

THE TRIPARTITE NOMINAL CLAUSE IN BIBLICAL HEBREW: AN ANALYSIS OF EXTRAPOSITION WITH VERBLESS CLAUSES

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides evidence that tripartite nominal clauses in biblical Hebrew employ one of two types of extraposition and a resumptive pronoun. Reasons for accepting this syntactic analysis over the pronominal copula analysis include the following: coherence with all the BH data, simplicity of analysis between verbal and verbless clauses, co-occurrence of the copular verb and independent third-person pronouns, the nominal functions of the pronoun, and the lack of complementary distribution between the verbal copula and these pronouns. Lastly, the resumptive analysis well accounts for the frequent occurrence of discontinuities in tripartite nominal clauses.

0. Introduction

Biblical Hebrew (hereafter BH) employs a clause structure often called the Tripartite Nominal Clause (Muraoka 1999, Zewi 2000). Tripartite Nominal Clauses (hereafter TNCs) are verbless clauses¹ which contain a third-person independent pronoun either clause-medial or clause-final. These structures are illustrated with the schema given in (1) where ‘Pro’ represents the third-person pronoun and either XP represents the two remaining clause-daughter constituents. Following (Muraoka 1999:188), the first structure is termed an A-type; the second, a B-type.

- (1) Type A: XP Pro XP
Type B: XP XP Pro

Compare example (2) with each TNC type (3–4). Vertical lines mark the clause-daughter constituent boundaries (here and throughout this paper clausal conjunctions are ignored and pronouns are glossed merely by their person, gender, and number inflection).

- (2) Simple Verbless Clause, Gen 2:14a

wəšēm	hannāhār	haššəlîšî	ḥiddēqel
and=name	the=river	the=third	Tigris

And the name of the third river is the Tigris. (ESV)

- (3) Type-A TNC, Gen 2:14b

wəhannāhār	hārbî’î	hû’	pərāt
and=the=river	the=fourth	3ms	Euphrates

And the fourth river is the Euphrates. (ESV)

- (4) Type-B TNC, Gen 45:20

kî=ṭûb	kol=’ereš	mišrayim	lākem	hû’
for=good	all=land	Egypt	to=2mp	3ms

For the good of all the land of Egypt is yours. (ESV)

Example (2) is a simple verbless clause with an NP predicate (equative clause). With the exception of the make-up of the first constituent, (3) differs from (2) only in that the latter contains a clause-medial third-person pronoun, hence an A-type TNC. Example (4) employs a prepositional-phrase predicate

¹ Often called ‘nominal clauses’ or ‘small clauses’ in Semitic studies (see Miller 1999:6–10 for discussion).

(locative clause) in a B-type TNC. Because BH adjectives are so few and so often function as heads of noun-phrases—for example, taking an NP-possessor as *tib* ‘good’ does in (4)—differentiation between attributive and equative clauses is made with caution in this study.² Lastly, notice the English Standard Version (2001) renders each clause with the same English structure, despite the presence or lack of the pronoun; hence, there appears to be no semantic distinction between simple verbless clauses and TNCs.

Discussions of TNCs center upon the function of the pronoun. Is it a suppletive form of the copular root *hyh* ‘to be’³ or a resumptive pronoun?⁴ Since the copular verb is not obligatory in BH (see below), the copular analysis assumes that the pronominal copulas are also optional. This analysis is coherent with regard to BH TNC data but presents a difficulty in that verbal clauses appear to employ the same pronouns which cannot be copulas, for the clause already has a self-sufficient predicate. Many linguists posit a pronominal copular analysis for a similar construction in Modern Hebrew (Berman and Grosu 1976, Falk 2004), but even in Modern Hebrew studies there is no consensus (see Doron 1986). Assuming no pragmatic marking, the phrase-structure of (3) under such the copular analysis would be as in Figure 1.

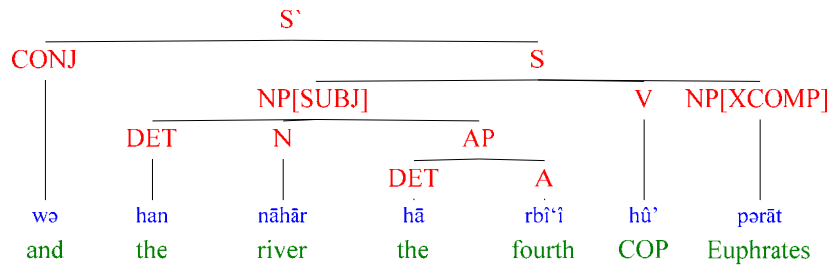


Figure 1: Genesis 2:14b, Copular Analysis of (3)

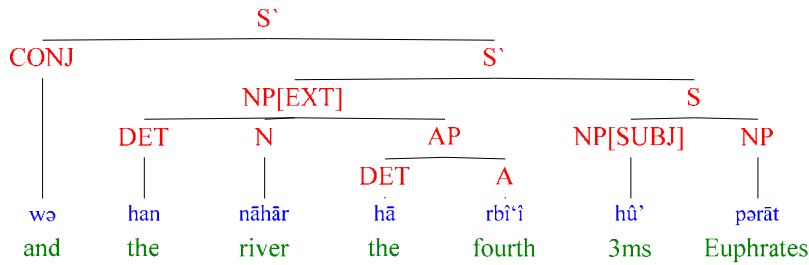


Figure 2: Genesis 2:14b, Resumptive Analysis of (3)

Figure 2 illustrates the same clause assuming the pronoun is resumptive of an extraposed noun-phrase. Though it enjoys more support from current scholarship, the resumptive analysis still awaits solid linguistic evidence. The following paper seeks to provide such evidence by comparing this clause-type with verbal clauses employing resumption and applying syntactic tests to prove the pronoun is in fact resumptive and not copular.

1. Word Order in BH

BH word order, especially in verbless clauses, is a major point of debate in BH syntax. Since this is an issue on which TNC analysis hinges, a quick aside is helpful here. The common consensus⁵ in the

² The data under inspection produced no significant differences between such predicates/XCOMPs

³ This root forms both copular and existential verbs. In her comprehensive work on copulas, Regina Pustet shows how this hypothesis is not peculiar cross-linguistically. Copulas are typically derived from existential verbs (characteristic of many Indo-European languages) and can evolve from pronouns (as in Tok Pisin and Mandarin). A close parallel to this analysis of BH occurs in Kenya Luo. This language can optionally employ a third-person pronoun as a copula (Pustet 2003:54–56).

