order VSO. I will argue in favor of an analysis more similar to Doron's, not only because it is simpler and more elegant, but also because Cowper and DeCaen (2017)'s map of the left periphery which their analysis relies upon does a poorer job of accounting for the semantics of differently-typed clauses.

One of the advantages of Doron's hypothesis is how it accurately predicts Hebrew's SVO-only left-conjunct agreement. While Cowper and DeCaen's analysis introduces numerous new projections in order to unify a number of potentially disparate phenomena under one umbrella analysis of the left-periphery, Doron's bridges the gap between unexpectedly related phenomena using the well-established syntactic fundamentals of the EPP and Agree.

One thing potentially unaccounted for by Doron's theory, however, is topical content intervening between the verb and subject in V1 clauses. If we think that the verb ends up in T^0 and the subject in Spec *v*P, then there would seem to be no slot for a phrase such as *el-hamelex shlomo* as in 68. Nonetheless, this kind of word order can still be accounted for using intervening projections already discussed in the syntactic literature and without the pied-piping of much of the sentential content into the CP layer.

3.4.1 VOS: Low Topicalization

In analyzing word order (including the marginal acceptablilty of VOS in Italian which is effectively what we have in a Hebrew V1 example like 66) Belletti (2001) famously proposes a low Focus phrase surrounded by its own pair of low Topic phrases directly above the verbal complex. In Belletti's analysis for Italian, there are particular discourse constraints that make VOS allowable:

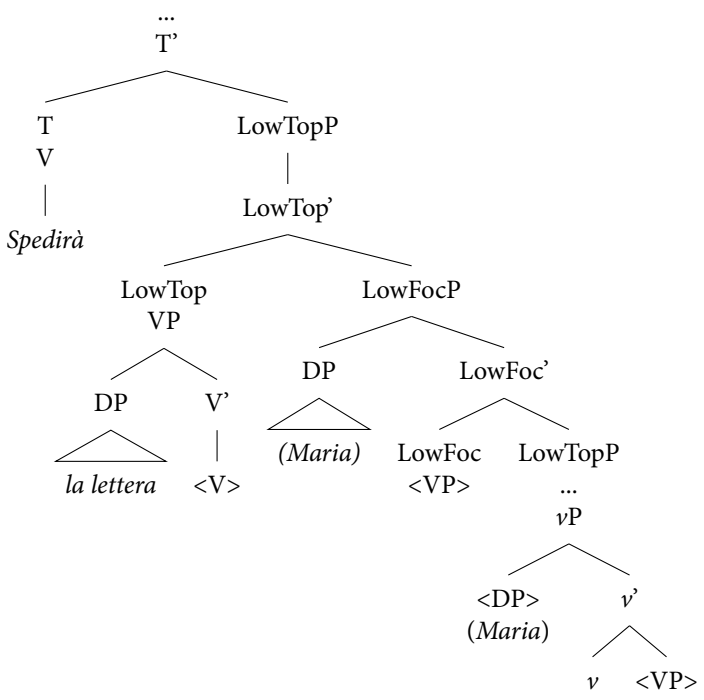
> "One context in which VOS appears to be a possible (although somewhat redundant and slightly unnatural) word order is the one where it shows up as the answer to a question for which the whole "given" information is repeated, this being precisely constituted by V and O." (Belletti, 2001, 70)

It is this kind of repetition of a matter under discussion that triggers the movement of the verb phrase into a position of topicalization. Once the verb phrase has moved to one of these low TopPs, V can raise to T as expected and–for the purposes of word order–it doesn't actually matter whether the subject moves to SpecLowFocP as Belletti suggests or remains in Spec *v*P (or even in CompVP if we view *gather* as an unaccusative verb, see High Applicative below). The following illustration is based on Belletti's analysis:

(73) A: *Chi spedirà la lettera?*
Who will-send the letter?

B: *Spedirà la lettera Maria*
Will-send the letter Maria

(74)



And although our example in 66 is not in response to a question, it does deal with redundant at-issue content that might lend itself to a similar kind of low topicalization. See below the verse preceding the one in 66 followed by the one in 66 once more with the same verb root in bold to emphasize its repetition in the latter verse, here representing a cause-and-effect sequence instead of a question-and-answer:

(75) (a) *az* ***yakhel*** *shlomo et-zikn-ei yisrael...*
COMP gathered Solomon ACC-elders-of Israel...
'Then Solomon convoked the elders of Israel...'

(b) *va-**yikhalu** el-ha-melex shlomo kol ish yisrael*
and-gathered unto-the-king Solomon every man Israel
'All the men of Israel gathered before King Solomon'

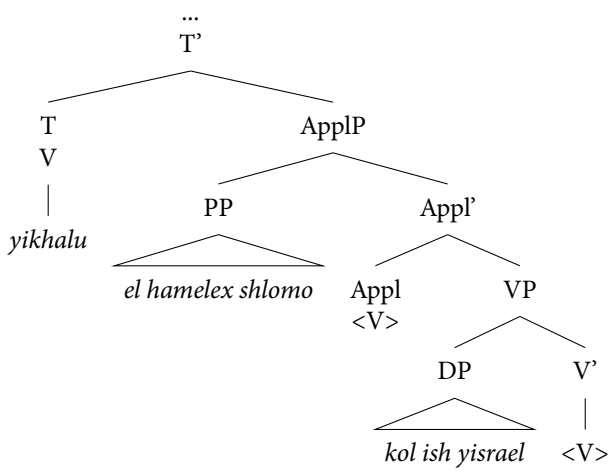
(1 Kings 8:1-2)

Thus our derivation of this latter verse can look exactly like that in 74 except with a PP instead of DP.

3.4.2 VOS: High Applicative

Another possibility for explaning VOS or V1 with pre-subject content is a high applicative phrase with an unaccusative verb structure. Analyzing *yiKHaLu* ($\sqrt{KHL}$) 'gathered' as an unaccusative here makes sense given how it alternates with a transitive version in the prior verse wherein the Israelites are an internal theme of Solomon's *gathering* in a causative sense. *Gather* also aligns with other well-known telic change-of-state/location verbs such as *came, fell, arrived*. Thus, given *kol ish yisrael* as an internal subject, we can derive our word order through a high Applicative Phrase above VP that takes a θ-Goal PP in its specifier:

(76)



One of the benfits of this analysis is that establishing a high ApplP which can take an allative PP in its specifier will be abundantly useful in analyzing ethical datives in the following section.

