

Anaphora and Deixis in Tiberian Hebrew: Semantically Mapping the Case for a Distance-Neutral Demonstrative

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Abstract: This article focusses on the issue of deixis and anaphora in Tiberian Hebrew, with the particular aim of ascertaining the functions of the demonstrative paradigm of הַן and the paradigm of the independent third-person pronoun הוּא, which is often also said to have a remote demonstrative function. Using typological works on demonstratives, a semantic map for demonstrative–anaphoric functions is proposed, which helps to concretely represent the functions of the two paradigms. The finding is that in terms of deictic function, the הַן paradigm is unmarked for distance, being used for both distal and near referents. In contrast, the הוּא paradigm does not have a deictic function, but is primarily used for various anaphoric functions, as well as having a recognitional function.

Keywords: demonstratives; anaphora; Tiberian Hebrew; Biblical Hebrew.

1. Introduction¹

Language arises due to the fundamental human need to communicate. Linguistic communication facilitates speakers to achieve all sorts of aims, desires, thoughts, and intentions that they may have, for others as well as themselves. Broadly speaking, communicative intent may have informative, social, and aesthetic characteristics (Keller 1998: 195), and language aids a speaker to fulfil their respective communicative aims.²

Language is thus an inherently social phenomenon. The prototypical speech-act has minimally a speaker and an addressee who are both jointly involved: the speaker formulates and contributes the linguistic content of the speech-act, while the hearer receives and comprehends it. The prototypical speech-act is therefore intrinsically situational, involving people, time, place, et cetera.—a “spatiotemporal context”, to use Lyons’ terminology (1977: 2.637; cf. 1968: 275). Speech-acts may arise between participants of same or different social status and sex, at varied times and locations, and on diverse topics. Given the shifting situational nature of speech-acts, languages regularly employ expressions which may be solely understood only in reference to the actual speech-act in

¹ Translations of Hebrew throughout are my own renderings. Language classification follows that of *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (WALS; Haspelmath, et al. 2005). Thanks to Johannes Helmbrecht for helping to obtain a copy of his important Habilitationsschrift. I am grateful for the comments of Matthew Anstey, John Davies, and Martin Haspelmath on previous drafts of the research presented here, which represents a revision of the second chapter of my doctoral thesis for a primarily Hebrew linguist audience for *HIPHIL Novum* (Kummerow 2011; interested general linguists are directed there, where all examples are represented in IPA transcription and morphemically glossed). An earlier version was presented at the Annual Australasian Christian Conference for the Academy and the Church (AACC), July 2009, at Emmanuel College, St. Lucia, Queensland, and I am grateful for the comments of participants there. A revised version was then distributed at the First Australian Workshop on Afro-Asiatic Linguistics (AWAAL), held at The University of Queensland, September 2009, as I was unable to present due to unforeseen personal circumstances.

² Abbreviations: DEF, definite article; DEM, demonstrative; DIST, distal; F, feminine; H, hearer; M, masculine; MED, medial; NP, noun phrase; PL, plural; S, speaker; SG, singular; TH, Tiberian Hebrew.

which they occurred: deictic expressions.³ Levinson (1983: 54) explains succinctly: “[D]eixis concerns the ways in which languages grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event”. A vast growing body of linguistic literature relates to this phenomenon (e.g., Diewald 1991; Ehlich 2007b; Fillmore 1986; Fricke 2007; Jarvalla and Klein 1982; Lenz 2003; Levinson 1983, 2003; Lyons 1977; Morel and Danon-Boileau 1992; Perkins 1992; Rauh 1983; Weissenborn and Klein 1982). Table 1 illustrates from English some common deictic speech-act features:

Table 1. Deictic categories and expressions in English

Deictic category	Deictic expression
Person	<i>I, you, we</i>
Place	<i>here, there, behind, before, left, right</i>
Time	<i>now, today, yesterday, tomorrow</i>
Object	<i>this, that</i>
Tense	Past, Present, Future
Movement	<i>come, go</i>

For example, the sentence *Can you grab that for me and bring it here?* is only intelligible with reference to the original speech-act: the referents of the deictic expressions *you, me, that,* and *here* are only understandable at the moment of the speech-act. By removing them from the original speech-act, we lose the very mechanism by which they may be interpreted, as the expressions directly refer to the speech-act participants in the case of *you* and *me*, an object pointed out by the expression *that*, and a location expressed by *here*.

The deictic nature of demonstratives has long been studied. Diessel (1999: 2) succinctly observes that “[t]he most basic function of demonstratives is [...] to orient the hearer outside of discourse in the surrounding situation.” That is to say, the deictic orientational nature of demonstratives is their basic and prototypical function (*pace* Enfield 2003; Himmelmann 1996). Diachronically, the non-deictic functions of demonstratives—recognitional, anaphoric, and discourse deictic functions—emerge from this basic deictic function (see esp. Diessel 1999: 109-113; cf. Bühler 1934; Lyons 1977). This broad definition of demonstratives covers the syntactic distribution of demonstratives, namely, pronominal, adnominal, identificational, and adverbial.

Pronominal demonstratives are independent and occur in argument position of verbs and adpositions. Adnominal demonstratives, on the other hand, are not independent, but rather modify a cooccurring noun. English uses the same demonstratives as both pronominal and adnominal demonstratives, while other languages such as French use different demonstratives for the two syntactic functions.⁴

³ The preference for using the term “deictic” is shown here rather than the somewhat synonymously used “indexical” (cf., e.g., Nunberg 1993) since the term “indexical” has been shown to not fit well with the definition used in semiotics; see Helmbrecht 2004: 84-94.

⁴ While Diessel consistently calls adnominal demonstratives “demonstrative determiners,” it seems better to allow for greater variability. In some languages, like English, adnominal demonstratives syntactically pattern like determiners—determinative adnominal modification—while for others, like Tiberian Hebrew, adnominal demonstratives syntactically pattern like adjectives—attributive adnominal modification (cf. Lehmann 1983).

- (1) Diessel 2005b: 174
- a. *Donne-moi ce livre-la et garde celui-ci pour toi.*
 - b. *Give me that book and keep this for you.*

Identificational demonstratives are independent demonstratives used in copular and nonverbal clauses. Again, some languages like English use the same demonstratives as both pronominal and identificational demonstratives, while other languages like French have separate forms, hence the general need for terminological differentiation. In the present research, the vast majority of languages mentioned use the same form for pronominal and identificational demonstratives. Hence the following will use “pronominal” to also describe nonverbal clauses and will use “identificational” only where necessary.

- (2) Diessel 1999: 5
- a. *C' est Pascal*
 - b. *This is Pascal*

Adverbial demonstratives are locational deictics and thus modify verbs. English *here* and *there* are examples of adverbial demonstratives.

The task of the present research is to investigate in typological perspective object deixis in Tiberian Hebrew (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic), the classical language of the Hebrew Bible.⁵ The particular aim is to provide a typological assessment of the contrast between the demonstrative paradigm of הַן and the paradigm of the independent third-person marker הוּא, which under most accounts is also said to have a deictic function in addition to an anaphoric function. The Tiberian Hebrew (TH) corpus used is that of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* in electronic format known as *The Westminster Leningrad Codex*, version 4.10, and as morphologically annotated by the database known as *The Groves–Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Bible Morphology*, version 4.10, which has been primarily accessed through the Bible software program *BibleWorks*, versions 7 and 8.⁷

This study is organised as follows: §2 introduces the two views on TH object deixis in the literature and sets some parameters for the investigation; §3 follows the methodology of semantic mapping from linguistic typology in order to construct a semantic map of demonstrative and anaphoric functions upon which the functions of the paradigm of הַן and the paradigm of the independent third-person markers in TH may be mapped; and §4 provides an account of the functions of these two paradigms and maps the functions expressed upon the semantic map, thus visually representing the similarity and dissimilarity of the two paradigms and aiding typological comparison.

⁵ Anstey (2006: 1) explains the particular choice of terminology well: “Because Biblical Hebrew (BH) is arguably a misnomer, the term Tiberian Hebrew (TH) is preferable. TH refers to BH, most of which was written down probably originally from 800–300 BCE, as annotated with vowels and chanting instructions by Jewish scholars in Tiberias *circa* 750 CE. These diacritics are the main source of our knowledge of TH prosody and phonology (Dresher 2008; Khan 1997). Scribal practices from Qumran, Masada, and elsewhere suggest that TH lexicophonology was fixed *circa* 70 CE but that TH syntax and semantics represents [*sic*] BH in a form understandable in 515–300 BCE (see Young 2003, 2005 for details).” Of course, these dates may be adjusted, but the basic outline is firm.

⁶ As argued in Kummerow 2012, the language of “person marker” is preferable to the traditional and (mostly) synonymous “personal pronoun,” and as such the following adopts this choice of terminology.

⁷ I here must make special mention of Mike Bushell and Glenn Weaver, both of BibleWorks, who greatly assisted me in my quest to compile the latest Groves–Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Bible Morphology version for use in their *BibleWorks* software. Also, I would like to thank Dr Kirk Lowery of the J. Alan Groves Center for Advanced Biblical Research, Westminster Theological Seminary, for granting me access to the latest morphological releases. Copyright notice is as follows: Groves–Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Morphology © 1991–2013 Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. All rights reserved.

2. Two views on object deixis in Tiberian Hebrew

As Hasselbach (2007: 1) has noted, “Semitic languages employ a wide variety of demonstrative pronouns to express basic deictic categories.” This is true of TH, where a number of demonstrative forms are used within the corpus, namely, the הַּ and הַּוּאֵה paradigms (the primary object of study here); הַּוּאֵה and הַּוּאֵה/וּאֵה; and הַּלְּזֶה, הַּלְּזֵה, and הַּלְּזֵה. Discussion is briefly oriented to these forms before moving to the crucial issue of semantics and paradigmatic function of the הַּ and הַּוּאֵה paradigms. (The suppletive nature of the הַּ paradigm with its inclusion of the plural הַּלְּזֵה is here left aside as it does not have bearing on the issues discussed in this article; one may consult the brief comments in Huehnergard [2004: 151] and Blau [2010: 176].)

Concerning the rare TH forms הַּוּאֵה and הַּוּאֵה/וּאֵה, Huehnergard (2006: 110-114) argues that they are reflexes of the Proto-West Semitic declined determinative–relative pronoun **ḏ*-. Rendsburg (1990: 89, 2007: 89-90), on the other hand, seems to differentiate the forms in that he understands הַּוּאֵה to be a demonstrative and הַּוּאֵה/וּאֵה to be a relative pronoun. Huehnergard and Pat-El (2007: 329-330 n.23) suggest that הַּוּאֵה and relative הַּוּאֵה are frozen forms of the once declined determinative–relative pronoun **ḏ*-, with הַּוּאֵה traceable to the nominative and relative הַּוּאֵה traceable to the genitive. But as Huehnergard noted elsewhere (2006: 113 n.60), we would have expected the masculine singular genitive determinative–relative **ḏ* to appear in Hebrew as ***zi*. There is, of course, other evidence to support the reconstruction of relative הַּוּאֵה to **ḏ* in that הַּלְּזֶה is cognate with Arabic *allaḏī*, where the shift *i* > *e* is again apparent. Stated briefly, in other words, הַּוּאֵה, הַּוּאֵה/וּאֵה, and relative הַּוּאֵה are cognate with the Akkadian relative *ša* (< **θ*-).⁸

הַּוּאֵה as a masculine demonstrative occurs twice (Hab 1:11; Ps 12:8; *pace* Allegro 1955: 311-312; Ehlich 1979: 2.624-639; Huehnergard 2006: 110-111 n.46) and is used another 13 times as a relative, that is, a nominaliser (Exod 15:13, 16; Isa 42:24; 43:21; Pss 9:16; 10:2; 17:9; 31:5; 32:8; 62:12; 68:29; 142:4; 143:8). הַּוּאֵה occurs once as a feminine demonstrative (Hos 7:16) and once as a relative, that is, with nominalising function (Ps 132:12), while הַּוּאֵה is consistently used as a feminine demonstrative (Judg 18:4; 2 Sam 11:25; 1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Kgs 6:19; Ezek 40:45; Eccl 2:2, 24; 5:15, 18; 7:23; 9:13). Such forms are rare and essentially non-standard to the corpus. Young, et al. (2008: 1.229, 2.95) understand them to be the occasional surfacing of a non-literary dialect. The precise relationship and reconstruction of הַּוּאֵה and הַּוּאֵה/וּאֵה to demonstrative הַּוּאֵה and הַּוּאֵה remains unclear, although it seems likely that Huehnergard (2006: 114) is correct, given the typology outlined below regarding the grammaticalisation of demonstratives, in which the relative function represents a derivation and extension from an original deictic function (cf. Rubin 2005: 48-49). Indeed, in Ugaritic we find the cognate morpheme *d*- used as a relative marker, as well as forming part of the proximal pronominal/adnominal demonstrative *hnd* ‘this’ (cf. Pardee 2007).

Given the scarcity of these forms, however, this is all that shall be said on these in the present research. This is also the case for the rare adnominal הַּלְּזֵה (occurring once pronominally in 1 Chron 20:8), a by-form of the plural הַּלְּזֵה, which occurs 8 times in the Pentateuch. Further, the same applies for the other rare adnominal deictics הַּלְּזֶה, הַּלְּזֵה, and הַּלְּזֵה, which, given the argument below, can really only be meaningfully discussed once the function of the הַּ and הַּוּאֵה paradigms are properly understood in the corpus. Garr (2008: 385-386) provides a helpful overview of these forms, and he shows that הַּלְּזֶה is masculine, הַּלְּזֵה is feminine, and הַּלְּזֵה is gender-neutral. Interestingly, these forms are consistently deictic—without anaphoric, discourse deictic, or

⁸ As too is TH *ṣ* (see Holmstedt 2007) and Phoenician *š*/*ṣ* if the latter is not a grammaticalisation of the word ‘man’ (cf. Gevirtz 1957).

recognitional function—although this could simply be due to the infrequency of attestation. In (3) some examples are provided:

- (3) a. Gen 24:65 (masculine הַלְזָה)
 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־הַעֲבָד מִי־הָאִישׁ הַלְזָה הַהֹלֵךְ בַּשָּׂדֶה לִקְרֹאתָנוּ
 ‘And she said to the servant, “Who is that man who is walking in the field to meet us?”’
- b. Ezek 36:35 (feminine הַלְזוּ)
 וְאָמְרוּ הָאָרֶץ הַלְזוּ הַנְּשֻׁמָּה הִיְתָה כְּגַן־עֵדֶן
 ‘... and they will say, “This desolate land has become like the garden of Eden.”’
- c. 2 Kings 23:17 (הַלְזוּ modifying masculine noun)
 וַיֹּאמֶר מָה הַצִּיּוֹן הַלְזוּ אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי רֹאֶה
 ‘And he said, “What is that gravestone I see?”’
- d. 2 Kings 4:25 (הַלְזוּ modifying feminine noun)
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־גִּיחִזִּי נַעֲרֹ הַנָּה הַשּׁוֹנְמִית הַלְזוּ:
 ‘And he said to Gehazi his servant, “See that Shunammite.”’

As far as the syntactic distribution of the זָה and הוּא paradigms are concerned, it is as follows. First, both are used pronominally, that is, in argument position of verbs. A couple of examples are given in (4):

- (4) a. Gen 5:29
 וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ נֹחַ לֵאמֹר זֶה יִנְחַמְנוּ מִמַּעֲשֵׂנוּ
 ‘And he named him Noah, saying, “This one will comfort us from our labour ...’
- b. Deut 9:3
 הוּא יִשְׁמִדְם וְהוּא יִכְנִיעֵם לְפָנָיִךְ
 ‘“... He will destroy them and he will humble them before you.”’

Second, both the זָה and הוּא paradigms are used identificationally, that is, independently in copular and nonverbal clauses, examples of which are given in (5):

- (5) a. Exod 3:15
 זֶה־שְׁמִי לְעֹלָם
 ‘“This is my name forever.”’
- b. Gen 9:18
 וְחָם הוּא אָבִי כְנָעַן:
 ‘And Ham, he was the father of Canaan.’

Third, all members of the זָה and הוּא paradigms are used in adnominal function. Both the זָה and הוּא paradigms are used attributively, as in example (6), while the זָה paradigm also sporadically occurs determinatively (i.e., as an adnominal demonstrative in determinative position rather than attributive position), as in example (7a).⁹ The only instance in the corpus of a member of the הוּא paradigm possibly used determinatively is found in Leviticus 25:11 in example (7b).

- (6) a. Gen 19:14
 וַיֹּאמֶר קוּמוּ צְאוּ מִן־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה
 ‘And he said, “Stand up! Flee from this place!”’

⁹ It is difficult to agree with Pat-El and Treiger (2008: 277) who argue that **ð*- as a determinative pronoun does not modify a noun. Rather, determinative and attributive are both adnominal (that is, modifying) in function and the labels “determinative” and “attributive” essentially refer to different syntax (cf. Lehmann 1983).

- b. Gen 28:19

וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא בֵּית־אֵל

'And he called the name of that place Bethel.'

- (7) a. Judg 16:15

זֶה שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים הִתְלַת בִּי

“This three times you have deceived me.”

- b. Lev 25:11

יִזְבֵּל הוּא שְׁנַת הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה תִּהְיֶה לָּכֶם

“That fiftieth year will be a jubilee for you.”

In attributive function, the overwhelming tendency is for agreement in definiteness, that is, either [DEF-NP DEF-DEM] or [NP DEM], as in example (6). However, there is some slight variability in the corpus, as examples (8) and (9) illustrate. Jeremiah 40:3 even witnesses this variability in a *kethib-qere* distinction, reproduced as example (10).

- (8) a. 1 Sam 2:23

כָּל־הָעָם אֵלֶּה:

“... all these people.”

- b. Gen 19:33

בַּלַּיְלָה הַהוּא

‘... on that night.’

- (9) a. 1 Sam 14:29

דָּבַשׁ הַזֶּה:

“... this honey.”

- b. Mic 7:11

יוֹם הַהוּא

‘That day ...’

- (10) a. Jer 40:3 *kethib*

כִּי־חָטְאתֶם לַיהוָה וְלֹא־שָׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקוֹלוֹ וְהָיָה לָכֶם הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:

“Because you sinned against Yahweh and did not hear his voice, then this thing has happened to you.”

- b. Jer 40:3 *qere*

כִּי־חָטְאתֶם לַיהוָה וְלֹא־שָׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקוֹלוֹ וְהָיָה לָכֶם הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:

“Because you sinned against Yahweh and did not hear his voice, then this thing has happened to you.”

It remains unclear whether these would have been perceived as grammatical errors or something else.

Regarding the determinative function of *זֶה*, the latest suggestion is that this function is a remnant of an earlier adverbial prepositional possessive construction (Pat-El 2004-2007). However, not all examples involve an adverbial phrase, and it seems that often the demonstrative in this construction functions as a recognitional demonstrative (see further below). The occurrences of members of the *זֶה* paradigm in determinative function in the corpus are as follows: Gen 27:21, 24, 36; 31:38, 41; 43:10; 45:6; Exod 32:1, 23; Num 14:22; 22:28, 32, 33; 24:10; Deut 2:7; 3:5; 8:2, 4; Josh 9:13; 14:10; 22:3; Judg 5:5; 16:15; 1 Sam 29:3; 2 Sam 14:2; Jer 25:3; Zech 1:12; 7:3, 5; Job 19:3; Est 4:11; Pss 24:10; 25:12; 68:9.