⁴ Much of the literature uses the term ‘pleonastic’ for the pronouns in TNCs as well as resumptive pronouns in relative clauses (cf. Geller 1991, Sollamo 1995). One recent definition of ‘pleonasm’ is “an expression that employs unnecessary words, a redundant expression” (Arnold and Choi 2003:202). It appears that since pronoun retention is optional for non-oblique arguments in BH relative clauses (Waltke and O’Connor 1990:333), just as is shown above when comparing TNCs and simple verbless clauses, the pronouns in TNCs inherited this term with a meaning akin to ‘resumptive.’

⁵ Though, a few scholars have claimed that BH has an underlying SVO word order. An oft-cited example is T. Givón’s article which claims BH shifted from VSO to SVO before the *Tanak* was complete (1977).

great majority of recent work is that BH is a VSO language with fairly free word order. Two noteworthy schema have recently been proposed which claim to account for the fluidity of the word order according to pragmatic functions. A perusal of these two proposals will illustrate the level of fluidity employed in BH and instruct the analyst on what to expect regarding constituent order in TNCs.

1.1 Buth's Linear Scheme

The first of these was proposed by Randall Buth (1995, 1999). He proposes a separate linear model for verbal, participial, and verbless clauses.

- (5) S[verbal] → (TOP) (FOC) V S O
 S[participial] → (TOP) (FOC) S V O
 S[verbless] → (TOP) (FOC) S Pred

Two points are distinctive here. First, BH can pragmatically front two constituents in one clause and whenever this occurs, the order is always topic then focus. Second, Buth claims that both participial and verbless clauses are subject-initial when unmarked while verbal clauses are VSO.

1.2 Three Focus Structure Scheme

Recently a second view concerning BH word order was proposed in two (apparently) independent monographs dealing primarily with prose and legal texts. Jean-Marc Heimerdinger (1999) and Katsuomi Shimasaki (2002) both applied Knud Lambrecht's theory of information structure (1994) to BH. While Heimerdinger's work interacted only with verbal clauses, Shimasaki included verbless clauses as well. Nicholas P. Lunn (2006) recently summarized and applied their complementary methodologies to verbal clauses in BH poetry. Assuming Lambrecht's prescriptive three-fold division of pragmatic clause types the collective findings of these three are presented below.

- (6) Predicate Focus → V S O and Pred S
 Sentence Focus → NP + V S O and S Pred
 Argument Focus → XP[FOC] + V S O and S Pred

These three Hebraists claim that when only one constituent is presupposed and the rest of the clause is being asserted or "new" (i.e. predicate focus), the order of the clause will be VSO or Pred S. If the entire clause is being asserted, and thereby nothing is presupposed (i.e. sentence focus), the constituent order is NP + VSO or S Pred. And, if all is presupposed except for one constituent (i.e. argument focus), the order is XP[FOC] + VSO or S Pred. With argument focus in verbal clauses the fronted element is normally an object or oblique while it is the subject which is most often fronted in sentence focus structures.

1.3 Contrasts and Comparisons

The three focus structure scheme differs from Buth's in noteworthy ways for analyzing TNCs. First, following Andersen's statistics-based conclusion (1970), Shimasaki claimed unmarked verbless clauses to be predicate-initial (Shimasaki 2002:121), the inverse of Buth's claim. Second, the three focus structure scheme includes a type distinguished as 'sentence-focus' which Buth's model cannot distinguish. These "out of the blue utterances" (Lunn 2006:40) serve to report entire events as completely new information.

Despite these contrasts, noteworthy similarities exist. The three focus structure model incorporated the topic-then-focus order for "doubly marked clauses" (Lunn 2006:84). Both models also assume differing levels of focus. To account for more prominently marked elements of focus domains, Heimerdinger proposes his "dominant focal element" or "DFE" (1999:167-68).⁶ In cases in which the focus is broad (i.e. larger than one phonological element, such as predicate focus), part of the focus may be fronted as "the point of assertion" (168). Buth interpreted Andersen's "discontinuities" (1970:36-37) in a similar way: "[Discontinuous constituents employ] pragmatic marking on only part of the [constituent]" (Buth 1999:96). Buth understands these discontinuities pragmatically, namely that part of the predicate is fronted. This is a pivotal part of his argument for subject-initial unmarked word order in verbless clauses. However it is discussed in that final section that discontinuities can also be due to post-posing the complement of a weighty noun-phrase. Both factors are likely at play.

⁶ In his critical review, Levinsohn (2002:136) considered this recognition to be "a significant element" (noted by Lunn (2006:43)).

These two analyses rightly assume that though BH is a VSO language, the fronting of constituents is common place and in some cases only portions of constituents are marked in this way. The same fluidity should be assumed in analyzing BH TNCs.

2. Analyzing TNCsAs noted in the introduction, much of the debate concerning TNCs revolves around the interpretation of the pronoun, copular or resumptive.⁷ In this section, both strengths and weakness of the two analyses are presented. The Copular Analysis

As noted above, the copular analysis coherently accounts for all the BH TNC data. However, it must assume that the pronouns in TNCs have a completely different syntactic function when employed in verbal clauses despite that fact that there is no clear syntactic distinction between them.

Many authors employ the term ‘copula’ but there is no consensus regarding its definition. In order to articulate exactly what it means to claim these pronouns are or are not copulas, we offer the following definition:

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

This definition addresses syntax and then semantics. In comparison to many other definitions, Pustet’s is syntactically broad and semantically narrow. These aspects are addressed in reverse order.

2.1.1 ‘Semantic Emptiness’

Copulas do not add any meaning to the predicate; they are “semantically empty” (Pustet 2003:5). By this parameter, semi-copulas—such as the verb in ‘I feel happy’—are excluded because when true copulas occur—as in ‘I am happy’—the meaning of the entire clause should not exceed the sum of the subject and XCOMP8 notwithstanding the fact that a copula is present. ‘I + happy’ = ‘I am happy’ ≠ ‘I feel happy.’ Thus, under this definition am is a copula and feel is not. In this way, our definition is semantically narrow.

