THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

Verbal Hendiadys Revisited:
Grammaticalization and Auxiliation in Biblical Hebrew Verbs

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the

Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures

School of Arts and Sciences

Of The Catholic University of America

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Jaroslaw Chrzanowski

Washington, D.C.

2011

Verbal Hendiadys Revisited:
Grammaticalization and Auxiliation in Biblical Hebrew Verbs

Jaroslaw Chrzanowski, Ph.D.

Director: Edward M. Cook, Ph.D.

Verbal hendiadys is described in Biblical Hebrew textbooks and grammars as a
verbal construction consisting of two verbs whereby one qualifies the other. Such
constructions occur as a sequence of two finite verbs or in a construction in which a finite
verb is complemented by an infinitive. It is usually assumed that the first verb expresses an
adverbial idea whereas the second verb contributes a lexical meaning. A historical survey
reveals that the rhetorical term *hendiadys* was used without restrictions for various,
sometimes linguistically unrelated, categories. This dissertation argues that the traditional
term hendiadys is inadequate for such verbal constructions and proposes to call them
auxiliary verb constructions and the verbs that are assumed to express an adverbial idea as
auxiliary verbs. It provides a linguistic framework of grammaticalization and auxiliation and
offers a comprehensive analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs on the basis of this framework.
Grammaticalization is explained as a complex diachronic change whereby a lexical item
gradually becomes a grammatical marker. The analysis explains how the verb *hālak* 'go'
became an auxiliary of gradual progression, the verb *šāb* 'return'—an auxiliary of repetition,
the verb *yāsap̄/hôsîp̄* 'add'—an auxiliary of addition and continuation, the verb *qām* 'get
up'—an auxiliary of ingressiveness, the verb *mihar* 'hurry'—an auxiliary of speed and
urgency.

This dissertation by Jaroslaw Chrzanowski fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures approved by Edward M. Cook, Ph.D., as Director, and by Andrew D. Gross, Ph.D., and Rev. Stephen D. Ryan, Ph.D., as Readers.

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Edward M. Cook, Ph.D., Director

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Andrew D. Gross, Ph.D., Reader

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Rev. Stephen D. Ryan, Ph.D., Reader

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ABBREVIATIONS

BHS	Elliger, K. and W. Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 5th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997.
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956-.
DCH	Clines., David J. A., ed. *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-.
BDB	Brown, Francis, Samuel R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
ESV	*English Standard Version*. 2007.
GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm, E. Kautzsch, A. E. Cowley. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Study Edition. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

IEP	*Nuovissima Versione della Bibbia*. 1995.
Joüon-Muraoka	Joüon, Paul, and Takamitsu Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rev. ed. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006.
KJV	King James Version. 1611.
NASB	*New American Standard Bible*. 1995.
NIV	*New International Version*. 1984.
NJB	*New Jerusalem Bible*. 1985.
NRSV	*New Revised Standard Version*. 1989.
NRV	*La Sacra Bibbia Nuova Riveduta*. 1994.
PER	*La Biblia del Peregrino*. 1993.
R95	*La Santa Biblia: Antiguo y Nuevo Testamento: Antigua Version de Casiodoro de Reina*. 1995.
Waltke-O'Connor	Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael P. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

PREFACE

This dissertation aims at a comprehensive presentation and discussion of the following auxiliary verbs in Biblical Hebrew: הָלַךְ, שָׁב, יָסַף/הוֹסִיף, מִהַר, קָם. Except for הָלַךְ, constructions involving these verbs have been commonly known as verbal hendiadys. In my analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs the basic tool I use is the linguistic theory of grammaticalization and auxiliation. This theoretical framework is formulated in the light of recent advances in linguistics.

In chapter 1, I formulate the statement of the problem and offer a survey of nominal and verbal hendiadys pointing to the problematic nature of these traditional concepts and their definitions. In chapters 2 through 6, I introduce the framework of grammaticalization and auxiliation. In chapters 7 through 11, I provide the analysis of individual Hebrew auxiliaries. In chapter 12, I discuss the notion of serial verb constructions which some Hebraists have applied to the analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs.

The analysis of Hebrew auxiliaries is limited to the corpus of the Hebrew Bible. The chapter and verse numbers of the analyzed passages follow those of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. The translations of the passages from the Hebrew Bible are mine unless a particular version is indicated. In most instances, I quote a part of a verse, rather than the whole verse, of an analyzed passage, but invariably I indicate the verse number without specifying if it is a part of the verse or the whole verse.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In expressing my gratitude to people who have guided my work on this dissertation in the last two years, I must first mention those who, earlier, considerably shaped my understanding and appreciation of Biblical Hebrew and related languages. Before I started my graduate studies at the Catholic University of America, a number of fellow Jesuits taught me Hebrew at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome: Rev. Karl Plötz, S.J., Rev. Robert Althann, S.J., Rev. Paul Mankowski, S.J., and Rev. Augustinus Gianto, S.J. In addition to thanking these distinguished Hebraists for their teaching, I also want to thank Rev. Stephen Pisano, S.J., the former Rector of the Biblical Institute, who encouraged me to continue my studies in the United States, and who has assisted me while pursuing my Ph.D.

During my study of Semitics at CUA, I was privileged to have two eminent scholars as mentors and teachers: Dr. Douglas M. Gropp and the Late Dr. Michael P. O'Connor. Due to the number of courses I took with them and the significant influence they had on my knowledge of Semitic languages and literatures, these two intellectuals merit my heartfelt gratitude. I was one of the last students of Dr. Michael P. O'Connor, in the three years before his untimely death in 2007, and I would like to dedicate this dissertation to his memory and to the celebration of his scholarship.

The idea for this dissertation began as a seminar paper in the fall of 2006. At that time I believed that the verbs known as *verbal hendiadys* had developed an adverbial

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this introductory chapter I will formulate the statement of the problem and indicate the aim of this dissertation. Subsequently I will present the common definitions of hendiadys: how this term is understood in rhetoric, classical and biblical literature, linguistic dictionaries, in Hebrew grammars, and within Semitic publications. Since I argue that the traditional term "verbal hendiadys" is inaccurate for the set of verbs that I am analyzing in the present study, I present a variety of hendiadys to illustrate the difference between nominal and verbal hendiadys. Although my presentation of nominal hendiadys is far from being short, it is not a comprehensive treatment of the topic.[1] Its main aim is to highlight the difference between nominal hendiadys and verbal hendiadys in Hebrew, and show that these are two linguistically unrelated phenomena.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In her 2006 article "A Survey of Syntagms in the Hebrew Bible Classified as Hendiadys," Lillas-Schuil points to the confusion concerning the description and classification of hendiadys and notices that "a clear definition would be desirable and settle the matter as to what constitutes a *hendiadys*."[2] In this work I will argue that a clear

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1. For additional details on nominal hendiadys, it is highly recommended to consult Rosmari Lillas-Schuil, "A Survey of Syntagms in the Hebrew Bible Classified as Hendiadys," in *Current Issues in the Analysis of Semitic Grammar and Lexicon II: Oslo-Göteborg Cooperation 4th-5th November 2005* (ed. Lutz Edzard and Jan Retsö; AKM 59; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 79–100. Lillas-Schuil gathered a variety of formations considered "hendiadys" by Hebraists and biblical scholars.

2. Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 81.

definition of hendiadys or, more specifically, a definition that would comprise all syntagms classified as hendiadys by rhetoricians, philologists, literary critics, and biblical scholars cannot be formulated. Hendiadys has always been a rather vague notion. Since it was a poorly defined term, it has been employed to label various combinations of words and phrases, some of them linguistically unrelated.

Etymologically, hendiadys comes from the Greek phrase ἓν διὰ δυοῖν "one by (or: through) two." Scholars define hendiadys on the basis of the etymology of this word "one by two," but they often differ in what they mean by hendiadys. According to *The New Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, hendiadys is "a figure of speech in which a single complex idea is expressed by two words usually connected by *and* (e.g. *nice and warm* for *nicely warm*)."[3] For Westhuizen, hendiadys is also a figure of speech, but on the basis of its etymology "one expressed by means of two," he interprets hendiadys as something that may be "referred to by two (or more) words or phrases which are synonymous."[4] As far as I can see, in every language the number of concepts that can be expressed by means of two words is usually significant. If we expand the definition of hendiadys to comprise "more than two" words, phrases, or concepts, the stock of such complex ideas may be enormous in a language. Without additional semantic and syntactic constraints, the term hendiadys can be easily applied to account for many unrelated phenomena.

Hebraists and biblical scholars employ the terms: nominal hendiadys and verbal hendiadys. Sometimes they use "hendiadys" without any attribute, such as "nominal" or

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3. Quoted, with the original punctuation and italics, from Lesley Brown, ed., *The New Shorter Oxford Dictionary: On Historical Principles* (2 vols.; 3d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1:1218.

4. J. P. van der Westhuizen, "Hendiadys in Biblical Hymns of Praise," *Semitics* 6 (1978): 50.

"verbal," in reference both to the former and the latter, depending on the context. Hebrew verbs, such as שָׁב 'return,' הוֹסִיף 'add,' מִהַר 'hurry,' קָם 'get up,' הוֹאִיל 'do willingly,' הִשְׁכִּים 'get up early,' are examples of verbs that can form *verbal hendiadys*. For example, in this function, שָׁב and הוֹסִיף are usually glossed 'do something again,' and מִהַר is glossed 'do something quickly.'[5] Verbal hendiadys is comprised of various syntactic constructions in which these verbs modify other verbs. It is assumed that the modifying verbs שָׁב, הוֹסִיף or מִהַר express an adverbial idea, such as 'again' or 'quickly,' whereas the verbs that are modified contribute the main lexical meaning. In the traditional description, verbal hendiadys is said to occur in a variety of syntactic constructions. In one construction, the modifying verb and the modified verb are two finite verbs which are coordinated by *waw* 'and.' In another construction, the modifying verb and the modified verb are two finite verbs juxtaposed asyndetically (without *waw*). In yet another construction, the modifying verb is a finite verb whereas the modified verb is an infinitive construct, usually with לְ. Consider the following illustrations with verbal hendiadys and the variety of constructions:[6]

Judges 19:7

וַיָּשָׁב וַיָּלֶן שָׁם

And he again spent the night there.

1 Samuel 3:5

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5. The classic description of Hebrew verbal hendiadys is Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Scribner, 1971), 238–40.

6. The first three illustrations and their translations are from Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical*, 239. I have provided and translated the last illustration, from Gen 37:5.

שׁוּב שְׁכָב

Lie down again.

Genesis 18:7

וַיְמַהֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹתוֹ

And he quickly prepared it.

Genesis 37:5

וַיּוֹסִפוּ עוֹד שְׂנֹא אֹתוֹ

They hated him more.

In Judg 19:7, verbal hendiadys consists of two finite verbs that are coordinated by *waw*. In 1 Sam 3:5, two finite verbs are juxtaposed asyndetically. In Gen 18:7, the modifying verb is complemented by an infinitive construct with לְ. And, in Gen 37:5, the modifying verb is complemented by a bare infinitive construct, that is, an infinitive construct without לְ.

The term nominal hendiadys is used in reference to non-verbal combinations of two words, usually two nouns but also two adjectives. According to Arnold and Choi, "The *waw* conjunctive can function to conjoin two or more words into a construction that refers to a single idea, or points to a single referent. This expression, called hendiadys, can be constructed with two or more nouns, or two or more verbs."[7] According to the authors,

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7. Bill T. Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 148. In my view, Arnold and Choi's definition is inaccurate because the verbal hendiadys consists of two verbs only, and no more than two. As far as I can see, also the nominal hendiadys consists of two nouns only.

nominal hendiadys refers to the former expression, and verbal hendiadys to the latter. They offer the following examples of nominal hendiadys:[8]

חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת "true faithfulness" (lit., "faithfulness and truth"), from 2 Sam 2:6

הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד "covenant loyalty" (lit., "covenant and loyalty"), from Deut 7:9

תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ "formless void" (lit., "formlessness and void"), from Gen 1:2

In this dissertation I argue that the term hendiadys or verbal hendiadys is inadequate for Hebrew combinations of two verbs headed by certain verbs, namely קָם, מִהַר, הוֹסִיף, שָׁב, or הוֹאִיל, and the use of these inadequate terms should be discontinued. I argue that the terms nominal hendiadys and verbal hendiadys, employed in biblical Hebrew grammars, are two linguistically unrelated phenomena. I propose that several verbs that in verbal hendiadys are assumed to express an adverbial idea should be called auxiliary verbs. I offer a comprehensive analysis of the following auxiliary verbs in the Hebrew Bible הוֹסִיף, שָׁב, הָלַךְ, מִהַר, קָם, and הוֹאִיל.[9] I also analyze the verb הָלַךְ 'go' as an auxiliary of gradual progression, but this verb usually is not associated with verbal hendiadys because its syntactic constructions differ from those of verbal hendiadys.[10] The historical evolution of these verbs

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8. The illustrations of nominal hendiadys and their translations are from Arnold and Choi, *Guide to Biblical*, 148. The explanatory literal renderings in parentheses are mine.

9. In 1995 Dobbs-Allsopp already offered an in-depth study of the verb קָם in terms of grammaticalization, as an aspectual verb that expresses ingressive aspect. F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew," *ZAH* 8 (1995): 31–55.

10. In her article on hendiadys, Lillas-Schuil has הָלַךְ in her list of verbal hendiadys and other verbs that are most frequently "used adverbially" in the Hebrew Bible. Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 89.

from their lexical meaning to a new grammatical meaning and function can be described in terms of a linguistic theory of grammaticalization. Consider the following illustration:

Genesis 50:14

וַיָּשָׁב יוֹסֵף מִצְרַיְמָה

Joseph returned to Egypt.

Genesis 26:18

וַיָּשָׁב יִצְחָק וַיַּחְפֹּר אֶת־בְּאֵרֹת הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ בִּימֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו

Isaac reopened (or: dug again) the wells of water that had been dug in the days of his father Abraham.

In Gen 50:14, the verb שָׁב is used in its lexical meaning 'return' as a motion verb. In Gen 26:18, on the other hand, the same verb is no longer used as a motion verb, but functions as an auxiliary verb that expresses the notion of repetition, which in English can approximately be rendered by 'again.' The use of שָׁב in Gen 26:18 indicates that this verb underwent grammaticalization, a gradual change from lexical to grammatical meaning, and became a grammatical marker. Its grammaticalized meaning is a more abstract metaphorized version of its lexical meaning. However, grammaticalization is a complex diachronic change that consists of many components. In the case of the verb שָׁב, metaphorization of meaning is only one of the factors underlying its grammaticalization. In this dissertation, I argue that, from the perspective of linguistic typology, grammaticalized verbs like שָׁב can be considered auxiliary verbs, and the constructions in which they occur as auxiliary verb constructions. Such verbs belong to grammar. In a living language, auxiliary verb constructions, which consist of an auxiliary verb and a lexical verb, can be easily produced by language users.

The development of the verb הוֹאִיל 'do willingly' cannot be described in terms of a diachronic process of grammaticalization because this verb occurs only 19 times in the Hebrew Bible. In spite of its infrequent occurrences, this verb is translated as 'do willingly,' 'be content to do,' 'please' (in imperative), 'be determined,' 'begin,' 'continue,' 'help,' and 'intend.' This variety of meanings suggests that, to a considerable extent, the understanding of this verb is based on a scholarly guess. This verb is assigned meanings in accordance with what suits the context in which it occurs. Although conjectural, it seems best to consider this verb as expressing a modal auxiliary meaning. In my view, it does not appear as a lexical verb and, therefore, it is impossible to trace its grammaticalization. Nevertheless, it can be classified as a modal auxiliary, or an auxiliary verb with the modal meaning, 'be willing.'

The verb הִשְׁכִּים 'get up early' is also regarded as one of the verbs that form hendiadys. In my view, its traditional classification as a hendiadys is based on stylistic consideration. The translation "he set out early in the morning" sounds better to many translators than "he got up early in the morning and set out." I do not believe the meaning of הִשְׁכִּים "merges together" with other verbs—as it is assumed with hendiadys—to form a complex single meaning. But it is an important verb, and suggestions should be given on how to render it in a more elegant way in particular languages.

Hendiadys is traditionally considered a figure of speech. Therefore, this term may be adequate to describe the nominal combinations of two nouns, such as those illustrated by Arnold and Choi. Such combinations are not a matter of grammar or regular grammatical productivity. They are products of poetic creativity and a matter of elevated style. Poets and writers struggle to establish new linguistic expressions and forms, not found previously in the language, to introduce words and phrases that sound original, fresh, and innovative. Grammar, on the other hand, is established by the frequent use of a construction in similar

contexts. High frequency of use is paramount for the emerging grammatical patterns if they are to become a part of the grammar in a language. In the case of poetic formations, such as the nominal hendiadys illustrated by Arnold and Choi, high frequency of use would deprive them of their literary distinctiveness. For novel poetic formations like hendiadys, frequent use means decreasing expressiveness and loss of originality. While high frequency of use conventionalizes and establishes novel grammatical constructions as a part of the grammar in a particular language, high frequency puts an end to the originality and novelty of poetic expressions.[11] The English phrase "nice and warm," which is commonly considered a hendiadys, does not belong to poetic diction. But nominal hendiadys constructions in the Hebrew Bible are poetic formations that are characteristic of elevated language rather than colloquial speech of daily communication.

It would be an overstatement to say that the traditional approach to the Hebrew verbal constructions called hendiadys was inaccurate and that the students of Hebrew understood those formations with very little insight. However, in my view, the grammaticalization framework applied to the description of those constructions contributes considerably to understanding them better, both from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. Even though the term 'hendiadys' does have some explanatory value, both for verbal and nominal hendiadys, it seems unfortunate that the ancient rhetorical concept of hendiadys, usually applied to poetic noun pairs (notably in studies of poets like Horace, Virgil or Shakespeare), in the twentieth century was extended to these Hebrew verbal constructions. The mere fact that a technical term, such as hendiadys, comes from rhetoric does not render it illegitimate for its use in modern linguistic description. There are

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11. The role of frequency of use in grammaticalization and in the formation of grammar is discussed in Joan L. Bybee, *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 336–57.

numerous technical terms used in modern scientific research, including linguistics, which have their origins in ancient scholarship. What disqualifies 'hendiadys' from being an adequate term for auxiliary verb constructions in Hebrew is the grammaticalized and grammatical character of the constructions.

In this dissertation, I also argue that the traditional distinction, in the sequences of two finite verbs in the verbal hendiadys, between *syndetic constructions* (that is, sequences that are coordinated by *waw*) and *asyndetic constructions* (sequences of two finite verbs that occur without *waw*) is inaccurate. Such a distinction is not based on a proper understanding of the Hebrew tense-forms. For example, in Judg 19:7, וַיָּשָׁב וַיָּלֶן "he stayed overnight again" is traditionally considered an example of a syndetic construction whereas, in Lam 3:3, יָשֻׁב יַהֲפֹךְ "he will turn again" illustrates an asyndetic construction. It is on the basis of this traditional distinction, which pointed to two syntactically different constructions in the sequences of two finite verbs, that Dobbs-Allsopp named the asyndetic construction a "serial verb construction," while he continued to call the syndetic construction "verbal hendiadys."[12] The traditional distinction of asyndetic and syndetic pairs of finite verbs is rather artificial. It does not take into consideration that, in Biblical Hebrew, especially in Classical Biblical Hebrew prose texts, the conjunction *waw* is an integral part of tense-forms like *weqatalti* or *wayyiqtol* and not a mere coordinating conjunction. The *waw* prefixed to such finite forms has a grammaticalizing force that "converts" them into new tense-forms. For this reason, the use of *waw* as a coordinating conjunction is highly constrained with finite verbs, especially in Classical Biblical Hebrew prose texts. Since *waw* is an integral part of *wayyiqtol* and *weqatalti*, these tense-forms are marked as coordinated, a feature that cannot be cancelled. On the other hand, because *waw* has a grammaticalizing force with

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12. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 37.

finite verbs, it cannot be easily prefixed to *qatal* or *yiqtol* without "converting" their value. Therefore, there is little justification for viewing the Hebrew auxiliary constructions that consist of a sequence of two finite verbs as two different constructions: one coordinated by *waw* and the other as asyndetic. This is one and the same construction in which the presence or absence of *waw* is regulated by various constraints inherent in the Hebrew tense system.

1.2 Hendiadys

The following sections will offer a variety of definitions of this figure of speech: first, from rhetorical and linguistic publications, followed by illustrations of hendiadys from Virgil and biblical literature. The last two section present the notion of verbal hendiadys and how it is understood in Hebrew grammars and also in Akkadian grammars.

1.2.1 Hendiadys in Rhetoric, Modern Literature and Linguistics

In this section I will quote several additional definitions of hendiadys from various sources, mostly recent, such as dictionaries, lexica, grammars, rhetorical and literary analyses in order to demonstrate the difficulty inherent in the traditional definition and interpretation of this term. I will also offer a few observations on the quoted definitions. Although the strategy of quoting numerous definitions might seem questionable at first, careful reading of the quotations indicates that these definitions vary in important details. At the same time, the definitions reveal recurring illustrations and identical formulations, which suggests that hendiadys is not a highly developed concept in literary criticism because in the course of formulating their definition of hendiadys, the authors heavily rely on similar sources.

According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,* hendiadys is "a figure of speech in which two words connected by a conjunction are used to express a

single notion that would normally be expressed by an adjective and a substantive, such as *grace and favor* instead of *gracious favor*."[13]

In *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, hendiadys is considered "a rhetorical figure in which two terms, usually nouns, are coupled by 'and' to form a single complex idea, where one would expect a noun qualified by an adjective."[14] This publication offers a very well known illustration of hendiadys from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* 5.5.26-27: "a tale | Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury." The hendiadys "sound and fury" is used instead of "furious sound."

In *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, hendiadys is also viewed as a figure of speech in which "one idea is expressed by two substantives." Two illustrations of hendiadys are provided: "gloom and despondency" and "darkness and the shadow of death."[15]

Matthews defines hendiadys as the "Term in rhetoric for two words joined by a coordinator but seen as expressing a single complex idea."[16] According to the author, in the sentence "These cushions are lovely and soft," there is a hendiadys "lovely and soft," which indicates that the cushions are lovely in being soft, rather than two separate ideas, that is, lovely cushions and soft cushions.