Fourth, members of the הָ paradigm occur a number of times adverbially, as in example (11a), which involves place deixis, and example (11b), which is a manner adverb. Such examples shall be excluded from the discussion as the primary interest is in determining the function of the pronominal and adnominal forms.

(11) a. Num 23:1

וַיֹּאמֶר בַּלְעָם אֶל-בָּלָק בְּנֵה-לִי **בָּזָה** שִׁבְעָה מִזְבְּחֹת

‘And Balaam said to Balak, “Build me seven altars here ...”’

b. Lev 16:3

בְּזָאת יָבֵא אַהֲרֹן אֶל-הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּפָר בֶּן-בָּקָר לְחַטָּאת וְאַיִל לְעֹלָה:

“In this way Aaron will enter the sanctuary: with a young bull for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering.”’

Fifth, as Huehnergard (2006: 111) notes, הָ occurs 8 times in the corpus as a relative marker (Exod 13:8; Pss 74:2; 78:54; 104:8, 26; Prov 23:22; Job 15:17; 19:19), to which אֲלֵה of Exodus 5:3 should be added. An example is provided in (12).

(12) Ps 104:8

אֶל-מְקוֹם **זֶה** | יִסְדַּתָּ לָהֶם:

‘... to the place that you appointed for them.’

Barth (1913: 153), followed by Allegro (1955: 309 n.1), made the suggestion that הָ is a secondary development from הָ, while Huehnergard and Pat-El (2007: 329-330 n.23) understand the forms to be frozen vestiges of the earlier * δ - paradigm, as noted above. However, as Huehnergard (2006: 114) points out, the reconstruction is not entirely certain, further complicated by the fact that (a) the masculine genitive singular determinative–relative * $\delta\bar{i}$ should have appeared in Hebrew as ***zi* (Huehnergard 2006: 113 n.60; although cf. הַלְיָה which is cognate with Arabic *allaḏī*) and (b) הָ is used a couple of times in demonstrative function anyway. Given the diachronic uncertainty here, such examples shall be excluded from the discussion. The issue here primarily relates to whether הָ as a demonstrative is homophonous with הָ as a relative, traceable to the Proto-West Semitic * δ -paradigm, or whether the relative function is a grammaticalised extension of demonstrative הָ (or even whether the determinative–relative * δ - and diachronic descendents originate from a deictic source).

Sixth, related to this relative function is the further use of MSG הָ (and זֹאת only in quite restricted syntactic circumstances) in clefted interrogative constructions, as in (13a), and possible clefted constructions with הִנֵּה ‘behold’, as in (13b) (see Huehnergard 2005: 186-189, 2006: 111 n.49; Huehnergard and Pat-El 2007). However, again such examples will be excluded from discussion given the diachronic uncertainty noted above.

(13) a. Gen 18:13

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-אַבְרָהָם לָמָּה **זֶה** צָחַקָה שָׂרָה

‘And Yahweh said, “Why (is it) that Sarah laughed?”’

b. Isa 21:9

וְהִנֵּה-זֶה בָּא רֶכֶב אִישׁ

“And see here (it is) that riding men are coming!”’

Seventh, as argued in Kummerow 2013 (cf. also Holmstedt 2013; Holmstedt and Jones 2014), TH uses the independent third-person markers as a nonverbal copula in some predicate nominal clauses and predicate adjectival clauses. An example is provided in (14) where הֵם is not referential but rather functions as a copula in the predicate nominal clause. Because such a function represents a

grammaticalisation beyond that of anaphora such examples shall be excluded from discussion in this article.

(14) Num 3:20

וּבְנֵי מְרָרִי לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם מַחֲלֵי וּמוֹשֵׁי אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים מִשְׁפַּחַת הַלְוִי לְבֵית אֲבֹתָם:

'And the sons of Merari by their clans were Mahli and Mushi. These were the clans of the Levites by the house of their fathers.'

Turning now to the semantics and paradigmatic function of the זה and הוא paradigms, under the majority of accounts of TH object deixis there are understood to be both proximal and distal demonstratives (e.g., Hasselbach 2007: 12; Walker-Jones 2003: 44):

Table 2. TH pronominal/adnominal demonstratives (majority account)

Proximal		Distal	
MSG	זֶה	MSG	הוּא
FSG	זֹאת	FSG	הִיא
PL	אֵלֶּה	MPL	הֵם / הֵמָּה
		FPL	הֵנָּה

A syntactic difference is generally discerned in which the proximal demonstratives can be used both pronominally in argument position of verbs and adpositions as well as adnominally, while the distal demonstratives are only used adnominally. The examples below from Futato 2003 illustrate these syntactic differences. Note that example (15d)—which Futato confusingly calls a “predicate demonstrative pronoun”—is listed by Futato alongside the other examples as syntactically acceptable (cf. also, e.g., McCarter 2004: 345). The important thing to note in this regard, however, is that the examples of (15) are not drawn from actual examples in the corpus and only (15a) to (15c) represent syntax actually found in the corpus. Further, semantically it is questionable that (15b) is reflective of the corpus as well and is the subject of the present research. Examples (15b) and (15d) are asterisked for these reasons.

(15) a. Futato 2003: 102

הַסּוּס הַזֶּה

'This horse'

b. Futato 2003: 103

*הַסּוּס הַהוּא

'That horse'

c. Futato 2003: 103

זֶה הַסּוּס

'This is the horse.'

d. Futato 2003: 103

*הוּא הַסּוּס

'That is the horse.'

For this reason, the distal demonstratives are commonly called “quasi-demonstratives” (van der Merwe, et al. 1999: 257; cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §§17.3, 17.5; Joüon and Muraoka 2006:

§143j) not least because they also form part of the paradigm of independent person markers where they figure as independent third-person markers (so Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §§17.3, 17.5). Under this view TH is thus like Akkadian, where distal demonstratives serve also as third-person markers (cf. Huehnergard 2000; Diakonoff and Kogan 2007), this particular language feature being traceable to Proto-Semitic (cf. Huehnergard 2004). A case in point is the recent work of Blau: while it is admitted that “the third person pronouns differ from the other persons in being originally demonstrative in function” which came about “by excessive anaphoric use”, nevertheless he goes on to assert that “[t]he presumably archaic demonstrative usage of the third person pronoun is still WELL PRESERVED in Biblical Hebrew”, citing Genesis 22:14 and Genesis 19:33 as examples (Blau 2010: 164 [emphasis mine]; see also 176).

The use of the term “quasi-demonstrative” can be traced back to Joüon 1923, which is then taken up in Muraoka’s translation (Joüon and Muraoka 1993, 2006) and by Waltke and O'Connor 1990, *inter alios*. Joüon had written on the adnominal use of the independent third-person marker—which he labelled “adjectif d’identité”, “quasi démonstratif”, and “démonstratif faible”—that “[I]e sens propre de הוּאֵ sembler être *le même*, en particulier *le même* dont on a parlé, d’où *ce...là* (dont il est question)” (1923: §143j). Perceptively, Ehlich suggests that it is precisely this difference identified by Joüon which led him astray, arguing that “er amalgamiert eine Beobachtung zu dem hebräischen Ausdruck hahu mit einer Beobachtung zur Frage der Übersetzung dieses Ausdrucks ins Französische” (Ehlich 1979: 2.761). However, “[d]er Übersetzungsvorschlag ‘le même’ liegt auf einer anderen Ebene als die analytische Beobachtung, daß hahu das bezeichnet, ‘dont on a parlé’ bzw. ‘dont il est question’” (Ehlich 1979: 2.761-762). In contradistinction to almost every other Hebraist, Ehlich argues that the paradigm of הוּאֵ is unmarked for distance: “Nähe und Ferne bei ZÄ nicht geschieden sind” (Ehlich 1979: 2.776; cf. also Ehlich 1982, 1983, 2007a).¹⁰ Like Ehlich, Brockelmann (1956: §§23b-c) and Seow (1995: §10.1) take הוּאֵ to be a demonstrative used of both proximal and distal referents. The position of all three is that the contrast between הוּאֵ and הוּאֵ is not one of distance in a system of object deixis, but instead the contrast between an object deictic term הוּאֵ and an anaphoric term הוּאֵ.¹¹

Table 3. TH pronominal/adnominal demonstratives and anaphoric markers (minority account)

Demonstrative		Anaphoric	
MSG	הוּאֵ	MSG	הוּאֵ
FSG	זאת	FSG	היא
PL	אלה	MPL	הם / הן
		FPL	הנה

¹⁰ ZÄ is Ehlich’s way of referring to the paradigm of demonstratives: הוּאֵ, זאת, and אלה.

¹¹ Although Kalisch (1884), like Joüon, understood that the TH third-person independent person marker could be employed as a demonstrative, he also, like Joüon, seemed to have become confused with the translational equivalent since he also understood a difference in meaning between the person marker and the demonstrative. The difference in meaning he discerned is better understood as the difference between deixis and anaphora. He writes: “the personal pronouns הוּאֵ, היא, הם, הן (or הן, הן) are employed as DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS; e.g. היום הוּאֵ *that day*; השנה הוּאֵ *that year*; הים הוּאֵ *those days*; but with this difference in meaning, that הוּאֵ, היא denote an object known and already spoken of, while הוּאֵ, זאת point to an object present or near; e.g. האיש הוּאֵ *the man or the time referred to before*, but האיש הוּאֵ, זאת הוּאֵ *the person near or present, and the present time*” (Kalisch 1884: 1.224 [emphasis mine]).

While Brockelmann and Seow merely state their position, Ehlich argues for it in great depth and with sophistication. Somewhat surprisingly, given the extent and argumentation of Ehlich's work, he is unreferenced by all grammars—introductory, intermediate, and reference alike—and only marginally referenced outside (e.g., Diehl 2004; Diesel 2006; Disse 1998; Gross 1996; Hardmeier 1991; Hasselbach 2007; Michel 2004; Miller 2003; Müller 1997; Vanoni 1984; Wagner 1997), generally in footnotes. Research to date on the demonstrative הַיָּ in TH has predominantly focused on issues of syntagmatic structure (e.g., Allegro 1955; Barth 1913; Blake 1912; Huehnergard 2005: 186-189, 2006: 110-119; Huehnergard and Pat-El 2007; Muraoka 1985: 134-137; Pat-El 2004-2007; Pennacchietti 1968, 1980) to the neglect of paradigmatic structure. The article of Garr 2008 is an exception, where the paradigmatic status of the rare demonstratives הַלְּזוֹ, הַלְּזוֹ, and הַלְּזוֹ is investigated. Garr argues that these demonstratives are medial demonstratives, contrasting with proximal הַיָּ and distal הַזֶּה. However, Garr takes for granted the paradigmatic deictic contrast between הַיָּ and הַזֶּה and does not seem aware that his posited contrasts are doubtful given Ehlich's research.

Ehlich (1979) for his part provides a detailed account of the paradigmatic functions of the הַיָּ and הַזֶּה paradigms, which he summarises in his later work (Ehlich 1982, 1983, 2007a). He bases his conclusions upon a detailed study of all the occurrences of members of the הַיָּ paradigm in the corpus and all the occurrences of members of the הַזֶּה paradigm in the Pentateuch. All the occurrences in the Pentateuch of both are discussed individually at some point in the work. His most significant finding is that members of the הַזֶּה paradigm are consistently anaphoric and members of the הַיָּ paradigm are consistently deictic. However, Ehlich realised that understanding the הַיָּ paradigm as consistently deictic was challenged by particular phenomena in the corpus.

The first of these are occurrences of members of the הַיָּ paradigm which refer textually but occur in direct speech. Ehlich showed that these could be understood to be a subtype of deixis, called discourse deixis. Here Ehlich demonstrates that the illocution or proposition of a speech-act may be referred to by the demonstrative used in another subsequent speech-act.

However, Ehlich noted that a more significant challenge to understanding the הַיָּ paradigm as consistently deictic came from examples which refer textually and do not occur in direct speech and so as a result cannot be successfully construed deictically against the original speech-act. Ehlich demonstrated that texts may form a conceptually deictic space in their own right, the elements of which may be referred to by a demonstrative. For such functions of demonstratives Ehlich coined the terms “anadeixis” for the anaphoric referral of a demonstrative in a text and “catadeixis” for the cataphoric referral of a demonstrative in a text. Ehlich noted that such demonstratives were particularly found to establish textual frames in lists, often found in summary statements and comments. Ehlich showed how further examples that involve the construal of a demonstrative against various other deictic spaces such as the imagination, here following Bühler with his “Deixis am Phantasma,” or other inferencing, could still be related to the deictic function of the הַיָּ paradigm.

In summary, then, Ehlich's work represents a sophisticated linguistic treatment of object deixis in TH. Indeed, it will be shown below that Ehlich was correct in his contention that the הַיָּ paradigm in TH functions as a distance-neutral demonstrative. However, since the time of Ehlich's research, much cross-linguistic and typological study in linguistics into demonstratives has been carried out, represented particularly by the works of Diessel (1997, 1999, 2005a, 2005b) and Himmelmann (1996, 1997). Of course, both Diessel and Himmelmann may be considered representative of a “geographical” approach to demonstratives—where classification is in line with the location of the referent—whereas Ehlich can be considered a proponent of a “cognitive” approach to

demonstratives—which emphasises the cognitive motivation for the use of expression—also found in representative works like Ariel 1990; Cornish 1999; Givón 1983; Gundel, et al. 1993; Lambrecht 1994; van Hoek 1997. Goedegebuure (2003: 17-22) provides a good overview of the two perspectives and combines both (2003: 22-59) into an approach that integrates the information structure theory of Lambrecht (1994). As will be apparent below, the present analysis of TH is informed by Goedegebuure’s approach.

Regarding the cross-linguistic and typological study of demonstratives, it has been shown that it is quite common for languages to utilise demonstratives for additional related functions. Nowadays it is common to view examples of Ehlich’s textual, anadeixis, and catadeixis as all constituting a discourse deictic function of demonstratives. Indeed, Ehlich’s findings can be restated today in a way that avoids the pitfalls Ehlich noted where scholarship on TH object deixis became confused with translational issues and that at the same time adequately describe TH object deixis in relation to other languages.

Referral is made here to the methodology of semantic mapping as used in linguistic typology. Such methodology provides a framework in which an evaluation of the two competing views of TH object deixis can proceed and in which the similarities and differences of TH object deixis with other languages can be accurately described. In §3 a semantic map for the general functional region of object deixis and anaphora is constructed based primarily on the typological works of Diessel (1997, 1999, 2005a, 2005b) and Himmelmann (1996, 1997). §4 investigates the range of functions expressed by the הָ and אֵיִה paradigms, and maps the functions onto the semantic map proposed in §3. In particular, the study is interested in determining whether any examples of the אֵיִה paradigm outside of the Pentateuch can be seen to be deictic and if not deictic thus corroborate Ehlich’s finding in relation to the Pentateuch. As such, this study shall investigate the entire corpus for deictic examples, but shall primarily limit itself to the Pentateuch for describing the other functions typical of demonstratives as these are not essentially at issue. §4.6 charts the similarities and differences between TH and a range of diverse languages, thus demonstrating both the usefulness and appropriateness of the method, while at the same time providing further support for the mapping given in the preceding section of §4.

3. Functional diversity and semantic mapping

3.1. The methodology of semantic mapping

Linguistic typology may be defined as “the systematic study of the ways in which the languages of the world vary structurally and of the limits to this variation” (Comrie, et al. 2005: 1a). It is thus empirical and cross-linguistic in investigation, committed to the view that language universals are only to be found in broad cross-linguistic comparison (Croft 2007c: 80) and not in the atomistic study of an individual language. Cross-linguistic comparison in typology proceeds on semantic/functional grounds (cf. Croft 2003; Haspelmath 1997b; Stassen 1997) rather than formal categories. That is, a semantic/functional area of investigation is firstly defined, generally intuitively (cf. Haspelmath 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Lazard 2002, 2004, 2006a, 2006b), and then cross-linguistic comparison investigates the formal realisation of the semantic/functional area across individual languages. Cross-linguistic generalisations usually follow, and often in the form of implicational universals (cf. Moravcsik 2007).

One method utilised in linguistic typology to simultaneously capture correspondence and difference across languages is the methodology of semantic mapping (e.g., Croft 2002: 84-104, 2003: 122-

156; Croft, et al. 1987; Haspelmath 1997a, 1997b, 2003; Narrog and Ito 2007; Stassen 1997). The method facilitates cross-linguistic comparison in the face of linguistic multifunctionality and the mounting argument in functionalist research as to the non-universality of formal grammatical primitives (cf. Cristofaro 2009; Croft 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a, 2007b, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Dryer 1997; Foley and van Valin 1977; Haspelmath 2007, 2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Helmbrecht 2005; Lazard 2004, 2006a, 2006b; *contra*, e.g., Newmeyer 2007, 2010). Recently, the first steps of establishing the mathematical basis of the method have been conducted using multidimensional scaling (Croft and Poole 2008a, 2008b; cf. Cysouw and Forker 2009; Levinson, et al. 2003), although this is in its infancy and would still seem to suffer in research areas with limited data (cf. Haspelmath 1997b: 15-16). Semantic mapping involves the mapping of functions expressed by formal grammatical and lexical constructions—understood here broadly as the conventionalised pairing of form and meaning—onto a geometric representation of (a region of) semantic space, which is itself hypothesised to reflect linguistic universality (cf. Haspelmath 2003: 220).

As an example, Anstey (2005: 74-75, 2006: 96-97) presents a semantic map of reflexive–middle functions modified from Haspelmath (2003: 255):

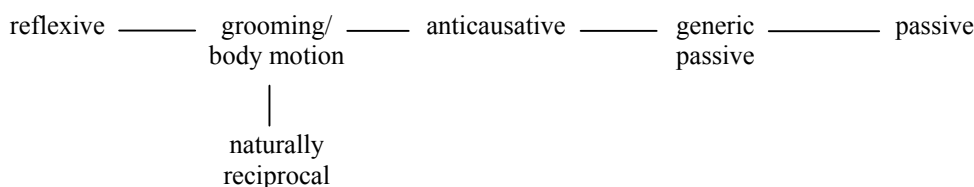


Figure 1. Semantic map of reflexive–middle functions

Each separate function is represented on the map, with connecting lines indicating the network of functions. Onto this geometric functional map Anstey maps the boundaries of French *se*, Russian *-sja*, and the TH Hithpael binyan, reproduced below as Figure 2. Connecting lines have been omitted following common practice when adjacency of functions is self-evident. Closed boxing indicates the functional boundaries of a construction.