As shown above, the English Standard Version (along with the majority of translations) does not mark a semantic difference between the TNC and the simple verbless clause in Gen 2:14 (see (2–3)). However, it could be argued that if such a semantic distinction was in fact inherent in these independent pronouns, modern analysts could never really know. Without a native speaker or ancient works which date to the authorship of early parts of the Hebrew Bible, how can a modern translator be sure of whether there is a semantic difference between minimal pairs of clauses or not? Can context alone account for such a slight semantic difference? Take, for example, the following minimal pair from Qohelet (cited by Muraoka 1999:196).

(7) Simple Verbless Clause, Qoh 2:15, 19, 21, 26

gam=zeh hebel
also=this vanity
This also is vanity. (ESV)

(8) B-type TNC, Qoh 2:23; 4:8

gam=zeh hebel hû’
also=this vanity 3ms
This also is vanity. (ESV)

⁷ Though this paper treats these analyses as mutually exclusive, not all Hebraists see a “dichotomy between the two options” (Elitzur Bar-Asher, p.c.). Geoffrey Khan’s point falls into this category (1988:72 emphasis added) “Independent pronouns which *resume* the subject of a verbless clause... generally *function as copulas*, i.e. they are equivalent the corresponding form of the verb ‘to be’ in the English version of the clause.” A corollary to this approach is taken by Yehuda N. Falk with regard to Modern Hebrew. He claims (2004:227) that present tense Modern Hebrew copulas have both a “functional verbal nature and categorical nominal nature.” As will be shown below, this approach is less helpful for BH than Modern Hebrew.

⁸ By ‘XCOMP’ is meant the complement of the copular verb. The ‘X’ represents a phrase-type (NP, AP, VP, etc.). Crucially, XCOMPs differ from S-COMPs in that no subject is included (see Kroeger 2004:107–10 for discussion).

The English Standard Version renders each of these structures equally.⁹ There is no clear-cut contextual difference between TNCs and the simple verbless clauses made-up of these lexemes. Some precede logical reasoning and others precede brand new discourse topics, but each of these clauses is a conclusion. However, to show how a modern translator might argue for semantic emptiness without a native speaker's confirmation, let us assume that the pronoun does have meaning and means 'feel' or 'seem.' (7) would mean 'this also is vanity' and (8), 'this seems also to be vanity.' Such a translation is possible (though unlikely) in some of these contexts, however to be correct it would have to be coherent regarding every occurrence of such a pronoun found in the same structure in all of the BH data. Thus, Genesis 2:14 (examples (2–3)) would mean 'the name of the third river is the Tigris... and the fourth river seems to be Euphrates' and 45:20 (example (4)) would mean 'the good of all the land of Egypt seems to be yours.' Before taking the 130 or so TNC occurrences (Geller 1991:19) into account, it becomes evident that the pronoun cannot have the same meaning in each TNC unless it is meaningless. Thus, the only coherent semantic analysis of the pronouns in TNCs is semantic emptiness. Under this argument, analysts can strongly assert that the independent pronouns in TNCs are semantically empty, even though the language is dead. In this sense the pronouns in TNCs are copula-like.

2.1.2 Syntactic Function

As noted above, the copular analysis assumes the pronouns are suppletive forms of the verbal BH copula. This being the case, these independent pronouns should function to some extent like the copular verb. By assuming such symmetry, an analyst can weigh the value of the copular analysis. One example of symmetric functions is optionality.

2.1.2.1 Symmetry Between the TNC Pronoun and the Copular Verbs

Cameron Sinclair (1999:62–74) demonstrates the optionality of the copular verb by listing numerous examples of BH copular clauses and verbless clauses with the same phrase-types as XCOMPs and predicates. He shows that multiple phrase types are found as predicates or XCOMPs; the copula does not license only certain phrase types. There is no distinction between the predicates of verbless clauses and the XCOMPs the copular verb can select. The same is true for TNCs and simple verbless clauses. To demonstrate this symmetry, copular clauses, simple verbless clauses (cited in Sinclair 1999:62–70), A-type TNCs, and B-type TNCs with each predicate/XCOMP type are given below (the free translations assume a copular analysis).

2.1.2.1.1 Equative Clauses

(9) Copular Equative, 1 Sam 17:42

kî=hāyāh na'ar

for=COP.PF.3ms young man
For he was a youth.

(10) Simple Verbless Equative, 1 Sam 9:2

ûšmô šā'ûl

and=name=3ms Saul
And his name was Saul.

(11) A-Equative, Gen 2:14b (reproduction of (3))

wəhannāhār hārbî'î hû' pərāt

and=the=river the=fourth 3ms Euphrates
And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

⁹ Incidentally, the Septuagint differentiates these two clause structures by employing a copular verb for (8) and a verbless clause for (7), just like the copular analysis would propose.

(12) B-Equative, Gen 40:12b

šəlōšet haššārigim šəlōšet yomîm hēm
 three.CON the=branches three.CON days 3mp
 The three branches are three days.

2.1.2.1.2 Locative Clauses

(13) Copular Locative, 1 Sam 9:2

wə=lô hāyāh bēn
 and=to=3ms COP.PF.3ms son
 He had a son. (literally, 'to him was a son.')

(14) Simple Verbless Locative, Deut 29:28

hannistārōt layhwh 'ēlōhēnū
 the=hidng.onself to=YHWH God=1mp
 The secret things are the LORD our God's.

(15) A-Locative, Lev 14:13

kî kaḥaṭā't hā'āšām hū' lakōhēn
 for as=the=sin-offering the=guilt-offering 3ms to=priest
 For, like with the sin-offering, the guilt-offering belongs to the priest.

(16) B-Locative, Gen 45:20 (reproduction of (4))

kî=ṭōb kol='ereš mišrayim lakem hū'
 for=good all=land Egypt to=2mp 3ms
 For the good of all the land of Egypt is yours.