The idea of high applicatives with PP arguments is not original to this paper, nor indeed to the analysis of Semitic languages. Mark Baker has repeatedly argued for such ApplPs including in his analysis of Amharic, an ethiosemitic language. In his 2013 conference paper, Baker proposes that the cognate *lä*-marked allative goal phrase such as the following is the Spec of just such a high Appl:

(77) *Girma* ***lä-Almaz*** *mäs'haf-u-n* *sät't'-at*
Girma.M to-Almaz.F book-DEF.M-ACC give-(3MSG.SUB)-3FSG.OBJ
'Girma gave the book to Almaz'
(Baker and Kramer, 2013, 3)

Both this analysis and the LowTopic analysis have their merits, and it doesn't especially matter which fits this particular VOS phenomenon better since, in either case, we can derive this V1 word order without the architecture in Cowper and DeCaen (2017) and in a consistent manner with Doron (2005). I will now turn briefly to the phenomenon of clause-type which Cowper and DeCaen also hope to encapsulate with their left-periphery, but which also poses some challenges to their theory.

3.4.3 Clause Type Compositionality

My final objection to the Cowper and DeCaen model is that their explanation for clause-type-based word orders (e.g. jussives and exclamatives) is based on the unbridled attachment of clause-type features to ForceP without any concern for how the resultant syntactic structure may or may not compositionally produce the semantics of, say, a jussive or exclamative. For Cowper and DeCaen, the apparent V1 order of BH jussives is due to a [JUSSIVE] feature on ForceP which draws the verb up to V1. This is doubtless a common assumption about the derivation of jussives, but the objection (among others) raised in Zanuttini et al. (2012) is that this kind of explanation does not in any way account for how a jussive derives its illocutionary force. Since this is not a section specifically on jussives, I will include below a passage from the paper summarizing one of their major findings:

> "Cross-linguistically, jussive clauses are characterized by the presence of a Jussive head [probing alongside T] that has person features, and enters an agreement relation with the subject, provided that they are in a sufficiently local relation..." (Zanuttini et al., 2012, 1267)

The resultant structure that is fed into semantic intepretation is not a predicate and argument(s) which satisfies it like in a declarative sentence, but rather a subject and a property which is applied to the subject in the sense that it is an item added to the subject's to-do list. From a constructionist perspective wherein we expect that meaning derives from structure, this is a far more elegant understanding of jussives than an amorphous feature on Force.

3.4.4 Final Analysis

We have settled upon an interpretation of Hebrew word-order as being the result of the movement (or lack thereof) of the subject to SpecTP. It is fairly simple to account for a change in the prevalence of V1 and V2 word orders respectively by having two Lexical Ts, one PRETERITE and one PERFECT which lack and possess EPP features respectively:

(78) $T_{PRET} \rightarrow$ [–EPP]
$T_{PERF} \rightarrow$ [+EPP]

All it would take to plant the seeds for grammatical change would be for a few speakers to fail to acquire the EPP-less T and begin universalizing subject raising. As we saw in the previous section, Economy and Innovation are both constant forces behind grammatical change. Here, however, Economy wins out, and the impulse to generalize features over similar lexical items leads to a universal EPP feature on Hebrew T.

3.5 Section Conclusions

In this section we examined the apparent shift in BH from preferring/heavily utilizing VSO word-orders to an almost universal SVO word-order in later texts. I examined two analyses of Hebrew word-order, one by Doron and one Cowper and DeCaen. Doron argues that VSO in Hebrew is due to the failure of an external subject to move out of *v*P, whereas Cowper and DeCaen argue that Hebrew is fundamentally V2 and TopicP is the locus of the main verb. The latter theory accounts for exceptions to V2 with strong features that cause sentential constituents to move higher than TopicP and has the seeming advantage of accounting for word-orders in which there is intervening material in between the verb and the subject. Much of this section was spent reconciling Doron's theory of Hebrew word order these apparent exceptions to strict SVO or VSO word order. We ultimately found Cowper and DeCaen's idea of an elaborated left periphery wherein much of the clausal content is raised to the CP layer to be of little benefit as it did not account for left conjunct agreement like Doron's analysis and was based on a non-semantically-compositional derivation of differently-typed clauses. This led us to try to account for these exceptional word orders within the framework of Doron's analysis and we considered the possibility of both Low Topic/Focus in Hebrew clause structure and a high ApplP which can accept a PP in its Spec. For the sake of this section, it does not especially matter which of these analyses is correct, only that there is *some* way to make VOS clauses work without pied-piping all of the clausal content up to the CP layer. We will see in the following section, however, that the high ApplP with a PP Spec is an especially useful place to start for the development of Hebrew Ethical Datives.

4 Make You an Ethical Dative: The Subject-Coreferent *l*-Pro

4.1 Givón (2013): the progression in question

This section takes up the BH Ethical Dative (ED) as described in Givón (2013). In 4.1, I present the phenomenon and Givón's grammaticalization chain and also remark on the terminological ambiguity around "ethical datives." In 4.2 I take up a parallel phenomenon in Appalachian English, the Personal Dative (PD) and some current work on this topic. Section 4.3 contains my structural proposal for Givón's grammaticalization chain as derived in the light of our investigation of English PDs and 4.4 concludes. The broader linguistic task of Givón's 2013 paper on the diachrony of Ethical Datives is to call into question the notion of "grammaticalization chains" in favor of a series of independent and locally-unidirectional shifts, so to call the grammaticalization of Hebrew ethical datives a "progression" is, in light of Givón's analysis, somewhat ironic. Nonetheless, Givón's counterexample to the ostensibly universal "grammaticalization chain" derived from studying Hebrew and Spanish is Tamil, meaning that the evolution established for BH still holds for our purposes.

The phenomenon in question is the appearance of an apparently optional and non-argumental pronoun adjacent to the matrix verb of a clause that is coreferent with the subject and has dative case via the affixation of the *lamedh-* prepositional marker. A few illustrative examples of this phenomenon follow below:

(79) (a) *lex* ***l-xa*** *me-arts-exa* *u-mi-moladet-xa*
go **to-2MSG** from-land-yours and-from-birthplace-yours
'Go forth from your native land'
(Genesis 12:1)

(b) *elex* ***l-i*** *el* *har* *ha-mor*
I-go.IRR **to-1SG** unto mount the-myrrh
'I will betake me to the mount of myrrh'
(Song of Songs 4:6)

(c) *va-telex* *va-teshev* ***l-a*** *mi-neged* *harxek*
and-went and-sat **3FSG.DAT** from-across far
'and [she] went and sat down at a distance'
(Genesis 21:24)

Although the most obvious conjecture for an immediate precursor of the ED is simply the dative argument, Givón argues that the ED actually derives most immediately from what he calls an "optional benefactive" argument, which is a specific type of dative that is not obligatorily selected to fill the theta roles of a given verb, but to reflect the effect of the verb on some party. The resultant grammaticalization chain is:

(80) ALLATIVE → DATIVE → OPTIONAL BENEFACTIVE → ED

We will delve into these steps more deeply shortly, but first, a note on the terminology "ethical dative."