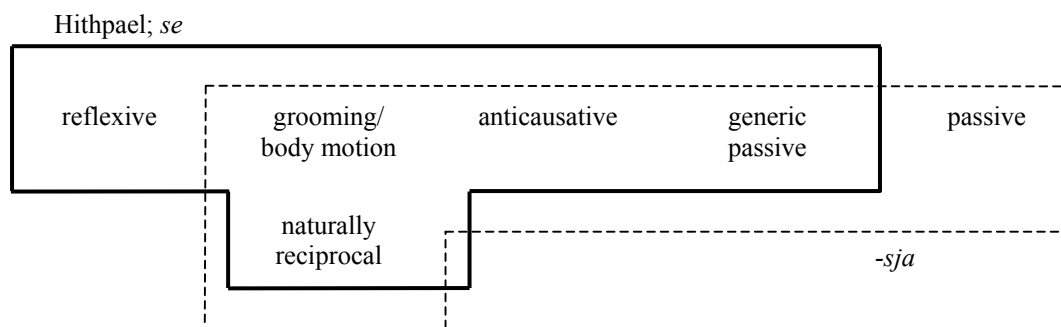


Figure 2. Boundaries of French *se*, Russian *-sja*, and TH Hithpael

As can be seen from Figure 2, constructions may make same or different semantic distinctions and thus the boundaries of any given construction may be different, both language-internally and cross-

linguistically. Though some languages may have a construction that covers a large area of a map, others might have constructions covering small regions or may be overlapping. Haspelmath's (2003: 229) map of instrumentals and related functions demonstrates this well; mapped are English *with*, German *von*, French *par* and *aus*, Seychelles Creole *ek*, and Russian *s* and Instrumental Case:¹²

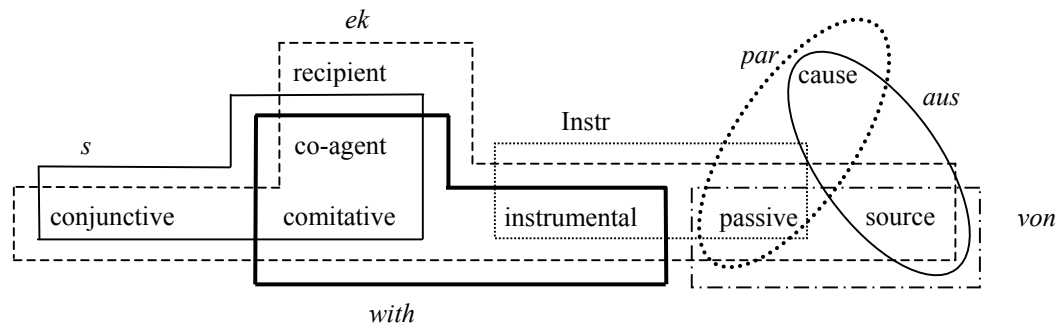


Figure 3. Instrumentals and related functions

Figure 3 illustrates that functions expressed by a single construction occupy a contiguous region on a semantic map. That is, the geometric representation of the semantic space under consideration is organised in such a way that multifunctional constructions map contiguously and so represent similarity in function. Non-contiguous mapping of a construction is possible if a function of a construction has been eroded due to diachronic change (Haspelmath 2003: 236; van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005: 396-397). Each map is a mapped network or channel of hypothesised universal semantic functions which different languages and different constructions choose to variously group or divide. Different constructions may thus display different degrees of multifunctionality, and the geometric semantic map allows this multifunctionality and (dis)similarity between constructions to be expressed.

The construction of a semantic map involves an inductive process of cross-linguistic comparison and testing. Each function expressed by a construction in a given language is mapped so as to preserve contiguity of functions when more than one function is expressed. With regard to Figure 3, the functions co-agent, comitative and instrumental are arranged contiguously since English *with*, Seychelles Creole *ek*, and Russian *s* all express these functions. Contiguity is shown by connecting lines, as in Figure 1, and not by distance, which is a limitation of the geometrical representation in order to preserve readability. Readability is also generally enhanced by the common removal of connecting lines when a construction's functions are mapped, as in Figures 2 and 3, and also by the preference for the construction of one- and two-dimensional maps, although multi-dimensional maps are certainly possible (cf. Haspelmath 1997a: 106). A function is an element on a semantic map when two (or more) languages treat that function differently. In Figure 3, passive and source are elements on the map since French, for example, differs with respect to these two functions: *par* expresses passive and *aus* expresses source. Consequently, whilst a semantic map is useful for expressing similarity and divergence between different languages, it also presents itself in a testable

¹² Note that the liberty of removing the “beneficiary” function has been taken to simplify the map here as the languages mapped do not employ this function with these constructions. See Narrog and Ito 2007 for improvements to the map based on a larger language sample.

and reproducible fashion. Because semantic maps present themselves concretely, they are open to testing, improvement, and falsification.

3.2. Semantic mapping and diachronic change

Haspelmath (2003: 233) notes that “[i]n addition to summarizing the synchronic relationships between different grammatical meanings, semantic maps can also be an important tool for diachrony, in particular grammaticalization studies.” Given the unidirectionality of grammaticalisation (cf. Haspelmath 1998, 1999, 2004), some semantic maps evidence this directionality of change between the mapped semantic functions. In grammaticalisation studies, arrows are typically used to indicate direction of diachronic development (cf. Lehmann 1995, 2002). Semantic maps which evidence directionality of semantic change can adopt the use of arrows to represent direction of diachronic development by replacing the connecting lines where necessary.

For example, Haspelmath (2003: 234-236) discusses the reflexive–middle map as given above in Figure 1 and argues that the map is a good example of unidirectional diachronic change. Given that the source of full reflexives is typically an emphatic reflexive, Haspelmath provides the following semantic map:¹³

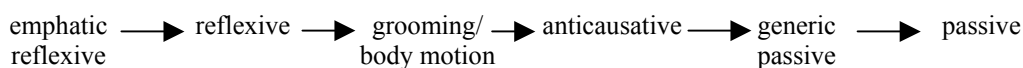


Figure 4. Semantic map of reflexive–middle functions indicating diachronic directionality

The arrows indicate that diachronic change moves from left to right and never the opposite direction: passives never expand across to generic passive, to anticausative, and so on. The development of Classical Latin to French demonstrates diachronic change on the map (Haspelmath 2003: 235):

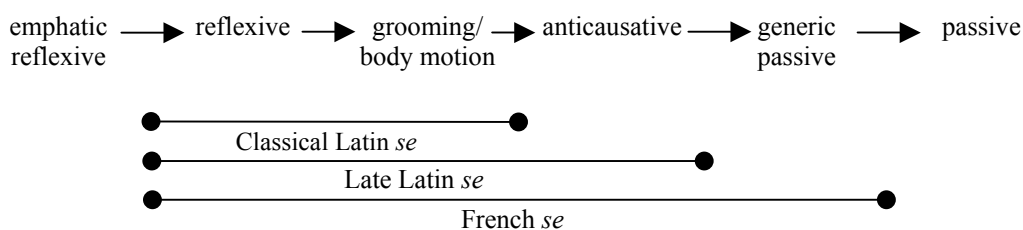


Figure 5. Diachronic development of *se* from Classical Latin to French

What this means, then, is that grammaticalisation studies may play a role in the construction of semantic maps. Provided the area of investigation evidences observable semantic development, grammaticalisation studies may provide both the necessary semantic functions of a particular map, as well as the language data supporting the direction of diachronic change between functions. In

¹³ Haspelmath omits naturally reciprocal due to insufficient diachronic data.

other words, grammaticalisation studies present a convenient source from which to construct semantic maps.

3.3. Demonstratives and diachronic change

The typological works of Diessel (1997, 1999, 2005a, 2005b) and Himmelmann (1996, 1997) are arguably the best sources of cross-linguistic data on the functions and grammaticalisation of demonstratives. Diessel's monograph, for example, is based on a sample of 85 diverse languages, and is a particularly convenient source of language data supporting the functions of demonstratives as well as diachronic change between various functions.

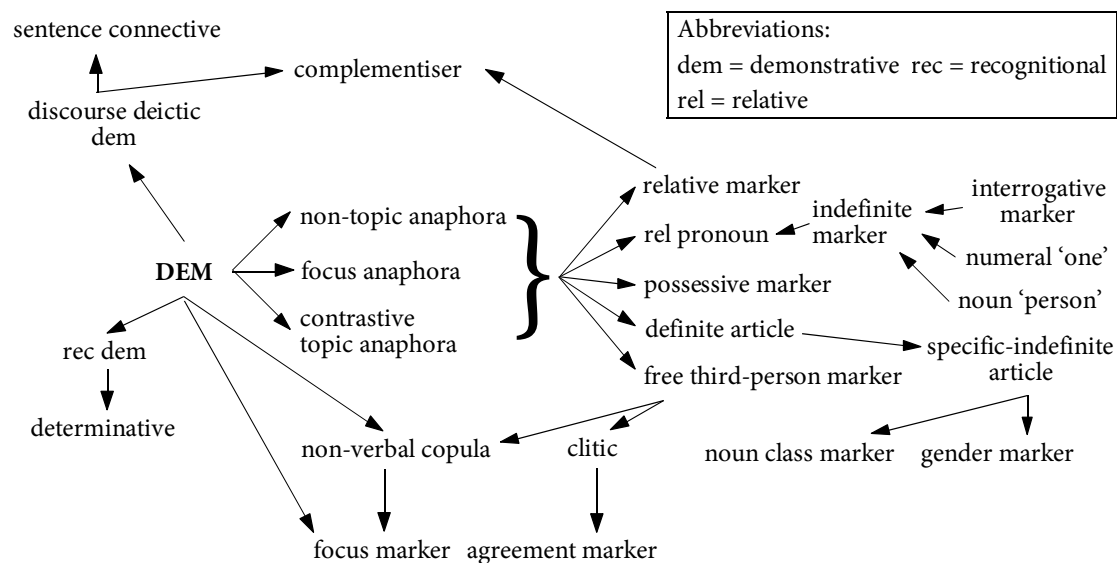


Figure 6. The grammaticalisation of demonstratives

Figure 6 above presents a grammaticalisation channel based upon the works above.¹⁴ While the grammaticalisation channel can quite likely be filled out even further (see below for some modification),¹⁵ the grammaticalisation changes listed figure prominently in Diessel's and Himmelmann's works. As should be readily apparent, demonstratives—given a generic “DEM”—are the source of many different grammatical markers. Crucially, they should not be regarded as grammatical markers which have themselves undergone grammaticalisation from some lexical source, but together with interrogatives and lexical expressions should be taken as a source domain

¹⁴ The language of grammaticalisation channel follows that established by Lehmann (1995, 2002). One may notice, given the preference for the terminology of “person marker” over the traditional “personal pronoun”, the retention of the term “pronoun” in the label “relative pronoun.” The terminology of “relative pronoun” has come to be something of a technical term for the relativising strategy where the relativised position is marked inside the relative clause by an initial case-marked (understood broadly to also include adpositions in addition to morphological case-marking) pronominal morpheme (cf. Comrie 1998b; Comrie and Kuteva 2005). The terminology is thus retained to contrast with the other function labelled here “relative marker”, which is a relativiser that may be inflected or uninflected, albeit if inflected it does not mark the relativised position inside the relative clause and hence it is distinct from a relative pronoun.

¹⁵ For example, see Helmbrecht (2004: 384-395) for discussion of the grammaticalisation of third-person markers from nouns, verbs of saying, and other pronouns; and see Frajzyngier (1997) for the grammaticalisation of plural markers from demonstratives.

of particular grammatical markers (Diessel 1999: 109-113, 115-160, 2003). Diessel (1999: ch. 6) argues that grammaticalisation from demonstratives flows from specific syntactic configurations, namely pronominal, adnominal, adverbial, and identificational demonstratives. Among other things, these syntactic functions could flesh out the label “DEM” above, but the decision has been made to simplify the network to represent only the functional changes which may emerge from a demonstrative source over time.

While most of the labels in Figure 6 should be understandable or self-evident, explanation of labels which will figure prominently in the analysis below is necessary. First, anaphoric demonstratives are coreferential with a previous noun or noun phrase in the prior discourse:

(16) Stirling and Huddleston 2002: 1506

- a. *There was a glass pane in the front door, and through **this** he could see into a hallway where a plump woman with red hair was arranging flowers.*
- b. *I raised some money by hocking the good clothes I had left, but when **that** was gone I didn't have a cent.*

Such anaphoric demonstratives (called “tracking use” in Himmelmann 1996) interact with other means of tracking such as definite articles, third-person markers, et cetera (cf., e.g., Ariel 1990; Becher 2010; Bosch and Umbach 2007; Comrie 1997, 1998a; Diessel 1999: 95-100; Gagarina 2007; Gundel, et al. 1993; Himmelmann 1996; Kaiser and Trueswell 2004; Lichtenberk 1988, 1996). As such, the anaphoric function in Figure 6 has been prised apart into distinct categories, following Goedegebuure (2003): “contrastive topic anaphora”, “focus anaphora”, and “non-topic anaphora”, to which “topic anaphora” is added below in Figures 7 and 8. Topic and focus are information structure labels: “[t]he topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about” (Lambrecht 1994: 118); and the focus is “[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1994: 231). Thus topic anaphora is the anaphoric referral to the current topic, the domain of the prototypical function of third-person markers:

(17) Stirling and Huddleston 2002: 1457

- My daughter**_i tells me that her_i car has been giving her_i a lot of trouble recently. She_i thinks she_i may have to start cycling to work.*

By using the label “topic anaphora” (see below Figures 7 and 8) this intentionally leaves open the degree to which the expression is grammaticalised (or linguistically realised), that is, whether it is free/independent, cliticised, referential inflection marking (in the case of so-called pro-drop languages), or even entirely constructionally absent for some languages (cf. the Japanese constructions discussed by Gundel, et al. 1993: 298). For this reason, the more “syntactically”-oriented language of “free third-person marker”, “clitic”, and “agreement marker” is subsumed and replaced by the more broad “semantically”-oriented term “topic anaphora.”

Like topic anaphora, contrastive topic anaphora is anaphoric referral to a current topic, but which in the proposition is pragmatically contrasted with another topic:

(18) Lambrecht 1994: 291

- I saw Mary and John yesterday. **She** says hello, but **he**'s still angry with you.*

Non-topic anaphora is anaphoric referral to a non-topical discourse referent. Stress and anaphoric demonstratives often play a crucial role here. German anaphoric demonstratives are used, as in (19) below, for non-topical anaphora, whereas the corresponding English translation is ambiguous

without representing a stressed pronoun, which would indicate anaphora to a non-topic in the given context.

(19) Diessel 1999: 96

Der Anwalt, sprach mit einem Klienten_j. Da er_i/der_j nicht viel Zeit hatte, vereinbarten sie ein weiteres Gespräch nächste Woche.

“The lawyer talked to a client. Since he didn’t have much time, they agreed to have another meeting next week.”

Focus anaphora is anaphora to a topical discourse referent which must in the proposition be construed as an assertion. In other words, the anaphoric expression bears an argument focus relation, as in the example below:

(20) Lambrecht 1994: 115

- a. *Who did they call?*
- b. *Pat said SHE was called.*

Second, recognitional demonstratives are demonstratives which are used to activate shared information (cf. Chen 1990; Diessel 1999: 105-108; Gundel, et al. 1993; Himmelmann 1996, 1997). Such usage sets itself apart from anaphoric referral (although recognitional demonstratives thus bear some similarity to non-topical anaphora used to reactivate an old discourse referent; cf. Lichtenberk 1988 on To’aba’ita) in that referents of recognitional demonstratives are unactivated in the discourse although pragmatically presupposed.

(21) Gundel, et al. 1993: 278

*I couldn’t sleep last night. **That** dog (next door) kept me awake.*

Third, discourse deictic demonstratives are demonstratives which refer to discourse elements. Whereas anaphoric demonstratives refer to a noun phrase, discourse deictic demonstratives commonly refer to propositions or meaning conveyed by a discourse element, be it clause, sentence, paragraph, or story (Diessel 1999: 100-105; cf. Himmelmann 1996: 224-226).¹⁶

(22) Webber 1988: 116

- a. *Hey, they’ve promoted Fred to second vice president.*
- b.
 - i. ***That**’s a lie.*
 - ii. ***That**’s a funny way to describe the situation.*
 - iii. *When did **that** happen?*
 - iv. ***That**’s a weird thing for them to do.*

(22bi) refers to the illocutionary force of the previous statement; (22bii) refers to the choice of linguistic expression; (22biii) refers to the event; and (22biv) refers to the action of the statement. While all the discourse deictic expressions in (22) are anaphoric, discourse deictic demonstratives can also have cataphoric referral as in English *Listen to **this***: ... (cf. Cornish 1999: 21). Discourse deixis additionally covers the range of usage where referral is to a narrative point in time, as in Himmelmann’s example from the Pear Stories in (23), or arguments and acts in expository and procedural texts.

(23) Himmelmann 1996: 225

*... right at **that** moment the three boys came walking by, munching on the pears ...*

¹⁶ Note: Stirling and Huddleston (2002) define discourse deixis somewhat differently and so make different categorisations than is typically done by other linguists.

3.4. Demonstratives and deixis

Thus far we have briefly considered the diachronic change demonstratives commonly undergo arising from their basic deictic function. We now consider deixis in relation to demonstratives in more detail before presenting a semantic map of demonstrative and anaphoric functions onto which the TH expressions will be mapped.

As has been stated above, since demonstratives are deictic expressions, they can only be understood in reference to the original speech-act. What this means is that their interpretation/resolution essentially involves a particular point of reference—commonly called the deictic centre or *origo* (see, e.g., Fricke 2003 for extended discussion). More specifically, deictic expressions encode the relation between the deictic centre and the intended referent (Helmbrecht 2004: 94-99). In this sense, then, they are “pointing” expressions as they make reference to a shared point of departure from which the referent of the expression is “pointed out” by way of the relation holding between the point of departure and the intended referent. In the case of demonstratives, the relation holding between the deictic centre and the referent is of the kind “proximal” versus “distal” semantics, and so forth. Further semantic characterisation is common by way of, for example, gender or animacy marking, which helps aid disambiguation between potentially competing intended referents (cf. Heath 1975).

Nevertheless, it is the deictic centre which is essential for the successful retrieval of the intended referent of a deictic expression because it is from this point of departure that the “search” for the intended referent is conducted (see again Helmbrecht 2004: 94-99). The prototypical deictic centre is the speaker of the speech-act. Demonstratives encoding the relations “proximal” or “distal,” for example, are understood referentially in relation to this reference point. An extension of this prototypical cooccurring of deictic centre with the speaker is one where the deictic centre as the point of departure for the successful resolution of deictic expressions is shifted to the situation evoked in narratives and descriptions—Bühler’s much-discussed “Deixis am Phantasma” (Bühler 1934: 121-140). Such deictic shifts or projection involve the transposition of the speaker as the deictic centre to a person or imaginary observer in the discourse as the deictic centre, and is commonly accompanied by specific linguistic marking indicating such (Bühler 1934: 102-120).

The deictic relations of demonstrative pronouns are often relative terms (cf. Enfield 2003). “Proximal” and “distal,” for example, are commonly relative in that their successful resolution involves a conceptualisation/construal of the speech act and situation. That is, “proximal” and “distal” are often not absolute, but instead involve a certain conceptualisation of the speech situation relative to the current deictic centre. However, some demonstrative systems are more specific than others due to the grammaticalisation of more deictic contrasts. Such multi-termed systems fall either into distance- or person-oriented demonstrative systems, the latter a diachronic development from the former (cf. Fillmore 1982). Nevertheless, person-oriented demonstrative systems still involve a conceptualisation of the speech-act in that the deictic centre is shifted to the “hearer” and the “speaker and the hearer” for some terms (cf. Diessel 1999: 41, 2005a: 171b).

Distance-oriented demonstrative systems generally grammaticalise two or three distance contrasts: either “proximal” and “distal”; or “proximal,” “medial,” and “distal.” Person-oriented demonstrative systems generally grammaticalise three or four distance contrasts: either “near speaker,” “near hearer,” and “away from speaker and hearer”; or “near speaker,” “near hearer,” “near speaker and hearer,” and “away from speaker and hearer.”