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13. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (4th ed.; Boston: Mifflin, 2000), 818.

14. Chris Baldick et al., eds., *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 187.

15. J. A. Cuddon, ed., *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (4th ed.; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1998), 375.

16. Peter Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistcs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 160.

According to the *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition*, hendiadys is formed by the addition of a conjunction between a word (noun, adjective, verb) and its modifier (adjective, adverb, infinitive), and the substitution of this word's grammatical form for that of its modifier. "Furious sound" becomes "sound and fury," "nicely warm" becomes "nice and warm," and "come to see" becomes "come and see." The authors also note, "The most common reason for using a hendiadys is emphasis."[17]

According to the *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, hendiadys is "an intensifying combination of two terms that are related in meaning." It is also noted, "The most common reason for using a hendiadys is emphasis." In a hendiadys, "furious sound" becomes "sound and fury," or "nicely warm" becomes "nice and warm."[18]

In Smyth's *Greek Grammar*, hendiadys is described in the section on rhetorical figures. It is understood as "the use of two words connected by a copulative conjunction to express a single complex idea; especially two substantives instead of one substantive and an adjective or attributive genitive."[19]

In his article about metaphorical symbolism in art, John Kennedy has some comments on several traditional tropes. In a very short paragraph, he defines hendiadys as "one by means of two" and provides an illustration: *I want you to give a really big hand to a great*

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17. Arthur Quinn and Lyon Rathbun, "Hendiadys," in *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric and Composition: Communication from Ancient Times to the Information Age* (ed. Theresa Enos; New York: Galand, 1996), 315.

18. Hadumod Bussmann, *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (eds. and trans. Gregory Trauth and Kerstin Kazzazi; London: Routledge, 1996), 205.

19. Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. by Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 678.

member of Parliament and a wonderful family woman. And he comments: "It could be two people, but it is just one."[20]

At this point, I will offer a few observations. All the definitions of hendiadys unanimously consider it a rhetorical rather than a linguistic or grammatical term. The definitions have in common that two units combine together to express a more complex notion. These two units are defined as: words, phrases, terms. Nouns are more commonly used in hendiadys than adjectives. There is a linking element between the two units, the conjunction "and" or similar connectors. Hendiadys is also considered a syntactically unusual or marked way of expressing an idea that could otherwise be formulated in a more common syntax. In my view, the quoted definitions of hendiadys offer few semantic and syntactic constraints and leave this term rather vague. Also the understanding of "single complex idea" in the definitions is problematic.

Reading the definitions of hendiadys in recently published dictionaries, one might have the impression that these definitions are based on similar sources because "nice and warm" is widely quoted as a hendiadys *par excellence,* with Shakespeare's "sound and fury" second most common. It must be also pointed out that only small linguistic dictionaries, such as those quoted here, offer a definition of hendiadys. Major multivolume linguistic dictionaries do not mention "hendiadys," neither in the entries nor in the subject index.[21]

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20. John M. Kennedy, "Metaphor and Art," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 457.

21. For example, see Keith Brown, exec. ed., *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (14 vols.; 2d ed.; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006); and William J. Frawley, exec. ed., *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (4 vols.; 2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

The renowned linguist Geoffrey Leech notes, "the definitions of rhetorical terms have always been notorious for vagueness and inconsistency." In his view, another weakness of traditional rhetoric was "train-spotting mentality" and "butterfly-collecting attitude to style." According to the author, the persistence of such a mentality is shown in the survival of figures like hendiadys. He gives one traditional illustration of hendiadys: "charmed by bright eyes and a woman" instead of "charmed by the bright eyes of a woman." He also notes that hendiadys is so rare that he did not find even one certain instance in English literature.[22]

Although Leech is right about the vague and inconsistent definitions of many rhetorical terms, in my view, his severe criticism of hendiadys is exaggerated. The fact that a rhetorical term is poorly defined does not indicate that what this term aims at describing does not exist as a literary phenomenon. Moreover, in 1969 Leech was not in a position to know that over a decade later the traditional or rhetorical notions of metaphor and metonymy would be developed into one of the fundamental concepts of cognitive linguistics in which they are considered two essential strategies of human cognition.

According to Hopper, hendiadys is "a figure of medieval rhetoric in which a semantic modifier-head complex is presented as a coordinated compound."[23] In hendiadys, a single concept is expressed by two constituents. As an illustration, Hopper gives the Latin phrase *vi et armis* "by force of arms" (lit., by force and arms). According to Hopper, in spoken English a hendiadys can be found in the following: *But don't you think though that a few years' time*

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22. All the quotations are from Geoffrey N. Leech, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (London: Longmans, 1969), 4.

23. Paul Hopper, "Hendiadys and Auxiliation in English," in *Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse: Essays in Honor of Sandra A. Thompson* (ed. Joan Bybee and Michael Noonan; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2002), 146.

*they'll **come up and say** you know like with everything else Oh CFCs don't harm the ozone layer it's something else.*[24] Hopper points out that the two verb in the phrase "come up and say" do not refer to two distinct events, but one event. Therefore, the two verbs work as a semantic unit. According to Hopper, the verb 'come up' functions "more like an auxiliary indicating aspect or aktionsart." Hopper points to a relation between *try to do*, *come to see*, *go to visit*, on the one hand, and *try and do*, *come and see*, *go and visit*, on the other. He notes that some grammarians call the latter phenomenon, characteristic of informal usage, as "pseudo-coordination." A more detailed discussion of Hopper's article would be beyond the scope of this work. At this point, I will only comment on Hopper's use of the term hendiadys, not on the grammatical phenomena in English that he discusses. As far as I can see, Hopper is the only linguist who uses the term hendiadys in his analysis. The syntactic phenomena that Hopper discusses as an emerging auxiliation in English in terms of "hendiadic coordination," are by many linguists described as biclausal surface structure with a monoclausal underlying structure. In linguistic typology, such constructions are discussed as emerging auxiliary verb constructions. In his analysis, Hopper does not seem to be aware that "hendiadys" is a poorly defined term that has been applied to various linguistically unrelated phenomena. Hopper's definition of hendiadys, "a semantic modifier-head complex is presented as a coordinated compound," does not bring much refinement to the traditional definition of hendiadys because without other important constraints, which Hopper does not indicate, such a definition can be applied to numerous unrelated phenomena, such as "nice and warm" or the Latin phrase *vi et armis*. In short, I do not question Hopper's discussion but only his use of the term hendiadys, which disregards the problems associated with this

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24. Quoted, with the original bold, from Paul Hopper, "Hendiadys and Auxiliation," 146.

concept.

In my view, a classical use of the notion "hendiadys," which is illustrated by *vi et armis*, points to an important literary phenomenon—found in poetry and elevated diction in some languages—whereby two dissimilar coordinated nouns express a relation that otherwise is expressed by a genitive relation. It is not clear if hendiadys was employed in a wider sense, in reference to two verbs or two adjectives, already in antiquity.[25] If the extension of the classical understanding of hendiadys to other parts of speech, such as verbs and adjectives, happened only in the 19th century, in my view this resulted in confusion and distortion of this classical concept. Eventually, an unrestricted use of "hendiadys" resulted in the denial of its existence by scholars like Leech.

1.2.2 Hendiadys in Classical Literature: Virgil

Severius, who lived in the 5th century C.E. and who is known for his commentaries on Virgil, is traditionally considered the first scholar who employed the latinized term *hendiadys* for the Greek ἓν διὰ δυοῖν.[26] But it seems that the use of this term predates him.[27]

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25. In this chapter (see p. 19), I quote several examples of nominal hendiadys from Gesenius' *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, published in 1817. Gesenius provides only nominal hendiadys that are made up of dissimilar nouns which he considers a poetic construction used in place of a genitive relation. In my view, this indicates that the expansion of the notion of hendiadys to other constructions and parts of speech took place later. According to Lillas-Schuil, Severius (discussed in the next section) used hendiadys only in reference to noun pairs. She also points out that there is no consensus within later Greek and Latin grammarians as to what constitutes a hendiadys. But she does not discuss any of those definitions. See Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 85–86.

26. Friedrich Stolz and Joseph Schmalz, *Stolz-Schmalz Lateinische Grammatik: Laut- und Formenlehre: Syntax und Stylistik* (5th ed.; rev. by M. Leumann and J. Hofmann; Munich: Beck, 1928), 823.

27. According to Lillas-Schuil, the earliest attested use of the term can be attributed

In this section, I will present several illustrations of hendiadys from Virgil in order to show how this rhetorical concept is understood in classical literature. This section is important in that it shows that the interpretation of nominal hendiadys in biblical literature is similar to the way this figure of speech is understood in classical literature.

In Keith Maclennan's definition, hendiadys is "a single idea presented as if it were two."[28] Commenting on a hendiadys, he adds that two separate nouns can give a single idea which otherwise can be presented as adjective + noun, as *silvas salutsque* in Aeneid 4:72, lit., "woods and mountain-country," for "the wooded mountain-country." He interprets as hendiadys the following constructions in Virgil's *Aeneid*:

      ignes et aether (4:167): lit., "fires and the air" for "fires in the air"

      requiem spatiumque (4:433): lit., "a rest and a space" for "a resting-space"

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to Porphyry who lived in the 3rd century C.E. Lillas-Schuil quotes a passage from his commentary, written in Latin, on Horace's *Carmina*. In the Latin text, Porphyry uses the original Greek ἓν διὰ δυοῖν "one by two" for a structure that divides originally one notion *oppidorum templa* "city temples" into two elements, *oppida* "cities" and *templa* "temples," that are found in two different lines in Horace. Lillas-Schuil notes that Porphyry's use of this term slightly differs from what later Servius meant by the latinized term *hendiadys*. See Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 84–85. It is not clear to me, from Lillas-Schuil's references, if the quoted Porphyry is the famous Neoplatonist philosopher who live in the 3rd century C.E. or someone else.

     28. For his definition of hendiadys and references to specific examples in *Aeneid* IV and VI, see: Virgil, *Aeneid IV: With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary* (ed. Keith Maclennan; London: Bristol Classical Press, 2007), 171; and Virgil, *Aeneid VI: With Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary* (ed. Keith Maclennan; London: Bristol Classical Press, 2003), 193.

finemque imponere . . . permittere flammae (4:639-40): lit., "to put an end to . . . to set flames to" for "to put an end . . . by setting flames."[29]

dolos . . . ambagesque (6:29): lit., "the tricks and winding ways" for "the tricky winding ways"

vires . . . senectae (6:114): lit., "[his] strength and old age" for "[his] an old man's strength"

rore et ramo (6:230): lit., "dew/water and branch" for "water on a branch"

aquas et flumina (6:298): lit., "waters and rivers" for "the waters of the river"

sine sorte, sine iudice (6:430): lit, "without lot, without jury" for "without a jury established by lot"

Maclennan's notes are meant to provide a philological help for non-advanced students of Virgil and they are formulated in traditional terms. On the other hand, Nicholas Forsfall, the author of full-scale modern commentaries on Virgil's *Aeneid*, is rather skeptical in interpreting particular constructions as hendiadys. Apart from a few marginal remarks, Forsfall does not give a longer, explicit evaluation of this rhetorical figure. However, considering his note in the final index: "hendiadys (an unsatisfactory term),"[30] he does not regard hendiadys as a very useful term with explanatory potential in interpretation of Virgil in terms of modern literary criticism.

1.2.3 Nominal Hendiadys in Biblical Literature

In 1817, Gesenius defined hendiadys as "die Verbindung zweyer Wörter durch *und*,

29. This is probably a case of a verbal hendiadys.

30. Nicholas Horsfall, *Virgil: Aeneid 3: A Commentary* (MnS 273; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 502.

welche aber durch die Genitivverbindung aufzulösen ist."[31] According to the author, לְאֹתֹ֩

וּלְמֹ֣ועֲדִ֔ים "zu Zeichen und Zeiten" in Gen 1:14 is to be understood as "zu Zeichen der Zeiten,"

עִצְּבֹונֵ֣ךְ וְהֵרֹנֵ֔ךְ "deinen Schmerz und deine Schwangerschaft" in Gen 3:16 stands for "die

Schmerzen deiner Schwangerschaft," and אַחֲרִ֖ית וְתִקְוָֽה "Zukunft und Hoffnung" in Jer 29:11

means "hoffnungsvolle Zukunft." Gesenius also points out that דְּמָמָ֥ה וָקֹ֖ול in Job 4:16

expresses קֹ֥ול דְּמָמָ֖ה "leise Stimme" as in 1 Kgs 19:12.[32]

According to Bullinger, hendiadys is a figure of speech in which two words are
employed, but only one thing or idea intended. One of the two words expresses the thing and
the other intensifies it. He also notes that this figure is "truly oriental" and "exceedingly
picturesque,"[33] and it is found in Latin, in Hebrew, and in Greek. According to the author, in
Gen 1:26 "Let us make man in our **image**, after our **likeness**" the hendiadys stands for "in
the likeness of our image." He notes that not two things, but one, is expressed, though two
words are employed. In Gen 2:9 "The tree of knowledge of **good** and **evil**," the hendiadys is
used for "evil enjoyment."[34] Apart from nominal hendiadys, Bullinger points to several verb
pairs as hendiadys.[35] In his view, "**wonder** and **perish**" in Acts 13:41 is used for "perish

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31. The quotation, with original spelling, is reproduced from Wilhelm Gesenius,
*Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit
Vergleichung der verwandten Dialekte* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1817), 854.

32. All the illustrations are from Gesenius, *Ausführliches grammatisch-kritisches
Lehrgebäude*, 854.

33. Ethelbert W. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech Used in the Bible: Explained and
Illustrated* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), 657.

34. The illustrations, with the original bold, are from Bullinger, *Figures of
Speech*, 659.

35. Since the pairs of verbs that he considers hendiadys are from the New
Testament only, I present them here rather than in the following section where I discuss

wonderfully." In Matt 13:23, "he who **hears** and **understands** the word," the hendiadys is meant for one act rather than two. In regard to Luke 6:48, "He is like a man . . . who **dug** and **deepened**, and laid foundation on the rock," the author makes an observation, "It is clear that we have the figure of *Hendiadys* in the two verbs: the man digged, yes—and very deep; deeper and deeper indeed till he got to the rock itself."[36]

In his analysis of hendiadys in Hebrew poetry, Westhuizen presents the following passages as illustrative of hendiadys:[37]

Psalm 97:2

עָנָן וַעֲרָפֶל סְבִיבָיו צֶדֶק וּמִשְׁפָּט מְכוֹן כִּסְאוֹ׃

Clouds and *storm cloud* are round about him; *righteousness* and *justice* are the foundation of his throne.

Psalm 136:12

בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וּבִזְרוֹעַ נְטוּיָה

With *a strong hand* and *outstretched arm*.

For Watson, hendiadys expresses one complex concept and a single unit with two separate words, usually nouns, that can be conjoined by a copula or in apposition. The author notes that hendiadys is very frequent in Hebrew and a reader should be alert to its

how the scholars understood verbal hendiadys in Hebrew and Akkadian.

36. Bullinger, *Figures of Speech*, 671.

37. The translations, with hendiadys italicized by the author, are from Westhuizen, "Hendiadys," 51.

occurrences. As an illustration, he gives בִּזְנוּתַיִךְ וּבְרָעָתֵךְ from Jer 3:2, which does not mean "your harlotry and you evil" but "your vile harlotry."[38] According to Watson, one of the two main functions of hendiadys is the extension of the existing vocabulary, especially when hendiadys is used in place of an adverb. Other functions of hendiadys are: to evoke a word-pair, or to produce assonance and rhyme. Watson provides the following illustrations for hendiadys that is employed as a surrogate for an adverb:[39]

Psalm 78:56

וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהִים

But they defiantly tempted God (lit., they tempted and defied).

In his *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, Ross has a section on nominal hendiadys and a separate section on verbal hendiadys. He provides the following illustrations of nominal hendiadys:[40]

Genesis 13:13

וְאַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם רָעִים וְחַטָּאִים

Now the men of Sodom were wicked sinners (lit., wicked and sinners).

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38. Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (2d ed.; JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1986), 324–25.

39. See Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 327–28. The translation is from Watson.

40. The illustrations and the author's translations are from Allen P. Ross, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 343.

Genesis 4:12

נָע וָנָד תִּהְיֶה בָאָרֶץ

A ceaseless wanderer (lit., a wanderer and a vagabond) will you be on the earth.

Genesis 3:16

הַרְבָּה אַרְבֶּה֙ עִצְּבוֹנֵ֣ךְ וְהֵרֹנֵ֔ךְ

I will greatly multiply your pain in conception (lit., your pain and your conception).

In her 2006 survey of hendiadys, Lillas-Schuil points to the diversity of definitions of hendiadys employed by biblical scholars and Hebraists, and notes that this variety is due to the lack of a precise definition. She makes a distinction between nominal hendiadys made up of *dissimilar nouns*, such as עִיר וְאֵם "city and mother" in 2 Sam 20:19 or אָוֶן וַעֲצָרָה "sin and congregation" in Isa 1:13, those constructed with *synonymous nouns*, such as שִׂמְחָה וָגִיל "joy and gladness" in Joel 1:16, and nominal hendiadys made up of *nouns from the same semantic fields*, such as שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ "sun and moon" in Ps 148:3 or מִשְׁבָּרֶיךָ וְגַלֶּיךָ "your waves and your billows" in Jonah 2:4.[41]

At this point, I will offer a few observations. It seems to me that nominal hendiadys, such as those indicated by Gesenius, in which the genitive (or, the construct state) relation is poetically expressed by the coordination of the two nouns, as in Jer 29:11 אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה "future and hope" for "hopeful future," is a genuine and important literary feature of Hebrew poetry and elevated prose. Moreover, such understanding of hendiadys is probably the "original" understanding of this concept. In my view, it is questionable if we can regard רֵעִים

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41. The illustrations, with the translations suggested by the author, are from Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 92–95.

וְחַטָּאִים "wicked and sinful" in Gen 13:13 (as indicated by Ross) as two words that express a single idea. Also I do not believe that in Gen 4:12 נָע וָנָד "a wanderer and a vagabond" expresses a single notion in which the idea of being homeless and a wanderer merges into one intensified concept. I agree that the repetition of synonymous words does intensify a notion, but I do not think we can call it a hendiadys in accordance with the traditional understanding of this term that goes back to Severius. I concur with Ross that, in Gen 3:16, עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ "your pain and your conception" for "your pain in conception" is a genuine Hebrew hendiadys. Moreover, I do not think that the pair of verbs in Ps 78:56 וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ "they tempted and defied" for "they defiantly tempted" is a hendiadys as Watson indicates. In my view, Watson's judgement is based on an English translation and there is no semantic and syntactic reason that would justify the consideration of this Hebrew verb pair as a hendiadys. I fully concur with Lillas-Schuil that scholars have applied this concept to various unrelated constructions due to the poorly defined notion of hendiadys. I believe the notion of hendiadys should be uniquely associated with the poetic constructions of dissimilar noun pairs, such as Shakespeare's "sound and fury," or אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה "future and hope" and עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ "your pain and your conception" in the Hebrew Bible. In my opinion, the notion of hendiadys should not be applied to pairs of adjectives, such as "nice and warm," pairs of verbs, such as וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ "they tempted and defied," and any synonymous pair of nouns. I do not think that nouns from the same semantic field, such as שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ "sun and moon," can be interpreted as hendiadys. To conclude, the only feature that the last four illustrations (i.e., שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ, וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ, עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ, and the English hendiadys "nice and warm") have in common is that they are made up of two words which are in syntactic relation of coordination connected by *waw* or *and*. While, in my view, עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ is a hendiadys, the other three constructions are not.

1.2.4 Verbal Hendiadys in Hebrew Scholarship

To the best of my knowledge, Thomas Lambdin was the first scholar who gathered Hebrew verbal hendiadys in a two-page section of his textbook and offered a lucidly-written presentation of their meaning and syntactic patterns.[42] As far as I can see, his treatment of Hebrew verbal hendiadys has not yet been improved upon. It is not clear if Lambdin was the first to apply the term "verbal hendiadys" to these constructions. However, in his 1927 *Grammaire du grec biblique*, Abel describes Greek verbs that were employed by Septuagint translators to render Hebrew verbal hendiadys. In a chapter dedicated to matters of style, he analyzes many rhetorical figuresincluding hendiadys.[43] In a paragraph just after the description of hendiadys, he points to a few Greek verbs and adverbs that in biblical Greek render the Hebrew verbs שָׁב, הוֹסִיף, and מִהַר. Abel notes that these verbs are used in Hebrew to express "*une idée adverbiale.*" Although he does not explicitly call these constructions hendiadys, he clearly considers them as constructions associated with hendiadys or a "one by two" idea. This is indicated by the fact that these verbs are mentioned just after hendiadys and have no particular name, unlike all the other stylistic figures that Abel analyzes before and after the hendiadys section. Abel's observation on שָׁב, הוֹסִיף, and מִהַר indicates that the tradition of labeling such verbal constructions as hendiadys might predate Lambdin's publication.

According to Lambdin, the following Hebrew verbs are commonly employed to form

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42. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical*, 238–40.

43. For Abel, hendiadys is a figure of speech that consists of using two nouns instead of a noun and a modifying adjective, or instead of a noun and its complement in genitive. Félix-Marie Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique* (2d ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1927), 366.

verbal hendiadys:[44]

שָׁב to do something again

הוֹסִיף to do something again

הוֹאִיל to do willingly, voluntarily; to be content to do; in imperative, it is virtually equivalent to "please"

מִהַר to do something quickly

הִשְׁכִּים to do something early in the day

הִרְבָּה to do something much or a lot

According to Lambdin, verbal hendiadys consists of various syntactic constructions in which these verbs modify other verbs. The modifying verbs are best translated adverbially in English. The constructions might be a sequence of two finite verbs that are coordinated or juxtaposed asyndetically, with no conjunction between them. Verbal hendiadys also occurs in constructions in which the modifying verb is a finite verb whereas the modified verb is an infinitive construct, usually with לְ. Below I present a few of Lambdin's illustrations of verbal hendiadys with the translations he provides:

Genesis 25:1

וַיֹּסֶף אַבְרָהָם וַיִּקַּח אִשָּׁה

And Abraham took another wife.