4.1.1 A Note on Terminology

The phenomenon under discussion in this section has held many names over the years including *dativus ethicus* (/ED), *dativus commodi/ incommodi*, personal dative and, perhaps most descriptively by Halevy (2015), the "Verb+Non-Lexical Subject-Coreferential *L*-Pronoun" construction. Givón (2013) refers to this construction as the Ethical Dative, and this is the term of choice for many

other authors as well; however, it requires a disambiguation from the "ethical datives" we may recognize from Romance languages such as French or Italian. Although both phenomena involve a non-argumental/non-theta (pleonastic) pronoun in the dative case, there are substantial distributional/syntactic and pragmatic differences between, say, the French construction in 81 and the BH one under investigation in this section.

(81) *Je* ***(te*** ***(me))*** *vais* ***(te*** ***(me*** ***(vous)))*** *lui* *faire* *passer* *un* *sale*
1SG.NOM **(2SG** **(1SG))** go **(2SG** **(1SG** **(1PL)))** 3SG.DAT make pass a dirty
quart *d'heure…*
quarter hour...
'I'm gonna make him spend a lousy quarter-hour…(+ED)'
(Jouitteau and Rezac, 2007, 99)

Some significant differences include:

1. French EDs *a la* Jouitteau and Rezac (2007) are restricted to first and second person whereas BH EDs can be first, second or third.
2. French EDs can appear in clusters like in 81 while BH can only have one per clause
3. French EDs need not be subject coreferential while BH EDs must be.
4. French EDs have an established discourse/pragmatic function of implicating the ED's referent in the action of the sentence where it may not have been obvious before (e.g. as an indirect benefactive or co-conspirator) whereas the BH ED, since it is already obligatorily subject coreferent, does not have this effect. Its pragmatic effect is understood less.

4.1.2 EDs across EBH and LBH

The underlying observation which grounds Givón's intuition that the ED is derived from a prior grammatical construction is the disparity in distribution of the ED between Genesis (a favored hallmark of EBH for Givón) and Song of Songs (a likewise favored exemplar of LBH). Nowhere in Givón (2013) do we have the numerical data we've seen in the previous sections, but Givón notes that the short 8 chapters of Song of Songs far outnumber the substantially longer 21 chapters of Genesis in terms of ED instantiations. [11]

The first stage in Givón's progression is the notion that the dative-marker *l-* derives initially from the allative particles *el* and *al*:

(82) **ALLATIVE**

(a) *va-yitsav* *YHWH* *elohim* ***al*** *ha-adam* *l-emor*
and-commanded YHWH God **on** the-man to-say
'And the LORD God commanded the man, saying'
(Genesis 2:16)

(b) *va-yave* ***el*** *ha-adam* *li-r?ot* *ma* *yikra* ***l-o***
and-brought **ALL** the-man to-see what will-call **it.DAT**
'and brought them to the man to see what he would call them'
(Genesis 2:19)

[11] An obvious objection to only comparing these two books is their stylistic contrast. Song of Songs is in verse and likely the work of one author while Genesis is largely prose and the collective works of J, E, and P. It is only too easy to argue that syntactic variation and seemingly "extra" words like EDs may be a part of the metrical or syntactic idiosyncrasies of poetry. Nonetheless we shall evaluate this progression on its syntactic merits.

If there is a stage of Ancient Hebrew wherein there is no *l-* derivative of *el* and *al* then it predates the Bible, but we can see in the examples above how the allative particles are used to introduce verbal arguments much like a dative prefix.

Next is what might be called the standard dative form for ditransitive verbs wherein an indirect object or overt benefactive is built into the verb argument structure (e.g. 'give' or 'say') or transitives where the direct object is marked dative (e.g. 'listen' or, in BH, 'protect'):

(83) **DATIVE**

Ditransitive

(a) *sham eten et-dod-i* ***l-ax***
there give.1.IRR ACC-love-mine **DAT-you**
'There I will give my love to you'
(Song of Songs 7:13)

(b) *va-yomar* ***l-o***
and-said [God] **DAT-him**
'and [God] said to him...'
(Genesis 3:9)

Transitive

(c) *Xaverim makshivim* ***l-kol-ex***
Friends listen **DAT-voice-yours**
'A lover is listening'
(Song of Songs 8:13)

ki anoxi magen le-xa
for I protect DAT-you
'I am a shield to you'
(Genesis 15:1)

The next stage in the progression is the optional benefactive, wherein an additional benefactive/dative party is appended to the verb structure of a transitive verb where it is not required. Many of these are what Givón calls *reflexive benefactives* which Givón interprets to have an anaphoric interpretation as indexed by the subject. One observes that many of these examples involve transitive verbs of creation or acquisition:

(84) **OPTIONAL BENEFACTIVE**

(a) *va-ya?asu* ***la-hem*** *hagurot*
and-made **REFL/BEN-themselves** loincloths
'and [they] made themselves loincloths'
(Genesis 3:7)

(b) *va-yivhar* ***l-o*** *lot et-kol kikar ha-yarden*
and-chose **REFL/BEN-himself** Lot ACC-all plain the-Jordan
'So Lot chose for himself the whole plain of the Jordan'
(Genesis 13:11)

(c) *tor-ey* *zahav* *na?ase* ***l-ax***
wreaths-of gold make.1PL.IRR **BEN-you**
'We will add wreaths of gold [to you]'
(Song of Songs 1:11)

(d) *apiryon* *asa* ***l-o*** *ha-melex* *shlomo*
canopy made **REFL/BEN-himself** the-king Solomon
'King Solomon made [himself] a palanquin'
(Song of Songs 3:0)

(e) *pitx-i* ***l-i*** *axot-i*
open-IMP **BEN-me** sister-mine
'Let me in, my [sister]'
(Song of Songs 5:2)

I should point out that, morphologically, these *reflexive benefactives* do not look any different than EDs (unlike English where a -self/-selves is affixed to the pronoun). Givón interprets them differently because there is an obvious semantic role for a subject-coindexed/reflexive pronoun to play in these cases–i.e. a benefactive–which is not necessarily the case for our EDs:

(85) **ED**

Intransitive

(a) *va-telex* *va-teshev* ***l-a*** *mi-neged* *ha-rxek*
and-went and-sat [she] **ED-her** from-across the-distance
'and [she] went and sat down at a distance'
(Genesis 21:16)