While distance- or person-orientation are common deictic demonstrative contrasts cross-linguistically, languages may also grammaticalise additional deictic distinctions once a distance- or

person-oriented system is in place. For example, West Greenlandic (Eskimo-Aleut), in addition to making three distance distinctions, also deictically distinguishes degrees of elevation, in/exterior, coastline, and visibility (cf. Diessel 1999: 46). Further non-deictic contrasts may also be made, namely ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number, and boundedness. However, given that distance- and person-orientation deixis is foundational to demonstratives, additional deictic distinctions will not be represented in the semantic mapping since they are not relevant to the issue of TH object deixis investigated here, although a full cross-linguistic account of demonstrative functions would have to do so. Similarly, non-deictic qualitative features will not be represented in the semantic mapping of this work as these features are not relevant to the issue of deixis discussed here.

3.5. A proposed demonstrative–anaphoric semantic map

In light of the above discussion, the following grammaticalisation channels emerging from demonstratives are proposed. They are a refined subset from Figure 7:

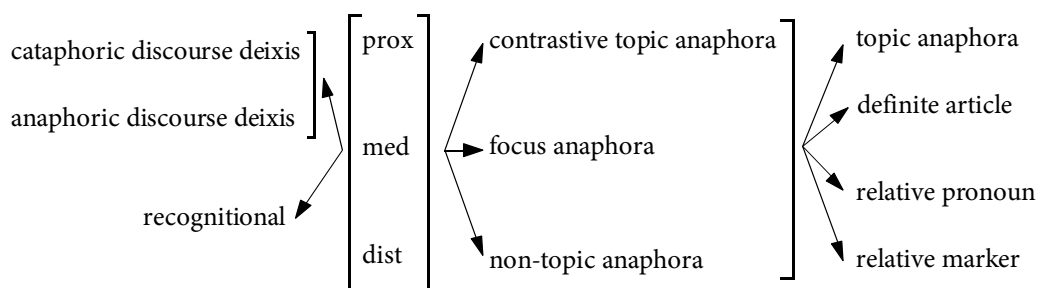


Figure 7. Grammaticalisation channel from distance-oriented demonstrative system (prox = proximal; med = medial; dist = distal)

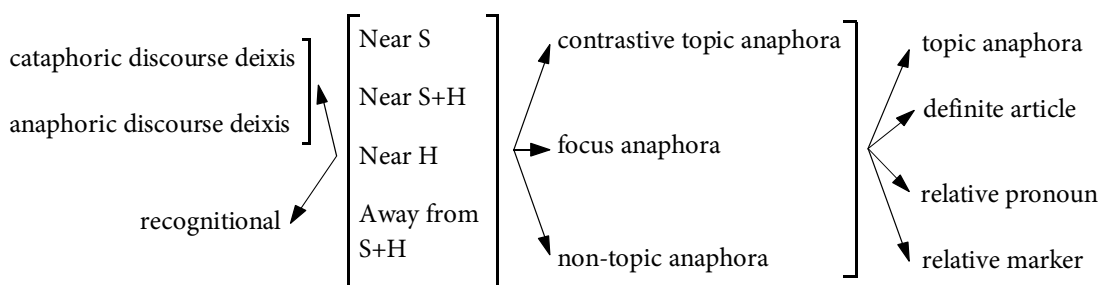


Figure 8. Grammaticalisation channel from person-oriented demonstrative system (S = speaker; H = hearer)

Figure 7 represents the grammaticalisation channel applicable to a distance-oriented demonstrative system (e.g., like TH), while Figure 8 represents the grammaticalisation channel applicable to a person-oriented demonstrative system (e.g., like Hittite). Obviously, both channels could be combined since person-oriented demonstrative systems represent a stage of development beyond a distance-oriented system. However, when using the grammaticalisation channel as the basis of a semantic map, it becomes quite unwieldy to have both distance- and person-oriented systems simultaneously represented. Furthermore, language descriptions divide evenly between the two such that synchronic mapping utilising both distance- and person-oriented categories beyond

“proximal/near speaker” would not really eventuate. It thus seems reasonable in practice to use two maps.

The channels in Figures 7 and 8 flow both left and right so as to be able to represent geometrically the entire range of functions initially emerging from demonstratives. To the left are the definiteness, recognitional, and discourse deixis functions. Discourse deixis is here subcategorised from Figure 6 into anaphoric and cataphoric functions as languages commonly do not use the same demonstrative for the two functions. To the right, demonstratives give rise to various anaphoric functions discussed above: contrastive topic anaphora, focus anaphora, and non-topic anaphora. It remains unclear whether any one of these separate functions may give rise to a pure topic anaphora function, or if the rise to topic anaphora is constrained. Languages in the sample of languages with which comparison will be made to TH below display a tendency towards the topic anaphora function only when the demonstrative is also used for contrastive topic anaphora. For example, in Nunggubuyu (Gunwinyguan, Australian; Australia), the person marker *ni-ga* is used for contrastive topic anaphora as well as topic anaphora in non-verbal clauses. Focus anaphora and non-topic anaphora are expressed separately by the pronouns *ni-ga-waj* and *ni-ga:-'bilhan^gu* respectively (Heath 1980, 1983, 1984). Similarly, in German the person markers *er, sie, and es* and in To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1988, 1996; Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Oceanic) the proximal demonstrative *'eri* have the anaphoric functions of focus anaphora, contrastive topic anaphora, and topic anaphora. Latin *hic, haec, hoc* seems to be an exception in that it is used for non-topic anaphora as well as perhaps topic anaphora in referring to a topic just previously introduced (Bolkestein and van de Grift 1994), known in the literature as “immediate anaphora after first mention” (cf. Lichtenberk 1996). However, it is perhaps an open question whether immediate anaphora after first mention is to be taken as non-topic anaphora or instead topic anaphora. Bolkestein and van de Grift (1994: 287), for example, take such examples of Latin *hic, haec, hoc* as referral to a referent which is a future topic and thus in the terms used here non-topic anaphora. As such, the present research has chosen not to be too specific and allow for the topic anaphora function to arise broadly from the more “pragmatic” anaphoric functions. *Mutatis mutandis*, much the same issue applies in considering the rise of a definite article and relative marking from the anaphoric functions of demonstratives.

The grammaticalisation channels of Figures 7 and 8, it is proposed, are the functions appropriate for a semantic map covering demonstrative and anaphoric functions applicable to the issue of a deictic distance contrast in TH object demonstrative pronouns. They may be taken and used directly to map demonstrative and anaphoric functions of constructions covering this region of semantic space. A few examples will help to illustrate this:

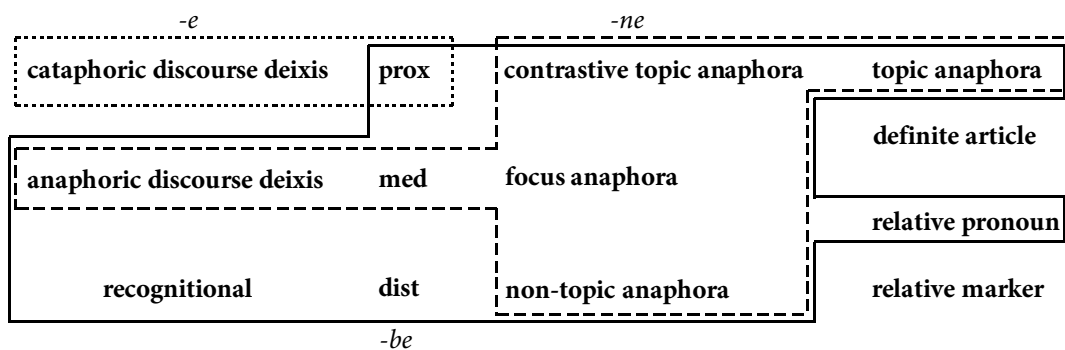


Figure 9. Functions of productive set of adnominal demonstratives in Sumerian (Woods 2001a, 2001b)

Figure 9 represents the functions of the productive set of adnominal demonstratives in Sumerian based on the best work to date on demonstratives in that language.¹⁷ As depicted, Sumerian (isolate) made three distance distinctions with its demonstratives: *-e* “proximal”; *-ne* “medial”; and *-be* “neutral” with respect to distance and also the only demonstrative used for referral to distal referents.

Figure 10 represents the demonstratives in Wari' (Chapacura-Wanhan) as per the analysis of Everett and Kern (1997):

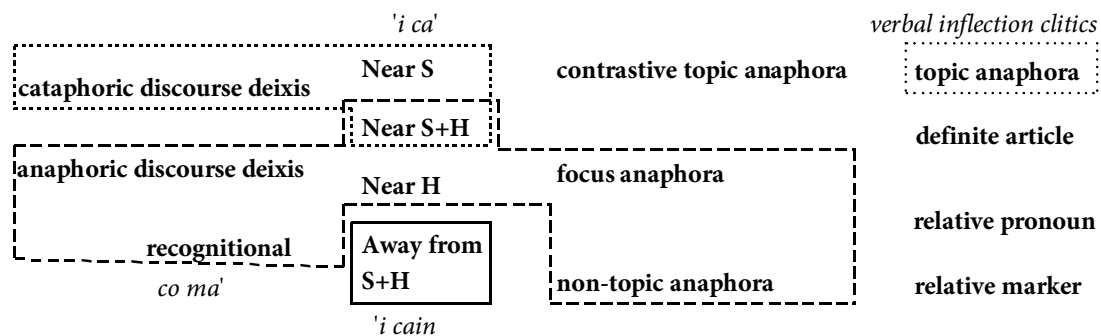


Figure 10. Functions of pronominal demonstratives and verbal inflection clitics in Wari' (Chapacura-Wanhan; Everett and Kern 1997)

Wari' illustrates the mapping of a person-oriented language since Wari' object demonstratives make three distinctions: *'i ca'* “near speaker”; *co ma'* “near hearer”; and *'i cain* “away from speaker and hearer.” However, from Everett and Kern’s grammar what is used for the function contrastive topic anaphora cannot be located so it has been unspecified on the map. Further, Figure 10 also illustrates the mapping of three distance terms onto an area of four functions. Since Wari' does not have a term reserved for “near speaker and hearer,” the assumption is made that referral to such an object involves a certain conceptualisation of the speech situation such that either *'i ca'* and *co ma'* may be used. The same applies to a distance-oriented demonstrative system making a “proximal” and “distal” distinction: referral to “medial” referents involves a construal of the speech situation such that either the proximal or distal term may be used depending on the conceptualisation of the speech situation.

4. The functions of TH הָ and הוּאָ paradigms

The following sections outline the range of functions expressed by the הָ and הוּאָ paradigms. §4.1 begins by outlining the majority function as already found in the grammars. The section then moves to a discussion of the evidence supporting the הָ paradigm being used of distal referents.

The proceeding sections then outline the additional functions of the two forms. Illustrative examples from the Hebrew Bible are provided, with the percentage of occurrences in the Pentateuch noted to provide an idea of the frequency of use (the data used for the percentages is supplied as an appendix). Finally, §4.6 maps the identified functions onto the semantic map.

¹⁷ Note that the work of Woods seems to be unknown in the analysis of Rubio 2007.

4.1. Deictic function: הַזֶּה as a distance-neutral demonstrative

The basic paradigmatic distinction between the הַזֶּה and הוּא paradigms is illustrated by the examples (24) and (25) below, in which הַזֶּה functions deictically in (24) and הוּא functions anaphorically in (25). These two examples represent also the most common function for these two expressions: the deictic function of the paradigm of הַזֶּה represents 35 percent of occurrences in the Pentateuch, while the anaphoric function of the הוּא paradigm represents 82 percent of occurrences in the Pentateuch.

(24) a. Gen 37:32

וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ אֶת־כִּתְנֵת הַפָּסִים וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶל־אָבִיהֶם וַיֹּאמְרוּ זֹאת מְצָאנוּ

'And they sent the ornamented tunic and they brought [it] to their father and said, "We found this."

b. Gen 32:3

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב כַּאֲשֶׁר רָאָם מַחֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים זֶה וַיִּקְרָא שְׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא מַחֲנֵיִם:

'And Jacob said as he saw them, "This is the camp of God." And he called the name of that place Mahanaim.'

(25) a. Gen 2:13

וּשְׁם־הַנָּהָר הַשֵּׁנִי גִיחוֹן הוּא הַסּוֹבֵב אֶת כָּל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ:

'And the name of the second river is the Gihon. It is the one that winds through all the land of Cush.'

b. Gen 4:21

וּשְׁם אָחִיו יוּבָל הוּא הִזָּה אָבִי כָל־תַּפֵּשׁ כְּנֹר וְעוּגָב:

'And the name of his brother was Jubal. He was the father of all who play the lyre and flute.'

Despite the fact that the הוּא paradigm is understood by most Hebraists as having a distal demonstrative function, the evidence points against such an analysis. Instead, the הַזֶּה paradigm covers, in addition to its proximal function, the distal demonstrative function that the הוּא paradigm is purported to have. As such, it should be considered a distance-neutral demonstrative. Every occurrence of members of the הַזֶּה and הוּא paradigms in the entire corpus of the Hebrew Bible have been analysed for deictic function and the following observations which support the conclusion that the הַזֶּה paradigm is a distance-neutral demonstrative are made.

First, there are in fact no examples—none even which might be considered possible examples—in the entire corpus where members of the הוּא paradigm function deictically as a distal demonstrative.

However, second, in contrast there are actually a number of instances where members of the הַזֶּה paradigm may be understood as possibly functioning as a distal demonstrative. That is, in each particular case-by-case context, it is ambiguous whether the correct construal is proximal or distal, or in some cases whether some other construal is intended.

Third, standing in stark contrast to the first point that there are no examples in the Hebrew Bible of members of the הוּא paradigm functioning as a distal demonstrative, and in line with the second observation that there are instances where it is possible that the הַזֶּה paradigm is used to refer deictically to a distal referent, there are a number of examples where members of the הַזֶּה paradigm are quite certain to have a distal referent.

Each of the certain distal examples of the הַזֶּה paradigm will now be discussed and then possible examples will follow.

(26) Exod 4:2

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה מֵהַזֶּה בְּיָדְךָ וַיֹּאמֶר מִטָּה:

‘And Yahweh said to him, “What is that in your hand.’ And he said, ‘A staff.’”

(27) Exod 4:17

וְאֵת־הַמִּטָּה הַזֶּה תִּקַּח בְּיָדְךָ אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשֶׂה־בוֹ אֶת־הָאֵתוֹת:

“And that staff you will take in your hand by which you will do the signs.”

In examples (26) and (27), הַזֶּה functions deictically as a non-proximal demonstrative since what is referred to is in the realm and control of the addressee rather than the speaker, who is located away from the addressee speaking from a burning bush.

(28) Exod 10:7

וַיֹּאמְרוּ עַבְדֵי פַרְעֹה אֵלָיו עַד־מָתַי יְהִיֶה זֶה לָנוּ לְמוֹקֵשׁ

‘And the servants of Pharaoh said to him, “How long will that one be a snare to us?””

In example (28), the referent of הַזֶּה is Moses, who has just spoken to Pharaoh and then left. As such, the referent is both deictically and cognitively prominent, and since Moses is located away from both speaker and addressee הַזֶּה is functioning here deictically as a distal demonstrative.

(29) Exod 32:9

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה רְאִיתִי אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה

‘And Yahweh said to Moses, “I have seen those people.””

In Exodus 32:9 above, Yahweh the speaker and Moses the addressee are up on Mount Sinai. The referent of הַזֶּה is the people located at the foot of the mountain and thus at some distance from both speaker and addressee. As such, הַזֶּה functions here as a distal demonstrative.

(30) Num 21:2

וַיִּדַר יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶדֶר לַיהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר אִם־נָתַן תָּתֵן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי וְהִחַרְמֹתִי אֶת־עָרֵיהֶם:

‘And Israel made a vow to Yahweh and said, “If you will indeed give those people into my hand, then I will destroy their cities.””

In Numbers 21:2, the speaker is the people of Israel and Yahweh is the addressee. Israel has suffered defeat by the king of Arad and his people, and also has had some of their people captured. The vow likely comes as a response rather than during the battle and the capturing of the people. Therefore, the people of Arad, who are the referent of הַזֶּה, are more likely distal rather than proximal.

(31) Num 27:12

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה עֲלֶה אֶל־הַר הָעֵבְרִים הַזֶּה וּרְאֵה אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

‘And Yahweh said to Moses, “Go up the that mountain of the Abarim and see the land which I have given to the sons of Israel.””

In example (31) Yahweh is the speaker and Moses is the addressee. Their location is the plains of Moab by the Jordan river across from Jericho (cf. Num 26:3). In Numbers 27:12, הַזֶּה is an adnominal demonstrative modifying הַר הָעֵבְרִים ‘the mountain of the Abarim’. הַר הָעֵבְרִים is a locality in the vicinity of Mount Nebo (Num 33:47), about 20 kilometres away (cf. Rainey and Notley 2006: 123). The referent is thus distal.

(32) Deut 3:18

וְאָצוּ אֶתְכֶם בְּעֵת הַהוּא לֵאמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם נָתַן לְכֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת לְרִשְׁתָּהּ חֲלוּצִים תַּעֲבְרוּ לִפְנֵי אַחֵיכֶם
בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּל־בְּנֵי־חֵיל:

“... And I commanded you at that time: ‘Yahweh your God has given you that land for your possession. The fighting men will cross over before your brothers, the sons of Israel, all the sons of power.’”

In Deuteronomy 3:18, Moses reminds the people of Israel of what he had said to them when they had camped at Beth-peor (Deut 3:29) on their way to the land of Canaan. From their vantage point in the mountains, they could likely see the distant land he referred to using זאת adnominally as a distal demonstrative (cf. Rainey and Notley 2006: 124).

(33) Deut 4:22

כִּי אֲנֹכִי מֵת בְּאֶרֶץ הַזֹּאת אֵינֶנִּי עֹבֵר אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן וְאַתֶּם עֹבְרִים וְיִרְשְׁתֶּם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה הַזֹּאת:

“... For I am about to die in this land. I am not going to cross the Jordan. But you are about to cross and possess that good land.”

As in the previous example, Moses is here addressing the people of Israel. They are camped on the plains of Moab and have not yet crossed the Jordan river into the land of Canaan. In this example, Moses again refers to the land of Canaan with the demonstrative זאת, which is functioning deictically to refer to the land on the other side of the Jordan river and thus the demonstrative here is being used to refer to a distal rather than a proximal referent.

(34) 1 Sam 4:6

וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־קוֹל הַתְּרוּעָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ מָה קוֹל הַתְּרוּעָה הַגְּדוֹלָה הַזֹּאת בְּמַחֲנֵה הָעִבְרִים

‘And the Philistines heard the sound of the shout and they said, “What is the sound of that great shout in the Hebrew camp?”’

In example (34), the Israelites and the Philistines are at war, with their camps set up at Ebenezer and Aphek respectively. The Ark of the Covenant arrives in the Israelite camp, they cheer, and the Philistines wonder what is happening. They refer to the distant cheering a couple of kilometres away with the demonstrative זאת, which functions deictically to refer to a distal referent. The demonstrative here is more likely distal than proximal given that the source of the shout is mentioned (“that great shout in the Hebrew camp”) rather than simply the sound of the shout itself (“this great shout around us”).

(35) 1 Sam 9:6

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַנְּהַגְנָא אִישׁ־אֱלֹהִים בְּעִיר הַזֹּאת וְהָאִישׁ נִכְבָּד כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־יִדְבֵּר בּוֹא יָבוֹא עִתָּה גְּלֻכָּה שָׁם

‘And he said to him, “Please, there is a man of God in that city, and the man is respected. All that he says certainly comes about. Now, let us go there.”’