Judges 19:7

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44. The glosses are all Lambdin's. See Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical*, 238.

וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיָּלֶן שָׁם

And he again spent the night there.

1 Samuel 3:5

שׁוּב שְׁכָב

Lie down again.

2 Samuel 15:14

מַהֲרוּ לָלֶכֶת

Go quickly.

2 Kings 5:23

הוֹאֶל קַח כִּכָּרָיִם

Be content to take two talents.

Genesis 19:2

וְהִשְׁכַּמְתֶּם וַהֲלַכְתֶּם לְדַרְכְּכֶם

And early in the morning you will go on your way.

Additionally, Lambdin notes that, similarly to verbal hendiadys, the verb קָם, and to a lesser degree הָלַךְ, are used in constructions whereby a literal translation would be awkward. He proposes to render קָם by 'then' or 'thereupon,' and its imperative by "come" or "come now," as in:

Genesis 27:19

קוּם־נָא שְׁבָה

Come now and sit.

In the present study, I will show that several of the verbs which Lambdin describes as capable of forming verbal hendiadys need to be described as auxiliary verbs. Moreover, Lambdin's distinction of syndetic and asyndetic constructions in the sequences of two finite verbs is inaccurate. He must be praised, however, for his admirably clear presentation of verbal hendiadys. His description of these constructions became a point of reference. As far as I can see, his presentation has never been superseded by other Hebrew textbooks.

In his 2001 *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, Ross has a short section on verbal hendiadys. He gives glosses for six verbs, similar to those found in Lambdin: הוֹסִיף 'to do again,' מִהַר 'to do quickly,' הִרְבָּה 'to do much,' שׁוּב 'to do again,' הוֹאִיל 'to do willingly,' and הִשְׁכִּים 'to do early.' Ross notes that in a verbal hendiadys, "The verbs are often joined by *wāw* as if in simple coordination or in sequence, but one (usually the first) qualifies the other adverbially."[45] In my view, this definition has two major problems. The remark in parentheses "usually the first" is incorrect because, in verbal hendiadys, the modifying verb is always, without any exception, first and the modified verb follows. If this order is reversed, it means that it is no longer a verbal hendiadys (at least not from the set of verbs discussed by Lambdin). The formulation "qualifies the other adverbially" is a rather misleading observation. Keep in mind that according to Lambdin, in verbal hendiadys, the modifying verbs "is best translated adverbially."[46] For Ross, however, the modifying verb qualifies the other verb adverbially. Ross's observation is based solely on English translation

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45. Ross, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, 409.

46. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical*, 238.

and not on the grammar of these verbal constructions in Hebrew because the modifying verbs are verbs rather than adverbs.

In their 2003 *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Arnold and Choi mention nominal and verbal hendiadys in one section. The authors note that hendiadys "can be constructed with two or more nouns or with two or more verbs."[47] They also observe that verbal hendiadys "is sometimes categorized as an adverbial use of the finite verbal forms of certain roots." Later, Arnold and Choi restate their definition noting that, in verbal hendiadys, one verb functions adverbially to modify the idea of the other verb. The authors offer a few very good illustrations of verbal hendiadys, which also indicate which verbs, according to them, belong to verbal hendiadys:[48]

Genesis 24:18

וַתְּמַהֵר וַתֹּרֶד כַּדָּהּ

She *quickly lowered* her jar.

Numbers 11:4

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ גַּם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Also, the people of Israel *wept again*.

2 Kings 24:7

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47. Arnold and Choi, *Guide to Biblical*, 148.

48. The translations of the illustration are from Arnold and Choi, *Guide to Biblical*, 148–49. The examples of verbal hendiadys are underlined and italicized as in the original.

וְלֹא־הֹסִיף עוֹד מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם לָצֵאת מֵאַרְצוֹ

> The king of Egypt *did not come out of his land again*.

Since Arnold and Choi have a few good illustrations of verbal hendiadys, it is not clear to me why they believe that verbal hendiadys can be made up of "two or more verbs" considering that verbal hendiadys is always constructed with two verbs. Moreover, from a linguistic perspective, it is inaccurate to note that the modifying verb is "functioning adverbially."[49] Although it is a minor issue of terminology, it is important to use linguistic and grammatical terms in a consistent, accurate and generally agreed-upon manner.

According to *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*, "**Verbal coordination** is a combination of two verbs such that the first verb indicates the manner in which the second verb happens. The first verb can typically be translated with an adverb. This is sometimes called **verbal hendiadys**."[50] It follows that this definition explicitly associates the phenomenon of verbal hendiadys with coordination. The authors (or, the author and the reviser) consider וַתְּמַהֵר וַתֹּרֶד כַּדָּהּ "She quickly lowered her jar" as an example of "coordination of two finite verbs connected by the conjunction waw." They note that such constructions are common with the verbs: שָׁב, הוֹסִיף, הִשְׁכִּים, and מִהַר. In a subsequent paragraph, they describe the phenomenon of "coordination of two finite verbs without a waw to connect them" and note that this kind

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49. As far as I can see, such use of the term "adverbial" is unacceptable in linguistic literature. While linguists frequently label phrases and subordinate clauses "adverbial" because they fulfill an adverbial function, they do not use "adverbial" in reference to finite verbs. Both in generative and functional linguistic frameworks, finite verbs are viewed as a central constituent of the predicate whereas other constituents are considered their arguments, complements and adjuncts.

50. Quoted, with the original bold, from Ronald J. Williams, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax* (3d ed.; rev. by John C. Beckman; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 90–91.

of coordination occurs mostly with imperatives and usually in poetry. As an illustration, they

indicate מֵהֲרוּ שָׁכְחוּ מַעֲשָׂיו "they quickly forgot his works" from Ps 106:12. As another

phenomenon of verbal coordination, the authors regard "coordination of a finite verb with an

infinitive construct" and note that in such constructions the finite verb usually comes first

whereas the infinitive construct usually has the preposition לְ.[51] As one of the illustrations of

this last phenomenon, they indicate the following passage:

Exodus 2:18

מַדּוּעַ מִהַרְתֶּן בֹּא הַיּוֹם

Why have you come quickly today?

It must be pointed out that there is no connecting *waw* between the two *qatal* forms מֵהֲרוּ

שָׁכְחוּ in Ps 106:12 because *waw* has a grammaticalizing force in Hebrew (especially in

Classical Biblical Hebrew prose, but perhaps less so in poetry) and it would "convert" שָׁכְחוּ

into *weqatalti* or converted perfect.[52] Additionally, the last phenomenon of coordination

indicated by the authors (a finite verb + an infinitive construct) is a phenomenon of

complementation and has nothing to do with coordination. To conclude, in *Williams'*

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51. Williams, *Williams' Hebrew*, 91.

52. It must be admitted, though, that the interpretation of *waw* prefixed to finite verbs in post-exilic Hebrew is more difficult. Moreover, it is not clear whether the relatively "relaxed" use of tense-forms in the Psalms is a characteristic feature of poetry or also the indication of a periodical feature of Hebrew. Consequently, although the absence or presence of *waw* with finite verbs in Classical Hebrew prose is usually a matter of grammar rather than a matter of style, in Hebrew poetry the choice of *waw* seems to be sometimes dictated by stylistic considerations rather than by grammar.

Hebrew Syntax, the notion of verbal hendiadys seems to be understood as a syntactic phenomenon of verbal coordination, only secondarily associated with particular verbs.

In his article, Kuntz notes that verbal hendiadys is less frequent in the Hebrew Bible than nominal hendiadys. But he uses "verbal hendiadys" in reference to different constructions than those discussed by Lambdin. Consider one of the passages in which, according to Kuntz, there are two pairs of verbs that constitute verbal hendiadys:[53]

Isaiah 28:23

הַאֲזִינוּ וְשִׁמְעוּ קוֹלִי הַקְשִׁיבוּ וְשִׁמְעוּ אִמְרָתִי:

Give ear and hear my voice, *pay attention and hear* my speech.

According to *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, hendiadys "refers to the presentation of a single idea by a coordinate combination of words, *inter alia* two NOUNS, two VERBS or two adjectives, for example, *nice and warm* for *nicely warm*."[54] Apart from this definition, the authors do not give any illustration of hendiadys in Hebrew. But since "nouns" and "verbs" are capitalized in their definition, but not "adjectives," it indicates that the authors consider nominal and verbal hendiadys as the most common type of hendiadys in biblical Hebrew.

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53. The translation of this passage, with hendiadys in italics, is from J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Hendiadys as an Agent of Rhetorical Enrichment in Biblical Poetry: With Special Reference to Prophetic Discourse," in *God's Word for Our World* (ed. J. Harold Ellens et al.; vol. 1 of *Biblical Studies in Honor of Simon John De Vries*; JSOTSup 388; London: Clark International, 2004), 132.

54. Quoted with the originally italicized and capitalized words, from Christo H. J. van der Merwe, Jackie. A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (BLH 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 359.

Waltke and O'Connor point out that the construction that in Hebrew consists of two verbs is translated by a verb and an adverb in other languages.[55] They note that such Hebrew verb pairs are sometimes called by grammarians an auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary, but in their opinion "this terminology is rather dubiously relevant." They further note that the examples of such usage are provided by the verbs שוב and יסף, which are rendered by adverbs, such as 'again,' 'further,' or 'continually.' According to Waltke and O'Connor, such Hebrew verbal constructions, which correspond to adverbial functions in European languages, are "a matter for the Hebrew lexicon." Consequently, the authors do not think these verbs are a grammatical phenomenon in Hebrew and its description should be confined to lexica.

In her article, Lillas-Schuil compiles a list of verbs that are "used adverbially" in Biblical Hebrew. Apart from the verbs described by Lambdin as verbal hendiadys, she expands the list to include the following verbs: הלך 'walk,' שפל 'be low, sink, be humble', פזר 'disperse, scatter,' עמק 'make deep,' and תמם 'be complete.'[56] The author makes an important observation concerning verbal hendiadys in Hebrew. She notes that the term hendiadys is not satisfactorily defined. Moreover, she points out that, "In some cases the examples labelled *hendiadys* constitute grammatical constructions and in other cases presumably rhetorical devices." Lillas-Schuil also advises against calling "hendiadys" the combinations of finite verbs, in which one verb is interpreted adverbially. In her opinion, these are "grammatical constructions due to the scarcity of adverbs."[57] I concur with Lillas-

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55. Waltke-O'Connor 656.

56. The glosses of the verbs are as given by the author. See Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 89.

57. Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 100. Since I analyze some of the verbal hendiadys as auxiliary verbs that underwent grammaticalization, I must point out that grammaticalization is driven by various "forces," but in general the so-called functional

Schuil that some verbs labeled hendiadys are grammatical constructions.

Joüon and Muraoka (§177b) note that the verbs שָׁב 'return' and הוֹסִיף/יָסַף 'add'
express "our adverbial notion of *again*." They briefly describe these verbs in the chapter on
syndesis and asyndesis, that is, on coordinated constructions which are connected by *waw*,
and those in which two syntactic units are juxtaposed without any marker of coordination. It
is important to note that they consider שָׁב and הוֹסִיף/יָסַף as semi-auxiliaries (§177d). In the
same chapter, the authors illustrate a few examples with קָם, הָלַךְ, הוֹאִיל, meaning, they
analyze them in terms of the syntactic constructions in which they occur. Joüon and
Muraoka also point to the "adverbial notion" of הִשְׁכִּים and הֶעֱמִיק, which they illustrate in
asyndetic constructions (§177g).

1.2.5 Verbal Hendiadys in Akkadian

In this section, I briefly describe how Akkadian verbal hendiadys, similar to the
Hebrew verbal hendiadys discussed by Lambdin, is explained in a monograph and two
Akkadian grammars. In his 1987 monograph, F. R. Kraus offers probably the most
comprehensive treatment of verbal hendiadys in Akkadian.[58] Kraus notes that the term
"hendiadys" is strongly associated with rhetoric, figures of speech, and special use of
language. On the other hand, according to the author, the verbal formations which
Assyriologists label "hendiadys" are regularly used in prose texts and cannot be associated
with special or rhetorical use of language. Kraus believes that, apart from Assyriologists, no

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need, such as "scarcity of adverbs" in Hebrew, does not seem to play any essential role in
grammaticalization. Later, I will address this topic in more detail.

58. F. R. Kraus, *Sonderformen akkadischer Parataxe: Die Koppelungen*
(Amsterdam: Nort-Holland, 1987). I was able to consult this important study just before
the defense of my dissertation and, as a result, I briefly acknowledge the importance of
Kraus' work without being able to offer a more detailed presentation of his contribution.

one else uses "hendiadys" in reference to such non-rhetorical verbal formations.[59] In Kraus'

view, such understanding of hendiadys markedly differs from generally accepted use of this

terms and, consequently, he prefers to avoid it and use *couplings* or *pairings* (in German:

Koppelungen) instead.[60]

In the preface to his textbook, John Huehnergard acknowledges that many aspects of

his textbook are modeled on Thomas Lambdin's introductory grammars of Hebrew and

some other languages. In my view, Lambdin's careful scholarship on Hebrew verbal

hendiadys is clearly reflected in Huehnergard's presentation of verbal hendiadys in

Akkadian. According to Huehnergard, "Verbal hendiadys is the use of two verbs,

coordinated either with *-ma* or asyndetically (i.e., without a conjunction), in which the first

verb qualifies and restricts the meaning of the second."[61] The author further notes that a

literal translation would be awkward and, therefore, "it is often preferable to render the first

verb adverbially in English." In such constructions, the verb *târum* 'return' means 'do

again,' the verb *gamārum* means 'do completely,' the verb *sadārum* means 'occur/do

regularly,' and the verb *kanākum* means 'give/take/send under seal.' Consider a few

illustrations provided by the author:[62]

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59. As far as I can see, Kraus was not aware that Lambdin had introduced the term verbal hendiadys in his 1971 *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* and, subsequently, this term had been used by Hebraists.

60. Kraus, *Sonderformen*, 3–5. Later in this section, I indicate how "hendiadys" is understood by Buccellati who in his treatment of hendiadys relies, to some extent, on Kraus' study. Illustrations of hendiadys from Buccellati will give a good idea of what Kraus means by *Koppelungen*.

61. John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (HSS 45; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 125.

62. All the quoted illustrations with the author's translations are from Huehnergard,

atūr-ma wardam ana bēlīya aṭrud "I sent the slave to my lord again."

eqlam anniam šipram igammar-ma ippeš "He will work this field completely."

kaspam ana bēlīya aknuk-ma addin "I gave the silver to my lord under seal."

isaddar-ma kaspam ana bēlīšu inaddin "He will regularly give silver to his lord."

Without giving my judgment about other verbs considered by Huehnergard as verbal hendiadys, I must point out that the verb *târum* can easily be described as an auxiliary verb that underwent grammaticalization from its lexical meaning 'return' to an auxiliary of repetition 'do again.'

Unlike Huehnergard, Giorgio Buccellati does not associate the term hendiadys with particular verbs in Akkadian, but he interprets hendiadys primarily as a syntactic notion of particular coordination that is realized by some verbs. In a chapter on predicates and adjuncts, Buccellati discusses hendiadys as a phenomenon of coordinated sentences. He labels this phenomenon *coordinate adjunctivation*, a term that seems to be interchangeable with hendiadys in his analysis.[63] His distinction is based on formal criteria. In one such construction, a direct object is followed by an intransitive verb and this intransitive verb is followed by transitive verb. The two verbs are in a relation of coordination. I will present this construction more schematically:[64]

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Grammar of Akkadian, 125.

63. Giorgio Buccellati, *A Structural Grammar of Babylonian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 369, 377–79.

64. The schematic presentation is mine. Buccellati does not use any simplified schemas in this section of his book.

direct object + intransitive verb (VERB A) + coordin. marker + transitive verb (VERB B)

 Buccellati notes that in Akkadian the first verb that follows a direct object is typically the verb that governs it, but in the case of hendiadys, as the one illustrated above, it is not the VERB A that governs the direct object but the following VERB B. According to the author, the intransitive VERB A and the transitive VERB B form "a single constructive," which in my framework I would call a single event. Consider the following illustrations:[65]

tāḫazam išni'ā-ma iškunā "They met in battle for a second time" (lit., "a battle they became second and then took up").

bītam . . . ānaḫ-ma . . . ēpuš "I built the temple in great effort" (lit., "the temple I became tired and then I made").

As I have pointed out, Buccellati's use of the term hendiadys slightly differs from the way this term is employed by Lambdin and Huehnergard. Buccellati associates hendiadys primarily with a type of coordinated syntactic structure, which he also calls coordinate adjunctivation, whereas Lambdin and Huehnergard associate the notion of hendiadys primarily with particular verbs and only secondarily with the syntactic structures in which they occur. In my view, both Huehnergard and Buccellati offer an accurate description of "hendiadys" phenomenon in Akkadian, from two different perspectives. It is hoped that in the future Assyriologists will offer a more comprehensive treatment of such verbs and their

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65. The illustrations and translations are from Buccellati, *Structural Grammar*, 378.

constructions in Akkadian. However, I believe that the term "hendiadys" or "verbal hendiadys" is not an adequate term for the description of such verbs and their syntax in Akkadian, be it in reference to particular verbs (as it is in Huehnergard) or in reference to the coordinated sentences in which they occur (as it is in Buccellati). In my view, Akkadian verbs that can be described in terms of grammaticalization, such as *târum* 'do again,' should be called auxiliary verbs. Other verbs from this group which do not express a grammatical meaning, arguably such verbs as *kanākum* 'give/take/send under seal,' could be considered as a type of functional verb which occurs in similar syntactic construction (that is, as auxiliary verbs do) and are often best translated adverbially in English.

1.2.6 Conclusion

In the previous sections, I presented various definitions of the notion hendiadys, from rhetoric, literary criticism, English dictionaries, linguistic publications, as well as from Hebrew textbooks and biblical scholarship. I pointed out that the term hendiadys or "one by two" has always been a poorly-defined concept, used without any constraints and generously applied to many unrelated phenomena. Languages have a large stock of constructions that consist of two linguistic units that "merge together" to convey a more complex meaning. There would be no justified reason to label all such constructions as hendiadys.

I indicated the difference between nominal hendiadys and the verbal hendiadys and concluded that they are two linguistically unrelated constructions. On the basis of the definitions of hendiadys taken from a variety of sources, I observed that some scholars probably do not have a clear idea about what a hendiadys is and, in order to define it, they employ similar sources that point to "one by two" notion and offer "nice and warm," or less commonly Shakespeare's "sound and fury," as illustrations of hendiadys par excellence.

I observed that the following Hebrew constructions: אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה "future and hope," וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ "they tempted and defied," שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ "sun and moon," or the English phrase: "nice and warm," which are considered hendiadys, have only one thing in common. They are made up of two words which are in syntactic relation of coordination connected by *waw* or *and*. Therefore, from a linguistic perspective, they are totally unrelated. While, in my view, אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה is a traditional hendiadys, the other Hebrew constructions and the English phrase "nice and warm" are not.

I also indicated that some scholars use the term "hendiadys" primarily in reference to syntactic phenomena of coordination, which leaves much to be desired from a linguistic perspective. In my view, there is nothing in the etymology of this notion, "one by two," that could justify such employment of this term.

Arguably, classicists and biblical scholars at first associated "hendiadys" with poetic pairs of nouns that were employed in place of a genitive (or, in Hebrew, construct state) relation, such as the Latin phrase *vi et armis* "by force of arms" (lit., by force and arms) or, as pointed by Gesenius in his 1817 Hebrew grammar, the phrase דְּמָמָה וָקוֹל "silence and voice" (Job 4:16) for קוֹל דְּמָמָה "quiet voice" (1 Kgs 19:12). It is not easy to understand why the term hendiadys was applied to such constructions because, actually, they do not express "one by two" idea. The meanings of the two nouns do not "merge together" into a single concept. Such traditional hendiadys is a marked way of expressing genitive relation by a simply coordination. It is a syntactic rather than semantic phenomenon.

In short, the term hendiadys is inaccurate for Hebrew auxiliary verbs and, from now on, in my dissertation I will use "hendiadys" only as a historical term employed in reference to Hebrew auxiliaries.

CHAPTER 2

GRAMMATICALIZATION
AN INTRODUCTION AND A HISTORICAL SURVEY

This chapter will establish some of the conceptual framework for the analysis of

Biblical Hebrew auxiliary verb constructions. It will start with a section that discusses some

relevant observations about grammaticalization and about the theoretical framework

underlying this thesis. Most of this chapter will focus on the historical development of the

phenomenon of grammaticalization and auxiliation. This historical overview will provide

much of the theoretical framework needed to understand grammaticalization. Many of the

discussed topics will lay the foundation for the analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs. In the

final section of this chapter, the conceptual framework will expand to include the distinction

between lexicon and grammar, and between lexical and grammatical units. This distinction

lies at the heart of grammaticalization theory and is almost always implicitly assumed by

most researchers rather than explicitly expounded.[1]

2.1 Preliminary Remarks on the Theoretical Framework

Grammaticalization is a theory that explains how and why grammatical categories

rise and change. More specifically, grammaticalization is a process in which *lexical* units,

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1. Stathi et al. note that the question "What is grammar?" and the notion of
grammar, which is the endpoint of grammaticalization, are rarely addressed explicitly in
grammaticalization studies. Katerina Stathi, Elke Gehweiler, and Ekkehard König, eds.,
"Introduction," in *Grammaticalization: Current Views and Issues* (SLCS 119; Amsterdam:
Benjamins, 2010), 2.

words or constructions, acquire *grammatical* meanings or whereby a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function. Auxiliation is a subtype of grammaticalization which takes place in a relatively small number of verbs that develop from *lexical* into *auxiliary* verbs.

Among the few monographs about grammaticalization in Semitic languages, a major contribution is Aaron Rubin's *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization* published in 2005. Although insightful, his groundbreaking work in this area has a markedly different scope than this study. Rubin indicates major grammaticalization processes in most Semitic languages in a relatively short monograph and, out of necessity, his descriptions take a bird's eye view of the vast field of grammaticalization phenomena in Semitic languages. He points to various grammaticalized constructions and provides short comments, without detailing the processes that underlie specific cases of grammaticalization. In his analysis, he offers only a relatively short introduction to grammaticalization which serves well its purpose. Moreover, Rubin analyzes grammaticalization of the *grammar*, that is, he describes grammaticalization of phenomena that traditionally have been regarded as belonging to the grammatical system of particular languages.