Along with these two phrases types, TNCs can employ numerals (Exod 16:36; 39:16), participles (Deut 3:22), and interrogative phrases (Gen 21:29; Ps 24:10) as XCOMPs (predicates under the resumptive analysis). Sinclair (1999:70–73) illustrates that copular and simple verbless clauses also take numerals and participles (cf. some of his examples: 1 Kgs. 6:17 & Gen 46:27; 1 Sam 2:11 & Deut 4:3 respectively). A copular clause and a simple verbless clause with interrogative phrases can be found in Judges 13:12 and Psalm 24:8. Clearly, both A- and B-type TNCs can take the same types of XCOMPs as simple verbless clauses employ as predicates.

2.1.2.2 Predicate-initial TNCs

Along with the argument from symmetry with regard to optionality, scholars often point to predicate-initial TNCs as evidence for copular analysis because if the pronouns are resumptive, they would be preceding their antecedents.

Assuming that any prepositional- or adjectival-phrase is far more likely to be a predicate than a (especially definite) noun-phrase, a few TNCs are clearly predicate-initial; hence the following examples.

(17) Lam. 1:18

šadîq hū' yhwh
 righteous 3ms YHWH

The LORD is righteous.

(18) Gen 21:29

māh hēnāh šeba‘ kəbāsōt hā’ēleh

what 3fp seven ewe-lambs these

What are these seven ewe-lambs (representing)?

Because resumptive pronouns do not agree with predicates, the initial elements are not the antecedents of the pronouns. If these pronouns are resumptive, they precede their antecedents. Proponents of the resumptive analysis acknowledge this problem and (following Driver 1892:271) assume that resumptive pronouns, on rare occasion, “anticipate” their antecedents (see below for discussion).

Thus, the strengths of the copular analysis are two-fold: coherent semantic interpretation (‘emptiness’) regarding all the BH TNC data and one need not assume that resumptive elements can precede their antecedents.

2.2 The Resumptive Analyses

Along with a large number of current scholars, Buth (1999:86–87), Shimasaki (2002:245–49), and Lunn (2006:54) understand these pronouns to be resumptive of extraposed elements. The main reason is the resumptive analysis exceeds the first strength of the copular analysis in that it offers a coherent semantic analysis of all the BH data, not merely TNC data. Secondly, an argument from simplicity assumes that if third-person independent pronouns are resumptive of extraposed elements in verbal clauses, one would assume that the same function can apply to any other type of clause; TNCs are prime candidates for such symmetry. A third strength is that the pronouns do not function as syntactic verbs and BH employs a verbal copula. And last, there is no complementary distribution between the examples of the verbal copula and so-called pronominal copula, as in Modern Hebrew.

Before moving on, it is important to define the terms resumptive pronoun and extraposition. Following David Crystal (2003:398), a resumptive pronoun is a pronoun which “repeats or in some way recapitulates the meaning of [another] element.” This is akin to pronoun retention in relative clauses as in the following example.

(19) Jer. 28:9 (cited in Waltke and O’Connor 1990:334)

hannābī’ ’āšer šəlāxô yhw̄h

the=prophet REL he.sent.PF=3ms YHWH

The prophet which YHWH sent. (literally, ‘the prophet which YHWH sent him.’)

As for extraposition, it is a very broad term which involves more phenomena than one needs to account for in analyzing TNCs, nevertheless a brief introduction is helpful here.¹⁰ Simon C. Dik (1997:310–11) explains that “[a]ny natural language text may be exhaustively divided up into [the clause-proper] and ‘extra-clausal constituents’... [which] are not part of the clause-proper but more loosely associated with it.” These constituents “may precede, interrupt, or follow the clause-proper, ... are typically “bracketed off” from the clause by pause-like inflections in the intonation pattern, ...are not [necessarily] sensitive to grammatical rules..., [and] are not essential to the integrity of the internal structure of the clause.” They perform many semantic/pragmatic functions. Dik’s definition of ECCs is akin to the present writer’s understanding of extraposition. However, the focus of this paper will be upon the syntactic structure of TNCs and therefore the pragmatic functions are addressed but not differentiated in every case.

Two of Dik’s introductory examples roughly illustrate the pragmatic functions extraposition performs in BH TNCs (in accordance with the intonation patterns, the non-italicized constituents are extra-clausal).

(20)As for the students [Theme (i.e. topic)], they won’t be invited.

(21)He’s a nice chap, your brother [Tail, Clarification].

¹⁰ This term is also defined differently by different authors; we use this problematic term because the three key authors just mentioned use it.

The first example employs a left-dislocated topic which is resumed by the third-person plural pronoun and the third example clarifies the referent of the pronominal subject, he. Each of these clauses is grammatical without the extraposed constituents. Because we only need to account for a few types of extraposition, the following definition will suffice:

A grammatically unessential phrase is positioned clause-initially or -finally. Often (always with TNCs) a resumptive pronoun or repetition of that lexeme stands in its relevant position in the clause (in situ).

This is how the resumptive analysis accounts for predicate-initial TNCs, the extraposition is clause-final and—though it follows the pronoun—the extraposed phrase is the antecedent of the pronoun. In order to show the validity of this analysis, we begin by illustrating extraposition in BH verbal clauses.

2.2.1 Extraposition with Verbal Clauses

As mentioned above, the resumptive analysis assumes that TNCs are verbless clauses which employ extraposition in the same way verbal clauses employ extraposition. To substantiate this claim we must show that extraposed elements are grammatically unessential, occur both before and after the clause-proper, and often (but not always) co-occur with resumptive pronouns or repeated lexemes.

2.2.1.1 Clause-initial Extraposed Phrases

Lunn begins his discussion of ‘extraposition’ with YHWH’s prohibition concerning the Tree of Life (2006:54–55). This clause employs an extraposed PP. Notice the preposition *mi(n)* ‘from’ and the NP it governs, *pərî...gān* ‘fruit...garden’, are re-represented in the clause from which they were extraposed; the preposition is repeated and the NP was resumed with an enclitic pronoun agreeing in person, gender, and number. Notice also that the extraposed PP follows the conjunction, showing its placement is not within the previous clause.