In 1 Samuel 9:6, Saul and his servant are out searching for donkeys that have wandered off. Saul has had enough looking and wants to return home. His servant thought that they should visit a man of God in the city up ahead. The servant refers to the city with the demonstrative זאת, which is best taken to be deictic since the city has not been referred to before (hence it cannot be anaphoric) and there is not enough inferencing for it to be a recognitional use. As such, the demonstrative is deictic, referring to a city which is situationally prominent. Further, the demonstrative is best taken to be referring to a distal rather than proximal referent for the following reasons: (a) Saul and his servant are not located in the city at the time of the discourse but rather they have to walk some distance to the city and climb the hill to it (1 Sam 9:10-11); and (b) the city is referred to with the distal שָׁם ‘there’ rather than the proximal פֹּה ‘here’.

- (36) 1 Sam 17:26
 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַעֲמֻדִים עִמּוֹ לֵאמֹר מִה־יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִכֶּה אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַלֵּוֹ וְהִסִּיר חַרְפּוֹ מֵעַל יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי מִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הָעֶרְלִי הַזֶּה כִּי חָרַף מַעַרְכֹת אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים:
 ‘And David said to the men standing with him, “What will be done for the man that strikes down that Philistine and removes the disgrace from Israel? Who is that uncircumcised Philistine, that he has defies the armies of the living God?”’
- (37) 1 Sam 17:32
 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־שָׂאוּל אֶל־יִפְלֹל לִב־אָדָם עָלָיו עֲבֹדָךְ יֵלֵךְ וְנִלְחַם עִם־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה:
 ‘And David said to Saul, “Do not let anyone lose heart. Your servant will walk and go to battle with that Philistine.”’
- (38) 1 Sam 17:33
 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד לֹא תוּכַל לָלֶכֶת אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה לְהִלָּחֵם עִמּוֹ כִּי־נָעַר אַתָּה וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְעָרָיו:
 ‘And Saul said to David, “You are not able to walk to that Philistine to go into battle with him because you are a youth and he is a man of battle from his youth.”’
- (39) 1 Sam 17:36-37(x2)
 גַּם אֶת־הָאֲרִי גִס־הִדּוּב הִכָּה עֲבֹדָךְ וְהִנֵּה הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הָעֶרְלִי הַזֶּה כְּאַחַד מֵהֶם כִּי חָרַף מַעַרְכֹת אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים:
 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִצִּילָנִי מִיַּד הָאֲרִי וּמִיַּד הַדָּב הוּא יִצִּילָנִי מִיַּד הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה
 “‘Also the lion and the bear your servant has struck down, so that uncircumcised Philistine will be like one of them because he defies the armies of the living God.” And David said, “Yahweh, who has delivered me from the hand of the lion and the bear, he will deliver me from the hand of that Philistine.”’

Examples (36) to (39) all relate to the same situation where the giant Goliath was challenging the Israelite army to send someone out to fight him. In these verses, either David or Saul refers to Goliath using זה adnominally. Since Goliath is a prominent figure at the time of the discourse, it is difficult to take the demonstrative here as functioning recognitionally. Rather, it is easier to take the demonstrative as functioning deictically to refer to the distal referent Goliath.

- (40) 1 Sam 30:8
 וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בַּיהוָה לֵאמֹר אֶרְדֹּף אַחֲרֵי הַגְּדוּד־תַּזָּה
 ‘And David asked Yahweh, “Should I pursue after that troop?”’
- (41) 1 Sam 30:15(x2)
 וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו דָּוִד הַתּוֹרְדָנִי אֶל־הַגְּדוּד תַּזָּה וַיֹּאמֶר הַשִּׁבְעָה לִּי בְּאֱלֹהִים אִם־תִּמְתְּנֵנִי וְאִם־תִּסָּגְרֵנִי בְיַד־אֲדָנָי וְאוֹרְדָךְ אֶל־הַגְּדוּד תַּזָּה:
 ‘And David said to him, “Will you take me down to that troop?” And he said, “Please swear to me by God that you will not kill me and that you will not hand me over into the hand of my master, and I will bring you to that troop.”’¹⁸

In the two examples above, (40) and (41), both David and a captured Amalekite slave refer to the raiding Amalekite troop using זה adnominally. The addressee in each instance can be presumed to know of the Amalekite troop, so it is unlikely that זה is being used recognitionally to bring the referent to mind. Further, the Amalekite troop cannot be considered to be one which habitually raids the area such that a recognitional demonstrative could be used to bring this group to mind. More likely, then, זה is used here to refer deictically to a distal referent, the exact location of which is

¹⁸ On the oath here in this verse see Conklin 2005: 95-96.

unknown by David (“that troop [out there somewhere]”) but known by the slave (“that troop [out there of which I know the location]”).

(42) 1 Kgs 20:7

וַיִּקְרָא מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְכָל־זִקְנֵי הָאָרֶץ וַיֹּאמֶר דְּעוּ־נָא וּרְאוּ כִּי רָעָה זֶה מִבְּקֶשׁ

‘And the king of Israel summoned all the elders of the land and said, “Know, please, and see that one is seeking evil.”’

(43) 1 Kgs 20:13

וַהֲנֵהּ | נָבִיא אֶחָד נִגַּשׁ אֶל־אַחֲזָב מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר בָּהּ אָמַר יְהוָה הֲרֵאִיתָ אֶת כָּל־הַהֶמוֹן הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה

‘See, a prophet approached Ahab, king of Israel, and he said, “This is what Yahweh says, ‘Do you see all that great crowd?’”’

In example (42), Ben-Hadad the king of Aram is laying siege to Samaria. King Ahab is in the city and speaks about Ben-Hadad to his servants. He refers to Ben-Hadad with the demonstrative *זֶה*, which is best taken to be deictic since Ben-Hadad is situationally prominent. Additionally, it is most likely to be distal rather than proximal since Ben-Hadad is neither in the city nor the presence of Ahab.

In example (43), Ben-Hadad decides to attack the city of Samaria again and so musters his army. A prophet speaks to Ahab about the army that is preparing to attack, using the demonstrative *זֶה* adnominally. The demonstrative is deictic since the prophet refers to the visibly gathering army (“Do you see?” he says to Ahab). Further, it is likely distal since Ben-Hadad’s camp would not have been located right at the city itself (cf. 1 Kgs 20:16-20).

(44) 1 Kgs 20:28

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־כָּל־הַהֶמוֹן הַגָּדוֹל הַזֶּה בְּיָדְךָ

“... I will give all that great crowd into your hand....”

In example (44), Israel is still at war with Ben-Hadad, this time at Aphek, where the two armies have mustered opposite each other. A man of God speaks to King Ahab, delivering him the message that Ben-Hadad’s army will be handed over to him by God. To refer to the army, the man of God uses the demonstrative *זֶה* adnominally, which is best taken to be deictic given the situational prominence of the referent and also distal since Ben-Hadad’s army would not have been located right next to that of Ahab’s.

(45) 2 Kgs 5:20

וַיֹּאמֶר גִּיחִזִּי נַעַר אֱלִישָׁע אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים הַנֶּה | חֲשֵׁךְ אֲדֹנָי אֶת־נַעֲמָן הָאֲרַמִּי הַזֶּה מִקַּחַת מִיָּדוֹ אֶת אֲשֶׁר־הֵבִיא חֵי־יְהוָה כִּי־אִם־רָצַתִּי אַחֲרָיו וְלִקְחַתִּי מֵאִתּוֹ מְאוֹמָה:

‘And Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, the man of God, said, “Look, my master spared that Syrian Naaman from taking from his hand what he had brought. By the life of Yahweh, when I run after him, then I will take something from him.”’¹⁹

In 2 Kings 5:20, Gehazi says to the prophet Elisha that he should chase after Naaman. He refers to Naaman using *זֶה* adnominally. The demonstrative cannot be considered recognitional, since Naaman has recently been with them and thus does not need to be called to mind recognitionally. Further, the demonstrative is less likely to be proximal than distal given that Naaman has departed in his chariot and already travelled some distance (cf. 2 Kgs 5:19). Therefore, *זֶה* here functions deictically as a distal demonstrative.

¹⁹ On the oath here in this verse see Conklin 2005: 157.

(46) Isa 40:26

שְׂאוּ-מְרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם וּרְאוּ מִי־בְרָא אֵלֶּה

“Lift your eyes upward and see. Who created those?”

In example (46), the prophet Isaiah directs the addressees to look up into the night sky and to look at the stars, which he refers to with the plural demonstrative אֵלֶּה. It is difficult to imagine here that the prophet is conceptualising the stars as something rather close and tangible, but rather their vastness beyond human reach and control. As such, the demonstrative is best taken again as deictically referring to a distal referent.

(47) Ruth 2:5

וַיֹּאמֶר בְּעֵז לְנַעֲרוֹ הַנֹּצֵב עַל־הַקּוֹצְרִים לְמִי הַנְּעִירָה הַזֹּאת:

‘And Boaz said to his servant in charge over the harvesters, “To whom does that young woman belong?”’

In Ruth 2:5, Boaz the owner of the field speaks to his harvesters about Ruth, who is following them along picking up the leftovers. He refers to her using זאת adnominally. Here the demonstrative again refers to a referent which is deictically present. Further, since Boaz most likely asks his question out of earshot of Ruth, it is most likely that the demonstrative refers to a referent which is to be construed as distal.

Examples (26) to (47) are all the examples in the corpus which are considered as having referents which are to be taken as distal. That is, the other options that the demonstrative in each of these cases could be—proximal, anaphoric, recognitional, discourse deictic—are far less likely than that in each context the demonstrative is more naturally taken as deictically referring to a distal referent.

There are, however, additional cases where the demonstrative can possibly be considered as functioning as a distal demonstrative. That is, in each particular context, it is ambiguous whether the demonstrative is deictic, or if it has another function. The examples in the corpus are listed and discussed below.

(48) Gen 19:20

הַנְּהַלְנָא הָעִיר הַזֹּאת קְרִיבָה לָנוּס שָׁמָּה וְהִיא מְצַטְרָר אִמְלֻטָּה נְאֻ שָׁמָּה

“... See, please, that city is near enough to flee there, and it is small. Please let me escape there.”

In Genesis 19:20, Lot speaks to the angels who had been sent to warn him that God was going to destroy the city of Sodom. Having been urged by the angels that he and his family should run to the mountains, Lot replies that the mountains are too far away, and asks that he might instead be allowed to escape to a nearby city. Lot refers to this city using זאת adnominally. Given the speech context here, זאת is unambiguously deictic. Less certain is whether the city is being conceptualised as very close or somewhat distal. It is possible that it is distal given that they are not yet inside the city and they still need to travel to it.

(49) Exod 3:21

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־חַן הָעַם־הַזֶּה בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם

“... and I will give that people favour in the eyes of the Egyptians ...”

In example (49), Yahweh speaks to Moses about delivering his people from Egypt, referring to the people using הֵם adnominally. The demonstrative here is ambiguous as it could be anaphoric (“that people [I have been talking about]”) or deictic (“that people [back there in Egypt]”).

(50) Num 14:3

וְלָמָּה יְהוָה מְבִיא אֹתָנוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת

“... and why is Yahweh bringing us to that land...?”

(51) Num 14:8

אִם־חָפֵץ בָּנוּ יְהוָה וְהֵבִיא אֹתָנוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וּנְתַנָּהּ לָנוּ

“If Yahweh is pleased with us, then he will bring us to that land and give it to us.”

(52) Num 14:14

וְאָמְרוּ אֶל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת

“... and they will talk to the inhabitants of that land [about it]...”

Examples (50) to (52) all relate to the same situation when the Israelites start to resent the trip through the wilderness to the land of Canaan. In example (50), the people grumble amongst themselves and refer to the land of Canaan using זֹאת adnominally; in example (51), Joshua and Caleb speak to the people and refer to the land using זֹאת adnominally; and in example (52), Moses speaks to God and also refers to the land using זֹאת adnominally. In each case the demonstrative is ambiguous as it could either be recognitional (“that land [which we all know about]”) or deictic (“that land [beyond us which we are travelling towards]”).

(53) Deut 3:25

אָעֲבֶרְהָנָא וְאָרְאָה אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַטּוֹבָה אֲשֶׁר בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן הַיָּבֵשׁ הַטּוֹב הַזֶּה וְהַלְבָּנוֹן:

“Please let me cross and see the good land which is on the other side of the Jordan, that good hill country and the Lebanon.”

In Deuteronomy 3:25, Moses is on the verge of the promised land and asks God that he might be permitted to enter it. He refers to the hill country in the land using זֶה adnominally. It is ambiguous whether זֶה here is recognitional, given that the clause in which it occurs provides additional modification to הַיַּרְדֵּן ‘the Jordan’, or whether it is to be construed deictically (“that good hill country [out there]”).

(54) Deut 4:6

וְשִׁמְרַתֶּם וַעֲשִׂיתֶם כִּי הוּא חֲכַמְתְּכֶם וּבִינַתְכֶם לְעֵינֵי הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְעוּן אֶת כָּל־הַחֻקִּים הָאֵלֶּה וְאָמְרוּ רַק עַם־חָכָם וְנָבוֹן הַגּוֹי הַגָּדוֹל תְּהִיָּה:

“... so obey and do because it is your wisdom and your understanding for the eyes of the peoples, who will hear all these statutes and say, ‘Surely a wise and discerning people is that great nation!’”

In Deuteronomy 4:6, Moses instructs the Israelites that by following God at his word this will have a profound effect on the wider surrounding peoples because they will be seen to be wise and discerning. The words Moses puts in these peoples’ mouths use זֶה adnominally to refer to the Israelite nation. The demonstrative is ambiguous as it could either be recognitional (“that great nation [which we all know about]”), deictically proximal (“this great nation [close by]”), or deictically distal (“that great nation [over there in the land of Canaan]”).

(55) Judg 19:11

הֵם עַם־יְבוּס וְהַיּוֹם רַד מְאֹד וַיֹּאמֶר הַנְּעָר אֶל־אֲדֹנָיו לְכֹה־נָא וְנִסְוֶרָה אֶל־עִיר־הַיְבוּסִי הַזֹּאת וְנָלִין בָּהּ:

‘They were near Jebus and it was getting very late. The servant said to his master, “Come, please let us turn aside to that Jebusite city and let us stay overnight in it.”’

In example (55), two weary travellers discuss where they should spend the night. The servant suggests a Jebusite city they were passing by, referring to it using זֹאת adnominally. The demonstrative could possibly be taken as proximal (“this Jebusite city [here near us]”), but also, and more likely, distally (“that Jebusite city [over there to which we need to travel]”).

(56) 1 Sam 14:6

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹנָתָן אֶל־הַנָּעִר | נִשָּׂא כָלֵי לְכָה וְנַעֲבְרָה אֶל־מִצֵּב הָעֵרְלִים הָאֵלֶּה

'And Jonathan said to his armour-bearer, "Come, let us go over to the garrison of those uncircumcised ones."

In 1 Samuel 14:6, Joshua raises the idea with his armour-bearer of going over to a Philistine garrison and making war against it. He refers to the Philistines using אֵלֶּה adnominally. The demonstrative here could either be recognitional ("those uncircumcised ones [we both know about]") or deictically distal ("those uncircumcised ones [over there]").

(57) 1 Sam 23:2

וַיִּשְׁאַל דָּוִד בַּיהוָה לֵאמֹר הֲאֵלֶּךְ וְהִכִּיתִי בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים הָאֵלֶּה

'And David asked Yahweh, "Should I go and strike those Philistines?"'

Similarly, in 1 Samuel 23:2, David refers to the Philistines using אֵלֶּה adnominally. Again the demonstrative could either be recognitional ("those Philistines [we both know about]") or deictically distal ("those Philistines [at the city of Keilah]").

(58) 1 Kgs 13:8

וַיֹּאמֶר אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אִם־תָּתֹן־לִי אֶת־חֲצֵי בֵיתְךָ לֹא אֲבֹא עִמָּךְ וְלֹא־אֲכַל לֶחֶם וְלֹא אֲשָׁתֶּה־מִיָּם בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה:

'And the man of God said to the king, "Even if you gave me half of your house, I would not go with you and I would not eat bread and I would not drink water in that place."

(59) 1 Kgs 13:16

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אוּכַל לָשׁוּב אִתְּךָ וּלְבֹא אִתְּךָ וְלֹא־אֲכַל לֶחֶם וְלֹא־אֲשָׁתֶּה אִתְּךָ מִיָּם בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה:

'And he said, "I am not able to return with you and to go with you, and I am not able to eat bread and I will not drink water with you in that place."

In examples (58) and (59), a man of God tells both the king and another prophet that he cannot go to their places to eat and drink, using הַזֶּה adnominally. The demonstrative in both instances could either be discourse deictic ("that place [about which you refer]") or deictically distal ("that place [that you want me to travel with you]").

(60) 2 Kgs 4:12

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־גִּיחִזִּי נַעֲרֹ קְרָא לְשׁוֹנַמִּית הַזֹּאת

'And said to his servant Gehazi, "Call for that Shunammite woman."

(61) 2 Kgs 4:36

וַיִּקְרָא אֶל־גִּיחִזִּי וַיֹּאמֶר קְרָא אֶל־הַשְּׁנַמִּית הַזֹּאת

'And he called to Gehazi, and he said, "Call to that Shunammite woman."

In examples (60) and (61), two times the prophet Elisha says to his servant Gehazi to call for the Shunammite woman, both times referring to her using זאת adnominally. The demonstrative in both cases could either be recognitional, calling the woman to mind since she was not the topic of conversation each time, but known to both Elisha and Gehazi ("that Shunammite woman [we both know]") or more likely it is deictically distal ("that Shunammite woman [there downstairs]").

(62) 2 Chron 14:10

עֲזָרְנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־עָלִידָךְ נִשְׁעַנּוּ וּבִשְׁמֶךָ בָּאנוּ עַל־הַהַמּוֹן הַזֶּה

"... Help us, Yahweh our God, because on you we rely and in your name we have come against that multitude."

In 2 Chronicles 14:10, king Asa prays to God for help against the army of Zerah the Cushite. They have taken up battle lines and so it is possible that when Asa uses זה adnominally to refer to the army of Zerah that he intends the construal to be proximal. Alternatively, he may have conceptualised the army as somewhat distal.

(63) 2 Chron 20:12

אלהינו הלא תשפט־בם כי אין בנו כח לפני ההמון הרב הזה הבא עלינו

“Our God, will you not judge them, for there is no strength in us before that great multitude that comes against us?”

(64) 2 Chron 20:15

ויאמר הקשיבו כל־יהודה וישבי ירושלים והמלך יהושפט כה־אמר יהוה לכם אתם אל־תיראו ואל־תחתו מפני ההמון הרב הזה

‘And he said, “Listen, all of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem and king Jehoshaphat. Thus says Yahweh to you: ‘As for you, do not fear and do not be discouraged from the face of that great multitude.’”’

In examples (63) and (64) the armies that are marching up against the kingdom of Judah are referred to using זה adnominally, first by Jehoshaphat and then by Jachaziel. Since the army is not visible to either of these speakers, זה could be recognitional here (“that great multitude [which we know about]”). However, there is still a possibility that it is deictically distal in these examples (“that great multitude [out there]”).

This concludes the examples in the corpus where members of the זה paradigm are used in contexts where it is quite possible they are used deictically to refer to distal referents.