This study differs from Rubin's work in that it focuses only on a small set of verbs in one language. Moreover, these verbs generally have not been considered as a part of the Hebrew grammar. For example, as I have pointed out earlier, Waltke and O'Connor consider such Hebrew verbs "a matter for the lexicon,"[2] that is, as lexical verbs whose description should be given in a lexicon rather than in a grammar. These verbs are only marginally mentioned in reference grammars of Hebrew as an interesting phenomenon of verbal

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2. Bruce K. Waltke and Michael P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 656.

coordination or as verbs that have an adverbial function. In this analysis these verbs are described not only in terms of grammaticalization, but also in terms of auxiliation, as a type of auxiliary verbs, which at first may sound like blasphemy to many a Hebraist. Consequently, my work requires a markedly more elaborate theoretical framework. Such framework is further required by the character of this study, which is meant to be a comprehensive treatment of the topic. In this kind of analysis, it would have little explanatory value to identify a change as grammaticalization or as reanalysis without offering the details of why and how such changes occurred. Therefore, no effort will be spared to fully describe all major components of grammaticalization of Hebrew auxiliary verbs.

The theoretical framework for this thesis is designed to describe most processes at work in grammaticalization: cognitive, pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic. Markedly more space dedicated to cognitive and semantic components of grammaticalization in the theoretical framework should not mislead the reader to consider them the primary factors of grammaticalization in this dissertation. This longer exposition is justified by the theoretical complexities of those processes, not by their prominence over morphosyntactic components in grammaticalization. Although in specific cases of grammaticalization semantic changes may be more prominent than syntactic ones, or vice versa, scholars notice more and more that these processes are much more interdependent than had been thought. There is a strong tendency among grammaticalization linguists to consider semantic processes as the main factors by which grammaticalization is driven. At first, this theoretical stance may seem the most reasonable because, in the end, meaning is what language is all about. However, I concur with the opinion of Fischer and Rosenbach, which holds true in spite of being voiced

a decade ago,[3] that much more research needs to be done in linguistics to decide convincingly if any of the above-mentioned processes can be regarded as the most prominent in grammaticalization. Meaning is not only something abstract, out of time and space, located in our minds. Meaning is "embodied" in words and phrases that have specific shapes and sounds and formal structures. Language is the interdependence and interaction of function and form. Without form, function is not possible and without function, form is pointless. Moreover, human language is a rule-governed system, rather than just a collection of words and phrases paired with meanings.[4]

Among the branches of human knowledge, modern linguistics is one of the youngest. It develops, changes, and opens to new perspectives with an incredible pace. The longer theoretical exposition of grammaticalization is finally dictated by the fact that the framework proposed here is not a mere application of a generally-agreed-upon standard framework, which to my knowledge does not exist. The framework I am using in my analysis is an adaptation of one of the most popular frameworks, formulated by Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer in 1991. I have considerably reworked Heine et al.'s framework to suit the needs of my thesis and I have included updates of recent advances and trends in linguistics. As their analysis puts most emphasis on cognitive and semantic components, this framework will also propose a more elaborate and updated understanding of formal morphosyntactic factors in grammaticalization.

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3. Olga Fischer and Anette Rosenbach, "Introduction," in *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English* (ed. Olga Fischer et al.; SLSC 53; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 15.

4. The idea that language is a rule-governed system was highlighted by Chomsky and generative grammarians, but this idea was first pointed out by the German linguist Humboldt in the 19th century. See Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965), v, 8.

The work of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer is a functional approach. Functional approaches consider language functions as the primary forces that shape language, usually with less causal role in language change assigned to formal and structural components. In the functional approach, pragmatic manipulation of meaning and semantic components play the central role in determining the grammaticalization processes. Formal approaches, on the other hand, consider the central task to describe the linguistic phenomena in terms of formal relationships between linguistic components independently of their semantic and pragmatic properties. The framework for this analysis differs from that of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer, in that it puts more attention to formal morphosyntactic forces involved in language change. This new emphasis will reflect the recent tendency—popular among many, especially younger, linguists—to use the strengths of the two approaches, functional and formal, and make them work together.[5] Therefore, the framework adopted for this thesis is a hybrid framework as it attempts to assign an equal importance to both form and function in grammaticalization. In spite of the attention dedicated to formal components, this framework remains strongly functional because it has disproportionately larger space dedicated to pragmatic and semantic mechanisms of change. This framework is also cognitive because it analyzes pragmatic and semantic components of grammaticalization in terms of cognitive processes of metaphor and metonymy. Although it is considered a distinct school of linguistics, the cognitive approach is a part of functional tradition.[6]

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5. A good example is Olga Fischer whose influence in shaping the updated version of the present framework is often acknowledged in this study. See especially Olga Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal Perspectives* (OSSM 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

6. For a more detailed discussion of cognitive linguistics as a part of functional perspective, see Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7–9.

Finally, it must be noted that grammaticalization has been one of the battlefields between functionally and formally oriented linguists. On the basis of grammaticalization, each group wanted to show the validity and accuracy of their formulations and indicate that the other group was standing in the wrong corner. Functional linguists would stress that grammaticalization is unidirectional, mostly semantically driven, and it is a mechanism of change on its own. Formally-oriented linguists would point out that, rather than an independent mechanism of change, grammaticalization is epiphenomenal because it is a result of other common mechanisms of change, such as reanalysis and analogy.[7] However, for a Hebraist who undertakes a task of describing historical changes in Hebrew in terms of grammaticalization, it is much less relevant whether changes in grammaticalization are unidirectional, epiphenomenal, etc. Linguists analyze texts, ancient and modern, as well as spoken language, but their main goal is to understand how language "works" and how it develops through time. Semiticists and biblical scholars, on the other hand, analyze ancient texts with the main goal of shedding light on their message, meaning and the language they are written in. In such a practically-oriented approach, the theoretical issues of grammaticalization, such as the unidirectionality of changes, are much less relevant. Although I need to engage in the debate between the functionally and formally inclined linguists for my framework, I do it minimally.

2.2 Historical Overview of Grammaticalization Studies

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7. For a brief discussion of the grammaticalization debate between functionalists and generativists, see Olga Fischer, "Principles of Grammaticalization and Linguistic Reality," in *Determinants of Grammatical Variation in English* (ed. Günter Rohdenburg and Ritta Mondoft; Topic in English Linguistics 43 (TiEL 43); Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 446–51.

2.2.1 The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Forerunners

Antoine Meillet is generally credited to have coined the word "grammaticalization" in 1912. However, the idea of this linguistic phenomenon can be traced back to 1746 when Étienne Bonnot de Condillac published his philosophical work *Essay sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. Condillac argued that inflectional endings of verbs in Latin and French were originally independent or unbound words that gradually, by agglutination, became conjugational suffixes conveying person, number, tense and mood.[8] In the eighteenth century, another contribution to the topic was made by John Horne Tooke in his work on etymology *Ἔπεα πτερόεντα or The Diversions of Purley* (vol. 1 in 1786, vol. 2 in 1805). In his observations corncerning inflection, he realized that inflectional endings were not always "abstract endings" but rather in the beginning they were separate words that fused together with other words to express their grammatical relations, like case, gender, mood. According to him, this fusion was triggered by the fact that no single word was able to simultaneously express its meaning, that is, its lexical content, and its grammatical relation with other words. Horne Tooke also claimed that some English prepositions and conjunctions had their origin in simple lexical words with no previously grammatical meaning.[9] In his evaluation of Horne Tooke's hypotheses, Arens draws attention to the fact

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8. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (trans. Hans Aarsleff; Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 159–60.

9. See Hans Arens, *Sprachwissenschaft: der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (2d ed.; Freiburg: Alber, 1969), 133–34. C. Lehmann points out that both Condillac and Horne Tooke described "processes that, do, in fact, occur, though not necessarily in the specific cases they had in mind." See Christian Lehmann, *Thoughts on Grammaticalization* (rev. and enl. ed.; LINCOM Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 1; Munich: LINCOM Europa, 1995), 1.

that sometimes he came to the right conclusions on the basis of wrong evidence. For the observations he made, some scholars consider Horne Tooke the father of grammaticalization studies.[10] Both for Condillac and Horne Tooke, linguistic inquiry in the modern sense of the word was still at the margin of their study. For the former it was at the margins of his philosophical investigation into the evolution of language, for the latter etymology of words was his main concern, not the processes that made these changes happen. Both Condillac and Horne Tooke had several good observations about changes that can occur in a language, but for the most part they were mere intuitions that owed more to hypothesis than to reliable results of theoretically critical analysis.

The nineteenth century witnessed a development of a new kind of research in languages: methodologically more refined and, in general, based on solid linguistic evidence. It saw the beginning of historical linguistics and a focus on the comparative study of languages and their genealogical classification. From the point of view of grammaticalization theory, a few individual scholars deserve special attention.

In 1818, August Wilhelm von Schlegel founded the typological classification of languages into analytic (isolating), synthetic (inflecting), and aglutinative.[11] His linguistic views on language change were not free of prejudice. He considered inflecting languages to be model languages and of higher status than isolating and agglutinative types. He valued inflection for giving richness and freedom in word order that was much more constrained in

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10. Bernd Heine et al., *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5.

11. Winfred P. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (3d ed.; London: Routledge, 1992), 97. For the details of Schlegel's new classification, see August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Observations sur la langue et la littérature provençales* (TBL 7; Tübingen: Spangenberg, 1971), 14–20. Repr. of *Observations sur la langue et la littérature provençales* (Paris: 1818).

analytic languages. He also concluded that only the use of a synthetic language, rich in inflection, like Sanskrit, Greek or Latin, can fully develop the intellectual faculty. Generally, he considered a change in a language a sign of degeneracy and corruption, and particularly the abandonment of inflection and transition to isolating systems "which have no grammatical structure" he regarded as barbarism. But he also had many valuable observations concerning grammaticalization. He realized that Romance languages, in their transition from inflecting systems based on Latin to less inflecting and more analytic grammars, developed new grammatical features. Demonstrative pronouns were "transformed" into definite articles, numerals for "one" started to function as indefinite articles, and the verbs that came from Latin *habere*, which originally expressed possession, began to be used as auxiliary verbs to form new tenses, with their original meaning weakened or totally lost.[12] The importance of these observations does not lie merely in the fact that the changes Schlegel described belong to very common crosslinguistic processes of grammaticalization, but also in his assessment of reasons for such changes.

Perhaps the most elaborated theory on the origin of grammar and grammatical forms was formulated in that period by Wilhelm von Humboldt in a series of lectures presented in 1822 and published in 1825, *Über das Entstehen der grammatikalischen Formen und ihren Einfluß auf die Ideenentwicklung*. In his evolutionary typology of language he distinguished four stages of language evolution. In stage 1 (*no-syntax* stage), there was practically no grammar, but only collections of words and phrases that referred to things. Subsequently, in stage 2 (*syntactic* stage, with isolating languages), the first simple word-order was established, where the meaning of words and their function were also expressed by their position in a sentence. At this point, "vacillating words" started to appear: some of the

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12. Schlegel, *Observations*, 28–29.

"material" words which denoted concrete things acquired a new, grammatical meaning,

becoming "formal" words (by formal Humboldt meant not only the physical form of a word

but also its grammatical function), and they "vacillated" between their lexical ("material")

and grammatical ("formal") meanings. Later, in stage 3 (*agglutinative* stage), these words

with grammatical functions were "aggregated" with words denoting concrete meaning as

their affixes which expressed grammatical roles and functions. The resulting complexes

were not unitary wholes, but rather loose pairs of semantically independent components with

clear semantic boundaries. Over time, many "agglutinative pairs" fused into semantically

inseparable one-word wholes or "synthetic complexes" where the distinction between lexical

and grammatical components were no longer possible. This fusion gave rise to declensions

and conjugations of stage 4 (*inflectional* stage).[13]

In accordance with the linguistic trends of his time, Humboldt's account of the

evolution of grammatical forms was almost uniquely based on morphological criteria. In

addition, many of the theoretical assumptions underlying his theory have their origin in the

evolutionary typology of language which is largely discredited today. In spite of its

limitations and incompleteness, it is regarded as the first sophisticated theory of

grammaticalization.[14]

In the years following the publication of Humbolt's lectures, his proposal became

popular as the "theory of agglutination." Franz Bopp, one of the founding figures of Indo-

European studies, was the first to apply it in sections of his work where the discussion of the

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13. Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization* (2d ed.; Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 19–20.

14. C. Lehmann, *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*, 2–3.

development of grammatical forms became one of the central themes. In vol. 1 of *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gotischen and Deutschen* (Berlin 1833), he derived inflectional endings in declensions and conjugations from demonstrative and personal pronouns, respectively. In his study on the formation of case system in Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages, he notes:

> The case terminations express the reciprocal relations of nouns, which principally and originally referred only to space, but from space were extended also to time and cause, the relations of the persons spoken of, to one another. According to their origin, they are, at least for the most part, pronouns, as will be clearly developed hereafter. . . . As also in verbs the personal terminations, *i.e.* the pronominal suffixes - although, in the course of time, they are no longer recognised and felt to be that which, by their demonstrable origin, they imply and they are.[15]

Studies in grammaticalization were continued by various scholars throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, but their contribution to this field started to be discovered only recently. It seems appropriate to mention Georg von der Gabelentz to whom we owe, as C. Lehmann points out, two clarifications which, with some refinement, are consistent with recent developments in grammaticalization.[16] First, in his *Die Sprachwissenschaft* (1881) he explained grammatical change in language as a result of two competing forces: tendency towards ease of articulation (*Bequemlichkeitstrieb*) and tendency towards distinctness

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15. Franz Bopp, *A Comparative Grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic Languages* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1985), 127; repr. of *A comparative grammar of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic languages* (trans. by E. Eastwick; London: Madden & Malcolm, 1845); trans. of *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslavischen, Gotischen and Deutschen* (Berlin: 1833).

16. C. Lehmann, *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*, 3–4.

(*Deutlichkeitstrieb*). Relaxation in pronunciation results in sound change and the distinction between words becomes blurred and lost. This gives rise to new forms that take over the function of the old ones. As an outcome of this competition, affixes gradually lose their grammatical value and disappear and their function is replaced by word order or independent words and periphrastic constructions. For example, prepositions take over the function of declensional suffixes and simple tenses are replaced by new formations consisting of an auxiliary and a main verb. Second, he refused a linear model of language evolution from a simple to a more sophisticated system. Rather he viewed language change as a series of cyclic stages that, in some respects, resemble a spiral. As an example, Gabelentz offered the first person singular of the Latin future tense *videbo* "I shall see," which developed from a fusion of the auxiliary *fuo* and the main verb *vide*, and later this simple inflectional form was replaced by the periphrastic structure *videre habeo*.[17]

2.2.2 Grammaticalization Within Indo-European Studies

The publication of Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* (posthumously in 1916) started a new chapter in linguistics. Methodologically, among other things, a distinction was made between diachronic and synchronic study of language. The emergence of structuralism in Europe and America shifted linguists' focus to synchrony in language study. The interest in historical changes in language that was central in the ninetieth century linguistic inquiries became relatively marginal in the mainstream linguistic

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17. This theory was first published in 1891 and then republished, unaltered, in the 2d ed. of *Die Sprachwissenschaft*. Georg von der Gabelentz, *Die Sprachwissenschaft: Ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse* (TBL 1; Tübingen: Vogt, 1969), 256–57; repr. of *Die Sprachwissenschaft: Ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse* (2d ed.; Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1901).

movements of structuralist imprint. However, the diachronic approach to language did not die out completely. The interest in historical reconstruction of languages, notably Indo-European languages, was vigorously continued by some scholars, particularly by Antoine Meillet, whose influence extended outside Indo-Europeanist circles.

2.2.2.1 Antoine Meillet. Antoine Meillet, Saussure's student when he taught in Paris, wrote an article entitled "L'évolution des formes grammaticales" (1912), marking a new phase of research in grammaticalization. Even though in later years Meillet explained many grammatical changes in Indo-European languages in terms of grammaticalization, this article remains his most comprehensive and most representative study of the topic.

As we have seen, Meillet's forerunners already had formulated a few theories on the origin and change of grammatical categories, but they did not have a name for those processes. Moreover, grammaticalization was still at the very margins of their research (perhaps with the exception of Bopp), and their conclusions were often methodologically unreliable due to their theoretical approaches being deeply rooted in questionable speculations on language evolution. Meillet not only introduced the term 'grammaticalization' (p. 133), but he saw it become central in the study of language transformation. Most of the assumptions underlying his theory are still prevalent today. For these reasons, he is rightly considered the "founder of modern grammaticalization studies."[18]

Meillet begins his account of grammatical change by stating that there are two principal processes through which any change in grammar takes place: 'analogical innovation' (*innovation analogique*) and 'grammaticalization' (*grammaticalisation*).[19]

18. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 8.

19. Antoine Meillet, "L'évolution des formes grammaticales," in *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris: Champion, 1982), 130–31; repr. from

Analogical innovation happens when new grammatical forms are produced on the pattern of those already established. For example, all the regular forms of language can be considered analogical, due to the fact that they are formed, by analogy, on the model of existing grammatical paradigms like conjugations, declensions, etc. In English, the replacement of the plural *shoen* by *shoes*, through analogy to common plurals as *stones*, is an example of such analogic change as Meillet understood it.[20]

Analogy and grammaticalization are the only two processes through which any change in grammatical forms can be introduced. The crucial difference between them is that by analogy the already existing grammatical material can be further *modified* and *transformed* while grammaticalization *creates* new grammatical expressions out of lexical material. In Meillet's words, "Whereas analogy may renew forms in detail, usually leaving the overall plan of the [grammatical] system untouched, the 'grammaticalization' of certain words creates new forms and introduces categories which had no linguistic expression. It changes the system as a whole" (p. 133).[21]

Meillet's often-quoted definitions of grammaticalization describe this process as: "the attribution of grammatical character to a previously autonomous word" ("l'attribution du charactère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome," p.131); "the progressive attribution of a grammatical role to autonomous words or to ways of grouping words" ("l'attribution

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Scientia 12 (1912).

20. This illustration is from Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 22.

21. The English traslation is from Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 23. However, 'grammatical' in brackets is my addition for clarification, whose insertion I find justified from the context of this quotation.

progressive d'un rôle grammatical à des mots autonomes ou à des manières de grouper les mots," p. 132).[22]

To illustrate the process of grammaticalization, Meillet distinguishes two classes of words: *mot principaux* 'main words' and *mots accessoires* 'auxiliary words.'[23] A *main word* is a lexical word without any grammatical function (p. 134). A main word becomes an *auxiliary word* when it starts to acquire a grammatical meaning, which marks the beginning of its grammaticalization and its transition from the domain of the lexicon to the domain of the grammar. The auxiliary words grammatically modify the main words by conveying a grammatical idea that somehow determines the lexical meaning of the main words. An auxiliary word, in Meillet's account, is any word that already has a grammatical function and, at the same time, continues to be used as a lexical item. Synchronically, it is a member of the grammar and of the lexicon. In some cases, an auxiliary word may quickly lose its lexical reference. However, in most cases, its use as a lexical unit persists. For a long time, it is usually both lexical and grammatical: in one sentence it can have a lexical meaning, in another it can serve a grammatical function (p. 135).

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22. The English translation of these definitions is from Paul J. Hopper, "On Some Principles of Grammaticalization," in *Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues* (ed. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine; vol. 1 of *Approaches to Grammaticalization;* TSL 19/1; Amsterdam: Benjamins**,** 1991), 7.

23. Translating *mot principaux* by 'main words' and *mots accessoires* by 'auxiliary words' I follow Alice C. Harris and Lyle Campbell, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (CSL 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19–20. In my opinion, "auxiliary word" best reflects the meaning and function given to *mot accessoire* by Meillet. It is rather uncommon in recent linguistic literature to find these terms, but it seems preferable to use the English equivalents rather than keep repeating French originals in italics. Additionally, Meillet's terms can be viewed as an extended version of a very common pair: "auxiliary verb" and "main verb." The auxiliary verb conveys a grammatical idea (which, in standard grammars, is usually reserved to the notions of tense, aspect or modality) and the main verb expresses a lexical meaning.

An auxiliary word is also said to be in intermediary phase from its status as a main word to its final stage of grammaticalization. This intermediary phase can consist of a few stages of development.[24] Consequently, 'auxiliary word' is for Meillet a convenient cover term for any word with a grammatical function, that is, any grammaticalized word, regardless of its degree of grammaticalization, but with the exclusion of its final stage of grammaticalization. In this final stage, an auxiliary word becomes *élément grammatical* 'grammatical element' or 'grammatical marker.' An auxiliary word reaches its final stage of grammaticalization when, eventually, it is deprived of its original semantic content and phonological form in a way that it is no longer recognized as a lexical word. At that point, it can only function as a purely grammatical marker, which in the Indo-European languages analyzed by Meillet usually means a grammatical affix. Therefore, the final result of grammaticalization can no longer be called *mot accessoire*.[25]

A relatively consistent picture of Meillet's grammaticalization, as summarized above, is possible. Unfortunately, Meillet does not explain what he means by "autonomous word" or "grammatical element." Does "autonomous word" mean a word with a purely

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24. Later, the linguists will speak in a more elaborate way about the *stages of grammaticalization*, which Meillet notices only in passing, "Et il y a tous les degrés intermédiaires entre les mots principaux et les mots accessoires" where *mot accessoire* can be more grammaticalized or less grammaticalized: "plus ou moins accessoire" (p. 135). And he never comes back to it with a more explicit theory though certain things can be deduced from the illustrations he comments on.