(22) Gen 3:3

ûmippərî hā‘ēš ’āšer bəṭôk=haggān ’āmar ’ēlōhim lō’ tō’klû mimmennû

and=from=fruit the=tree REL in=midst=the=garden he.said.PF God NEG you.eat.IMPF from=3ms

But from the fruit the tree which is in the middle of the garden, God said, “You shall not eat from it.”

Notice the structural contrast between (22) and Eve’s statement which immediately precedes it, (23).

(23) Gen 3:2

mippərî ‘ēš=haggān nō’kēl

from=fruit tree=the=garden we.eat.IMPF

of the trees of the garden, we may eat.

In (23), the PP is fronted but not resumed, simple fronting; in (22) it is fronted and repeated/resumed, extraposition. Because (23) is grammatical though it only has one prepositional-phrase, the extraposed element is unneeded for (22) to be grammatical, in accordance with the uniqueness principle: “no argument relation can occur more than once inside a single functional structure” (Kroeger 2004:20). For this reason, the PPs in (22) cannot both oblique sources. The first must be a pragmatically marked element contrasting this Tree of Life with the rest of the trees in the garden. PS-trees for each are given below.

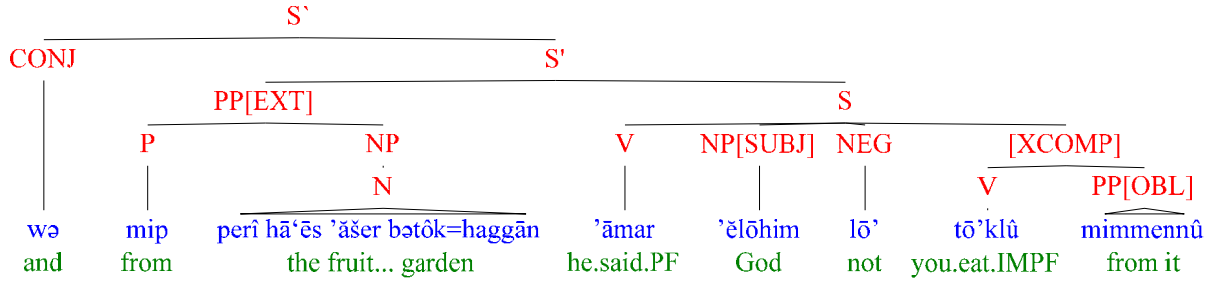


Figure 4: Genesis 3:3, (23)

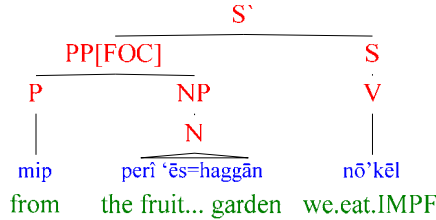


Figure 5: Genesis 3:2, (24)

Later in the same episode, the author of Genesis employs another extraposition structure concerning the Tree.¹¹

(24) Gen 3:12b

hā'iššā 'āšer nātātā 'immādī hiw' nātnâ=lî min=hā'š wā'ōkēl
 the=woman REL you.give.PF with=1cs 3fs she.gives.PF from=the=tree and=I.eat.IMPF
 "The woman whom you gave to me, she gave to me from the tree and I ate."

In (24), Adam is blaming Eve for his eating from the Tree. He fronts the NP referring to her and employs an agreeing pronoun in its place. This clause is striking in that the matrix clause is not VSO. This example illustrates BH's word order fluidity by employing extraposition and simple fronting in the same clause.

BH can also extrapose objects in a verbal clause.

(25) Ps 101:5b (also from Lunn 2006:141)

gəbā='ēnayim ūrḥab lēbāb 'ōtô lō' 'ūkāl
 high.CON=eyes and=wide.CON heart DDO¹²=3ms NEG I.endure.IMPF
 The haughty of eyes [and] proud of heart, him I will not endure.

Example (25) contains is yet another clause marked by means of extraposition and simple fronting. The psalmist (paralleling the previous line) extraposes two asyndetic noun-phrases referring to proud people and then resumes them as one fronted phrase which includes a resumptive enclitic pronoun.

Interestingly, copular clauses can also employ extraposition. In these clauses, the copular verb and the resumptive pronoun co-occur showing a peculiarity regarding the copular analysis. For both the copular verb and a pronoun which appears to function just like the pronouns in TNCs are employed in one clause. (26) is one such example.

¹¹ It is noteworthy here that though Lunn offers examples with the same syntactic structure as (24), such as 1 Kgs 5:19; Deut 1:38; Ps 37:9 (2006:55, 83, 84), he offers another possible analysis. Because these resumed subjects do not fit nicely into his analysis he proposes a different analysis than the following with such structures claiming these pronouns functions like 'evidentials' (92–94) which would make the initial constituent a subject, not an extraposed focus. Interestingly, many of the clauses discovered by the present author which appear to frustrate Buth's hypothesis also involve such pronouns (cf. Isa. 53:11; Ezek. 33:19; Mal 2:17). More puzzling is that fact that these redundant pronominal subjects can receive focus particles (the sole known TNC example is Prov 11:25; for an example of this function in a verbal clause, see Gen 4:4).

¹² The DDO 'definite direct object marker' is (generally) a marker of definite direct objects (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990:177–83 for detailed discussion).

(26) 1 Chron. 11:20

wə'absay 'axî yô'āb hū' hāyāh rō'š hašlōšāh
 and=Abishai brother.CON Joab 3ms COP.3ms.PF head the=thirty
 Now Abishai, the brother of Joab, was the leader of the thirty.

Here a copular clause employs an extraposed topic and resumes it with a third-person pronoun. Two similar examples include Genesis 44:17 and Qohelet 3:14.

Thus, we have shown that verbal clauses involving clause-initial extraposed constituents can employ resumptive pronouns as subjects, objects, and objects of prepositions. These pronouns agree with their antecedents in person, gender, and number, can be either independent or clitics, and may be found in pragmatically marked positions.

2.2.1.2 Clause-final Extraposed Noun-phrases

As noted above, a number of the A-type TNCs begin with phrases which cannot be subjects, such as numeral, other adjectival-phrases, and interrogative phrases. The resumptive analysis agrees that the clause-initial phrase is the predicate and assumes the pronoun is the subject and the final phrase is extraposed. Dik illustrates that that such 'tails' serve to clarify an argument in the clause-proper as in "He's a nice chap, your brother." Such clarifications are quite common in BH, as in example (27).