To sum up: the above discussion has presented the evidence that the members of the זה paradigm are used not just of proximal referents but also of distal referents and consequently must be taken as a distance-neutral demonstrative. The evidence for this was as follows: (a) no certain or even possible cases of members of the הוא paradigm in the corpus could be found used in deictic reference to distal referents (or proximal); (b) in contrast to this point, there are 17 occurrences of members of the זה paradigm used in contexts where it is possible that they are used in deictic reference to distal referents, but not entirely certain as in context there are alternative possible construals of the demonstrative; and (c) in further contrast to the first point, there are 24 occurrences of members of the זה paradigm used in contexts where it is quite certain that they are used in deictic reference to distal referents. This points to the conclusion that Ehlich, Brockelman, and Seow are correct: there is no deictic distance contrast between members of the paradigms of זה and הוא, but rather members of the זה paradigm are used as a distance-neutral demonstrative for object deixis.

Additional corroborative support may be seen in the “this and that” comparative construction. In this construction, members of the זה paradigm are not contrasted with members of the הוא paradigm but rather members of the זה paradigm are used for both constituents of the comparison. In other words, such examples display semantic neutralisation in a contrastive environment. An example is provided in (65):

(65) Dan 12:2

ורבים מי־שגי אדמת־עפר יקיצו אלה לחיי עולם ואלה לחרפות לדראון עולם:

‘And many from those who sleep in the ground will wake up—these to eternal life, and those to shame and eternal contempt.’

In Daniel 12:2, an angel explains to Daniel what will happen at the time of the end. Part of what will happen, the angel explains, is that some of those who have died will wake up from death to experience eternal life, while others who have died will wake up to experience shame and eternal contempt. To express this contrast, the demonstrative אֵלֶּה is used pronominally for both “these” and “those” rather than הֵמָּה. Now, it is true that some languages with deictically contrastive demonstratives still use only one of the demonstratives in such a function, however it is more regular to find contrastive deictic demonstratives if there are such in a language. In fact, no occurrences can be found in the corpus where members of the הוּא paradigm are used in the “this and that” comparative construction to contrast with members of the הֵּ paradigm.²⁰ The examples in the corpus of the “this and that” comparative construction with members of the הֵּ paradigm are as follows: Gen 29:27; Exod 14:20; 17:12; 25:19; 26:13(x2); 32:15; 37:8; 38:15; Num 22:24; Josh 7:20; 8:22; 8:33; Judg 7:4; 18:4; 1 Sam 14:4 17:3; 23:26; 2 Sam 2:13(x2); 11:25; 17:15(x2); 1 Kgs 3:23; 10:19; 10:20; 14:5; 22:20; 2 Kgs 5:4; 9:12; Isa 6:3; 44:5; Ezek 45:7; 47:7; 47:12; 48:21; Zech 5:3; Pss 20:8; 75:8; Job 1:16; 1:17; 1:18; 21:23-25; Eccl 3:19; 7:14; 7:18; 11:6; Dan 12:2; 1 Chron 24:5; 2 Chron 9:18; 9:19; 18:19. Thus while such evidence is not conclusive it does add to the growing picture that the הוּא paradigm does not deictically contrast with the הֵּ paradigm.

Consequently, all the main and collaborative evidence points to the הֵּ paradigm having a distance-neutral deictic function, while the הוּא paradigm no longer has a deictic function. The הוּא paradigm itself has grammaticalised from a demonstrative used for remote object deixis given the evidence for such in Proto-Semitic (cf. Huehnergard 2004) and other Semitic languages (e.g. Akkadian; cf. Diakonoff and Kogan 2007; Huehnergard 2000). However, from the evidence presented the language of TH has lost such a function, being used primarily for anaphoric reference. This prototypical difference between the הֵּ and הוּא paradigms may be observed in comparing (66a) with (66b). As Joüon and Muraoka have already pointed out (2006: §143k), the difference between these examples is that in (66a) הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת ‘this land’ refers deictically to the present location of the speaker, while in (66b) הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא ‘that land’ does not refer deictically to a distal location but anaphorically to the location about which the speaker has been talking, that is, ‘the aforementioned land’. Joüon and Muraoka have therefore understood the essential contrast between the הֵּ and הוּא paradigms, but unlike Ehlich, Brockelmann, and Seow, their position does not fully match their account of the examples in (66) given that the הוּא paradigm used in adnominal function like (66b) is called “a quasi-demonstrative or weak demonstrative” (2006: §143j).

(66) a. Jer 25:9

וְהִבֵּאתִים עַל-הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת

“... and I will bring them against this land ...”

b. Jer 25:13

וְהִבֵּאתִי עַל-הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא אֶת-כָּל-דִּבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר-דִּבַּרְתִּי עָלֶיהָ

“... and I will bring against that land all my words of which I have spoken ...”

Nevertheless, one example of an unambiguous deictic reference can still be found which is given in (67a) below.

(67) a. Exod 16:15

וַיֵּרְאוּ בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל-אָחִיו מִן הַוּא

‘And the Israelites saw [the thin flaky substance on the ground around them] and they said to one another, “What is it?”’

²⁰ In 1 Kings 20:40 הֵנָּה הֵנָּה is used adverbially for “here and there.”

- b. Cornish 1999: 112

[A and B turn a corner on the pavement, and suddenly find themselves face to face with a rather large dog]

A to B: *Do you think it's friendly?*

However, the interesting thing to note here is that the referral is made to a PROXIMAL referent and the function of הוּא in this verse is primarily actually that of anaphora to a referent which is highly salient in the speech context—an “antecedentless anaphor,” to use Cornish’s term, to which compare his example given in (67b). As Cornish says, the referent of such examples like those of (67) “is assumed to enjoy ‘focus’ status in the addressee’s consciousness” (Cornish 1999: 112) and consequently constitutes a type of anaphora rather than deixis.

All-in-all, then, it may be sufficiently concluded that the הוּא paradigm no longer serves a deictic function; rather, the הֵן paradigm has a distance-neutral deictic function. In this sense, then, TH is like Modern German where the adnominal *deis-* and (stressed) *der, die, and das* are all distance-neutral (Diessel 2005a; Himmelmann 1997). It remains to be elaborated what additional functions these two paradigms have in TH. It is to this question we now turn to complete the picture.

4.2. Anaphoric function

As already detailed above, the primary function of the הוּא paradigm is that of anaphora. However, as presented in §3.3 the notion of anaphora can be seen to consist of four different subsets: topic anaphora, contrastive topic anaphora, focus anaphora, and non-topic anaphora. Some rare languages use different forms for these functions, while more commonly person-marking forms range over the entirety of anaphoric functions.

4.2.1. Topic anaphora

Topic anaphora is the anaphoric referral to the current topic. In TH, the most common forms used for topic anaphora are the person-marking verbal inflections. However, the הוּא paradigm is used for topic anaphora in verbless clauses (predicate nominal, predicate adjective, etc.) and participial clauses, as in example (68). This is comparable to topic anaphora made by verbal inflections in verbal clauses, as in example (69). The הוּא paradigm has a topic anaphoric function 53 percent of the time of its occurrences in the Pentateuch.

- (68) Gen 2:13

וּשְׁמֵהֲנָהָר הַשֵּׁנִי גִיחוֹן הוּא הַסּוֹבֵב אֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ:

‘*And the name of the second river is the Gihon. It is the one that winds through all the land of Cush.*’

- (69) Gen 4:16

וַיֵּצֵא קַיִן מִלְפָּנֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּאֶרֶץ-נוֹד קְדִמַּת-עֵדֵן:

‘*And Cain went out from the presence of Yahweh and he lived in the land of Nod, east of Eden.*’

Regarding the הֵן paradigm, it is not used for strict topic anaphora function. It does appear once adnominally in the Pentateuch referring to a topical referent in Deuteronomy 5:3 as seen in example (70). However, this may be taken as immediate anaphora after first mention, which is used to situate a referent more firmly in the discourse and so may be considered more closely aligned with non-topic anaphora.

(70) Deut 5:2-3

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כָּרַת עִמָּנוּ בְּרִית בְּחֹרֵב: לֹא אֶת־אֲבוֹתֵינוּ כָּרַת יְהוָה אֶת־הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת כִּי אֲתָנוּ
 “Yahweh our God made a covenant with us at Horeb. He did not make this covenant with our fathers,
 but with us ...”

4.2.2. Contrastive topic anaphora

Contrastive topic anaphora is anaphoric referral to a current topic, but which in the proposition is pragmatically contrasted with another topic. The הוא paradigm has a contrastive topic anaphora function in 5 percent of its occurrences in the Pentateuch. In the example of Genesis 42:8, the referent of the independent third-person marker הם ‘they’ is topical and contrasted with another discourse referent which is also topical. On the other hand, the זה paradigm is not used for such contrastive topic anaphora.

(71) Gen 42:8

וַיִּכְרַ יוֹסֵף אֶת־אֶחָיו וְהֵם לֹא הִכְרָהוּ:
 ‘And Joseph recognised his brothers, but they did not recognise him.’

4.2.3. Focus anaphora

Focus anaphora is anaphora to a topical discourse referent which in the proposition is construed as an assertion. In other words, the anaphoric expression bears an argument focus relation. The זה paradigm is found with a focus anaphoric function in about 1 percent of its occurrences in the Pentateuch, while the הוא paradigm has this function in 2 percent of its occurrences in the Pentateuch. Examples are provided in (72) and (73) below. Floor (2004: 169-170, 178-179) analyses Adam’s reply in Genesis 3:12 as having an argument focus information structure with contrastive overlay. The initial dislocated phrase נְתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה אִשָּׁר ‘the woman that you put with me’ reactivates the referent ‘Eve’ and sets up the frame in which the clause is to be interpreted. The predicate supplies the information structure “(x) gave me fruit from the tree and I ate,” with the subject הוא ‘she’ bearing an argument focus relationship. However, the anaphoric third-person marker here is already presupposed and active, thus leading to the contrastive construal of the argument in focus, “[a]s if Adam was saying that ‘the one you gave me, she and only she did it! I am not responsible!’” (Floor 2004: 179). The second example, Leviticus 21:13-14, is similar. The context here is God informing Moses about the instruction he is to pass on to the priests concerning holy living. From verse 10 the instruction turns particularly to the High Priest, and it is this referent which הוא ‘he’ in verse 13 reactivates after a brief delay. Since verse 13 has already stated אִשָּׁה יָקָה בְּבִתּוּלִיָּהּ ‘he must marry a woman with her virginity’, the initial dislocated phrase of verse 14 activates an inferentially accessible referent. The predicate supplies the information structure “he must not marry (x),” with the fronted object bearing a focus relationship. Like the independent third-person marker in (72), the demonstrative here presents a contrastive overlay: “these and these ones in particular he must not marry.”

(72) Gen 3:12 (cf. Floor 2004: 169-170, 178-179 for discussion)

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נְתַתָּה לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ וָאֲכַל:
 ‘And the man said, “The woman that you put with me, she gave me [some fruit] from the tree, and I ate [it].”’

(73) Lev 21:13-14

וְהוּא אִשָּׁה בְּתוּלִיהָ יִקַּח: אֶלְמָנָה וְגֵרוּשָׁה וְחַלְלָה זֹנָה אֶת־אֵלֶּהָ לֹא יִקַּח

“As for him, he must marry a woman with her virginity. A widow or a divorced woman or a woman profaned by prostitution—these he must not marry...”

4.2.4. Non-topic anaphora

Non-topic anaphora is anaphoric referral to a non-topical discourse referent. The הוא paradigm is used with a non-topic anaphoric function in 23 percent of its occurrences in the Pentateuch, while the הָ paradigm bears this function in 5 percent of its occurrences in the Pentateuch.

(74) Gen 2:12

וַיֵּזֶבֶב הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא טוֹב

‘Now the gold of that land is good.’

In the example of Genesis 2:12, the referent of the phrase הָאָרֶץ הַהִוא ‘that land’ is active but not topical since the primary topic of the previous clause has been the Pishon river. We see here that non-topic anaphora is used for topic-shift, where the topic of the previous clause is shifted to a secondary topic. English utilises the distal demonstrative *that* in anaphoric function to refer to a non-topical referent previously mentioned in the discourse, as in the translation of Genesis 2:12. It is here where the translational equivalent can trick the grammarian into thinking that the independent third-person markers have a deictic function since *that* in English does indeed have this function.

An example of the הָ paradigm used for non-topic anaphora is given in (75). Here אֵלֶּה ‘these’ refers to the non-topical referent of the initial dislocated phrase heading the verse. The primary topic of the clause is referred to by the person-marking inflections of the main verb. A secondary topic is introduced by the detached phrase which is anaphorically referred to internally in the clause by אֵלֶּה ‘these’.

(75) Lev 22:22

עֹרֹתָ אֹדֶשׁ אוֹ שְׂבוֹר אוֹ-חֲרוּץ אוֹ-יִבְלֵת אוֹ גֶרֶב אוֹ יִלְפֵת לֹא-תִקְרִיבוּ אֵלֶּה לַיהוָה וְאִשָּׁה לֹא-תִתְּנוּ מֵהֶם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ לַיהוָה:

“As for blind, or fractured, or cut, or ulcerated, or festering, or scabbed, you must not give these to Yahweh. You must not give a gift from them on the alter to Yahweh.”

4.3. Discourse deixis

Turning now to discourse deixis, this classifies referral to discourse elements. Whereas anaphora refers to a noun phrase, discourse deictic constituents commonly refer to propositions or meaning conveyed by a discourse element, be it clause, sentence, paragraph, or story. Discourse deixis may be made to elements following the discourse deictic constituent, as well as preceding elements. Each of these shall be discussed in turn.

4.3.1. Cataphoric discourse deixis

Cataphoric discourse deixis is discourse deixis made to an element following the constituent. Given the prototypical anaphoric function of the הוא paradigm, it is not surprising that it is not typically found used for cataphoric discourse deixis. The only examples that can be found in the entire TH corpus are: Gen 41:28; 42:14; Exod 16:23; Lev 10:3; Ps 77:11.

(76) Gen 41:28

הוא הדבר אשר דברתי אל־פרעה אשר האלהים עשה הראה את־פרעה:

“*This is the word I spoke to Pharaoh: what God is about to do he has shown Pharaoh.*”

(77) Gen 42:14

ויאמר אלהם יוסף הוא אשר דברתי אלכם לאמר מרגלים אתם:

‘*And Joseph said to them, “This is what said to you: you are spies.”*’

(78) Exod 16:23

ויאמר אלהם הוא אשר דבר יהוה שבתון שבת־קדש ליהוה מחר

‘*And he said to them, “This is what Yahweh said: tomorrow is a day of rest, a holy sabbath to Yahweh.”*’

(79) Lev 10:3

ויאמר משה אל־אהרן הוא אשר־דבר יהוה | לאמר בקרבי אקדש

‘*And Moses said to Aaron, “This is what Yahweh said: among those near me I will be holy ...”*’

(80) Ps 77:11

ואמר חלזתי היא שנות ימין עליון:

‘*And I said, “This is my wounding: the changing of the right-hand of Elyon.”*’

However, it might be possible that these examples are non-referential, that is, the independent third-person marker is expletive. Given this possibility, which is a possibility since it is highly unusual for a third-person marker which has grammaticalised from a distal demonstrative to be used for cataphoric discourse deixis, it is better to refrain from specifying that this is a function of the הוא paradigm and leave the question open. Alternatively, another possibility is that such examples are on par with anticipatory anaphora with a following main clause antecedent identified in English by Stirling and Huddleston (2002: 1480-1481).

As for members of the זה paradigm, they have a cataphoric discourse deictic function 22 percent of the time of their occurrences in the Pentateuch. An example is provided in (81) below, where אלה ‘these’ refers textually to the elements of the following clause.

(81) Num 3:2

ואלה שמות בני־אהרן הבכור | נדב ואביהוא אלעזר ואיתמר:

‘*And these are the names of the sons of Aaron: the firstborn Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.*’

4.3.2. Anaphoric discourse deixis

Anaphoric discourse deixis is referral made to an element preceding the constituent. The זה paradigm has an anaphoric discourse deictic function 35 percent of the time of its occurrences in the Pentateuch, an example of which is Genesis 22:1 below. Here the demonstrative does not anaphorically refer to some prior NP, but to a narrative point in time understood in relation to the preceding context in general, thus serving to link discourse units, a common feature of anaphoric discourse deixis (Diessel 1999: 100-105).

(82) Gen 22:1

ויהי אחר הדברים האלה והאלהים נסה את־אברהם

‘*And after these things, God tested Abraham.*’

Similarly, the הוא paradigm is also used for anaphoric discourse deixis 16 percent of the time of its occurrences in the Pentateuch. An example is given in (83) where again the anaphoric discourse deixis serves to link one discourse unit with the next.

(83) Deut 1:9

וַאֲמַר אֲלֵכֶם בַּעַת הַהוּא

“‘And I said at *that* time ...”

Because of this function of discourse deixis where it helps to link discourse units, and because such linkage is often made to the time of events, it is often the case that anaphoric discourse deixis is regularly found in TH with clauses to do with time: בַּעַת הַהוּא,²¹ מֵהַיּוֹם\בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא,²² בַּעַת הַזֹּאת,²³ הַיּוֹם הַהוּא,²⁴ הַשָּׁנָה הַהוּא,²⁵ הַשָּׁנָה הַהוּא,²⁶ בְּלִילָה הַהוּא,²⁷ בַּיָּמִים הֵהֵם,²⁸ הַיּוֹם הַהוּא,²⁹ הַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא,³⁰ הַיָּמִים הֵהֵם,³¹ and בְּעֵתֵי הֵהֵם.³² Brin (2001) provides a helpful overview of all such time clauses in the Hebrew Bible and Childs (1963) looks at the deictic construction הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה ‘until this day’.

Importantly, given this discourse deictic function of the independent third-person marker in TH, it seems unlikely that the phrase בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא ‘on that day’ has become a technical term (so Munch 1936) but rather consistently functions either discourse deictically (as in the references already provided) or more rarely anaphorically in reference to an already activated referent. Thus these “time phrases” are also found, though less commonly, in anaphoric use: בַּיּוֹם\בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא,³³ בַּיָּמִים הֵהֵם,³⁴ הַיּוֹם הַהוּא,³⁵ and הַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא.³⁶

²¹ Gen 15:18; 26:32; 30:35; 33:16; 48:20; Exod 5:6; 8:18; 13:8; 14:30; 32:28; Lev 22:30; 27:23; Num 6:11; 9:6(x2); 32:10; Deut 21:23; 31:17(x2), 18, 22; Josh 4:14; 8:25; 9:27; 10:28, 35(x2); 11:21; 14:9, 12(x2); 24:25; Judg 3:30; 4:23; 5:1; 6:32; 20:35; 20:46; 1 Sam 3:2, 12; 4:12; 6:15, 16; 7:6, 10; 8:18; 9:24; 10:9; 12:18; 14:8, 23, 31, 37; 16:13; 18:2, 9; 19:24; 20:26; 21:8, 11; 22:18; 27:6; 31:6; 2 Sam 19:3; 23:10; 24:18; 1 Kgs 8:64; 16:16; 22:25, 35; 2 Kgs 3:6; Isa 2:11, 17, 20; 3:7, 18; 4:1, 2; 5:30; 7:18, 20, 21, 23; 10:20, 27; 11:10, 11; 12:1, 4; 17:4, 7, 9; 19:16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24; 20:6; 22:8, 12, 20, 25; 23:15; 24:21; 25:9; 26:1; 27:1, 2, 12, 13; 28:5; 29:18; 30:23; 31:7; 52:6; Jer 4:9; 25:33; 30:8; 39:10; 39:16, 17; 49:22, 26; 50:30; Ezek 23:38, 39; 29:21; 30:9; 38:10, 14, 18; 39:11; Hos 1:5; 2:18, 20, 23; Amos 2:16; 8:3, 9, 13; 9:11; Oba 1:8; Mic 2:4; 4:6; 5:9; 7:11 (יּוֹם הַהוּא); Hag 2:23; Zech 2:15; 6:10; 9:16; 11:11; 12:3, 4, 6, 8, 11; 13:1, 4; 14:6, 9, 13; 14:20, 21; Ps 146:4; Est 5:9; 8:1; 9:11; Neh 12:43; 13:1; 1 Chron 13:12; 16:7; 2 Chron 15:11; 18:24, 34; 35:16.