25. C. Lehmann attributes to Meillet three main classes of words, rather than two, and he names the third "mots grammaticales" which seems to represent the final stage of grammaticalization. See C. Lehmann, *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*, 4. I find it misleading because Meillet never uses this term. Instead, he uses *élément grammatical* which should be understood with caution due to his inconsistent use of this term. In addition, for Meillet the final stage arises when an auxiliary word totally loses its lexical meaning and phonological identity and develops into a grammatical affix. Consequently, Lehmann's "mot grammaticale" is incorrect.

lexical content and no grammatical function? "Previously autonomous" suggests that, with grammaticalization, some of its autonomy is lost. If he means *semantic* autonomy, then a purely lexical word gradually loses some of its lexical content and additionally acquires a grammatical function. Theoretically, the loss of autonomy may also indicate a *morphosyntactic* autonomy, e.g., a reduction to an affix. Considering his key term "auxiliary word," which assumes a word rather than an affix, along with his illustrations of grammaticalization, the former interpretation seems the most plausible. "Autonomous word," then, is roughly an equivalent of "main word," even though he never explicitly equates these two terms nor does he use the former in his definitions of grammaticalization. Consequently, the transition in which an autonomous word becomes a grammatical element - as it is viewed in his definitions - indicates the *initial* stage of grammaticalization. This change is portrayed as a partial "violation" of the semantic-lexical autonomy of a main word on behalf of its emerging grammatical function.

The interpretation of *élément grammatical* 'grammatical marker' requires some clarification, too. Meillet never clearly explains what he means by this term: whether he means a word or an affix or both. However, he evidently considers grammatical marker to be the conclusive stage in grammaticalization of an auxiliary word. In his words,

> The weakening of the sense and the weakening of the form of auxiliary words go hand in hand; when both are rather advanced, the auxiliary word can end up being nothing more than an element deprived of its own meaning, attached to a main word to mark its grammatical role. The change from a word to a grammatical marker is complete.[26]

This definition seems to suggest that a grammatical marker is not a word but an affix.[27] Also

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26. This translation is from Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 19–20.

27. There is also another passage where it seems to be assumed that the transition of

Meillet's illustrations point to affixes as the final stage of grammaticalization. In scholarly literature, this interpretation is assumed by Lyle Campbell who explicitly equates Meillet's "grammatical marker" with a bound grammatical morpheme.[28] However, Meillet's inconsistent use of this term is rather confusing. For example, *élément grammatical* is used twice (pp. 131 and 141) to describe partially grammaticalized words, that is, auxiliary words rather than fully grammaticalized affixes. In my opinion, the best solution to this discrepancy would be to disregard these two occurrences of "grammatical marker" as less authoritative. Unlike the other uses of *élément grammatical* of clearly definitional character, they belong to explanatory material.

As one of the examples of an auxiliary word, Meillet includes the verb *laisser* which in its lexical meaning can be rendered, depending on the context, as 'leave,' 'abandon,' 'leave behind.' However, in the sentence *laissez venir à moi les petits enfants* 'let the grandchildren come to me' [English rendering is mine], this verb, as Meillet points out, functions as an auxiliary word, specifically as a kind of auxiliary verb (p. 134), where it is partly deprived of its lexical meaning. This happens when *laisser* is paired with other infinitives. But this partial loss in semantic value is here "compensated" in *laisser* by its grammatical meaning. According to Meillet, at first the verb *laisser* appeared in pair with an infinitive, as in *je laisse venire*, in its full lexical value, as a main word. Only with time, the frequent practice of pairing it with other verbs, turned this two-verb formation into a fixed

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an auxiliary word into a grammatical marker does not take place as long as the former still has a semantic and formal autonomy ("autonomie nette de sense et de forme"). Meillet, "L'évolution des formes," 136.

28. Lyle Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction* (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004), 292.

expression, which for *laisser* resulted in its semantic weakening and the acquisition of a new grammatical role: as "a kind of auxiliary verb" (p. 136).

One of Meillet's most important observations is the correlation between increasing frequency of use and decreasing expressiveness. The fact that new grammatical forms emerge and replace the old ones can be best explained, in Meillet's view, by the speaker's need to be expressive. *Expressiveness* seems to be one of the driving forces that underlie the changes that take place in the grammar. Expressiveness, that is, a set of various pragmatic factors (as we would call it today), is the main trigger of grammaticalization process. More often than not, when we say something, we want to be expressive. However, every time a word or a phrase is used, its expressive value decreases. The effect of frequent usage of a linguistic unit for a long period of time is this loss in expressiveness and a diminished semantic intensity (p. 135).

The weakening in semantic value ("l'affaiblissement du sens") of an auxiliary word often comes along with the weakening of its form ("l'affaiblissement de la forme," p. 139). When this process of semantic and formal weakening continues, it may result in the total loss of its lexical value and advanced phonological reduction. At this point, what used to be an auxiliary word would now be fully turned into a grammatical marker and the process of its grammaticalization would be accomplished. It must be pointed out that for Meillet, the final stage of grammaticalization is an option, not a necessity. Consequently, according to him, some function words may never reach their fully grammaticalized phase.

2.2.2.2 Jerzy Kuryłowicz. As we have seen, with the emergence of European and American structuralism (Saussure in Europe, Bloomfield in America) and its emphasis on synchrony, the interest in historical changes in language became peripheral. Consequently, grammaticalization practically disappeared from the horizons of mainstream linguistic

theories until the early 1970s. However, Meillet's theory of grammaticalization was continued without interruption by other Indo-Europeanists, notably in the works of Jerzy Kuryłowicz and Émile Benveniste.

In his article "The evolution of grammatical categories," Kuryłowicz offers a further elaboration on the theory. In his words,

> "Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one."[29]

As it was pointed out Meillet mentions only once, in passing, that an auxiliary word can undergo various 'degrees' of development from a main word to a purely grammatical marker. In Kuryłowicz's work, the stages of grammaticalization are defined with more detail and he provides many examples of such change through grammaticalization in Indo-European grammatical categories.

The reverse process, *lexicalization*, which manifests in a decrease in the range of a morpheme, might take place when a morpheme loses its current grammatical status, becomes less grammatical, and eventually transforms into a lexical unit. For example, a fully grammaticalized inflectional ending *-a* that served in Latin as neuter plural marker in nominative and accusative cases (e.g., *verb-a* 'words'), subsequently in Italian was restricted to a small number of collective nouns, with a non-inflectional function, as a derivative suffix (e.g., the collective *mur-a* 'walls,' in contrast to regular plural *mur-i*).[30] "Increase of the range" in grammaticalization and "decrease of the range" in lexicalization require some

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29. Jerzy Kuryłowicz, "The Evolution of Grammatical Categories," *Diogenes* 51 (1965): 69.

30. Kuryłowicz, "Evolution," 69.

clarification. When an already grammaticalized morpheme undergoes further grammaticalization, it becomes "more grammatical." "Less grammatical" means a path toward "more lexical" with a more limited distribution. Consequently, inflectional affixes have more distribution than derivative affixes. In English, the nouns that are formed with the suffix *-ess* (e.g., lioness, waitress, princess [the English examples are mine]) are very limited in number and, theoretically, can be derived only from nouns that denote a person or an animate being. The adverbializing suffix *-ly* (e.g., gladly) has a much wider distribution than *-ess*, but the number of adjectives to which it can be applied is still limited. It cannot be applied, mechanically, to all adjectives. On the other hand, the English plural marker *-s* (*-es*), one of the few inflectional suffixes in modern English, has a practically unlimited distribution: it marks the plural of almost all countable nouns (with few exceptions: oxen, children, men, mice, etc.). Consequently, when a derivational suffix is further grammaticalized and becomes an inflectional suffix, its distribution becomes much more widespread.[31] In the analysis of grammaticalization Kuryłowicz placed a considerable importance on frequency of use of grammatical morphemes and their distribution. However, in his book *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*, where he systematically applied the concepts of grammaticalization and lexicalization to the emergence and disappearance of Indo-European grammatical categories, Kuryłowicz warns against an over-simplification of distributional evidence. He argues that "to consider grammaticalization simply as a process of extension or propagation of the given morpheme would be to simplify matters."[32]

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31. Kuryłowicz, "Evolution," 70.

32. Jerzy Kuryłowicz, *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European* (Indogermanische Bibliothek; Heidelberg: Winter, 1964), 37.

Kuryłowicz does not limit a possibility of grammaticalization to morphemes only, as his often-quoted definition, taken out of the context of his article, might suggest. Many cases of grammaticalized categories provided in his article leave no doubt that his definition of grammaticalization includes words composed of more than one morpheme and phrases, as he himself observes: "The way from Latin *habeo litteras scriptas* "I have a written letter" to the French *j'ai écrit la lettre* "I have written a letter" has been a long one. The French form represents an advanced stage of *grammaticalization* of a lexical phrase."[33]

2.2.2.3 Émile Benveniste. Another important representative from the tradition of Indo-European linguistics is Émile Benveniste, one of Meillet's students. Hopper and Traugott point out that the concept of grammaticalization was so alienated from mainstream structural linguistics that he considered it necessary, in his article "Mutations of Linguistic Categories" written in 1968, to repeat many of Meillet's ideas from 1912.[34] Benveniste never mentions Meillet by name, nor does he mention the term he coined even though he uses the same examples (the development of Latin-Romance perfect and future). Since Benveniste is mostly focused on the emergence of auxiliary verbs and the subsequent changes they undergo, he proposes a new term *auxiliation*.

Benveniste drew a distinction between two series of diachronic changes or "mutations" that languages undergo.[35] *Innovating mutations* comprise the changes that take place when grammatical categories emerge or disappear. Partial or complete loss of gender,

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33. Kuryłowicz, "Evolution," 69 The renderings of the Latin and French illustrations in parentheses are mine.

34. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 26.

35. The translators consistently rendered the original French *transformation* by 'mutation.' This choice seems to be dictated to prevent any association with the dominating Chomskyan model of generative linguistics.

the abolition of the dual, or the appearance of the definite article are examples of such mutations. But Benveniste is more interested in the second type of change, and consequently most of his article is concerned with *conservative mutations* which "serve to replace a morphemic category by a periphrastic category with the same function."[36] In his account, most observable changes in grammaticalization would belong to the former category. The modification of grammar in a language by *addition* or *loss* in the stock of grammatical categories is relatively rare in contrast to more frequent modifications that consist of *replacement* of forms with a grammatical function with another set of forms whose function is the same. In many languages, the former kind of modifications may occur through analysis, with the replacement of inflectional system by periphrastic formations, or through synthesis, when periphrastic formations end up as grammatical affixes.[37]

An example of a conservative mutation is the replacement of case endings in an inflectional system, by a periphrastic construction 'preposition + noun.' Benveniste gives special attention to auxiliation and illustrates it with Latin periphrastic tenses, the perfect (composed of *habere* 'to have' in the present tense paired with the forms of perfect passive participles of other verbs) and the future (*habere* + infinitive), and their development in Romance languages. In Benveniste's account, *auxiliation* can be understood as the process, and the explanation of the process, of the emergence and subsequent transformations of auxiliary verbs in auxiliary constructions or auxiliation syntagms (as Benveniste calls them).

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36. Émile Benveniste, "Mutations of Linguistic Categories," in *Perspectives on Historical Linguistics* (ed. Winfred P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1968), 86.

37. Laurel J. Brinton, *The Development of English Aspectual Systems: Aspectualizers and Post-Verbal Particles* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 49 (CSL 49); Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 96.

The *auxiliation syntagm* consists of an inflected *auxiliary* (in Benveniste's original: *auxiliant* 'the one that helps') and an uninflected component or the "auxiliated" (in French, *auxilié* 'the one that is helped').[38] Benveniste also names a third component: "the coalescence of the two," a combination that results in a new shape and a new function (p. 86).

Benveniste uses Meillet's illustrations and repeats much of what he wrote in 1912, yet he has some new insightful observations. For a better understanding of the auxiliation process, it seems noteworthy to summarize one of his examples in which an inflectional category was replaced by a periphrastic category. Commenting on the genesis of the periphrastic perfect in late Latin, he notices, that the verb *habere* had two most common senses in the classical period: 'have' and 'hold.' In either sense, it could have direct objects modified by adjectives and participles. According to Benveniste, only the combination of *habere*, in its meaning 'to have,' along with a verbal participle gave rise to the periphrastic perfect tense. Furthermore, this novel construction took its origins with verbal participles formed from verbs denoting "sensory-intellective process." Among the verbs that belong to this category are: "understand," "realize," "see," "notice," etc. An interplay of all required conditions can be seen in the phrase *hoc compertum habet* "he has learned this" (lit., "he has it learned"). In this sequence, *habere* evidently means 'have, possess,' *compertum* is the perfect passive participle of the verb *comperire* 'learn, discover' denoting a mental process. As a past participle, *compertum* indicates that the state characteristic of the object is already

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38. For the list of French key terms, see Benveniste, "Mutations," 94. I have imitated the translators in their rendering of Benveniste's terms into English except for the tern 'auxiliate,' which renders *auxilié*. Instead, I chose 'auxiliated.' This appears to be a better rendering, in addition to being used in recent linguistic literature, as in Carol Rosen, "Auxiliation and Serialization: On Discerning the Difference," in *Complex Predicates* (ed. Alex Alsina et al.; CSLI Lecture Notes 64; Stanford, Calif.: CSLI, 1997), 186.

accomplished, but at the same time, due to the verb *habet* in the present tense, the results are linked to the moment of speaking and are viewed as still present. According to Benveniste, at a certain point, this construction that originally appeared only with verbs denoting mental process, was generalized and the range of its use extended to other verbs. This generalization is witnessed by the phrase *episcopum invitatum habes* "you have invited the bishop." This syntagm soon became a regular periphrastic tense, with *habere* as the auxiliary verb and the perfect passive participle as the auxiliated. In meaning and function, it was similar to the English present perfect tense (like "I have eaten," "she has seen," etc). This new Latin tense expressed past events whose effects were portrayed as lasting to the present moment. Over time, however, this new analytic construction also absorbed the meaning and function of the older synthetic form of the past tense whose function was similar to the English simple past tense (like *audivi* 'I heard,' *scripsi* 'I wrote'). In other words, the new analytic tense that at first assumed a function similar to the English present perfect tense (*auditum habeo* 'I have heard') gradually took over the meaning and function of the Latin past tense *audivi* 'I heard.' In this way, a conservative mutation took place: the old form was formally renovated. The change in structure did not cause any change in function which was preserved in the new form.[39]

2.2.3 Grammaticalization Within Functional Linguistics

Until the late 1960s, grammaticalization was only marginally mentioned outside the Indo-Europeanist circles, and the contributions of Meillet and Kurylowicz were read mostly by their colleagues. In 1970 the concept of grammaticalization slowly started to attract the attention of linguists, primarily due to the growing interest in linguistic typology and

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39. A detailed description of this process is in Benveniste, "Mutations," 87–89.

pragmatics. This change took place within a new linguistic movement known as functionalism. Unlike the dominant generativist movement that explored the formal aspects of language structures independently of their meaning and functions, the new functionalist orientation began to explain linguistic phenomena in terms of their functions, rejecting the independence of syntax from semantics and pragmatics.[40] In that context, grammaticalization was no longer viewed as relevant solely for diachronic linguistics, but also as an approach to a synchronic study of language.

The harbinger of this shift is seen in two articles. The first was published in 1970 by Carleton Hodge under the title "The Linguistic Cycle." The second, much more influential, "Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: An archaeologist's field trip" written by Talmy Givón, appeared in 1971. It is probably Givón who can be credited, more than anybody else, with the revival of interest in grammaticalization in the 1970s.

In his article, Hodge goes back to the 19th century 'spiral' theory of language change and, among other things, gives a critical assessment of Bopp's view of linguistic development. Going from Bopp to later Neo-grammarians he notices "The notion that one man's morphology was an earlier man's syntax did not die out."[41] He concludes his article by saying that "the morphology is frozen syntax, sooner or later doomed to be replaced" (p. 6). Hodge's formulations resound in Givón's popular slogan "Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax" in his paper published the following year.[42] Both Hodge and Givón

40. For a discussion of differences between generative and functional approaches, see Frederick J. Newmeyer, *Language Form and Language Function* (Language, Speech, and Communication; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998), 7–14.

41. Carleton Hodge, "The Linguistic Cycle," *Language Sciences* 13 (1970): 3.

42. Talmy Givón, "Historical Syntax and Synchronic Morphology: An Archaeologist's Field Trip," *Chicago Linguistic Society* 7 (1971): 413.

reviewed the discussion of cyclic development in linguistic evolution, though Givón went further. He emphasized the importance of historical reconstruction for a proper understanding of synchronic processes in language, with a major role played by grammaticalization.

In 1979, Givón, already a major voice in functional linguistics, further expanded this view in his book *On Understanding Grammar*. His major contribution to grammaticalization research was the realization that grammatical structures have their origin in communicative needs and discourse-pragmatic forces.[43] In his view, grammar comes from nongrammar in the "processes by which loose, paratactic, pragmatic discourse structures develop - over time - into tight, grammaticalized syntactic structures."[44] Loose parataxis becomes tight syntax, and then tighter. For example, in some languages topic constructions are grammaticalized into subject constructions. Yet this development, or syntacticization (as Givón calls it), continues only to the moment when syntactic structures start to erode. This erosion takes place through morphologization and lexicalization. All of the possible series of changes in grammaticalization are portrayed in a schematic outline as *paths*[45] of grammaticalization, with their directional development represented by > symbol:

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43. Heine and his colleagues, in discussing Givón's contribution, express it succinctly with the paraphrase "Today's syntax is yesterday's pragmatic discourse." Cf. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 13.

44. Talmy Givón, *On Understanding Grammar* (Perspectives in Neurolinguistics and Psycholinguistics; New York: Academic Press, 1979), 208.

45. Also technically called, without any consistent distinction, *chains* or *channels* of grammaticalization. See Donald A. Lessau, *A Dictionary of Grammaticalization* (Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 21; Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1994), 434.

discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero[46]

The importance of Givón's diagram lies in the fact that it is generally accepted—sometimes with minor changes—by most scholars. It is a comprehensive picture of all the possible phases. But it has to be stressed that, in reality, the examples of items that undergo the entire process of grammaticalization are relatively rare. In most languages, only a limited number of constructions travel along all the developmental paths: first grammaticalized from lexical items, pass through all the grammatical phases (syntax > morphology > morphophonemics) and, in the final phase, end up as meaningless morphemes (archaic or archaizing relics in Hebrew: *hirek compaginis*) or totally disappear (cases in English).

As it has been noticed, Givón's major contribution was to point to discourse-pragmatic factors of daily communication as sources of grammar. His suggestion was rather radical in that he viewed almost all syntax as preceded by discourse. Even though this claim has been questioned, it initiated a debate about the importance of discourse and pragmatic forces in the emergence of new grammatical patterns. Earlier, the generative linguists worked on the assumption that grammar is a self-contained system, completely independent of external (i.e., non-linguistic) forces. In their view, only language-internal forces could account for any change in grammar. Givón pointed to language-external (without the exclusion of language-internal) factors that motivate changes in grammar. Later he was followed by many others, but most scholars took a less radical position about the role of discourse-pragmatic components in grammaticalization.

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46. Talmy Givón, *On Understanding Grammar* (Perspectives in Neurolinguistics and Psycholinguistics; New York: Academic Press, 1979), 209.

Since this is relevant for an ensuing discussion of interplay between pragmatic, semantic and syntactic components of grammaticalization, it needs to be pointed out that today there are still scholars who adopt extreme positions. For most generativists, grammar is totally arbitrary and autonomous of external motivations. For numerous pragmaticists, grammatical changes are uniquely dependent on extragrammatical forces. However, the majority of linguists of non-formal persuasion (historical linguists, typologists, functionalists) tend to find a solution somewhere half-way between these extreme views and argue that much of the grammar is motivated by extralinguistic factors. At the same time they insist that not all grammar is reducible to discourse-pragmatic motivations. According to them many grammatical changes can be traced to external motivations (with an underlying assumption that a motivation can lose much of its transparency over time), but grammar is also partly arbitrary, independent of extragrammatical forces.[47]

Concluding the historical survey of grammaticalization, we need to note that in the early 1980s the grammaticalization theory became widely known. In the past three decades, it has been subject to refinement and elaboration, particularly by Joan Bybee, Ulrike Claudi, Talmy Givón, Olga Fischer, Bernd Heine, Paul Hopper, Tania Kuteva, Christian Lehman, Elizabeth Closs Traugott. It has been systematically studied by historical linguists, typologists, semanticists and pragmaticians. It has been the focus of close attention in functional and cognitive approaches to language. In this way grammaticalization theory has

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47. For a more detailed discussion, see Mira Ariel, *Pragmatics and Grammar* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118–19. Much of Ariel's recent book is dedicated to this issue. With many illustrations she convincingly shows that much of the grammar has its origins in pragmatically motivated, extralinguistic factors that guided the language users.

proved to be a sophisticated tool of descriptive linguistics, with a significant explanatory potential for both diachronic and synchronic grammar.

2.3 Between Lexicon and Grammar

From its outset, grammaticalization has been formulated in terms of the relation between lexicon and grammar. This relation is at the heart of nearly all grammatical theories, and grammaticalization is no exception. In spite of a general agreement among linguists that some distinction has to be drawn between lexical and grammatical meaning, to this day there is still a heated debate as to where such a boundary should be established. The relation between lexical and grammatical classes is defined in a number of different ways, not only by various linguistic schools but also by individuals within the same linguistic (e.g., generative, functional, cognitive) perspective. This problem is perhaps best summarized by Raimo Anttila who notes, "The distinction between grammar and lexicon is a well-established one, although the exact border is not clearcut."[48]

The distinction between grammatical and lexical classes adopted by students of grammaticalization is flexible enough to encompass most of the varying ideas of what constitutes the grammar and the lexicon in differing linguistic theories. This distinction is based on a set of semantic, pragmatic, and morphosyntactic criteria for a particular language, and it comes with an underlying assumption that in many instances a clear-cut division between grammar and lexicon is not possible. There are a number of reasons for this difficulty, but one of the most obvious—from a grammaticalization perspective—is the historical relatedness of the two classes. Grammaticalization relies on, what Donald Lessau

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48. Raimo Anttila, *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (2d ed.; CILT 6; New York: Macmillan, 1989), 149.

calls, "the openness of lexicon to grammar,"[49] in that grammatical classes are created out of lexical classes. In addition, a new grammatical meaning of a linguistic form often coexists with its lexical meaning for a long time. Every language seems to have many words and constructions which synchronically belong to the lexicon as well as to the grammar.[50]

From a certain point of view, there is no lexicon and no grammar, there is just language: one system. Yet to explain how language works, there is a strong descriptive need to make a distinction between the two. A useful distinction between lexical and grammatical classes is made by Leonard Talmy who views grammar and lexicon as two subsystems with "distinct semantic functions, ones that are indispensable and complementary."[51] In his account, the grammatical elements determine the *structure* of language, whereas the lexical elements contribute to its *content*. However, as it has been pointed out, it is best not to view these subsystems in a sharp dichotomy as two independent modules.[52]

In this work, *lexicon* is a collective label for all words and expressions with semantically idiosyncratic descriptive content. The units of language ascribed to the lexicon are called *lexical items* or *lexemes*. A lexical item can be a word or a larger (more-than-one-word) unit. In English, most nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs belong to the lexicon (e.g., bird, bread, thought, green, slowly, to walk). *Grammar* is made up of grammatical

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49. Lessau, *Dictionary of Grammaticalization*, 389.