(27) Ruth 1:1

wāyyēlek	'iš	mibbêt lexem	yəhūdāh	lāgûr	bísdě	mô'āb	hū'	wə'ishtō
and=he.went.PRET	man	from=Bethlehem	Judah	to=sojourn	in=fields.CON	Moab	3ms	and=wife=3ms
ûšně	bānāyw							
and=two.CON	sons=3ms							

And a man went from Bethlehem of Judah to sojourn in regions of Moab, he, his wife, and his two sons.

Again, the uniqueness principle claims that the clause-final extraposed noun-phrase cannot be a subject, for 'man' is clearly the sole subject. This 'tail' merely serves to clarify that the man did not travel alone but that his family accompanied him. Notice that though a pronoun is employed, the tail does not agree with any argument in the clause-proper, for it is plural and the sole matrix argument is singular.

Thus, verbal clauses can co-occur with both clause-initial and -final extraposed elements which, though each type has a different pragmatic or semantic function, are unessential to the grammaticality of the clause and may or may not agree with the clause-proper constituents they are associated with.

2.2.2 Extraposition and TNCs

These examples of extraposition with verbal clauses exemplify all the characteristics of TNCs. To illustrate this claim, each TNC structure type will be analyzed assuming extraposition and pronoun retention are employed.

Before being able to differentiate TNC types, beyond the binary A- and B-type distinction, one must set forth some basic assumptions. First, if only one non-pronominal constituent is a clause-daughter prepositional-phrase or (though they are not always distinguishable) a clause-daughter adjectival-phrase, it must be the predicate and can therefore not be the extraposed element. Second, numerals are likely predicates. A possible exception is when the numeral refers to topical elements from the previous clause(s). Third, the non-pronominal constituents which are more definite (and thereby more accessible as topics) are more likely the subject. For this reason Muraoka's breakdown of TNC types according to definiteness and indefiniteness (1999) is helpful.¹³ Fourth, whenever the resumptive pronoun agrees with only one of the other clause-daughter constituents, the one with which it agrees is the extraposed element. Fifth, because verbal clauses can employ both extraposition and simple fronting in the same

¹³ For the finer issues of distinguishing subject and predicate, see Kirk E. Lowery's (1999) discussion.

clause, we must assume that the constituent order of the clause-proper is variable. And sixth, because verbal clause can employ dominant focal elements, verbless clauses may also front a portion of a constituent creating a discontinuity. With these six assumptions, we now address the TNC data. Because a phrase structure diagram of this analysis was provided above (Figure 2), each of the examples below employs an interlinear format which titles each constituent.

2.2.2.1 Clause-initial Extraposed Phrases

The great majority of TNCs have extraposed phrases which precede the clause-proper. A-type TNCs are illustrated first.

2.2.2.1.1 A-type TNCs

Example (28) extraposes the topic of the previous discourse, 'Esau' (see preceding clause), which is resumed with an independent pronoun in the clause proper. The pronoun is then equated with a noun-phrase predicate. (29) is similar in that it extraposes a recent topic (see v. 12), resumes it with an independent pronoun and then equates the pronoun with a generic term.¹⁴ Example (30) is interesting in that the extraposed constituent is a prepositional-phrase. This is a rare occurrence in the TNC data. The noun-phrase 'dog' is resumed with a pronoun and the pronoun is compared to another entity by means of the common comparative structure 'good' + min-phrase. And (31) is significant in that the resumed subject is marked with the focus-particle gam in contrast to the previous example (8) in which gam marked the extraposed constituent.

(28) Gen 36:8

NP[EXT]	NP[SUBJ]	NP
‘ešāb	hû’	‘ēdôm
Esau	3ms	Edom

Now, this Esau (who was just mentioned), his is Edom.

(29) 1 Sam 17:14

NP[EXT]	NP[SUBJ]	NP
dāwid	hû’	haqqāṭan
David	3ms	the=young

As for David, he was the youngest.

(30) Qoh 9:4

PP[EXT]		NP[SUBJ]	AP		
kî=lakeleb	xay	hû’	ṭôb	min=hā’aryēh	hammēt
for=to=dog	alive	3ms	good	from=the=lion	dead

For, even a living dog [it] is better than a dead lion.¹⁵

(31) Psalm 38:11

¹⁴ Again, we note that adjectives often function as noun-phrases in BH. Here an adjective takes a definite article.

¹⁵ Here is a clear example of an extraposed phrase marking a focal element, not a topic, because it is indefinite.

NP[EXT]	Part+NP[SUBJ]	NEG	PP
wə'ôr=ʿênay	gam=hêm	'ên	'ittî
and=light=eyes=1cs	also=3mp	NEG	with=1cs
And the light of my eyes, even they are not with me.			

2.2.2.1.2 B-type TNCs

All B-type TNCs fit into the clause-initial category. Clause-final extraposed elements cannot by definition occur in B-type TNCs since this type employs clause-final resumptive pronouns. Interestingly, most of the locative and the (arguably) attributive TNCs are of this type. While equative TNCs more often are of the A-type, examples of both equative types are numerous.

(32) and (33) are equative B-type TNCs. Again, the resumptive analysis assumes an extraposed phrase is followed by the clause proper and that the pronoun resumes the extraposed phrase. (34) is specifically helpful in showing that the pronoun agrees with the extraposed element for 'soul' is feminine while 'blood' is masculine. All of these structures illustrate the coherence of the resumptive analysis.

(32) Jer. 10:8

NP[EXT]	NP	NP[SUBJ]
mûsar	hăbālîm	'êš hû'
discipline.CON	idols	tree 3ms
As for the discipline of idols, it is (but) wood.		

(33) Gen 41:25

NP[EXT]	NP	NP[SUBJ]
xălôm	par'ôh	'exād hû'
dream	Pharaoh	one 3ms
Pharaoh dream[s], [they] are one.		

(34) Lev 17:11

NP[EXT]	PP	NP[SUBJ]
nepeš	habāsār	baddām hiw'
soul.fem	the=flesh	in=blood.masc 3fs
As for the life of the flesh, it is (specifically) in the blood.		