(b) *kum-i* ***l-ax*** *ra?aya-ti* *yafa-ti* *u-lex-i* ***l-ax***
rise-IMP **ED-you** darling-mine beauty-mine and-go-IMP **ED-you**
'Arise, my darling; My fair one, come away!'
(Song of Songs 2:10)

Transitive

(c) *hish-shamer* ***le-xa*** *pen* *tashiv* *et-bn-i* *shama*
REFL-watch.IMP **ED-you** lest return ACC-son-mine there
'On no account must you take my son back there!'
(Genesis 24:6)

(d) *im* *lo* *ted?i* *l-ax* *ha-yafa* *b-nashim...*
If NEG will-know **ED-you** the-beauty.VOC among-women
'If you do not know, O fairest of women...'
(Song of Songs 1:8)

Although I have attempted to show a diverse array of examples, Intransitive verbs of *sudden motion* or *decisive change* dominate examples of what Givón dubs ED-constructions. Givón points out that this is also the case in Modern Hebrew and Spanish with their ED analogs:

(86) **Modern Hebrew**

sipar-ti *l-o* *ex* *hi* *tasa* ***l-a*** *levada*
told-I to-him how she flew **ED-her** alone
'I told him how she flew off all alone'
(Givón, 2013, 57)

(87) **Spanish**
se-fue
REFL/ED-went.3SG
's/he went away/took off'
(Givón, 2013, 45)

Thus, the progression from allative/dative to ED also exists atop a verb gradient shifting from ditransitive/transitive to intransitive. It is this entire progression from **(1)** allative/dative arguments of ditransitive/transitive verbs through **(2)** optional benefactive arguments in transitive/intransitive verbs to **(3)** ethical dative pronouns with intransitive verbs that we hope to encapsulate structurally in this section. First, however, we turn to a comparable phenomenon which has drawn some attention in recent years in order to elucidate the construction at play in BH, namely, Personal Datives in Appalachian English.

4.2 Personal Datives in Appalachian English

(88) (a) He$_i$ loves **him$_i$** some baseball.
(b) I'd$_i$ go out and cut **me$_i$** a limb off of a tree, get **me$_i$** a good straight one.
(c) Did you$_i$ sing **you$_i$** some songs at youth group last night?
(Hutchinson and Armstrong, 2014, 178)

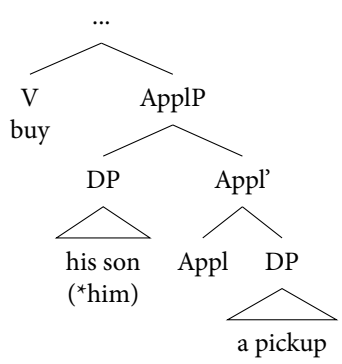
Appalachian Personal Datives (PD) share many of the defining properties of BH Ethical Datives: they are obligatorily subject coreferential, they are adjacent to the verb, they can be any person gender or number, they assume dative argument morphology and position but do not bear a theta-role, and they are accordingly non-argumental and non-truth-conditional. I would not be the first one to point out the similarity between these constructions, as Horn places the BH ED and English PD in direct comparison in his 2008 cross-linguistic survey of non-argument datives.

Hutchinson and Armstrong propose that PDs operate within the same syntactic architecture as English dative arguments in the applicative position since the two are in complementary distribution:

(89) (a) John's$_i$ gonna buy him$_i$ a pickup.
(b) John's$_i$ gonna buy (*him$_i$) his son a pickup
(c) John's$_i$ gonna buy (him$_i$) a pickup for his son
(adapted from Hutchinson and Armstrong 2014, 185)

The authors' syntactic proposal is accordingly intuitive, with the PD occupying the specifier of a low ApplP as English double-object datives do:

(90)



The remainder of Hutchinson and Armstrong's paper focuses on deriving the semantic/pragmatic effects of the personal dative, which the authors describe as the attribution of some degree of satisfaction to the subject through the completion of the verb. This flavor of satisfaction is lexically imprinted upon the Appl head (accordingly denoted as Appl_{SAT}) which introduces a SATISFIED-THROUGH predicate into the semantic derivation. This notion of "satisfaction" is not altogether dissimilar from Givón's proposal for the effect of the BH ED as "perfectivity" in that they both seem to carry a degree of telicity and decisiveness in the completion of an action. The explanation for why the PD has to be coreferent with the subject hinges on this semantic component of the analysis. Hutchinson and Armstrong define SATISFACTION in such a way that it must be interpreted reflexively. Similarly to how the *se-* marker in 87 marks the verb as intrinsically reflexive without the need for reflexive morphology on an argument, the SATISFIED-THROUGH predicate is intrinsically marked in such a way that it is only compatible with a subject-coreferent pronoun. Since this essay takes a constructionist and syntactic (as opposed to lexical-semantic) approach, this explanation for the subject-coreference of PDs is the one idea of Hutchinson and Armstrong's that I will push back against, instead deriving our explanation from syntactic agreement and feature valuation.

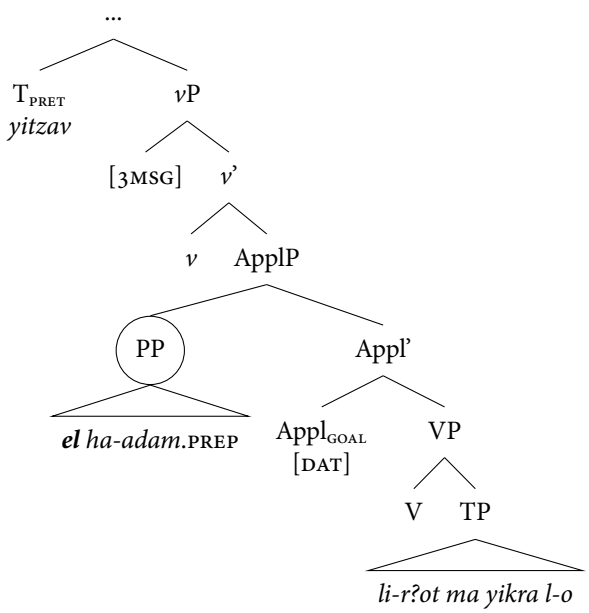
4.3 Proposal: Reduction of Spec-ApplP

In accounting for Givón's progression as described at the beginning of the section, a useful starting place is the kind of derivation we saw in 76 where a prepositional-goal argument is introduced in the Spec of a high ApplP:

(91) **ALLATIVE**

va-yave		*el*	*ha-adam*	*li-ʔrot*	*ma*	*yikra*	*l-o*
and-brought	[3MSG]	ALL	the-man	to-see	what	will-call	it.DAT