50. Such ambiguity of membership between the two can be illustrated by the verb "go" that is a lexical verb in *I am going to the library* and an auxiliary verb in *it is going to rain*.

51. Leonard Talmy, *Concept Structuring System* (vol. 1 of *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*; Language, Speech, and Communication; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000), 19.

52. According to Ronald Langacker, "grammar and lexicon form a gradation instead of being sharply dichotomous." See Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 20.

morphemes (bound or free) and multimorpheme words and constructions that carry more abstract meaning. Their function is to signal grammatical relationships. Articles, determiners, pronouns, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, derivational and inflectional affixes are good examples of the members of grammar (e.g., the, this, her, -hood, un-, and).

Openness of membership is one of the most important criteria in distinguishing between the lexical and grammatical classes.[53] For example, a salient feature of grammar is that it resists new members. It is unusually difficult to introduce a new grammatical affix, a new article or a new preposition. The lexicon, on the other hand, readily accepts new members. New lexical items are created practically on a daily basis, and due to this constant expansion of the lexicon, they are called *open-class* category. Although grammar changes over time, it does not change or expand the way lexicon does. The changes that grammatical items undergo are hardly noticeable over a long period of time. And for this reason these items are considered *closed-class* category.[54] While lexicon indefinitely has many members, grammar has relatively few. On the basis of this openness distinction, grammaticalization can be viewed as a process whereby open-class lexical items gradually shift to a closed-class category.

Since most students of grammaticalization explore data drawn from many world languages and conceptualize their theories based on that research, it must be pointed out that open classes are universally attested across languages. For example, all studied languages

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53. Norbert Corver and Henk van Riemsdijk, eds., "Semi-Lexical Categories," in *Semi-Lexical Categories: The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words* (SGG 59; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2001), 1.

54. In Talmy's words, open-class category is "quite large and readily augmentable," whereas closed-class category is "relatively small and fixed in membership." See Talmy, *Concept Structuring System*, 20.

have nouns and verbs, and many have adjectives and/or adverbs. However, there is a greater

difference between languages when it comes to the *variety* and *number* of closed classes.

Schachter and Shopen argue that in spite of the cross-linguistic diversity in closed classes,

all languages without exception have both closed and open classes.[55]

Very often in linguistic literature, lexical items—on account of their semantically

idiosyncratic content—are called *content words*, whereas grammatical markers are known as

function words. A minor weakness of this terminology is the fact that "words" is exclusive

of affixes, or units larger than words. However, the terminology clearly distinguishes the

role of the two subsystems.[56] Grammatical units seem to have little independent meaning

and they assume their meaning only in relation to lexical items or, in other words, when they

assist the content words and expressions as function markers to form utterances.[57]

Lexical and grammatical meaning are also described by some students of

grammaticalization in terms of their semantic features with contrasting pairs such as:

full/empty, concrete/abstract.[58] The latter pair is particularly relevant for being used often as

one of the parameters of grammaticalization, that is, for checking the degree of concreteness

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55. Paul Schachter and Timothy Shopen, "Parts-of-Speech Systems," in *Clause Structure* (ed. Timothy Shopen; vol. 1 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 23.

56. This can be easily fixed by replacing "word" with "marker," or other more inclusive terms, when there is a need to refer to affixes and multi-word constructions.

57. Carl Bache and Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, *Mastering English: An Advanced Grammar for Non-Native and Native Speakers* (TiEL 22; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 35.

58. Meillet in his account of grammaticalization also called auxiliary words as "empty words." See Meillet, "L'évolution des formes," 141: ". . . des mots accessoires qu'on appelle souvent mot vides."

or abstractness in a grammaticalized unit. Lexical items are described as "full," that is, as if filled with "concrete" meaning, in contrast to grammatical classes that are viewed as "empty" and more "abstract." When a lexical element undergoes grammaticalization, it becomes more abstract in meaning. And when it becomes more grammaticalized, its new function can be described in terms of being semantically more abstract than the previous one. These are only conventional descriptions, metaphorical in nature, and caution is advised against too literal an interpretation. Many grammatical units are semantically "empty" in that they do not embody any concrete semantic content.[59] However, "empty" does not imply that a grammatical element's original lexical meaning was removed from it. Usually, the grammatical meaning of a function word can be diachronically traced back to its original lexical source. Therefore, it is best to view semantic changes in grammaticalization as a transformation of lexical source meaning into a more abstract grammatical function, rather than as a loss of the earlier meaning.

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59. The verb "do" in *She does go to school* is a good illustration of what is meant here by "empty." See Thomas E. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 84.

CHAPTER 3

METAPHOR AND METONYMY
A COGNITIVE APPROACH

In the previous chapter, a good portion of the theoretical framework for the present

analysis was provided in the explanation of grammaticalization as first understood by

Meillet and later elaborated by Kuryłowicz. Benveniste also contributed to the theory with

the concept of auxiliation. This chapter will further expand the conceptual framework with

the inclusion of recent advances in related linguistic theories, specifically the cognitive

notions of metaphor and metonymy. To a considerable extent, the analysis of the Hebrew

verbal hendiadys in terms of grammaticalization will be based on the insights offered by the

functional-cognitive model of grammaticalization proposed by Heine, Claudi, and

Hünnemeyer.[1] As one of the most popular theories of grammaticalization, it will be used as a

major point of reference. Their model highlights the analysis of the semantic and pragmatic

processes at work in the emergence of grammatical functions in terms of metonymic and

metaphorical relations. In the literature on grammaticalization, metaphor and metonymy are

generally regarded as the main mechanisms of semantic change at work in

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1. According to Evans and Green, the cognitive model of metaphorical extension is
the most widely adopted by researchers in grammaticalization studies, and the framework
proposed by Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer in 1991 is still considered the most
representative model. Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An
Introduction* (Mahwah, N.J.: Erlbaum, 2006), 714.

grammaticalization.[2]

It is not necessary to know all of the formulations of cognitive linguistics in order to understand this model of grammaticalization. However, a basic familiarity with the cognitive view of metaphor and metonymy will be crucial for this analysis. This chapter will introduce and explain the cognitive interpretation of metaphor and metonymy. This introduction will lay the necessary foundations for the next chapter that adapts metaphorical and metonymic processes for the analysis of pragmatic and semantic components of grammaticalization. The first section will provide some background information required for an accurate distinction between the traditional rhetoric and the recent cognitive view of these phenomena. The sections following it will present the cognitive notions of metaphor, embodied experience, metonymy, and the interaction between metaphorical and metonymic processing. An accurate understanding of the distinction between literal and nonliteral meanings presupposes any discussion of metaphor and metonymy and it will be offered at the end of this chapter, as it will be based on the earlier discussions found in the previous sections.

3.1 Preliminary to Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy

Both metaphor and metonymy are traditional notions, for centuries widely explored in rhetoric and philosophy.[3] Arguably, most people who know something about metaphor

2. Fischer and Rosenbach, "Introduction," 14.

3. Many cognitivists tend to consider advances in cognitive linguistics as absolute innovations; however, some cognitive ideas have been foreshadowed by a number of philosophers. Such discussion is beyond the scope of this work. We will focus on linguistic analysis and disregard philosophical implications (historical and present) underlying the discussed topics. For such discussion, see Olaf Jäkel, "Kant, Blumenberg, Weinrich: Some Forgotten Contributions to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor," in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics*

and metonymy have their knowledge shaped by their understanding in traditional rhetoric. Rhetoric has been a field of human inquiry for over two millennia and many rhetorical terms can be traced back to the works of Aristotle. The notions of metaphor and metonymy that are used in grammaticalization studies are not directly based on the traditional account, but on recently developed cognitive understanding of these phenomena. However, those familiar with the traditional view of figurative language and the rhetorical interpretation of figures of speech will notice how much the new cognitive understanding of metaphor and metonymy owes to their classical formulations. But cognitive linguists have offered an innovative perspective on metaphor and metonymy. The major contribution of cognitive linguistics, particularly through studies of figurative language, is to reveal the richness of the human imagination, usually treated as a peripheral phenomenon to human cognition. Cognitive linguists have described conceptualizations underlying metaphor and metonymy and have argued that those processes are central to the way we think; they are systematic, and they can be studied methodically.[4]

The most influential cognitive model of metaphor and metonymy is Conceptual Metaphor Theory that was first proposed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their pioneering book *Metaphors We Live By*.[5] Conceptual Metaphor Theory is perhaps the best known aspect of cognitive linguistics. This theory was further developed with contributions from many other scholars and is commonly known as the cognitive linguistic view of

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Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997 (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs and Gerard Steen; CILT 175; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 9–27.

4. Vyvyan Evans, *How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 281.

5. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

metaphor and metonymy. The model of grammaticalization in Heine et al. (1991) uses a modified version of Lakoff and Johnson's account, including its later developments.

3.2 Conceptual Metaphor

In the traditional account, metaphor was a figure of speech in which one thing was described in terms of another thing. This description usually involved two unlikely entities. For example, in the sentence "Achilles was a lion in the fight," the word "lion" is a good illustration of classical understanding of metaphor.[6] According to rhetoricians, metaphor could be found only in elevated language and notably in poetry. Its main purpose was artistic and ornamental: to increase the eloquency of a speech or text and to stimulate the readers' imagination. Consequently, metaphor was not considered an essential ingredient of everyday human communication, but a kind of special effect that we can do without. Moreover, it was a matter of words and phrases rather than action and thought.

This traditional theory was challenged by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980.[7] On the basis of their research, they concluded that metaphor is not just a stylistic feature of language, mainly used by very educated people, but it is an essential component of human language, used effortlessly by all people. They pointed to the ubiquity of figurative language and considered it a mirror that reflects metaphorical processing inherent in human cognition. Metaphor is a *conceptual* mechanism that enables us to understand the entities of one domain in terms of another. This interpretation of metaphor is based on the premises that our human cognition is conceptual, it is structured and organized into cognitive domains.

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6. This example is from Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2d ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), IX.

7. A summary of their observations can be found in Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 3–6.

Simplifying the highly complex notion of a *concept*, in our discussion we can think of it as a mental image of something. The notion of conceptual domains plays a crucial role in this theory. Domains can be understood as clusters of knowledge that pertain to a specific aspect of experience, like the domains of JOURNEY, LOVE, WAR, etc. Conventionally, domains in conceptual metaphors and metonymies are written in small capitals: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B), like the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Metaphor creates correspondences between two domains: a *source* domain and a *target* domain. Those correspondences or associations between the domains are called *cross-domain mappings*. Gilles Fauconnier defines mapping as "a correspondence between two sets that assigns to each element in the first a counterpart in the second."[8] Mappings are correspondences and associations between entities that are *mapped* from one domain *onto* another. "Map onto" is a technical term for "be associated with," "be thought in terms of."

Consequently, cognitive metaphor is a process of mapping that occurs from a source domain to a target domain. We use the pattern of one domain of experience in order to explain, describe and structure another domain of a different kind. In general, we project the pattern of one domain onto another in order to organize our *abstract* understanding in terms of *concrete* experience. In other words, such projections or mappings across domains are usually established from a concrete domain to a more abstract domain, resulting in more complex conceptual structures.[9]

For example, the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY involves the understanding of one domain of experience, love, in terms of a markedly different domain, a journey. Consider the

8. Gilles Fauconnier, *Mappings in Thought and Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

9. Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 286.

following illustrations:[10]

> We're at a *crossroads*. Our relationship has hit a *dead-end street*.
>
> Our relationship isn't *going anywhere*. Our relationship is *off the track*.

Metaphors are not a matter of arbitrary projections, but they are deeply rooted in our experience. This is known as the experiential motivation for metaphorical projections.[11] Metaphorical mappings across domains reflect our experience of the world (physical, psychological, spiritual, cultural, etc.), and at the same time they are constrained by that experience. Bearing this in mind, let us consider some additional conceptual metaphors encoded in our language, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980):

> THEORIES (and ARGUMENTS) ARE BUILDINGS (p. 46)
>
> Is that the *foundation* for your theory? The theory needs more *support*.
>
> The argument is *shaky*. The argument *collapsed*.
>
> We need some more facts or the argument will *fall apart*.

> AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY (p. 90)

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10. George Lakoff, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," in *Metaphor and Thought* (2d ed.; ed. Andrew Ortony; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 189–90. In their publication, Lakoff and Johnson italicized the linguistic expressions that reflect conceptual metaphors. As a common convention, conceptual metaphors are in uppercase.

11. Joseph Grady, "A Typology of Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor," in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs and Gerard Steen; CILT 175; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 81.

We have *set out* to prove that bats are birds.

When we *get to the next point*, we shall see that philosophy is dead.

We will *proceed* in a *step-by-step* fashion.

We have *arrived at* a disturbing conclusion.

LIFE IS A CONTAINER (p. 51)

I've had a *full* life. Life is *empty* for him.

Her life is *crammed* with activities. His life *contained* a great deal of sorrow.

In cognitive linguistics, metaphor is treated as a general conceptual mechanism, rather than as a specific linguistic expression. This is because a conceptual metaphor is usually not restricted to a single lexical unit, but it can be generalized over different expressions. Such generalizations can be summarized in overall statements like HAPPY IS UP, LOVE IS WAR. However, the best way to study conceptual metaphors is to look at language. Language is the most valuable source for exploring the metaphorical nature of our cognition even though we may not be able to infer all of the structural complexities and richness of non-linguistic mental representations solely on the basis of linguistic data.[12] In cognitive perspective, the study of metaphor is a two-way investigation, in the sense that it can be carried out from the linguistic expression of metaphor to conceptual metaphor, or the other way around: from conceptual metaphor to linguistic metaphor. This is possible because language reflects and reveals the workings of our mind and the way it categorizes our

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12. Daniel Casasanto, "When is a Linguistic Metaphor a Conceptual Metaphor?" in *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics* (ed. Vyvyan Evans and Stephanie Pourcel; HCP 24; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009), 127.

experience of the world through concepts. Conceptual processes find their linguistic representation, encoded in words and phrases.[13]

3.3 Embodied Experience

Our individual knowledge is grounded in our experience of the world. The most basic conceptual organization of our cognition comes from our *embodied experience*. This knowledge arises out of bodily interactions with the world. Much of our imagination and understanding have origins in this kind of experience.[14] Embodied experience entails that part of our experience in the world which is due to the unique nature of our physical bodies and bodily movements. Many parts of the body are exploited in metaphorical and metonymic comprehension. For example, in a collection of twelve thousand English idioms, over two thousand had to do with the human body.[15] We can consider:

> The *heart* of the problem. In the *heart* of the city.
>
> We need some *new blood* in the department.
>
> The *head* of the biology department.

The following quotations from the Hebrew Bible reveal the same cognitive processes rooted in the embodied experience:

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13. A step-by-step procedure for the move from linguistic to conceptual metaphor is proposed in Gerard Steen, "From Linguistic to Conceptual Metaphor in Five Steps," in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the Fifth International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, July 1997* (ed. Raymond W. Gibbs and Gerard Steen; CILT 175; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 57-77.

14. Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 18.

15. Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 18.

Exodus 19:20

וַיִּקְרָ֨א יְהוָ֧ה לְמֹשֶׁ֛ה אֶל־רֹ֥אשׁ הָהָ֖ר וַיַּ֥עַל מֹשֶֽׁה׃

The LORD summoned Moses to the *head* (i.e., top) of the mountain, and Moses went up.

Genesis 29:2

וְהָאֶ֥בֶן גְּדֹלָ֖ה עַל־פִּ֥י הַבְּאֵֽר׃

Now the stone on the *mouth* (i.e., opening) of the well was large.

Cognitive scholars have shown the crucial role of the embodied experience in human conceptualization and in the emergence of metaphorical meaning in languages and cultures around the world. In other words, a significant part of our concepts reflect our bodily experience of space and our orientation in space. Of critical importance are the so-called *orientational metaphors* that provide a spatial orientation to our concepts: up-down, in-out, front-back, or central-peripheral. According to Lakoff and Johnson, "these spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment."[16] We can consider the following metaphors with illustrations:

HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN
He has a *lofty* position. She'll *rise* to the *top*. He's at the *peak* of his career.
He's at the *bottom* of the social hierarchy. She *fell* in status.

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16. Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 14.

VIRTUE IS UP; DEPRAVITY IS DOWN

She has *high* standards. She is *upright*. She is an *upstanding* citizen.

That was a *low* trick. That would be *beneath* me. He *fell* into the *abyss* of depravity.

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm feeling *up*. My spirit *rose*. You're in *high* spirits.

I'm feeling *down*. My spirits *sank*.[17]

This last imagery has a physical basis in that happiness and related emotions are usually experienced in erect posture, whereas drooping posture is a typical way we express sadness and depression. In Biblical Hebrew, there are also similar metaphors that are grounded in our bodily experience.

Genesis 4:5

וְאֶל־קַ֥יִן וְאֶל־מִנְחָת֖וֹ לֹ֣א שָׁעָ֑ה וַיִּ֤חַר לְקַ֙יִן֙ מְאֹ֔ד וַֽיִּפְּל֖וּ פָּנָֽיו׃

But on Cain and his offering he did not look with favor. So Cain was very angry, and his face fell.

Genesis 40:20

בְּע֣וֹד ׀ שְׁלֹ֣שֶׁת יָמִ֗ים יִשָּׂ֤א פַרְעֹה֙ אֶת־רֹאשֶׁ֔ךָ וַהֲשִֽׁיבְךָ֖ עַל־כַּנֶּ֑ךָ

In three days Pharaoh will lift up your head and restore you to your office.

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17. Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 15–16.

In Gen 4:5 Cain's face falls as a reaction to frustration, with the verb נָפַל 'fall' that can have its literal reading and its contextual metaphorical connotation. In Gen 40:13, the expression נָשָׂא אֶת־רֹאשׁ 'to lift up the head of' is a metaphorical expression for 'to deal kindly with' that could convey the idea of consolation, promotion, or restoration to grace, depending on the context. In Gen 40:13.20 and 2 Kgs 25:27, it is used as a sign of pardon and release from jail.

A notion of embodied experience, similar to the way it is understood in cognitive linguistics, is marginally mentioned, though not in cognitive terms, in Waltke and O'Connor. In their presentation of prepositions, they notice: "There is a derived sense, arising from the basic geography of the body in Hebrew."[18] Specifically, they mean the use of יָמִין the 'right side' of the body (which includes, and usually means, 'right hand') for 'south' and אַחַר 'back'[19] used for 'west.'

"Geography of the body" is encoded in Biblical Hebrew a lot, not only in the terms of geographical orientation. It is also encoded in its lexicon and its grammar. The notion of embodied experience is relevant for grammaticalization because in many, perhaps most languages, body parts, as well as basic body postures and movements, are grammaticalized into grammatical markers. It is possible to say that many grammatical concepts "emerge" from our body and its elementary postures. Below I will provide several instances of such grammaticalization in Hebrew.

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18. Waltke and O'Connor, *Introduction*, 192–93.

19. I used the word 'back' rather than 'behind' for אַחַר, as it is in Waltke and O'Connor, considering that we discuss body parts. The locative preposition 'behind' is derivative of 'back.' See Joüon and Muraoka §103a.

The grammaticalized use of אַף 'nose,' a body part recruited for a grammatical marker, can be seen in the following:

1 Samuel 25:23

וַתְּמַהֵר וַתֵּרֶד מֵעַל הַחֲמוֹר וַתִּפֹּל לְאַפֵּי דָוִד עַל־פָּנֶיהָ וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ

She quickly got off her donkey, fell before David on her face and prostrated herself.

לְאַפֵּי is here an illustration of grammaticalized use of אַף as a locative preposition 'before,' 'in front of.' Probably the extended meaning of אַף 'nose,' usually in its dual form אַפַּיִם, underwent grammaticalization, similar to that of פָּנִים 'face.' In 1 Sam 25:23, the choice of this rare preposition לְאַפֵּי, instead of the extremely common לְפְנֵי with the same meaning, may have been dictated by a stylistic reason or due to a regional variation.

In Hebrew, אַחַר evolved from the noun אחר* 'back' to the locative preposition 'behind' and later it expanded its function to the temporal and relational preposition 'after.' Apart from אַחַר, the use of body parts was more common in combination with simple prepositions like בְּ 'in,' לְ 'to, for' or עַל 'on' whose meaning in many instances can be vague or ambiguous. The addition of a body part to these prepositions contributed, among other things, to a semantically more specific function. In such prepositional constructions the names for body parts were grammaticalized. This process resulted in a number of complex prepositions. We can think of the development of לְפְנֵי 'in front of,' 'before' (locative and temporal) that originated from פָּנִים 'face,' or כְּפִי 'according to' that evolved from פֶּה 'mouth.' Or we can think of the relational richness of prepositions formed out of יָד 'hand,'like בְּיַד, מִיַּד, or תַּחַת יַד, and the use of תוֹך, possibly a loanword from Hittite *tuekka* 'body' (see *HALOT* 1697), in בְּתוֹך 'in (the middle of).' On the basis of his research in many

African languages, Heine points out that the human body is a conceptually rich domain which is often used as a source domain for numerous other domains, and is a common "conceptual template" for various grammatical categories.[20]

3.4 Conceptual Metonymy

Unlike metaphor, the traditional rhetorical description of metonymy was much closer to its present cognitive interpretation because it frequently described metonymy in conceptual terms like CAUSE FOR EFFECT, EFFECT FOR CAUSE, CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS, etc. But metonymy was still regarded as a matter of language rather than a cognitive process. This is reflected in the standard definition, such as the one found in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary*, where metonymy is "a figure of speech that consists in using the name of one thing for that of something else with which it is associated."[21] Lakoff and Johnson pointed out that metonymy is a conceptual phenomenon and a cognitive process. It functions actively in our everyday thinking and, like metaphor, it is grounded in our experience.[22] Before we uncover further details of conceptual metonymy, let us consider a few linguistic metonymic expressions:[23]

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20. Bernd Heine, *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 18.