2.2.2.2 Clause-final Extraposed Constituents

Though the examples above illustrate the strength of the resumptive analysis by claiming the pronouns in TNCs serve the same function as in verbal clauses, it is the clause-final examples which are the main points of debate because the resumptive pronouns precede their antecedents. Thus, a more exhaustive set of examples is provided in this section; again, all of these clause-final examples are A-type TNCs. We begin by analyzing two previously mentioned examples, (17) and (18), under this analysis.

(35) Lam. 1:18 (reanalysis of (17))

AP NP[SUBJ] NP[EXT]

ṣadîq hû' yhwh

righteous 3ms YHWH
Righteous is he, the LORD.

(36) Gen 21:29 (reanalysis of (18))

NP NP[SUBJ] NP[EXT]

māh hēnāh šeba' kəbāsōt hā'ēleh

what 3fp seven ewe-lambs these
What are they, these seven ewe-lambs?

This analysis agrees with the proponents of the copular analysis that the predicate is initial but simply assumes that the resumptive pronoun can precede its extraposed antecedent. In the cases of TNCs, the pronoun agrees with its antecedent; however, as shown above, other types of clause-final extraposed constituents need not agree. These agree because agreement is bound in the nature of the resumptive pronouns.¹⁶ Three more examples illustrate that this analysis can account for all of the predicate-initial TNCs.

(37) Ps 24:10

NP NP[SUBJ] NP[EXT]

mî hû' šeh melek hakkābôd

who 3ms this king the=glory
Who is he, this king of glory?

(38) Lev 23:2

NP NP[SUBJ] NP[EXT]

'ēleh hēm mō'ādāy

these 3mp appointed.time=1cs
These are them, my appointed times.

(39) Cant 6:9

NP NP[SUBJ] NP[EXT]

'axat hî' yônātî

one 3fs dove.CON=1cs
One is she, my dove.

¹⁶ One could rightfully argue that these are examples do not employ resumptive pronouns but simply employ clause-final extraposed elements which clarify the previous pronouns. This analysis is more akin to the example given above of clause-final extraposition in verbal clauses, (27). Under this analysis, the extraposed phrase clarifies which of the many accessible referents the pronoun refers to. The hypothesis assumed in this paper calls them resumptive because they always agree with their referents and by calling them such this analysis offers coherence.

3. The Identity of the Pronoun

Along with the arguments built upon coherence and correlation between verbal and verbless clauses given above, there are a number of linguistic tests which distinguish resumptive pronouns from other syntactic elements. The first two of tests illustrate that the pronouns in TNCs lack the qualities of predicates; the third marks a lack of the complementary distribution found in Modern Hebrew. These tests clarify that the pronoun is not a verb and thereby not a suppletive form of the copular verb.

3.1 Morphology

An obvious difference between the third-person pronouns in TNCs and verbs is morphology. BH verbs are inflected for person, gender, number, tense (or better, aspect), voice, and mood. The pronouns in TNCs are just like other independent pronouns which are inflected only for person, gender, and number.

3.2 Negation

The most common negation particle in BH is *lō'* 'not, no'. "The primary use of this adverb is to negate verbal clauses... [though] at times, *lō'* negates verbless clauses or prepositional-phrases" (Arnold and Choi 2003:137–38). As an analyst should expect, this negative particle rarely (if ever) negates subjects but often negates predicates and XCOMPs as in the following examples.

(40) Gen 42:21

lō' =hāyû 'ābādēka mərəggəlīm

NEG COP.3p.PF servants=2ms slandering
Your servants have never been slanderers.

(41) Job 28:14 (Arnold and Choi 2003:138)

lō' bî hî'

NEG with=1cs 3fs
It is not with me.

Though this negative particle can immediately precede both copular verbs, as in (40), and predicates of verbless clauses, as in (41), this particle never immediately precedes any of the third-person pronouns in TNCs. In fact, it never precedes third-person pronouns in the entire BH corpus.¹⁷ Instead, it precedes the constituent we would expect to be the predicate under the resumptive analysis, as in (42) (see also Deut 11:10).

(42) 2 Sam 21:2

wəhaggib'ōnīm *lō'* mibbənê yisrā'el hēmmāh

and=the=Gibeonites NEG from=sons.CON Israel 3mp
As for the Gibeonites, not (descended) from the sons of Israel are they.

3.3 Not in Complementary Distribution

The strongest argument for the pronominal copula in Modern Hebrew is its complementary distribution regarding tense with the verbal copula. Speaking of Modern Hebrew, Falk claims, "All of the past (and future) tense sentences use a form of the verb *haya* 'be'; it is this that makes them all copular. However, in the present tense, four different form are used: \emptyset (1), the pronominal forms which we will call

¹⁷ The only arguable exception to this claim occurs with the interrogative particle *hā'* (see Gen 20:5; Deut 32:6, 34; 2 Kgs 18:22; 2 Chr. 32:12; Job 31:4; Isa. 36:7; Jer. 5:12). However, this conjoining of *hā'* + *lō'* is better treated as one sole particle functioning to introduce negative questions.

Pron [those under discussion in this paper], *yeš*, and *eyn*” (2004:228–29). Such a distribution is not found in BH.

First off, though most often employing present tense, the Septuagint and the English Standard Version translate many TNCs with the future (43) and past tense (44) verbs.¹⁸

(43) Gen 30:33

kol...	gānûb	hû’	’ittî
pan...	keklemmenon	estai	par=emoi
all...	stolen	3ms/COP. FUT.3s	with=1cs

Every one... with me, shall be counted stolen (ESV, emphasis added, relative clause elided).

(44) Gen 30:33

wəxām	hû’	’ābî	kənā’an
—xam ¹⁹	ēn	patēr	xanaan
and=Ham	3ms/COP.IMP3s	father.CON/father	Canaan

(Ham was the father of Canaan.) (ESV, emphasis added, parens not added).

But more importantly, the minimal pairs between TNCs and simple verbless clauses show no distinction of meaning (see example (7) and (8) above).

These three points argue against the copular analysis for these clearly are pronominal elements, not verbs like the common BH copula, and do not have the clear distributional differentiation that the present copulas in Modern Hebrew have.