'and brought them to the man to see what he would call them'



(Genesis 2:19)

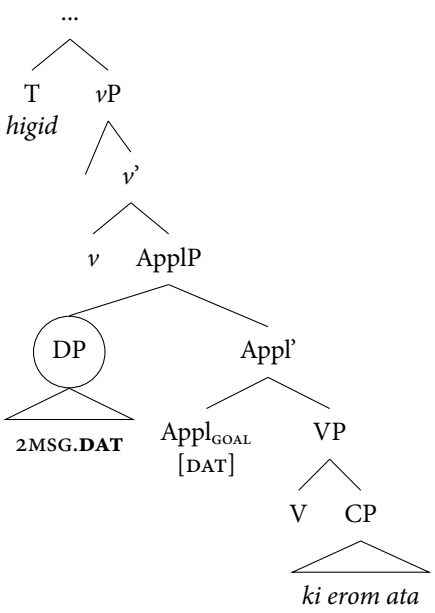
If we assume that Appl is the assigner of Dative Case–which will be helpful in accounting for the subsequent stages in the progression–then here, the PP intervenes and assigns its own prepositional case to *ha-adam* The resultant grammaticalization chain can take place across this same syntactic architecture via a gradual reduction of structure of the Spec ApplP constituent allowing Dative Case to be assigned in all ensuing phases. This notion of "reduction" of structure is remeniscent of Cardinaletti and Starke's 1994 analysis of the three classes of pronouns wherein these different classes of different strengths are characterized by having more or less "structural deficiency". Over time, the Spec ApplP constituent will come to possess less structure and fewer features, and that is the basis of this grammaticalization chain. It is also worth mentioning that the relationship between a PP and the Dative head Appl^0 also provides the structural proximity necessary to facilitate the morphophonological reduction of these prepositions *el* and *al* to the dative *l-* morpheme assuming that is its etymological origin.

The next phase in the progression are dative arguments with precisely that morphology. The structural representation here is most pertinent in ditransitive/double-object/DAT+COMP constructions, since with transitive verbs that take a singular dative argument, it matters less where that argument is situated for our purposes. At this point the dative argument is semantically equivalent to an allative prepositional argument representing a GOAL.

(92) **DATIVE**

mi	*higid*	*l-xa*	*ki*	*erom*	*ata*
who	told	DAT-2MSG	COMP	naked	you

'Who told you that you were naked?'



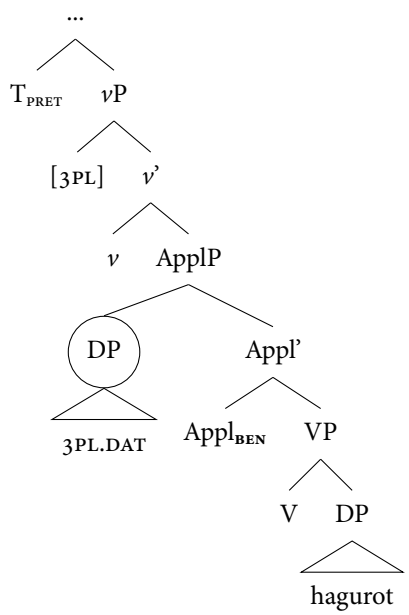
(Genesis 3:11)

This is perhaps the most "textbook" application of an ApplP wherein the projection serves as the structural mechanism whereby a complement or direct object (e.g. *what* is being told) is *applied* to another participant in the event (e.g. *to whom* it is being told). The development into the next phase of the progression, the optional benefactive, then requires no actual structural evolution, only the innovation of a slightly different flavor of Appl, which, instead of introducing a goal, can introduce a benefactive in verbs of creation or acquisition. Needless to say, this is an easy logical jump to make. A speaker who uses the previous ApplP to introduce goals or *recipients* of actions might easily innovate on the same construction in order to introduce a party for whose *benefit* an action was undertaken. Since the optional benefactive is, by definition, optional, the speaker can choose whether or not to implement this already-established High ApplP architecture on transitive verbs of creation. Indeed, the fact that this same High Appl slot is used for the optional benefactive makes it incompatible with double-object constructions, much like the PD is in English:

(93) *va-ya?asu* *(*l-o)* *la-hem* *(*l-o)* *hagurot*
and-made (*him.DAT) BEN-them (*him.DAT) loincloths
'(intended interpretation) And they made him loincloths for their benefit'

Thus our resultant construction looks something like:

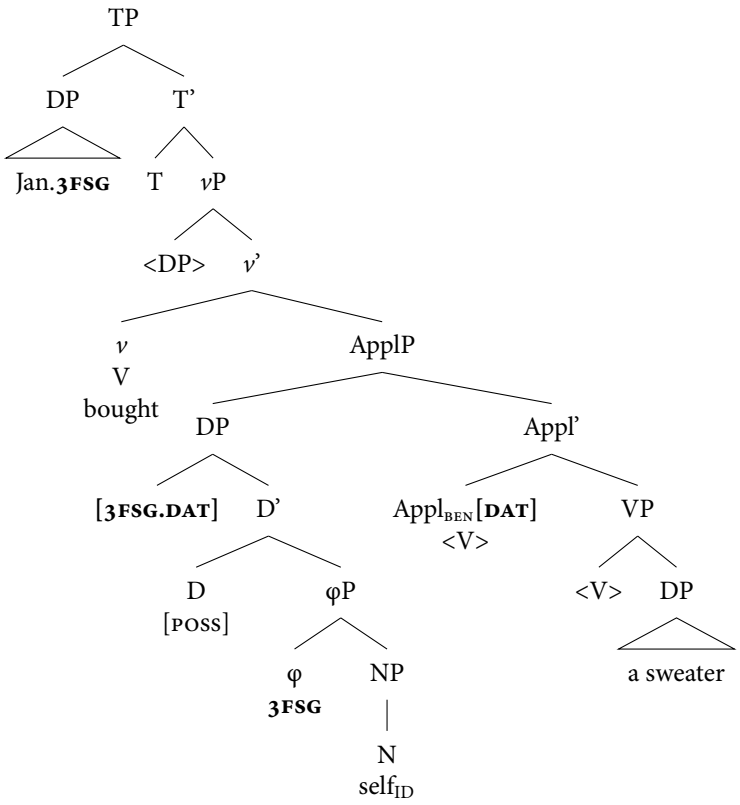
(94) **OPTIONAL BENEFACTIVE**
va-ya?asu *la-hem* *hagurot*
and-made BEN-them loincloths
'and [they] made themselves loincloths'



(Genesis 3:7)