21. This quotation is from Günter Radden and Zoltán Kövecses, "Towards a Theory of Metonymy," in *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden; HCP 4; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 17.

22. Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 36–37.

23. In the following sets of illustration, (a) is based on Lakoff and Johnson's work, (b) and (c) are Kövecses' explanatory illustration. All three sets are from quoted from Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 171–72.

(a)   I'm reading *Shakespeare*.

America doesn't want another *Pearl Harbor*.

Washington is negotiating with *Moscow*.

The italicized expressions in (a) are a figurative use of language in that they do not refer to what we could associate with their literal senses. They are based on, and reflect, metonymic processing. Below, in (b), the same linguistic expressions appear in their conventional, non-metonymic applications:

(b)   Shakespeare was a literary genius.

We travelled to Pearl Harbor last year.

Washington is the capital of the United States.

The paraphrases of metonymic expressions of set (a) can be as follows in (c):

(c)   I'm reading *one of Shakespeare's works*.

America doesn't want another *major defeat in war*.

The American government is negotiating with *the Russian government*.

The above examples illustrate how in metonymy we use one entity (*Pearl Harbor*, *Shakespeare)* to point to another entity (*defeat in war*, *one of Shakespeare's works*). From a cognitive point of view, through metonymy we mentally access one conceptual entity by way

of another.[24] Rather than mentioning one entity directly by its name, we refer to it via another entity. However, metonymy is not a simple substitution of one entity for another. In metonymy, two unrelated entities are viewed as interrelated, and this new relation creates a new complex meaning. For example, in *I like Chopin*, we do not mean that we like music in general, but specific music composed by Chopin.[25] Consider the following illustrations of conceptual metonymy, organized according to their relations underlying them:[26]

PART FOR WHOLE

We need some *new faces* around here.

The Giants need a *stronger arm* in right field.

PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT

He bought a *Ford*.

I hate to read *Heidegger*.

CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED

Nixon bombed Hanoi

Napoleon lost at Waterloo.

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24. Radden and Kövecses, "Towards a Theory," 19.

25. Beatrice Warren, "Aspects of Referential Metonymy," in *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden; HCP 4; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1999), 128.

26. The illustrations are from Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 36–38.

OBJECT USED FOR USER

The *buses* are on strike.

We need a better *glove* at third base.

INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE

Exxon has raised its price.

You'll never get the *university* to agree to that.

PLACE FOR INSTITUTION

Wall Street is in panic.

Hollywood isn't what it used to be.

PLACE FOR EVENT

Let's not let Thailand become another *Vietnam*.

Watergate changed our politics.

In metonymy, through an established relation between two entities, we indicate one entity (called *vehicle*)[27] in place of another entity (*target*), and by doing so we refer to the target entity by pointing to its specific qualities, features, and various contextual associations. Therefore, in a metonymic operation we elaborate the meaning of the source or vehicle entity to picture the target in a particular way. For example, in the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, there are many parts that can stand for the whole and the choice of a specific part will be dictated by the characteristic of the whole we want to focus on.

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27. Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 173.

Metaphor and metonymy are two different kinds of cognitive processes. In metaphor, we understand one entity in terms of another and it involves *two different domains*. Metonymy, on the other hand, involves conceptualizations that happen *within the same domain*.[28] Metaphor is based on similarity, and metonymy is based on contiguity. In other words, by metonymy we can understand any association based on contiguity, in contrast to those associations based on similarity.[29] Therefore, the traditional view that in metonymy two entities are contiguously related is maintained and given a cognitive formulation of *a-single-domain* relation.

The entities related in metaphor are conceived as being distant from each other in our conceptual system even though their relation is based on similarity. This conceptual distance can be accounted for by the fact that one domain is usually concrete (the source domain) whereas the other (the target domain) is abstract. For example, in the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, the concrete domain of travelling is exploited to depict relations in love which is an abstract, and conceptually distant, domain. However, the entities related metonymically are conceived as close to each other in our conceptual system. For example, the producer of a book is related to its product, and both the producer and the product are closely related to the place where the production took place. In our conceptual world, they belong to one domain because, as Kövecses notes, "all of these form a coherent whole in our experience of

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28. Dirk Geeraerts, "Introduction: A Rough Guide to Cognitive Linguistics," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (ed. Dirk Geeraerts; CLR 34; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 13.

29. Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn, "Semantic Extensions Into the Domain of Verbal Communication," in *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics* (ed. Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn; CILT 50; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1988), 521.

the world as they co-occur repeatedly."[30]

Metonymy is grounded in our experience of, and knowledge about, space and time, cause and effect, part and whole. However, it seems that only people who share the same socio-cultural experience, can easily understand their metonymies. One of the most famous metonymies discussed by cognitivists is "ham sandwich," as in: *Your ham sandwich spilled coffee on his shirt*. At first, it may be difficult to see its metonymic relation out of context. In many restaurants, waiters speak about their customers using the name of the food they order.

The cognitive model of metonymy includes the traditional notion of synecdoche whereby a part stands for the whole or the whole for the part.[31] For example, if someone asks an employee at a gas station "Please, fill up my car," he does not mean to fill up the entire vehicle with fuel, but only the gas tank. The name of the whole comes to stand for the part.

Metonymy can be *referential* in that in a metonymic relation one entity points to another entity in a particular way. The two entities are experienced together and viewed as conceptually contiguous. We need to focus on the notion of contiguity in metonymic relation because it plays a strategic role in grammaticalization in that it establishes the link between cognitive and pragmatic forces that activate grammaticalization. *Contiguity* is to be understood here broadly, as "any associative relations other than those based on similarity."[32] The relation in metonymy can be of various kinds: spatial, temporal, causal,

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30. Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 173.

31. Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 36–37.

32. Stephen Ullmann, *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967), 212. Ullmann's account of contiguity was applied to cognitive view of metonymy by Brygida Rudzka-Ostyn and through her articles became influential in cognitive linguists. According to Rudzka-Ostyn, contiguity covers "the

and logical, including contiguity (of words and constructions) in the utterance. Ullmann

points out that in metonymies based on temporal relations (temporal contiguity), the name of

an event or activity can be transferred to something immediately preceding or following it.

For example, the Latin word *vigilia* means 'a watch,' one of the four parts into which the

Romans divided the night, like *prima vigilia* 'the first watch.' This meaning was maintained

in the French word *veille*, but its meaning was also expanded to include 'day before,

preceding day.' As an illustration of spatial contiguity, we can indicate the Latin word *coxa*

'hip' that evolved to mean 'thigh' in French *cuisse* and in Italian *coscia*. Hip and thigh are

two spatially contiguous parts of the body and there is no clear boundary between them.[33]

This shift in meaning can be explained by metonymic relation between the two adjacent

parts and subsequent metonymically-motivated transfer of meaning. A similar metonymic

expansion of meaning can be observed in the Hebrew word אַף 'nose' that in 14 occurrences

seems to mean 'face.' The nose is a part of the human face and a very characteristic

component. If we want to define the face, we can indicate that it is the area around the nose.

When people prostrate themselves in the Bible, it is the nose—a protruding element of the

face—that touches the ground, as in the following:

1 Sam 24:9

וַיִּקֹּד דָּוִד אַפַּיִם אַרְצָה וַיִּשְׁתָּחוּ

David bowed with his face to the ground and prostrated himself.

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relationships holding between objects and their locations, producers and products (e.g. speakers and their utterances), causes and effects, etc., but also between parts and wholes as well as wholes and parts." Rudzka-Ostyn, "Semantic Extensions," 521.

33. Ullmann, *Semantics*, 218.

Metonymy is usually understood in terms of associations that establish conceptual contiguity between two entities in the extralinguistic world, which ultimately is reflected in language. However, metonymy can also be based on contiguity in the linguistic world, evolving from associations that arise in the linguistic context of an utterance. In grammaticalization studies, such a metonymic relation is considered one of the causal mechanisms in the formation of grammatical functions. Contiguity in the utterance usually means contiguity between two linguistic elements. This contiguity can be manifested as adjacency, that is, as contiguity between adjacent elements.[34] However, contiguity in the utterance does not imply that the two elements occur juxtaposed one after the other. They may be in close proximity, separated by a short phrase or even a sequence of phrases. We can understand contiguity in the utterance as a frequent co-occurrence of two independent and unrelated linguistic units in syntagmatic proximity, which leads to their reinterpretation. When contiguity in the utterance gives rise to a new interpretation whereby two independent linguistic units are read as interrelated semantically and structurally, this marks the beginning of a metonymic relationship or a shift from contiguity in the utterance to *conceptual contiguity*. "Conceptual" indicates that the new understanding is already established conceptually by language users but not yet reflected in language as a standard or conventional meaning.

Two independent units that are contiguous can be reinterpreted—through pragmatic manipulation and through metonymic processing—and merged semantically and syntactically to gradually form a new unit. Moreover, after this new unit is well established,

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34. Mario Brdar, "Metonymies we Live Without," in *Metonymy and Metaphor in Grammar* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther et al.; HCP 25; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009), 260.

in the course of time one element can take over the role of the whole construction. This process can be interpreted as PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

In post-biblical Hebrew, the development of the noun דָּבָר 'word' into the negative marker 'nothing' can be explained via contiguity in utterance and metonymic processing. In a simplified way, the semantic development of דָּבָר can be presented as follows:

word > thing/matter > nothing

Without entering into the details of this development, we can assume that the meaning of דָּבָר 'word' metonymically developed to mean 'thing' or 'matter' in the sense that 'word' is said to describe or identify things, objects, situations. When דָּבָר expanded its semantic range to mean 'thing,' occasionally it was used to reinforce the negation, as in the following:

Exodus 9:4

וְהִפְלָה יְהֹוָה בֵּין מִקְנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבֵין מִקְנֵה מִצְרָיִם וְלֹא יָמוּת מִכָּל־לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל דָּבָר׃

The LORD will make a distinction between the livestock of Israel and the livestock of Egypt, and nothing (lit., not a thing) shall die of all that belongs to the Israelites.

Isaiah 39:2

לֹא־הָיָה דָבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הֶרְאָם חִזְקִיָּהוּ בְּבֵיתוֹ וּבְכָל־מֶמְשַׁלְתּוֹ׃

There was nothing (lit., not a thing) in his house or in all his realm that Hezekiah did not show them.

In biblical Hebrew, דָּבָר cannot be considered a fully developed negative marker 'nothing.'

דָּבָר was used to reinforce negation and, as a reinforcer, it always accompanied by the negative marker לֹא. Without לֹא, it would have not been possible to use דָּבָר for negation. But דָּבָר already started to be strongly associated with forces of negation, and this process continued in Rabbinic Hebrew. In formal modern Hebrew, דָּבָר is considered a negative marker 'nothing' and it can be used both with לֹא or on its own without לֹא. In colloquial language, it is used with שׁוּם,[35] that is: שׁוּם דָּבָר 'nothing.'[36]

Due to the importance of metonymy in grammaticalization, and specifically the assignment of a greater role to metonymy in the grammaticalization framework for this dissertation, it needs to be mentioned that in 1980 Lakoff and Johnson focused mostly on the analysis of metaphor even though they also explicitly stressed the importance of metonymy as a different kind of cognitive process. However, the study of metonymy in their 1980 book occupies a relatively marginal place: just a six-page long chapter. The title of their book *The Metaphors We Live By* and the name given to the theory, "Conceptual Metaphor" rather than "Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy," can be considered characteristic of the developments that followed. Consequently, in the eighties metaphor was given an overriding importance and considered the most creative cognitive process, whereas metonymy was regarded as a "minor process of association of the one with the other."[37] In late eighties,

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35. שׁוּם 'garlic' is an example of a lexical words that was grammaticalized into a reinforcer of negation.

36. Lewis Glinert, *Modern Hebrew: An Essential Grammar* (3d ed.; New York: Routledge, 2005), 156.

37. René Dirven, "Metaphor as a Basic Means for Extending Meaning," in *The Ubiquity of Metaphor: Metaphor in Language and Thought* (ed. Wolf Paprotté and René Dirven; CILT 29; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985), 98. Both the title of this collection of papers and the title of Dirven's article are very indicative of that early trend. Conversely, in 2002, Dirven points to the "ubiquitous presence and role of metonymy and, in a great many

scholars started to redress the balance between metaphor and metonymy. The role of metonymy was gradually shown to be much more prominent than it had been thought, and as relevant as that of metaphor. Metonymy is now thought by a number of scholars to be arguably an even more basic conceptual strategy to language and cognition than metaphor.[38]

3.5 Metaphor and Metonymy in Interaction

Cognitive linguists consider metaphor and metonymy to be processes that provide much structure to the human conceptual system. Theoretically, metaphor and metonymy may be two clearly distinct phenomena, but in actual usage the line between the two might not always be easy to draw. In 1990, Goossens convincingly demonstrated how metaphor and metonymy interact and frequently depend on each other. Specifically, he showed how metonymy can be embedded in metaphor ("metonymy within metaphor"), or how metonymy can give rise to metaphor ("metaphor from metonymy"). Goossens uses *metaphtonymy* as a cover term for any blending of metaphor and metonymy.[39]

The understanding of the interaction between metaphorical and metonymic conceptual strategies has great relevance for grammaticalization. For example, many outputs of grammaticalization that synchronically can be accounted for as a result of metaphorical

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cases, its strong links with metaphor." René Dirven, "Introduction," in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (ed. René Dirven and Ralf Pörings; CLR 20; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 37.

38. Antonio Barcelona, "Introduction: The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy," in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective* (ed. Antonio Barcelona; TiEL 30; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 4.

39. Louis Goossens, "Metaphtonymy: The Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Figurative Expressions for Linguistic Action," in *By Word of Mouth: Metaphor, Metonymy and Linguistic Action in a Cognitive Perspective* (ed. Louis Goossens et al.; P&B, n.s., 33; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), 159–204.

transfer from one domain to the other started with pragmatic motivations (conversational implicatures) leading to metonymic processes. In other words, many grammaticalization changes that ultimately can be explained in terms of metaphor were at earlier stages strongly motivated by metonymy.[40] As we will see in the course of this study, some Hebrew auxiliary verbs are typical cases of such developments. In this section, I will first present a pattern of "metonymy within metaphor" based on Goossens' studies. In addition, I will show how in Biblical Hebrew metaphor can contribute to a rise of metonymy and how, subsequently, this metonymy can become a basis for new metaphorical projections.

As an illustration of an interplay between metaphor and metonymy, we can consider the informal expression *bite one's tongue off*, as in the sentence: "I should bite my tongue off." This is an example of metonymy embedded in metaphor. In its transferred or nonliteral meaning, this phrase is used to express regret for what one has just said. The tongue is used here metonymically for the speech faculty, a category of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy. An imagined mutilation of the tongue and subsequent disability to speak express the idea of self-punishment. The idiom *bite one's tongue off* expresses the a regret for having said something inappropriate. According to Goossens, 'tongue' is a shared element that bridges the gap between the source and target domains of this metaphor: it is used *literally* in the source domain but *metaphorically* in the target domain.[41]

The following analysis of the Hebrew word אַף 'nose' will further advance our understanding of interaction between metaphor and metonymy, by highlighting the frequent interdependence of the two processes, based on the embodied experience as seen in the Hebrew Bible. In Biblical Hebrew, the word for *nose* אַף is used more often with its

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40. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 73.

41. See Goossens, "Metaphtonymy," 169–70.

figurative meaning 'anger' than its literal meaning 'nose.' Out of 276 occurrences, 190 are used figuratively for 'anger.' The dictionaries, BDB (p. 60) and *HALOT* (p. 76) give a lot of information about the occurrences of אַף and its morphosyntactic constructions. However, there is little explanation for how the word *nose* came to mean 'anger.' Sometimes such apparently arbitrary changes in meaning may be explained by scholars as "idiomatic meanings." In many such instances of semantic change, cognitive semantics and the knowledge of conceptual metaphor and metonymy can help us in pointing to the mechanisms that triggered those changes and describe their motivations (semantic, pragmatic, cultural).

Ancient Israelites conceptualized anger as heat. The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT is common in many cultures.[42] All languages have numerous phrases that express human emotions with the imagery of body parts and their physiology. This imagery is based on the traditional understanding of the human body and its functions. Such popular culture-specific intuitions that give rise to numerous expressions in every language, ancient and modern, are known as folk theory or folk opinions. (These terms are not intended to stress the prescientific or nonscientific origin of those intuitions, but to distinguish them from opinions informed by modern medicine and psychology). The conceptualization of anger as heat in the body can be illustrated as follows:

Exodus 22:23

וְחָרָה אַפִּי וְהָרַגְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בֶּחָרֶב

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42. George Lakoff and Zoltán Kövecses, "The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English," in *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* (ed. Dorothy C. Holland and Naomi Quinn; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 196–97.

My anger will be kindled (lit. my nose will turn hot) and I will kill you with the sword.

In English, as it is in Hebrew, hot temperature is considered one of the effects caused by anger. In popular imagery, more anger means a higher body temperature. With diminished anger, the body temperature goes down. This is an example of the metonymy PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION,[43] which is a subcategory of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy, whereby heat is caused by anger. For this reason, in Hebrew חָרָה 'become hot' is frequently used metaphorically for 'become angry.' In English, the head is viewed as one of body parts in which the physiological effects of anger and related emotions are felt the most. This is why we say that someone who gets angry easily is a *hothead* or a *hotheaded* person. In Hebrew, however, it is the nose that is strongly associated with the physiological effects of anger. According to popular belief, the nose was considered the part of the body where anger accumulates and, eventually, dissipates through the nose, leaving the body with breathing. For example, someone who is called "long nostrils" or "long-nosed" as אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם in Exod 34:6 or Prov. 15:18 (lit., 'long of nostrils,' which is the so-called *epexegetic genitive* construction),[44] is metaphorically said to be 'patient' or 'slow to anger.' In this imagery, a person who has long nostrils dissipates the heat of anger quickly and therefore takes longer to get angry. Conversely, someone who is called "short nostrils" or "short-nosed," as in Prov. 14:17 קְצַר־אַפַּיִם (lit., 'short of nostrils'), is

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43. Agnieszka Mikolajczuk, "The Metonymic and Mataphorical Conceptualization of *Anger* in Polish," in *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (ed. Angeliki Athanasiadou and Elżbieta Tabakowska; CLR 10; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 162.

44. Waltke and O'Connor, *Introduction*, 151.

seen as 'impatient' or 'quick to anger.' In Ezek 38:18, there is a phrase that might elucidate the Hebrew concept of anger. However, the explanatory value of this phrase needs to be appreciated with caution due to the text-critical problems inherent in this verse.

Ezekiel 38:18

וְהָיָה֙ בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֔וּא בְּי֛וֹם בּ֥וֹא ג֖וֹג עַל־אַדְמַ֣ת יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל נְאֻ֖ם אֲדֹנָ֣י יְהוִ֑ה תַּעֲלֶ֥ה חֲמָתִ֖י בְּאַפִּֽי

On that day, when Gog comes against the land of Israel, says the Lord GOD, my wrath (lit., my heat) shall rise into (or: through) my nose.

This citation, along with the earlier one from Exod 22:23, indicates a strong association of anger with a hot temperature in the body and in the nose. This accounts for how 'nose' metonymically came to mean 'anger.' This shift belongs to PLACE FOR THE EVENT category of metonymy in which a place takes the name of the action, activity, state or event that occurred there. In imitation of English, we could coin *hotnose*, more appropriately for the Hebrew conceptualization of anger, and call a *hotnosed* person someone who gets angry easily, like in the case of אִישׁ־אַף in Prov. 29:22.

The analysis of אַף and of the common expressions in which it appears reveal the complexities of metaphorical and metonymic processes in interaction. The shift from אַף 'nose' to 'anger' was only possible due to the culture-specific metaphor HEAT IS ANGER. But the very meaning of 'anger' is a result of the metonymic shift whereby LOCATION STANDS FOR ACTIVITY. After אַף had come to mean 'anger,' this metonymic meaning enabled the formation of phrases like אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם or קְצַר־אַפַּיִם which are based on metonymy but also on metaphorical cross-domain mapping. In other words, these phrases are metaphors with metonymic basis. They are not used in their literal reading, in reference to the length of

someone's nose, but as a characterization of someone's behavior in terms of patience or impatience. In this case, metaphor is preceded by metonymy and grounded in it.

In English, we can also think of the metaphorical use of "head," as in the common expressions: the head waiter, the head of the family, or the head of the department. We use "head" metaphorically about the most important or leading person in a group or organization. But this metaphorical transfer has a metonymic basis. It is based on a metonymic extension that occurred earlier. Since we imagine the center of reasoning and thinking to be localized in the human head, "head," as PLACE FOR ACTIVITY metonymy, represents the idea of leadership in that it is seen as a leading part of the body, the one that governs the whole.

Two entities or two events that are experienced together and seen as conceptually contiguous can give rise to a metonymic relationship. To further illustrate the interaction of metaphor and metonymy, we will introduce two phenomena of a metonymic nature: correlation and implicature. Both correlation and implicature rely on conceptual contiguity and often constitute the metonymic basis of metaphorical developments.

The correlation of quantity and verticality in the MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN metaphor offers a good example of conceptual contiguity and metonymic relation as a basis for metaphor.[45] In metonymic relation, the two entities can be correlated in the sense that changes in one entity trigger changes in the other. Such correlation can give rise not only to metonymies, but also to metaphors (the so-called metonymy-motivated metaphors). For example, the metaphor MORE IS UP or LESS IS DOWN is based on the metonymic correlation of quantity and verticality**.** In our experience, when we add more and more books to those

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45. Günter Radden, "How Metonymic Are Metaphors?" in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (ed. René Dirven and Ralf Pörings; CLR 20; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 413–14.

lying on a floor, we notice that the pile grows up. With increased quantity, the verticality goes up. When quantity decreases, the verticality goes down. This experience applies practically to any physical entities. That is why, quantity and verticality are correlated in our experience.