²² Gen 21:22 (הַהוּא); 38:1(הַהוּא); Num 22:4 (הַהוּא); Deut 1:9 (הַהוּא), 16 (הַהוּא), 18 (הַהוּא); 2:34 (הַהוּא); 3:4 (הַהוּא), 8 (הַהוּא), 12 (הַהוּא), 18 (הַהוּא), 21 (הַהוּא), 23 (הַהוּא); 4:14 (הַהוּא); 5:5 (הַהוּא); 9:20 (הַהוּא); 10:1 (הַהוּא), 8 (הַהוּא); Josh 5:2; 6:26; 11:10; Judg 3:29; 4:4; 11:26; 12:6; 14:4; 21:14, 24; 1 Kgs 8:65; 11:29; 14:1; 2 Kgs 8:22; 16:6; 18:16; 20:12; 24:10; Isa 18:7; 20:2; 39:1 (בַּעַת הַהוּא); Jer 3:17; 4:11; 8:1; 31:1; 33:15; 50:4; 50:20; Dan 12:1(x2); Joel 4:1; Amos 5:13; Mic 3:4; Zeph 1:12; 3:19, 20; Est 8:9; Ezra 8:34; Neh 4:16; 6:1; 13:21; 1 Chron 21:28, 29; 2 Chron 7:8; 13:18; 16:7; 28:16; 30:3; 35:17.

²³ Est 4:14.

²⁴ Dan 12:1.

²⁵ Gen 47:17 (הַהוּא); Deut 14:28 (הַהוּא); Josh 5:12; Judg 10:8; 2 Chron 27:5; Jer 28:1; Jer 28:17.

²⁶ Gen 47:18.

²⁷ Gen 19:33 (בְּלִילָה הַהוּא); 19:35; 26:24; 30:16 (בְּלִילָה הַהוּא); 32:14, 22, 23 (בְּלִילָה הַהוּא); Num 14:1; Josh 8:9; 8:13; Judg 6:25; 6:40; 7:9; 1 Sam 19:10 (lacking הַהוּא); 28:25; 2 Sam 7:4; 19:3; 2 Kgs 19:35; Est 6:1; 1 Chron 17:3; 2 Chron 1:7.

²⁸ Gen 6:4; Exod 2:11; Deut 17:9; 19:17; 26:3; Josh 20:6; Judg 17:6; 18:1(x2); 19:1; 20:15, 21, 26, 27, 28; 21:25; 1 Sam 3:1; 28:1; 2 Sam 16:23; 2 Kgs 10:32; 15:37; 20:1; Isa 39:1; Jer 3:16 (הַהֶמָּה), 18 (הַהֶמָּה); 5:18 (הַהֶמָּה); 50:4 (הַהֶמָּה), 20; Ezek 38:17; Dan 10:2; Joel 3:2 (הַהֶמָּה); Joel 4:1 (הַהֶמָּה); Zech 8:6, 23 (הַהֶמָּה); Est 1:2; 2:21; Neh 6:17; 13:15 (הַהֶמָּה), 23; 2 Chron 32:24.

²⁹ Exod 10:13; Num 11:32; Judg 9:45; 18:1; 1 Sam 30:25; Jer 30:7; 46:10; 48:41; Ezek 39:22; Neh 4:10; 8:17; 1 Chron 29:21.

³⁰ 2 Sam 2:29.

³¹ 1 Kgs 3:2.

³² Dan 11:14; 2 Chron 15:5.

³³ Deut 27:11; Josh 6:15; 10:14; 1 Sam 14:24; 22:22; 2 Sam 18:8; Ezek 20:6; 24:26; 24:27; 38:19; 45:22; Joel 4:18; Zeph 1:9; 1:10; 3:11; 3:16; Zech 3:10; 12:9; 13:2; 14:4; 14:8; Neh 12:44; 1 Chron 29:22.

In this regard, we also see that it is sometimes difficult to decide whether an example is discourse deictic or anaphoric. This is particularly the case with lists, an example of which is given in (84) below.

(84) Gen 10:20

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־חָם לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם לְלִשְׁנֹתָם בְּאַרְצֹתָם בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם:

'These are the sons of Ham by their families, by their languages, in their lands, in their nations.'

In this example, the referent of אֵלֶּה 'these' is discourse active since the referent is the names specified in the preceding context. But the question here is whether this is anaphora *per se*, or rather discourse deixis. Given that the antecedent is not a NP in the immediately preceding context but rather the entire preceding discourse concerning the family line of Ham begun in Genesis 10:6, which the demonstrative effectively concludes, it seems better to take this as discourse deixis. Ehlich for his part has an extended analysis of such lists in TH and argues for a discourse deictic function of the הָ paradigm (1979: 1.447-478). This function of the הָ paradigm is particularly common at the conclusion of lists or sub-lists in TH, and the high percentage of this function for the הָ paradigm is attributable to the fact that lists are very common throughout the Pentateuch.

4.4. Recognitional function

The recognitional function of demonstratives activates shared information which exists between the speaker and addressee. They are only ever used adnominally, and what sets them apart from anaphoric demonstratives is that their referent is not located in the preceding discourse but rather in the shared knowledge of the interlocutors.

In TH the recognitional function is not found all that often. In the Pentateuch הָהוּא has a recognitional function 0.6 percent of the time. An example is given in (85) below, where the circumlocution כָּל־הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתֶם דְּרָדָה הַר הָאֱמֹרִי 'all that great and dreadful wilderness that you saw on the way to the hill country of the Amorites' is typical of phrases which embed recognitional demonstratives.

(85) Deut 1:19

וְנִסַּע מִחֹרֵב וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶת כָּל־הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתֶם דְּרָדָה הַר הָאֱמֹרִי

"And we set out from Horeb and walked all that great and dreadful wilderness that you saw on the way to the hill country of the Amorites ..."

Crucial to note here is that the referent of הָהוּא 'that' functions recognitionally to help retrieve the referent from shared knowledge.

While it might seem strange that an anaphoric marker may have what is termed a "recognitional demonstrative" function, what this suggests is that this recognitional function of the independent third-person marker is a function left over from when it was originally used for remote object deixis. Given the evidence for a remote deictic function of morphemes in Proto-Semitic (cf. Huehnergard 2004) and other Semitic languages in general (e.g. Akkadian; cf. Diakonoff and Kogan 2007; Huehnergard 2000) cognate with the TH independent third-person markers, it seems reasonable to conclude that this set of morphemes in TH represents a grammaticalisation from an originally deictic function, as predicted by the typology outlined in §2. Further, since

³⁴ Jer 31:29; 31:33; 33:15; 33:16.

³⁵ Job 3:4; Mic 7:12 (זִים הוּא); Zeph 1:15.

³⁶ Job 3:5; 3:7.

demonstratives used for remote object deixis generally grammaticalise to be also used as recognitional demonstratives, it seems clear that this is what we find in TH, even though the remote object deictic function has been lost. Thus TH in this regard represents a case where the functions are not contiguous due to the diachronic change where the original deictic function has been eroded (see the semantic map in §4.6).

We also find הַזֶּה ‘this’ used recognitionally. In the Pentateuch the הַזֶּה paradigm has this function 4 percent of the time. Consider the example in (86) below. Here it is likely that הַזֶּה ‘this’ is used recognitionally rather than deictically or anaphorically. Anaphora can immediately be ruled out because the referent has not been used in the previous discourse. If it were deictic, the additional circumlocution אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּדְבָּר ‘which is in the wilderness’ is unexplainable since it would not be needed if the referent were deictically accessible. On the other hand, however, if the referent is only accessible from shared knowledge, then the relative clause is needed to aid the successful retrieval of the intended referent.

(86) Gen 37:22

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֵהֶם | רְאוּבֵן אֶל-תִּשְׁפְּכוּ-דָם הַשְּׁלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-הַבּוֹר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּדְבָּר

‘And Reuben said, “Do not spill blood. Throw him into that cistern which is in the wilderness ...”’

An interesting use of the demonstrative הַזֶּה is its use as a determinative adnominal. That is, rather than appearing in its typical way either pronominally or as an attributive adnominal, הַזֶּה occasionally is used determinatively. An example is given in (87) below where we find מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה rather than מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה.

(87) Exod 32:1

וַיֵּרָא הָעָם כִּי-בִשְׁשׁ מִשָּׁה לָרַדַּת מִן-הַהָר וַיִּקְהַל הָעָם עַל-אַהֲרֹן וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו קוּם | עֲשֵׂה-לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יִלְכוּ
לִפְנֵינוּ כִּי-יָזֶה | מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֵעֲלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם לֹא יָדַעְנוּ מַה-הָיָה לוֹ:

‘And the people saw that Moses was delayed in coming down from the mountain, and they gathered around Aaron and said to him, “Stand up, make gods for us that will walk before us, because as for that man Moses who brought us up from the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.”’

The latest suggestion is that this function is a remnant of an earlier adverbial prepositional possessive construction (Pat-El 2004-2007). However, not all examples involve an adverbial phrase, as is exactly the case with Exodus 32:1. It is intriguing to notice that most of the examples of הַזֶּה as a determinative could be taken as recognitional demonstratives. In the current example, the referent ‘Moses’ is not deictically accessible and given that this is the beginning of a new discourse it seems unlikely that it could be functioning anaphorically. The more likely option, then, is that it is recognitional, which is why the extra circumlocution אֲשֶׁר הֵעֲלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם ‘who brought us up from the land of Egypt’ occurs. In this way it could be understood derogatively implying distance between interlocutors and referent: “that Moses we all know about who brought us up from Egypt but of whom we know little else” (so Joosten 1991). It seems possible that the recognitional function of the demonstrative has developed something of an alternative syntax. Further research will need to investigate this possibility in TH and Semitic in general.

4.5 Expletive use of the הוּא paradigm

As previously mentioned at §4.3.1, cataphoric discourse deictic examples of members of the הוּא paradigm could possibly be considered as expletive, that is, as semantically empty. However, further research will need to decide whether this is the case or are instead instances of anticipatory anaphora with a following main clause antecedent on par with that identified in English by Stirling and Huddleston (2002: 1480-1481).

There are a couple of examples in the corpus where the independent third-person marker is expletive. In example (88) הוא is not referential but instead is expletive (see also Exod 6:26, 27).

(88) Num 26:9

וּבְנֵי אֱלִיאָב נְמוּאֵל וְדָתָן וְאַבִּירָם הוּא דָתָן וְאַבִּירָם קְרִיאֵי הָעֵדָה אֲשֶׁר הָצִו עַל־מֹשֶׁה וְעַל־אַהֲרֹן
 ‘And the sons of Eliab were Nemuel, Dathan and Abiram. It was Dathan and Abiram who were summoned by the community that struggled against Moses and against Aaron ...’

4.6. Semantic map of TH הָהוּא and הָהוּא paradigms

Having outlined the range of functions of the הָהוּא and הָהוּא paradigms, these may now be mapped onto the semantic map developed earlier. In Figure 11 the range of functions of the two paradigms described in §§4.1-4.4 is geometrically represented.

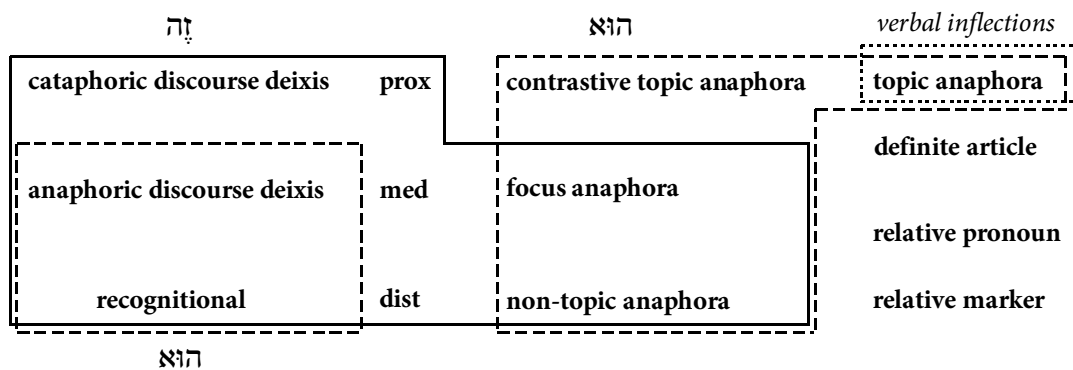


Figure 11. Functions of TH הָהוּא and הָהוּא paradigms

The map thus visually represents the range of functions of the two paradigms. As for the הָהוּא paradigm, it covers quite a wide range of functions: deictic, discourse deictic, recognitional, and the two anaphoric functions of non-topic anaphora and focus anaphora. The paradigm of הָהוּא, on the other hand, also has a range of functions: anaphoric discourse deixis, recognitional, and the anaphoric functions. Immediately apparent is that the functions of the הָהוּא paradigm do not map contiguously. As mentioned earlier, the original remote object deictic function has been lost, even though the anaphoric discourse deictic and recognitional functions to which it gave rise are still in use.

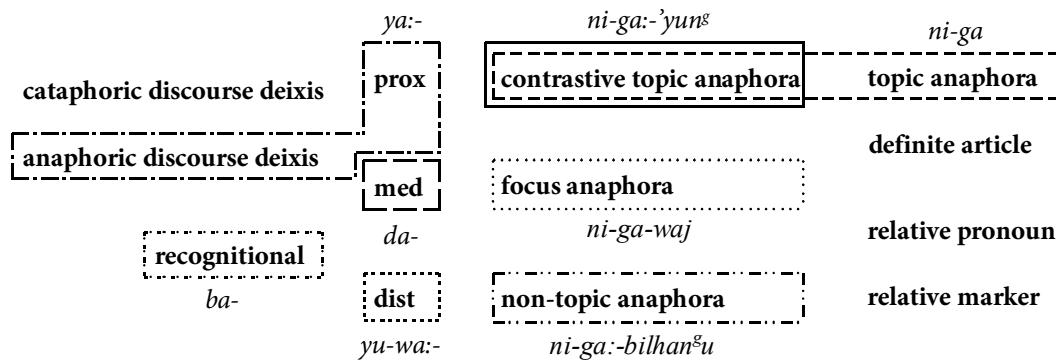


Figure 12. Semantic map of Nunggubuyu ya:-, da-, yu-wa:-, ba-, ni-ga, ni-ga:-'yun, ni-ga-waj, and ni-ga:-bilhan (Heath 1980, 1983, 1984)

We may now reflect how a few other languages compare to TH. The first is Nunggubuyu (Gunwinyguan, Australian) in Figure 12. Like TH, this language is a distance-oriented system, but makes a three-way deictic contrast. Also unlike TH many of the functions are expressed by a single form, unlike the multi-functionality evident in the two TH paradigms.

A second language we may compare TH to is Sumerian (isolate). In Figure 13, the productive set of adnominal demonstratives is given. Unlike TH הָ, the Sumerian proximal demonstrative *-e* is not used with anaphoric function and indeed has only a limited range of functions, being used for cataphoric discourse deixis in addition to the proximal deictic function. The other two demonstratives, on the other hand, are used with a wide range of functions. The medial demonstrative *-ne* is used for anaphoric discourse deixis as well as the entire range of anaphoric functions with human referents. The basically distance-neutral demonstrative *-be* is used with deictic reference to proximal and medial referents, but is the only demonstrative used for distal referents. It is also used as a recognitional demonstrative as well as anaphoric discourse deixis, the entire range of anaphoric functions for non-human referents, and as a relative pronoun.

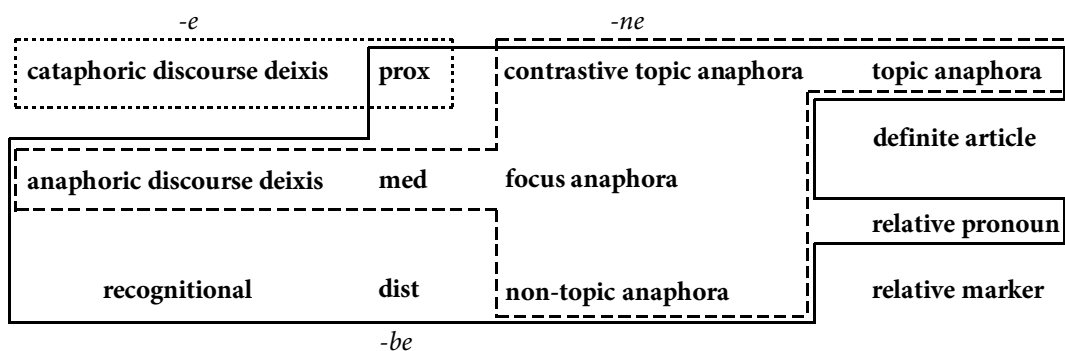


Figure 13. Functions of productive set of adnominal demonstratives in Sumerian (Woods 2001a, 2001b)

As a third example we may map the system of Modern German (cf. Kummerow 2012: 278-279). As is readily apparent, *der*, *die*, and *das* as extremely multifunctional, but overlapping partly with the TH הָ paradigm. However, unlike the TH הָ paradigm it is impolite to refer to a person in the speech situation with a demonstrative, and thus the independent third-person markers can be used deictically.

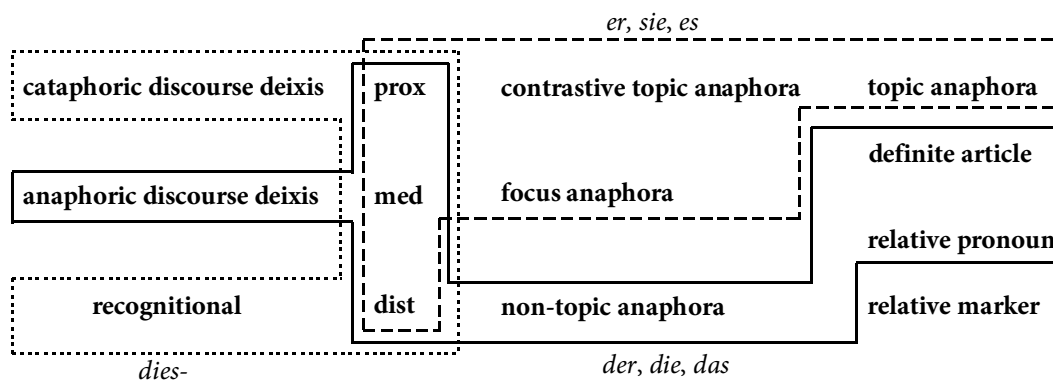


Figure 14. Semantic map of German *der, die, das*; *er, sie, es*; and *dies-*

As a final example, we may compare English as represented in Figure 15. Like Nunggubuyu and Sumerian, English also makes different functional cuts to that made by TH. English *this* is reasonably similar to TH הַזֶּה, but does lack recognitional and focus anaphora functions with this demonstrative. English *that* is used with recognitional and anaphoric discourse deictic functions as well as for non-topic anaphora and as a relative marker. Whilst Stirling and Huddleston (2002: 1470) suggest that *he* and *she* are not used in deictic function, Figure 4 has taken that they are based upon an example like (89). It seems that in (89b) *she* is deictic, pointing out the referent rather than anaphorically referring due to contextual salience. That is, in this example *this* could not be used as it is not appropriate for human referents, unlike TH הַזֶּה which would be entirely appropriate given the gender marking on demonstrative forms in the singular (cf. Gen 2:23). This is in large part one of the major differences the TH demonstrative and anaphoric system has with that of English.