The one hint of structural evolution in this phase is that, as Givón points out, many of these optional benefactives seem to have a reflexive interpretation–even though there is no distinct reflexive morphology in Hebrew–and this is reflected in the glossing and translation of 84. Since this thesis is taking a syntactic rather than a semantic approach, we can account for this reflexive property if we propose that this Spec Appl constituent is able to be–or somehow needs to be–bound by the subject. One possibility here is that it is a DP whose φ-features are unvalued and which probes upward for valuation from the grammatical subject. An analog for English *-self* forms would be that *-self* enters the derivation as an NP representing an identity function and the φP gets its feature valuation from the subject. The tree below is based on the analysis of English *-self* - reflexives as possessive DP's wherein SpecDP is just a set of φ-features anaphorically valued by the grammatical subject and getting morphological dative case from Appl resulting in *her*+[POSS]+*-self*

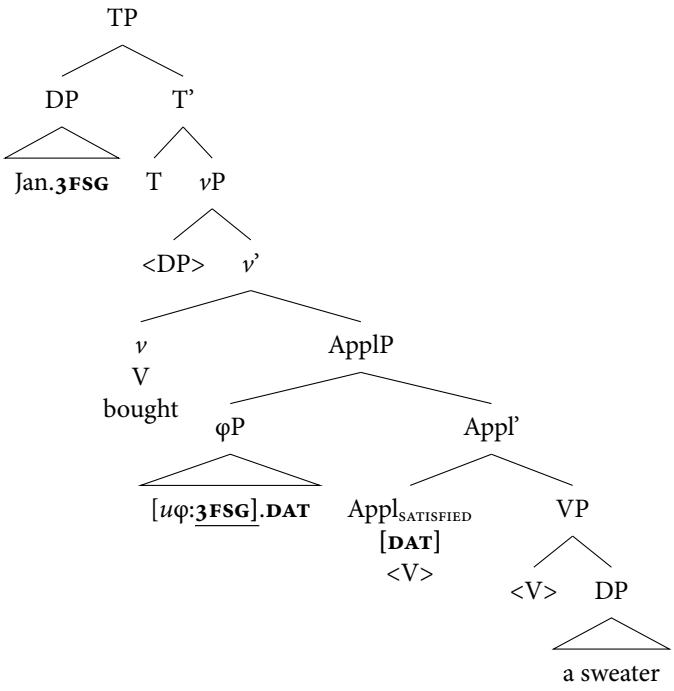
(95) **REFL/BEN**
Jan bought herself a sweater.



The reason I emphasize the elaborated structure of the DP in an anaphoric applicative and its feature valuation is that this is the crucial bridge between a reflexive benefactive and an ethical dative. The idea that Spec-ApplP can enter the derivation undervalued means it will be obligatorily bound by its closest C-Commander. The difference between the construction above and an ED (or PD for that matter), is whereas the former has a complex DP with a pro-POSS-*self* structure, the latter is comprised of only an undervalued φP.[12] The φP likewise probes upward for valuation and agrees with the grammatical subject and is subsequently spelled out as this new set of φ-features with the Dative case morphology as assigned to it by the Appl head:

(96) **PD**
Jan bought her a sweater.

[12]Special thanks to Jim Wood for this idea.

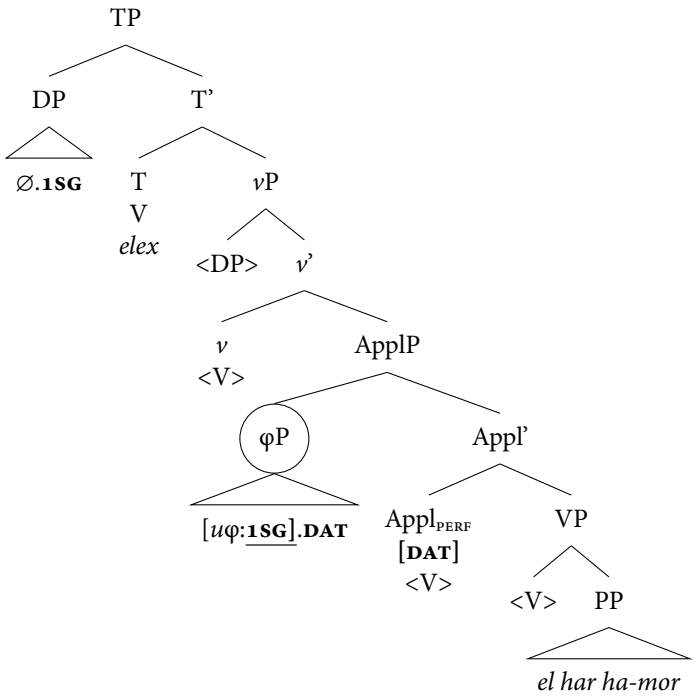


This derivation transfers seamlessly to the Hebrew:

(97) **ED**

elex	***l-i***	*el*	*har*	*ha-mor*
I-go.IRR	**ED-1SG**	unto	mount	the-myrrh

'I will betake me to the mount of myrrh'



(Song of Songs 4:6)

The one additional change that I have notated between a benefactive argument and a PD/ED is that the ApplP changes its flavor slightly once more. For English PDs, we end up with a SATISFIED-THROUGH ApplP *a la* Hutchinson and Armstrong, and, for the Hebrew ED, we get a "perfective" Appl *a lá* Givón. To review, the progression in question can be encapsulated thus:

Sequence	**Spec-ApplP**	**Appl-flavor**
ALLATIVE	PP	GOAL
DATIVE	DP	GOAL
OPTIONAL BENEFACTIVE	DP	BEN
REFLEXIVE BENEFACTIVE	DP [*u*φ]	BEN
ETHICAL DATIVE	φP	PERF

Table 4: Summary of my analysis of Givón's 2013 progression

4.4 Section Conclusions

In this section I have presented a structural derivation for the grammaticalization chain of the BH ethical dative as presented in Givón (2013). My analysis is tied closely to current conversations pertaining to English personal datives and is rooted in basic assumptions regarding BH word-order and clause structure for which I argued in Section 3. Ultimately, Givón's progression is due to the sequential reduction of the substructure in the specifier of an Applicative Phrase. Although Givón ultimately uses cross-linguistic data to undermine the notion of multi-step grammaticalization chains, this analysis remains consistent with the phenomena he describes as each of the stages in this progression is isolable and unidirectional (in that they involve the reduction of structural complexity and feature

valuation) unto itself. The fact that many of the stages in the evolution of ethical datives co-occur in a given text or time-frame is also consistent with Krochian model of grammatical evolution whereby the reanalysis of an existing phenomenon or the innovation of a new one does not necessarily surface as the outright or linear displacement of a previous form. The invention of the ethical dative utilized the same grammatical architecture as many existing constructions and did not entirely usurp them, but rather introduced a new pragmatic flavor to that slot in the syntax. One area of inquiry ripe for further pursuit would be investigating how this model of ED evolution maps onto the other cross-linguistic examples of ethical datives or non-argument datives described in the literature including Tamil and those in Horn (2008). If the same principles of structural/featural reduction in Spec ApplP hold, it would further bolster this analysis and Givón's account of the grammaticalization chain more generally.