4. Discontinuities

Before concluding, a word concerning discontinuities is in order. The resumptive analysis also accounts for discontinuous constituents without producing peculiarities. As noted above, discontinuities are common in BH.²⁰ They can be produced for one of two reasons: first, part of a constituent is fronted for pragmatic reasons or, second, a subordinate piece of a ‘weighty’ constituent is post-posed. The first of these reasons was explained above as a dominant focal element (DFE); the second is a common trait in many languages. Because this paper is mainly concerned with syntax and not pragmatics, we do not try and decipher the cause behind each discontinuity but deal solely with their structures.

4.1 Discontinuities in Simple Verbless Clauses

First, discontinuities occur with simple verbless clauses. Interestingly, whenever the subject of a simple verbless clause is a third-person independent pronoun and the predicate is discontinuous, the resulting clause looks very much like an A-type TNC, but in fact it is not. For these clauses only contain two clause-daughters: one discontinuous constituent and a third-person personal pronoun. The pronoun does not resume an extraposed argument but refers to something in a previous clause. Such discontinuities occur in equative (45), attributive (46), and in one place, interrogative clauses (47) (no locative clause examples have been found).

(45) Ps 149:9, Simple Equative Clause with DFE

NP	NP[SUBJ]	PP[COMP]
hādār	hû’	ləkol=xāsīdayw

¹⁸ It is well known that verbal conjugation in BH mark differences in aspect and not tense (Arnold and Choi 2003:36–37); these examples are meant to contrast BH and Modern Hebrew.

¹⁹ The m-dash marks a minus. The Septuagint does not include a conjunction here, the Masoretic Text does.

²⁰ Many are listed by (Andersen 1970:36–37)

honor 3ms to=all=kind.PL=3ms
An ornament it is to all his pious ones.

(46) Job 32:4, Simple Attributive Clause with DFE

	AP	NP[SUBJ]	PP[COMP]	PP[COMP]
kî	zəqēîm	=hēmmāh	mimmennû	ləyomîm
for	old.PL	3ms	from=3ms	to=days

For, older were they than him in days.

(47) Esth. 8:1, Simple Interrogative Clause with DFE

NP[Q]	NP[SUBJ]	PP[COMP]
mah	hû	=lāh
what	3ms	3ms

What is he to her?

Each of these three clauses employs a discontinuous predicate which surrounds a pronominal subject which is not resumptive. In (45), ‘ornament’ is complemented by ‘to all his pious ones.’ The difference between this structure and a simple verbless clause is merely that the more complex structure marks the most salient point of the assertion most prominently. (46) shows that an adjective might have a number of prepositional-phrases complementing it, though each has a different semantic role (contrastive and temporal). In (47), the interrogative pronoun is complemented just like the noun-phrase in (45). What is essential to note here is that the prepositional-phrases are syntactically and semantically subordinate to the initial phrases, not the pronouns they follow. Further, all the BH TNC data employing discontinuities accumulated to this point follows the same pattern as these examples, it is the head of the predicate that is clause-initial, not the complement. The fact that discontinuities always follow this pattern—the head is initial and its complement, final—is reason to suppose that phonological weight is the cause of these discontinuities, not pragmatic markedness.²¹

4.2 Discontinuities in TNCs

Discontinuities can also be marked in true BH TNCs. Depending on whether we view the head being fronted (a DFE) or the complement being post-posed (due to a weighty noun-phrase), we may call these A-types with DFEs or B-types with post-posing. Again, because we are mainly concerned with the syntactic structure and not the pragmatic meaning, here they are simply called discontinuous TNCs. Not unlike the many structures previously mentioned, discontinuous TNCs occur with noun-, adjectival-, and prepositional-phrases, as illustrated below.

(48) Zech 4:10, Equative Discontinuous-TNC

NP[EXT]	NP		NP[SUBJ]	S[REL]	
šib‘āh=’ēlleh	‘ênê	YHWH	hēmmāh	məšôṭəṭîm	bəkol=hā’āreš
seven=these	eyes.CON	YHWH	3mp	roaming	3ms

As for the seven (spouts), the eyes of the LORD are they which roam throughout the earth.

(49) Gen 34:21, Attributive Discontinuous-TNC

²¹ This point is important in weighing Buth’s word order scheme. For he assumes each discontinuity is due to fronting and uses them as evidence for his model (Buth 1999:96–97) If pragmatics is not the cause of these discontinuities, his argument becomes less convincing.

NP[EXT]		AP	NP[SUBJ]	PP[COMP]
hā'ānāšîm	hā'ēleh	šəlēməim	hēm	'itānû
the=men	seven=these	peaceful.PL	3mp	with=1mp
As for these seven men, at peace are they with us.				

(50) Gen 34:21, Locative Discontinuous-TNC

	NP[EXT]				NEG	PP
kî	hā'āreš	'āšer	'attāh	bo'=šāmmāh	lərištāh	lō' kə'ereš
for	the=land	REL	2ms	going=there=to	to=possess=3ms	not as=land
		NP[SUBJ]	S'[REL]			
mišrayim	hiw'	'āšer	yəšā'tem	miššām		
Egypt	3fs	REL	you.go.out.PF	from=there		
For, as for the land which you are going to [it] to possess [it], not as the land of Egypt is it which you came from [there].						

Both (43) and (45) differ from the previous discontinuities because they involve not a prepositional-phrase complements but a relative clause complements; the first lacks the relativizer, the second employs it. Otherwise, the structure is the same. The head of the predicate is the initial position of the clause-proper (after the extraposition) and the complement is clause-final, following the pronoun.

5. Conclusion

This paper provides evidence that tripartite nominal clauses employ one of two types of extraposition and a resumptive pronoun. Reasons for accepting this syntactic analysis over the pronominal copula analysis include the following: coherence with all the BH data, simplicity of analysis between verbal and verbless clauses, co-occurrence of the copular verb and independent third-person pronouns, the nominal functions of the pronoun, and the lack of complementary distribution between the verbal copula and these pronouns. Lastly, the resumptive analysis well accounts for the frequent occurrence of discontinuities in tripartite nominal clauses.

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