- (89) Mum comes home to a family of three kids, two boys and a girl, and asks the youngest son:
 a. *Who made all this mess?*
 b. [Son pointing to the daughter] *She did.*

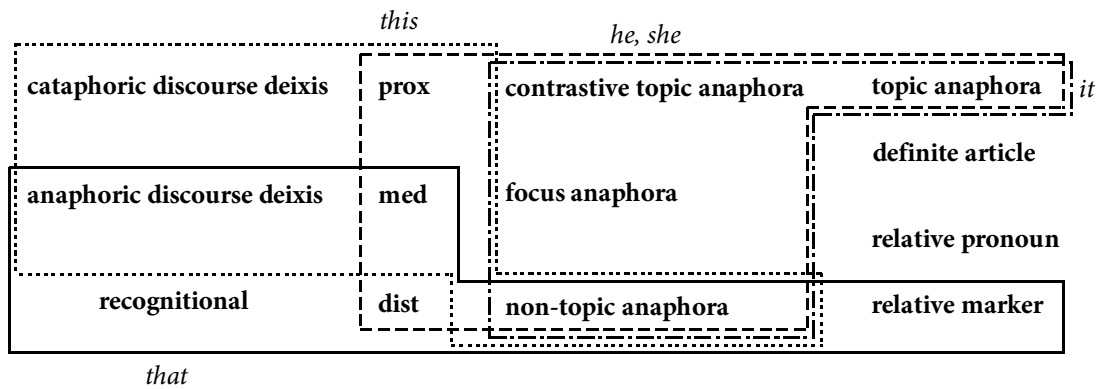


Figure 15. Functions of English *this*, *that*, *he*, *she*, and *it*

From Figures 11 to 15 it should thus be apparent that TH has both similarity to and differences from the other languages mapped, which the semantic maps visually depict. That is, the different functional cuts that the TH demonstrative and anaphoric system makes as presented above are no less “strange” than that made in, say, Nunggubuyu, Sumerian, German, and English. Each language represents a different grammaticalisation of functions, with TH displaying its own unique distribution.

5. Conclusion

The foregoing research has sought to revisit TH object deixis in light of advances made in typological research on demonstratives. To this end, in particular the works of Diessel and Himmelmann were used to ascertain the range of grammaticalisation which demonstratives can undergo. The outcome of this was that a semantic map suitable for the cross-linguistic comparison of demonstrative and anaphoric functions was constructed. After a survey of the range of functions which the TH הַזֶּה and הַזֵּה paradigms make, the functions of these two paradigms were mapped onto the semantic map and compared with the different functional cuts other languages make. Thus the

findings of the present research are presented in a visually helpful way that is concrete and thus open to testing, improvement, and falsification.

The main finding of the present research is that the position of Ehlich, Brockelmann, and Seow that the הַ paradigm is a distance-neutral demonstrative and the הוּא paradigm is prototypically anaphoric was found to be supported by the evidence of the corpus from a number of fronts. First, it was found that there are a number of clear and unambiguous examples where members of the הַ paradigm function deictically to refer to distal referents. Second, it was found that there are in addition a number of examples where members of the הַ paradigm may possibly be functioning deictically to refer to distal referents. That is, in the context of each example, there are other possible functions that the demonstrative could have, though in each case it is quite possible that the deictically distal function is the most likely intended construal. Third, in contrast there are no examples where members of the הוּא paradigm are either unambiguously or even possibly functioning deictically to refer to distal referents. Rather, members of the הוּא paradigm are prototypically anaphoric, with some other additional functions due to diachronic heritage.

The other functions of the הַ and הוּא paradigms are as follows. Members of the הַ paradigm are used as a recognitional demonstrative and for cataphoric and anaphoric discourse deixis. In addition, they are used for two anaphoric functions: anaphora to non-topics and for focus anaphora. On the other hand, members of the הוּא paradigm are also used in recognitional function and for anaphoric discourse deixis, both of which are due to their originally remote object deixis function, which has been lost by the stage of the language represented in the corpus. In addition, members of the הוּא paradigm are used for the entire range of anaphoric functions: non-topic anaphora, focus anaphora, contrastive topic anaphora, and for topic anaphora in verbless and participial clauses.

It is thus hoped that the present research has demonstrated the usefulness of semantic mapping as a way to aid description by visually representing similarity and difference between constructions. Further, it is hoped by presenting the evidence of the corpus in this manner it is readily apparent that the הַ paradigm functions as a distance-neutral demonstrative and that the הוּא paradigm no longer has a deictic function in the TH language corpus.

Appendix

Following are the functions assigned to the various members of the הַ and הוּא paradigms as used for the illustrative statistics in §4. Of course, the categorisation of some of the examples is debateable given that different conceptualisations are possible.

הַ paradigm

Deictic: Gen 2:23(x3); 5:29; 7:1; 11:6; 12:7, 12; 15:17, 18; 19:13, 14, 20; 20:11; 21:10(x2), 29, 30, 24:5, 7, 58; 25:22, 30; 26:3, 11, 33; 27:46; 28:15, 16, 17(x3), 20, 22; 29:27(x2), 33; 31:1, 13, 53, 48, 51, 52(x4); 32:3, 11, 18, 33; 33:5, 8; 34:21; 35:17; 37:32; 38:23, 25(x2), 28, 39:9; 40:14; 42:15, 21, 28, 33; 43:10, 29; 44:5, 7, 29; 45:6; 47:26; 48:4, 8, 9, 15, 18; 50:11, 20, 24; Exod 2:6, 9; 3:3, 12, 21; 4:2, 17; 5:22, 23; 6:14; 10:6, 7, 17; 11:8; 12:2, 3, 6, 26; 13:3(x2), 5, 14; 16:3(x2); 17:4; 18:14, 18, 23; 22:8; 32:4, 8, 9, 21, 24; 33:1, 12, 13, 15; Lev 8:34; Num 5:19, 22; 9:3; 11:11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 27; 14:2, 3, 8, 11, 13, 14(x2), 15, 16, 19(x2), 27, 29, 32, 35(x2); 16:21, 26; 16:29, 30, 31; 17:10; 20:4, 5, 10, 12; 21:2; 22:6, 9, 17, 19, 30; 23:1(x2), 29(x2); 24:14; 26:53; 27:12; 32:5, 15, 22; Deut 1:6, 31, 35(x2); 2:3, 7(x2), 22, 25, 30; 3:14, 18, 25, 27, 28; 4:6, 20, 22(x2), 38; 5:24, 25, 28; 6:24; 7:17; 8:17, 18; 9:4, 6, 7, 13, 27; 10:8, 15; 11:4, 5; 12:30; 17:16; 18:16; 20:15, 16; 21:7, 20; 22:14,

16, 17; 26:9(x2), 16; 27:4, 9; 28:58, 61; 29:3, 6, 8, 13(x2), 18, 19, 20, 23(x2), 26, 27, 28; 30:10; 31:2, 3, 7, 11, 12, 16, 17, 26; 32:27, 46, 47, 49; 34:4, 6.

Anaphoric discourse deixis: Gen 3:14; 7:11, 13; 9:17, 19(x2); 10:20, 29, 31, 32(x2); 15:1, 4; 17:21, 23, 26; 18:25; 19:21; 20:5, 6, 8, 10; 21:26; 22:1, 16, 20; 22:23; 24:8, 9, 28; 25:4, 16(x2); 29:13; 32:20; 34:14; 35:26; 36:5, 12, 13, 16(x2), 17(x2), 18, 19(x2), 21, 30, 43; 37:10; 39:7, 9, 11; 40:1; 41:39; 43:7; 44:6; 44:7, 17; 45:6; 46:15, 18(x2), 22, 25(x2); 48:1; 49:28(x2); Exod 2:15; 3:15(x2); 6:14, 15, 19, 24, 25; 7:23; 8:19, 28; 9:5, 6, 14; 11:10; 12:8, 12, 14, 17, 24, 25; 12:41, 42, 51; 13:10; 15:2; 17:14; 18:23; 19:1, 6, 7; 21:11, 31; 24:8; 25:39; 33:4, 17; 34:27(x2); 38:21; Lev 5:4, 5; 7:35, 37; 10:19; 11:13, 24, 31, 46; 12:7; 13:59; 14:32, 54, 57; 17:7; 18:24(x2), 26, 29; 20:23; 22:25; 23:14, 21, 37; 25:54; 26:14, 18, 23, 27, 44, 46; 27:34; Num 1:16, 44; 2:42; 3:3, 20, 21, 27, 33; 4:15, 28, 33, 37, 41, 45; 5:23, 29, 30; 6:21; 7:17, 23, 29, 35, 41, 47, 53, 59, 65, 71, 77, 83, 84, 88; 10:28; 13:16; 14:35, 39; 16:31; 21:25; 26:7, 14, 18, 22, 25, 27, 34, 37(x2), 41, 42, 47, 50, 51, 63, 64; 28:14, 23; 29:39; 30:17; 34:6, 9, 12, 13, 29; 35:5, 15, 24, 29; 36:13; Deut 1:32; 3:5, 26; 4:30, 32; 6:6; 7:12; 11:18, 22; 12:28; 13:12, 15; 15:5, 10, 15; 16:12; 17:4, 5, 18, 19(x2); 18:3, 12(x2); 19:9, 20; 22:5, 20, 26; 24:18, 22; 25:16; 26:16; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58, 69; 30:1, 11; 31:24, 28; 32:6, 29, 44, 45, 48.

Cataphoric discourse deixis: Gen 2:4; 5:1; 6:9, 15; 9:12; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 17:10; 20:13; 25:7, 12, 13, 17, 19; 30:31; 31:41; 34:15, 22; 36:1, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 40; 37:2, 6; 39:17, 19; 40:12, 18; 42:15, 18; 43:11; 45:17, 19, 23; 46:8; Exod 1:1; 3:12; 6:14, 16; 7:17; 9:16; 12:43; 13:5; 14:12; 15:1; 16:16, 32; 20:1; 21:1; 25:3; 28:4; 29:1, 38; 30:13, 31; 35:1, 4; Lev 6:2, 7, 13, 18; 7:1, 11; 8:5; 9:6; 11:2, 4, 9, 21, 22, 29; 14:2; 15:3, 32; 16:34; 17:2; 23:2, 4; 26:16; Num 1:5; 3:1, 2, 17, 18; 4:4, 19, 24, 31; 6:13; 8:4, 24; 13:4; 15:13; 16:6; 18:9; 18:11; 19:2, 14; 21:17; 26:30, 35, 36, 42, 57, 58; 27:1; 28:3; 30:2; 31:21; 32:20; 33:1, 2; 34:2, 7, 17, 19; 36:6; Deut 1:1, 5; 3:12; 4:8, 44, 45; 5:29; 6:1, 24, 25; 12:1; 14:4, 7, 9, 12; 15:2; 19:4; 27:12, 13; 28:2, 15, 45; 28:58; 31:1, 9, 19(x2), 21, 22, 30; 33:1, 7.

Non-topic anaphora: Gen 10:5; 14:3; 15:10; 29:28; 41:35; 43:15; Exod 4:9; 12:17; 14:20(x2); Lev 2:8; 5:13; 16:30; 23:6, 27, 28, 29, 34; 25:13; Num 22:15, 28, 32, 33; 24:10; 28:17; 29:7; 4:6; Deut 9:4, 5; 18:14; 19:5, 9; 25:3; 30:7.

Focus anaphora: Lev 21:14; 22:22; 23:30; Num 1:17.

Recognitional: Gen 27:21, 24, 36; 31:38; 37:22; 44:15; Exod 1:18; Num 14:22; 15:22; 16:28; 17:3; Deut 3:21; Deut 5:3; 8:2, 4; 10:21; 11:23.

אֵת paradigm

Topic anaphora: Gen 2:11, 13, 14; 3:6, 7; 3:20; 6:2, 3, 4; 7:14; 9:3; 10:9; 12:14, 18, 19; 13:1; 14:18; 16:12; 18:8; 19:20(x2), 30; 20:3, 7, 12; 24:7, 15; 24:54, 62, 65; 25:21, 29; 26:7(x2), 9(x2); 27:31; 29:2, 9, 12(x2); 31:20, 21; 32:3; 32:19, 22, 32; 33:6; 34:19, 21, 22; 35:6; 37:2, 3, 16, 27, 32; 38:12, 16, 21, 25(x2); 39:3, 6, 22, 23; 40:10; 41:11, 19, 26, 31(x2); 42:6, 23, 35(x2), 38; 44:3, 4, 10; 45:26; 47:14; 48:9, 19(x2); 49:20, 20; 50:14, 22; 1:10; Exod 1:19; 2:2; 4:14, 16(x2); 5:8(x3); 6:27; 7:11; 8:15, 17; 9:32, 34; 12:2, 4, 11, 27, 30, 42; 13:2; 14:3; 16:15(x3), 29, 31; 18:5, 14; 19:13; 21:3, 21, 29, 36; 22:26(x2); 28:5; 29:14, 18(x2), 21, 22, 25, 28, 33, 34; 30:10, 32; 31:14, 17; 32:9, 15, 16, 22, 25; 34:3, 14; 35:34; 36:3, 4; Lev 1:13, 17; 2:6, 15; 3:1, 7; 4:2, 21, 24; 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 18, 19, 24; 6:2, 10, 18, 22; 7:1, 5, 6; 8:21(x2), 28(x2); 10:12, 13, 17; 11:4(x2), 5(x2), 6(x2), 7(x3), 8, 13, 28, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42; 13:3, 6, 8, 10, 11(x2), 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25(x2), 26, 27, 28(x3), 30(x2), 36, 37, 39(x2), 40(x2), 41(x2), 44(x2), 46, 51, 52, 55(x2), 57; 14:13(x2), 44(x2); 15:3, 23(x2), 25; 17:5, 7, 9, 14; 18:18; 19:7; 20:18; 21:6, 7, 8, 9, 13; 23:3, 27, 28; 23:36; 24:9, 10; 25:12,

16, 34, 41, 42, 54; 26:43; 27:8, 10, 26, 28, 33; Num 1:16, 50(x2); 3:9; 5:13(x2), 14(x2), 15, 28; 6:8; 7:2(x2); 8:4, 16; 9:7; 11:16, 26, 30; 12:7; 13:3, 18(x3), 19(x4), 20, 27, 31; 14:8, 27(x2); 15:25(x2); 16:16, 33; 18:3, 21, 23, 31; 19:12, 20; 21:33; 22:5, 6, 12, 22(x2); 23:6, 19; 25:15, 18; 27:21; 31:16; 33:40; 35:16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 31; Deut 1:30, 38, 39; 2:11, 20, 32; 3:1, 11, 20, 28; 4:10, 24, 42; 7:26; 9:3(x2), 13; 11:10; 14:7, 8, 10; 17:20; 18:5, 6, 22; 19:5, 6; 20:20(x2); 21:3, 4, 17; 22:17, 24; 24:12, 15(x2); 29:12; 30:11(x2), 12, 13, 20; 31:3, 8, 21; 32:4, 6(x2), 20, 21, 28, 34, 44, 47(x2); 33:3, 17(x2).

Contrastive topic anaphora: Gen 3:15, 16; 4:4; 33:3; 38:14; 41:26(x2), 27; 42:8; 49:19; Exod 1:16(x2); 4:14; 18:22, 26; 21:4; 24:2; Num 5:31; 27:3; Deut 1:36, 38, 39; 9:28; 10:21(x2); 28:44(x2); 31:3(x2).

Focus anaphora: Gen 2:19; 3:12; 15:4; 20:5; 24:44; 44:17, 20; Exod 12:16; Lev 17:11; Num 16:7; 35:19(x2), 33; Deut 3:22; 8:18; 32:39.

Non-topic anaphora: Gen 2:12, 14; 4:20, 21, 22, 26; 7:2; 9:18; 10:8; 11, 12, 21; 14:2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 13(x2), 17, 24; 15:2; 17:12, 14; 18:1, 10; 19:37; 19:38(x2); 20:2, 5(x4), 13, 16; 21:13, 17; 22:20, 24; 23:2, 19; 28:11; 29:25; 30:33, 35; 31:16, 43; 32:19; 34:23; 35:6, 19, 20, 27; 36:1, 19, 24, 43; 38:11; 40:12, 18; 41:25; 42:27; 44:5, 14; 45:20; 47:6; 48:5, 7, 14; Exod 3:5, 8; 5:7; 12:42; 13:17; 15:23; 16:36; 22:8, 14; 31:13; 32:16; 34:9, 10; 36:1; 38:17; 39:5, 14; Lev 5:22; 11:10, 12, 20, 23, 26(x2), 27, 39; 13:4, 15, 42, 49; 14:21; 15:2; 16:4, 31; 17:11, 14; 18:7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; 19:20; 20:17; 22:2, 4, 7, 11(x2), 12; 25:10, 55; 27:4, 30; Num 1:4; 4:22; 5:18; 6:20; 9:13; 11:7; 13:24, 32; 14:9; 14:45; 15:30; 16:11; 17:5, 20; 18:9, 16, 17, 19, 23; 19:15; 20:13; 21:16, 26(x2); 22:3; 24:24; 25:6; 27:14; 32:4; 33:36; Deut 1:17, 44; 3:28; 4:48; 11:30; 13:6(x2); 14:7, 8, 19; 17:10, 15; 19:4; 21:6; 22:18; 23:8; 27:11; 28:65; 29:17; 31:16

Anaphoric discourse deixis: Gen 6:4; 14:15; 15:18; 19:33, 35; 21:22, 31; 22:14; 23:15; 26:12(x2), 24, 32; 27:38; 28:19; 30:16; 32:14, 22, 23; 33:16; 34:14; 35:22; 38:1; 43:12, 32; 47:17, 18; 48:20; Exod 1:6; 2:11, 23; 5:6; 8:18; 10:13; 12:15, 19; 13:8; 14:30; 31:14; 32:28; Lev 7:20, 21, 27; 17:4(x2); 18:17, 22, 23; 19:8; 20:3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 17, 21; 22:3; 22:30; 23:30; 27:23; Num 5:6; 6:11; 9:6(x2); 9:13(x2); 11:3, 32, 34; 14:1, 41; 15:30, 31; 16:14; 19:9, 13, 20; 22:4; 32:10; Deut 1:9, 16, 18; 2:34; 3:4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23; 4:6, 14; 5:5; 7:16, 25; 9:19, 20; 10:1, 8, 10; 12:3; 13:4(x2), 16; 14:28; 17:1, 5(x2), 9, 12; 18:9, 20; 19:17; 21:23; 24:4, 6, 7; 26:3; 29:19, 21, 26; 31:17(x2), 18, 22.

Cataphoric discourse deixis: Gen 41:28; 42:14; Exod 16:23; Lev 10:3.

Recognitional: Num 10:32; 14:38; Deut 1:19; 3:13; 29:2.

Expletive: Exod 6:26, 27; Num 26:9.

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