5 Conclusions and Grounds for Further Inquiry

5.1 What have I done?

I have thus established a theoretical basis for three distinct diachronic syntactic progressions described in three papers by Talmy Givón, buttressing his hypotheses beyond their quantitative and cognitive intuitions and grounding them in contemporary issues of theoretical syntax and principles of syntactic diachrony. As we established in the introduction, arranging Biblical texts along a definitive diachronic-linguistic continuum could in theory be impossible. The generations of transmission and redaction between the original conception of biblical stories/poems/legal codes and their ultimate manifestation in $\mathfrak{M}$ form something of an impenetrable black box. However, the fact that these quantitatively demonstrable grammatical progressions exist, that they exist along a continuum of texts already thought to form a rough timeline based on their content, and that there is theory behind their diachrony and unidirectionality (suggesting they are more than just synchronic variations) renders it intellectually irresponsible to assume that linguistic evidence is categorically inconclusive for questions of Biblical composition and dating. If nothing else, my work here has established a number of concrete grammatical parameters against which to assess BH writing when trying to distinguish time-period and author, even within a given text. Since our model of syntactic evolution is based on the idea of a given language population having multiple contemporaneous grammars, having an idea behind the mechanics of particular innovations and variants gives us a basic starting point to help uncover the grammatical fingerprint of a given text or author.

5.2 Theoretical Innovations

In developing my derivations of the progressions in question, I have also proposed a number of new analyses for previously rather opaque syntactic phenomena in BH and beyond. A large portion of Section 2 was spent developing an analysis for the BH words *hine* and *v-hine* and how they work to introduce a complement clause of perception. In doing so, I pioneered the notion of Free Indirect Perception, whereby a perceived event is described in third person narration, but aspectual and indexical items are indexed by the spatial/temporal coordinates of the internal experiencer, not the external narrator. Similar to Giorgi's 2010 analysis of Free Indirect Discourse, this phenomenon relies on an Introducing Predicate to first introduce that space/time information to be transferred down into the Clause of Perception. An innovation of mine which is not described overtly anywhere in Giorgi's work is that this transfer happens via an actual structural projection which connects the Introducing Predicate and the FIP clause; thus, Givón's description of *v-hine* clauses as "complement clauses" is literally correct in that they take the complement position in an InfoP which bridges the information gap between the Introducing Predicate and the FIP Predicate. When FIP is reanalyzed as plain indirect perception (e.g. "He saw that the bush was on fire") we need merely reanalyze this interclausal InfoP as a uniclausal matrix CP. I even suggested that this kind of interclausal structure might extend to narrative devices like direct discourse, wherein time/space-bound items are quoted directly as they were uttered by the internal speaker and are thus also interpreted with respect to the internal speaker. This would give us the kind of functional architecture to get from "He said that$_i$. ['I love you']$_i$" to "He said that he loves me", which–according to Van Gelderen–is roughly the actual history of *that*'s evolution from a demonstrative to a complementizer. All it would require to shift from direct discourse to indirect discourse is reinterpreting this larger InfoP as a single CP, and thus eliminating the transfer of coordinates from the Introducing Predicate to the internal resulting in the entire matrix clause having one set of coordinates.

Another theoretical innovation of this paper is the HighApplP with a PP spec. Although I was not the first to propose that such a thing exists (Baker and Kramer, 2013), I know of no one else who has invoked this construction in Biblical Hebrew, particularly in accounting for word order (e.g. VOS

clauses) and ditransitive verbs which take a prepositional argument.

The last theoretical innovation of this paper is the actual derivation of the BH Ethical Dative as an initially-unvalued φP in Spec HighApplP. Although there has been much written on the BH ED, I know of no actual proposal that accounts for all of its idiosyncrasies including its clausal position, dative case, optionality, and obligatory subject coreference. My proposal is that the ED uses pretty much the same syntactic architecture as VOS clauses and ditransitives with PPs except instead of creating a GOAL θ-role to be filled, this optional Appl carries with it only Dative Case and a flavor of perfectivity. Its specifier is undervalued and probes upward for φ-features which it finds in the grammatical subject, agrees, and takes on those φ-features with the Appl's dative Case which is pronounced as a dative pronoun with the subject's features. This same derivation works beautifully for English personal datives and explains why PDs do not have reflexive morphology like reflexive arguments do.

5.3 Moving Forward

Where do we go from here? With respect to the project of linguistically dating biblical texts, ideally this kind of work would continue beyond just those progressions described by Givón into the realm of other syntactic variants which have yet to be described or demonstrated quantitatively. Givón's work formed an excellent jumping-off point since there are few other authors working on Biblical Hebrew in a generative grammar/syntax light from such an overtly diachronically-minded perspective. As I mentioned in the Introduction, scholars like Hurvitz, Rezetko and Young have touched on syntactic and grammatical variants, but rarely do the phenomena they describe extend beyond the word-level to the clause and sentence level. It is my belief that this level of grammar is where we can push past the individual quirks of word-choice and style to larger truths about the evolving internal grammars of whole language populations. With respect to the theoretical innovations of this paper, it now remains for this work to be tested against data from other languages. I know of no other language with a grammatical item that works precisely like *v-hine*, but I do know that we are in the midst of much groundbreaking thought at the intersection of semantics and pragmatics, bridging the rigor of structural grammar and the nuances and peculiarities of real-life discourse. My ideas around FIP and Ethical Datives both touch heavily on this hot button issue, and I am excited by the prospect that these points of syntactic/pragmatic intersection seem to occur all across the clausal backbone, not just in the left periphery.

References

Baden, Joel S. 2012. *The composition of the Pentateuch: renewing the documentary hypothesis*. The Anchor Yale Bible reference library. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Baden, Joel S. 2016. Why is the Pentateuch Unreadable? Or, Why Are We Doing This Anyway. In *The Formation of the Pentateuch-Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel and North America*, ed. Jan C. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid, 243–251. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck.

Baker, Mark, and Ruth Kramer. 2013. The morphosyntax of applicative markers in Amharic. In *Afranaph Project Development Workshop II, New Brunswick, NJ*.

Baltin, MR. 1993. Negation and clause structure. New York: New York University.

Belletti, Adriana. 2001. "Inversion" as Focalization. In *Subject inversion in Romance and the theory of universal grammar*, ed. A Hulk and J.-Y Pollock, 60–89. Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press. OCLC: 62386927.

Cardinaletti, Anna, and Michal Starke. 1994. The typology of structural deficiency: A case study of the three classes of pronouns. *Clitics in the languages of Europe* 8.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework (MITOPL 15). *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* 89–155. Publisher: MIT press.

Cowper, Elizabeth, and Vincent DeCaen. 2017. Biblical Hebrew: A formal perspective on the left periphery. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 38:1–33.

Doron, Edit. 2005. VSO and left-conjunct agreement: Biblical Hebrew vs. Modern Hebrew. In *Universal Grammar in the Reconstruction of Ancient Languages*, ed. Katalin É. Kiss, volume 83 of *Studies in Generative Grammar [SGG] Ser.*, 239–264. Berlin: De Gruyter, Inc.

Giorgi, Alessandra. 2010. *About the speaker: towards a syntax of indexicality*. Number 28 in Oxford studies in theoretical linguistics. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press. OCLC: ocn435730856.

Givón, Talmy. 1991. The evolution of dependent clause morpho-syntax in Biblical Hebrew. *Approaches to Grammaticalization* 2:257–310.

Givón, Talmy. 2012. Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum. In *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit, volume 8 of *Linguistic studies in Ancient West Semitic*, 39–59. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Givón, Talmy. 2013. On the diachrony of the Ethical Dative. In *Functional-Historical Approaches to Explanation: In honor of Scott DeLancey*, ed. Tim Thornes, Erik Andvik, Gwendolyn Hyslop, and Joana Jansen, 43–66. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Halevy, Rivka. 2015. The Reinvention of the Construction of verb + non-lexical subject-coreferential *l-* Pronoun in Modern Hebrew. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 60:399–429.

Han, Chung-hye, and Anthony Kroch. 2000. The rise of do-support in English: implications for clause structure. In *Proceedings of the 30th Meeting of the North East Linguistics Society*, ed. M. Hirotani, A.Coetzee, N.Hall, and J-Y.Kim, 311–325. Amherst.

Hayes, Christine Elizabeth. 2012. *Introduction to the Bible*. The open Yale courses series. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Holmstedt, Robert D. 2002. *The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew: a Linguistic Analysis*. University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Holmstedt, Robert D. 2016. *The relative clause in biblical Hebrew*. Number 10 in Linguistic studies in ancient West Semitic. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

Horn, Laurence R. 2008. "I love me some him": The landscape of non-argument datives. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 7:169–192.

Hurvitz, Avi. 1967. The Usage of שש and כען in the Bible and its Implication for the Date of P. *Harvard Theological Review* 60:117–121.

Hurvitz, Avi. 1973. Linguistic Criteria for Dating Problematic Biblical Texts. *Hebrew Abstracts* 14:74–79.

Hurvitz, Avi. 1982. *A linguistic study of the relationship between the priestly source and the Book of Ezekiel: a new approach to an old problem*. Number 20 in Cahiers de la Revue biblique. Paris: J. Gabalda.

Hutchinson, Corrine, and Grant Armstrong. 2014. The Syntax and Semantics of Personal Datives in Appalachian English. In *Micro-syntactic Variation in North American English*, ed. Raffaella Zanuttini and Laurence Horn, 178–214. Oxford University Press.

Jewish Publication Society of America, ed. 1985. *Tanakh: the holy scriptures, the new JPS translation according to the traditional Hebrew text = Tanakh*. Philadelphia Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society.

Jouitteau, Melanie, and Milan Rezac. 2007. The French ethical dative. 13 syntactic tests. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* 1:97–109.

Kim, Dong-Hyuk. 2013. *Early Biblical Hebrew, late Biblical Hebrew, and linguistic variability: a sociolinguistic evaluation of the linguistic dating of Biblical texts*. Number volume 156 in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum. Leiden ; Boston: Brill.

Kogut, Simcha. 1986. On the meaning and syntactical status of הנה in Biblical Hebrew. *Studies in Bible* 31:133–154.

Kroch, Anthony S. 1989. Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change. *Language Variation and Change* 1:199–244.

Locatell, Christian S. 2017. Grammatical Polysemy in the Hebrew Bible: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to כי . Doctoral Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.

McConvell, Patrick. 2006. Grammaticalization of Demonstratives as Subordinate Complementizers in Ngumpin-Yapa. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 26:107–137.

Van der Merwe, C. H. J. 2007. A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective on הנה in The Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. *Hebrew Studies* 48:101–140.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L., and C. H. J. van der Merwe. 2011. Hinneh and Mirativity in Biblical Hebrew. *Hebrew Studies* 52:53–81.

Moshavi, A. Mosak. 2010. *Word order in the biblical Hebrew finite clause: a syntactic and pragmatic analysis of preposing*. Number 4 in Linguistic studies in ancient West Semitic. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns. OCLC: ocn606053635.

Rezetko, Robert, and Ian Young. 2014. *Historical linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: steps toward an integrated approach*. Number Number 9 in Society of Biblical Literature. Ancient near East monographs. Atlanta: SBL Press.

Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dortrecht: Springer.

Rooker, Mark F. 1990. *Biblical Hebrew in transition: the language of the Book of Ezekiel*. Number 90 in Journal for the study of the Old Testament. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press.

Rubin, Aaron D. 2008. The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2:79–102.

Sadka, Yizhak. 2001. Hinneh in Biblical Hebrew. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 33:479–493.

Van Gelderen, Elly. 2004. *Grammaticalization as economy*. Number v. 71 in Linguistik aktuell = Linguistics today. Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub.

Wood, Jim, and Raffaella Zanuttini. 2018. The Syntax of Presentatives: Evidence from English and Italian (In progress) .

Young, Ian, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd. 2008. *Linguistic dating of biblical texts*. BibleWorld. London ; Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub.

Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1991. Syntactic properties of sentential negation. A comparative study of Romance languages .

Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure: a comparative study of Romance languages*. Oxford studies in comparative syntax. New York: Oxford University Press.

Zanuttini, Raffaella. 2017. Presentatives and the syntactic encoding of contextual information. *Studies in Generative Grammar* 127:221–255.

Zanuttini, Raffaella, Miok Pak, and Paul Portner. 2012. A syntactic analysis of interpretive restrictions on imperative, promissive, and exhortative subjects. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30:1231–1274.

Zewi, Tamar. 1996. The Particles הנה and והנה in Biblical Hebrew. *Hebrew Studies* 37:21–37.