Another major metonymic source of metaphor is the process of *conversational implicature*. Implicatures are associated with pragmatic forces arising in the contextual use of language and regarded as responsible for many changes in the lexicon and in the grammar. Grammaticalization provides a rich variety of metaphors emerging from pragmatics of a situation with metonymic imprint.[46] Context-induced implicatures are often motivated by metonymic relations. Implicatures invite language users to new interpretations, known as *context-induced reinterpretations*, of linguistic structures and their meanings. If new interpretations gradually become conventionalized by pragmatic strengthening, this will result in new meanings, functions and structures.

The metaphor THE FUTURE IS FORWARD MOTION can synchronically account for the grammaticalization of 'be going to' as a future marker, as in the following:

She is going to have a baby. It is going to happen next week.

It is going to rain. He is going to write a letter. I am going to go to bed.

In these illustrations, the fact of being in the motion is projected onto a temporal domain of future. In other words, future events are metaphorically portrayed as being "on the way." Although it cannot be ruled out that such metaphorical transfer was at work already in the early stages in the grammaticalization of 'be going,' at a cognitive level this process was

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46. Radden, "How Metonymic," 418.

triggered by metonymic rather than metaphorical processing. Later, we will discuss the formal aspects of this process at a greater length. At this juncture, this somewhat simplified account of the development of 'be going' into a future marker is to offer an important clue about how metonymic motivation can stand behind metaphorization in the emergence of grammatical functions.

In English, the verb 'be going' denoted a physical motion through space and it implied going *to* somewhere, as in "I am going to town." There was a destination to reach. This physical motion and its destination were strongly associated with each other, conceptually (in terms of contingency) and linguistically (at a syntagmatic and semantic level). In addition, the event of going somewhere implied, among other things, that the destination would be reached later, in the time that belonged to the future. Radden notes that a conventional meaning of a construction and its meaning conversationally implicated[47] are part of the same domain: they are conceptually contiguous and form a metonymic relationship.[48]

When 'be going' started to be used with infinitival phrases 'to + infinitive' in place of the prepositional phrase 'to + place,' it marked the introduction of a construction that had a strong potential for a broader interpretation. It could express more explicitly the purpose and intention of doing something. The relation between 'be going' and the activity expressed by 'to + infinitive' was metonymic, due to being contiguous both conceptually and structurally in the utterance.[49]

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47. Meaning inferred through conversational implicature is a meaning that is context-bound and it is not a part of the conventional meaning of a word or a phrase.

48. Radden, "How Metonymic," 419.

49. For a more detailed account of the grammaticalization of 'be going' in terms of

3.6 Literal and Nonliteral Meaning in Language

In spite of the differences between metaphor and metonymy, according to Dirven they are essentially similar in that they are both associative processes which exclude literal reading.[50] The interpretation of metaphor and metonymy usually has been formulated in terms of the differences between the *literal* and *nonliteral* meanings of words and constructions. Scholars agree that the contrast between literal and figurative use is not ordinarily problematic at the everyday level. If we hear *Mark looked so surprised, his eyes nearly popped out of his head*, we know that Mark was not about to lose his eyes literally. On closer examination, though, it might prove difficult to tell the difference between literal and figurative meaning. The traditional distinction between literal and nonliteral language has been greatly criticized. However, it still proves very useful so long as the recent criticism is taken into account. An accurate understanding of these terms is very important for our discussion of changes in grammaticalization and requires some comment.

The frequently used adjective "metaphorical" is used in two ways. The first is in its narrow sense, used in reference to metaphors, with the exclusion of other terms like metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole, etc. The second is in its broader sense, whereby "metaphorical" means any kind of transferred language including all other rhetorical terms. In this broader meaning, it is often used interchangeably with "figurative." In this study, only the narrower sense of "metaphorical" will be used**.**

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metaphorical transfer motivated metonymically, see Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 70–71 and Radden, "How Metonymic," 418–19.

50. René Dirven, "Metaphor as a Basic Means for Extending Meaning," in *The Ubiquity of Metaphor: Metaphor in Language and Thought* (ed. Wolf Paprotté and René Dirven; CILT 29; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985), 98–100.

The nonliteral meaning is most commonly known as the *figurative* meaning or, less commonly, as the *transferred* meaning. In my view, in the discussion of figurative language it is best to avoid - or use with the utmost caution - such terms as main, basic, primary or original meaning because some users of a language may interpret the literal meaning of a word as its primary meaning, and the figurative meaning as the derivative of the literal. But for others, the primary meaning of a word might be the one used most frequently, regardless of its literal or figurative nature. For these reasons, the distinction between the literal and the nonliteral cannot be based on the frequency of use. As Cruse points out, two of the common senses of the verb 'see' are "have a visual experience," which is a literal meaning, and "understand" (as in *Do you see what I mean?*), which is a figurative meaning.[51] The literal meaning of 'see' implies the use of the eyes. The figurative meaning, on the other hand, is a transferred meaning, an extension of the literal sense. Statistically, this figurative reading of 'see' has a greater text frequency than the literal reading. In Hebrew, חֵמָה with its 123 occurrences is a common noun for 'wrath,' 'rage,' which are clearly figurative senses derived from its literal meaning 'heat' (from the root חמם 'be hot'). Since the heat in the body was considered a physiological effect caused by strong anger, by way of a metonymic transfer, חֵמָה came to mean 'rage' (EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy). In its literal meaning חֵמָה does not appear more than a few times. This may be due to the fact that in Hebrew there were other words for heat, whereas חֵמָה became strongly associated with the notion of rage. Diachronically, however, on the basis of available evidence, it is legitimate to consider 'heat' as literal and 'rage' as figurative. Therefore, literalness cannot be accounted for by frequency of use.

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51. D. Alan Cruse, *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics* (2d ed.; Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 195.

Original meaning, on the other hand, is usually associated with the oldest traceable meaning of a word, often accounted by its etymology, but it can also be used in reference to any meaning, old or new, that is considered a source that gave rise to a new meaning. Since the primary meaning and the original meaning can be interpreted as literal or figurative, depending on a specific case, they do not prove useful in the analysis of metaphorically and metonymically motivated changes.

The discussion of the following illustrations will show the interaction between literal and figurative uses as well as an interplay of semantic and pragmatic forces in this process. The changes that will be described are similar to those that occur in grammaticalization. We all have intuition about what is a literal meaning of a word and what is its figurative meaning. When we use language, we use it naturally, unaware of its grammatical structures or of the distinctions between the literal and figurative uses of the language. Let us consider the following sentence:

When we got back to camp after climbing all day long, I literally *died* of exhaustion.

While hearing or reading a statement like this, we automatically assume that the person who relays his or her experience is still alive. The verb 'die' is used in its figurative rather than literal meaning, and 'literally' is used as a marker of emphasis, which is one of its common uses. Additionally, let us also consider the following:

The city center is totally *dead* at night.
It is *dead* quiet here.

For a few minutes there was a *dead* silence.

In all of these sentences the adjective "dead" is not used in its literal meaning, which is used to describe living beings that are no longer alive. We usually do not think about silence or city center in terms of being dead or alive. However, silence can be so deep and still, that it can motivate our imagination to figuratively view it as lifeless. In the phrases like those above, "dead" acquired its new figurative meaning which can be explained by way of a metaphorical projection from one cognitive domain onto another. When combined with some nouns or adjectives, "dead" intensified their meaning. Consequently, things and situations that are not described in terms of being alive or dead (e.g., silence, tiredness, etc.) were attributed with qualities associated with death. Such metaphoric extension took place first with concepts that were semantically compatible with it: silence, tiredness, motionlessness. However, with increased frequency of use, in phrases like "dead quiet" or "dead tired," this new metaphorical meaning, serving as an intensifier, was pragmatically strengthened. Simultaneously, in this intensifying function, "dead" became less and less associated with the literal meaning that motivated its metaphorical use. This process is known as desemantization or semantic weakening. When pragmatic strengthening and semantic weakening were advanced enough, it was possible for users of English to start using "dead" with a wider range of adjectives in its intensifying function, which was impossible when it was strongly associated with the domain of death. In other words, with pragmatic enrichment and semantic weakening, its use was extended. The phenomenon of such extension will be discussed more in-depth later. In the following illustrations "dead" is used as an emphatic way of saying 'absolutely,' 'entirely,' 'completely,' without any association with its literal meaning**:**

"I think you're dead wrong."

"She's dead certain that she can finish the job."[52]

Until recently, literal and nonliteral meanings were usually considered clearly distinct, and literal and figurative meanings were defined in comparison and contrast to one another. One term presupposed the other. Describing a meaning as figurative usually implied its derivation from a literal meaning. However, linguists noticed that literal language is not always a necessary presupposition for understanding figurative language. Moreover, figurative meanings can also serve as a foundation for other figurative senses. In his *The Poetics of Mind*, Raymond Gibbs shows how linguists and philosophers defined the notions of literalness and figurativeness in various and often contadictory ways. He does not think a clear theoretical distinction between literal and figurative uses of language is possible because the judgment on what is literal depends on a variety of factors, such as culture, the individual knowledge, the context of use.[53] However, an underlying assumption adopted for the framework of this dissertation is that there is a valid distinction between literal and nonliteral language and the merits of this distinction should not be dismissed. This position is sometimes known as *literal language theory*.[54] One of the premises of this theory is that speakers of a language know how to interpret a message by accepting or refusing its literal sense, but it is not a distinction that can be easily defined in a systematic way. I agree with

52. Both examples are from *Merriam-Webster's Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (ed. Stephen Perrault; Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Webster, 2008), 421.

53. Raymond W. Gibbs, *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 75–79.

54. John I. Saeed, *Semantics* (3d ed.; Introducing Linguistics; Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 16.

Vyvyan Evans who points out that even though it proves difficult to draw a firm line between the literal and nonliteral readings, there are reasonable grounds for a possibility of such distinction in many instances of language use.[55] In my opinion, literal and figurative meanings can be best considered as two distinct but related kinds of meaning. These common terms are not intended to express complete accuracy (which everyday language usually does not have). They are descriptive terms that prove convenient in the analysis of semantic changes, as long as we do not imply, as it was in the classical formulation of literalness, that literal meaning is more fundamental and the other is derivative, or that one states what is true and the other does not. In an effort to avoid any association with a traditional account of literalness, some authors use 'conventional meaning' as an alternative to 'literal meaning.'[56]

Meanings of words and phrases change over time to fit new conditions. Due to those changes, a figurative meaning can become fossilized and its metaphorical nature can be obscured.[57] A figurative reading of a word can be reinterpreted as literal. For this reason, from a diachronic perspective, it sometimes seems plausible to view a literal meaning as derivative of a metaphorical meaning. In order to account for such changes, scholars say that many metaphorical expressions "fade" over time. Such faded metaphors are often called

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55. Evans, *How Words*, 282.

56. I will follow Heine et al. in using 'literal,' 'transferred,' etc. The term 'conventional' is employed in, e.g., Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "Pragmatic Strengthening and Grammaticalization," in *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkley Linguistic Society. General Session and Parasession on Grammaticalization* (ed. Shelley Axmaker, Annie Jaisser, and Helen Singmaster; Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 1988), 406–16.

57. According to Cruse, most language speakers are ignorant of the changes that happened in their language. See Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, 195.

dead or, less dramatically, conventionalized metaphors. They are "dead" in the sense that

they are no longer recognized as being a metaphorical extension of a literal use.[58] For

example, when we use the expression *to come to a conclusion*, we are not aware of its

metaphorical nature.

According to Lakoff, it is possible to make a literal-nonliteral distinction applying

the theory of conceptual metaphor: concepts that are not comprehended via conceptual

metaphor or metonymy might be considered literal. What is not metaphorical or metonymic

is usually literal.[59] Croft and Cruse note that in the use of figurative language, from a

speaker's perspective, "conventional constraints are deliberately infringed in the service of

communication."[60]

Some semanticists and pragmaticists use "literal" in reference to *any* conventional

meaning, that is, any meaning that is commonly used and easily recognized by language

users, regardless of its origins.[61] In their account, "literal" can include—according to the

distinction made earlier in this section—both literal and figurative meaning. For example, in

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58. Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "'Conventional' and 'Dead' Metaphors Revisited," in *The Ubiquity of Metaphor: Metaphor in Language and Thought* (ed. W. Paprotté and R. Dirven; CILT 29; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1985), 22.

59. Lakoff, "Contemporary Theory," 205.

60. William Croft and D. Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 193.

61. The most common pragmatic theories, like Gricean and Neo-Gricean Pragmatics or Relevance Theory, were developed without taking into account metaphorical and metonymic meanings, which explains a different understanding of literal meaning. For more details, see Francisco J. Ruiz de Mendoza and Lorena Pérez Hernández, "Cognitive Operations and Pragmatic Inferencing," in *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg; P&B, n.s., 133; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), 23–24.

Biblical Hebrew the literal meaning פֶּה 'mouth' was metonymically extended to mean 'word,' 'speech,' etc., for what comes out of the mouth, by way of EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy. In this framework, I consider the meaning 'word' for פֶּה as a figurative use. However, the aforementioned linguists would consider the meaning 'word' as a literal meaning because it is one of the common meanings associated with פֶּה. In their approach they contrast *literal* meaning, which for them means any common and conventional meaning, with *pragmatic* meaning. Pragmatic meaning arises in a contextual use of literal meanings. Pragmatic meaning is implied in an utterance but not explicitly expressed. I will later discuss pragmatic meaning in more detail in regard to *context-induced reinterpretation*: a process whereby a pragmatic meaning can become conventionalized.

CHAPTER 4

SEMANTIC CHANGES IN GRAMMATICALIZATION
METAPHORICAL AND METONYMIC EXTENSION APPROACH

The grammaticalization model proposed by Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer in 1991

is a semantically-based framework of functional-cognitive imprint. Arguably, it is still the

most popular theoretical framework of grammaticalization, associated with a significant

number of researchers. It is a cognitive approach in that it views metaphor and metonymy,

two conceptual processes grounded in our cognition, as the major forces underlying

grammaticalization, at least from semantic and pragmatic perspectives. There are a few other

descriptions of grammaticalization that are considered excellent introductory overviews of

this field.[1] However, the model formulated by Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer has the

advantage of being specifically designed to be a coherent framework for researchers in the

area of grammaticalization. In my opinion, it can be easily adjusted and modified to include

the latest advances in grammaticalization and related studies.

Since the framework for this thesis adapts and to some extent updates Heine et al.'s

work, the first section of Chapter 4 will begin with an examination of the changes I have

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1. Notably, Paul J. Hopper and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization* (2d ed.; Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). I often refer to Hopper and Traugott's work, which is an important survey of grammaticalization. However, they use reanalysis and analogy as the main mechanisms underlying grammaticalization. I find problematic the way they extend the role of reanalysis to include *semantic* changes. In my view, while presenting the variety of factors underlying grammaticalization, it is best to consider reanalysis a mechanism of *syntactic* changes only. I will address this issue later.

implemented. The second and third sections will introduce the way conceptual metaphor and metonymy can be used in analysis of grammaticalization processes. Since metonymy provides the strongest link between pragmatic and semantic components, the discussion of metonymy in grammaticalization will have a strongly pragmatic imprint. The notions of context-induced reinterpretation and pragmatic enrichment will be additionally developed and explained. Semantic changes in grammaticalization are motivated rather than arbitrary and the final section will deal with the phenomenon of motivation in grammaticalization.

4.1 Theoretical Considerations Relating to Heine et al.

Heine et al. assume the definition of grammaticalization as it was formulated by Kurylowicz. In their words, grammaticalization is a process "where a lexical unit or structure assumes a grammatical function, or where a grammatical unit assumes a more grammatical function."[2] In addition, they consider grammaticalization as "the result of an interplay of cognition and pragmatics,"[3] which implies that they see pragmatic[4] and semantic factors as the primary forces by which grammaticalization is driven. In their account, grammaticalization can be understood as a working of our conceptual, largely metaphorical and metonymic, patterning in an interacting of pragmatic forces upon semantic resources.

Pragmatic forces are almost unanimously regarded by students of grammaticalization as the factors that trigger this process. However, it is still a matter of debate as to whether the semantic or the formal components are more prominent in grammaticalization changes.

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2. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 2.

3. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 41.

4. I use "pragmatic" in reference to factors associated with a contextual use of meaning.

According to Heine and his colleagues, "conceptual/semantic shift precedes morphosyntactic and phonological shift."[5] However, in my opinion, this position of Heine et al. is a little outdated.

In other earlier frameworks, grammaticalization is also understood, like in Heine et al., primarily as a process of semantic change, whereas formal factors of grammaticalization are viewed as by-products of semantic change.[6] This tendency is somewhat contrary to recent trends which view semantic and formal morphosyntactic forces as equally relevant in grammaticalization changes. Olga Fischer is right when she complains about the significant number of grammaticalization theorists who tend to regard form as secondary.[7]

For my purposes, I will employ a modified version of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer's model of grammaticalization and include some recent advances in grammaticalization studies and cognitive linguistics. In the following paragraphs I will explain the reasons for two important modifications I introduced to the framework. First of all, I will more strongly and consistently emphasize the importance of metonymy in grammaticalization. This will account for the name of this framework, Metaphorical and Metonymic Extension Approach, as opposed to the commonly used name for Heine et al.'s model: Metaphorical Extension Approach. This will be in line with recent understanding of the role of metonymy in grammar.[8]

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5. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 213.

6. For further details of such perspective, see Jo Rubba, "Grammaticalization as Semantic Change: A Case Study of Preposition Development," in *Perspectives on Grammaticalization* (ed. William Pagliuca; CILT 109; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1994), 81–82 Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 76.

7. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 122.

8. Many contributors to the following collection of papers seem to view metonymic

According to Heine and his colleagues, semantic changes precede formal changes, and formal changes can be regarded as the effects of semantic shifts. Therefore, they do not view syntactic factors as significant causal mechanisms in grammaticalization. In the present framework, greater emphasis will be placed on the importance of formal components than has been acknowledged in Heine et al. and in earlier models of grammaticalization. In this framework, the forces associated with linguistic form and structure will be considered as important causal, rather than epiphenomenal, mechanisms in grammaticalization processes, operative at the structural, morphosyntactic level. The course of formal changes can be described in terms of reanalysis and extension.[9] In this thesis, formal factors will be indicated along with the other components involved in the grammaticalization of Hebrew auxiliary verbs.

4.1.1 More Emphasis on Metonymy

Some clarifications need to be made in order to justify the emphasis on the role of metonymy in this framework. When it comes to the role of metonymy in grammaticalization, the major difference between this framework and that of Heine et al. is a matter of *consistency*. In a substantial part of the section that discusses theoretical framework, Heine and his colleagues assign the same importance to both metaphor and metonymy in grammaticalization. However, occasionally, they point to the more prominent role of metaphor over the other processes in grammaticalization, thereby marginalizing the role of

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forces as relevant, and sometimes as more relevant, than metaphorical processes in the formation of grammar: Klaus-Uwe Panther et al., *Metonymy and Metaphor in Grammar* (HCP 25; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009).

9. I discuss reanalysis and extension in chapter 5.

metonymy.[10]

Their inconsistency in regard to the strategic role of metonymy in grammaticalization can also be found in other portions of their work. When they analyze specific cases of grammaticalization, they put markedly more emphasis on metaphorization in the formation of grammaticalization. Possibly the framework formulated by Heine et al. was originally designed with metaphor assigned to the central role in grammaticalization. Primarily due to the metaphor revolution launched by Lakoff and Johnson in 1980, metonymy was considered a minor process in the human conceptual system. However, in the late eighties, due to the work of Louis Goossens and other linguists, new evidence revealed metonymy to be a major, rather than marginal, component of human cognition and therefore a much more essential process in grammaticalization. The most important insights stemming from that research are in fact incorporated into Heine et al.'s framework, but they were not able to make a comprehensive revision that would consistently incorporate those advances into their framework.[11]

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10. For example, "It is abstraction of the metaphorical type, rather than any other, that underlies grammaticalization," in Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 43.

11. Goossens' influential article was first published in 1990, not long before the publication of Heine at al.'s work. See Louis Goossens, "Metaphtonymy: The Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Figurative Expressions for Linguistic Action," *Cognitive Linguistics* 1 (1990): 323–40. Heine et al. refer to Goossens' work a few times. According to Evans and Green, the interpretation of metonymy in Heine et al. is strikingly similar to that described by Antonio Barcelona who represents a leading group of cognitivists who shaped the latest understanding of metonymy. Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 716–17. The latest advances in understanding the role of metonymy can be found in Antonio Barcelona, ed., *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective* (TiEL 30; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000); and Klaus-Uwe Panther et al., *Metonymy and Metaphor in Grammar* (HCP 25; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009).

4.1.2 More Focus on Formal Components

In accordance with recent trends in linguistics, I will assign the same importance to both semantic as well as formal morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization. Formal morphosyntactic changes will not be viewed as a mere appendix to semantic changes, but as important, and perhaps largely independent, forces of grammaticalization. However, in contrast to Harris and Campbell's position (which will be discussed in chapter 6), morphosyntactic processes will not be viewed as the primary forces of changes in grammaticalization. While phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics are all extremely useful scholarly abstractions that help us see how language works, in the end, we use one single language, and we use it with the assistance of our cognitive and conceptual strategies. All components of language are at work whenever we use language. They depend on each other and, at the same time, they constrain each other. Pragmatic and semantic changes occur under syntactic constraints, and changes in sound and morphosyntax operate under semantic constraints.[12] According to Ronald Langacker, one of the founders of cognitive linguistics, "language is shaped and constrained by the functions it serves."[13] We can paraphrase him and argue that simultaneously the functions in language seem to be considerably constrained and, to some extent shaped, by its formal structures.[14]

4.1.3 The Interdependence of Form and Function in Grammaticalization: An Illustration from English

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12. The idea of interdependence between various components in language is partly inspired by Anttila, *Historical and Comparative*, 102.

13. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 7.

14. According to Fischer, grammaticalization is shaped both by function and by formal structures that already exist in language. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 122–23.

The importance of formal and structural aspects in grammaticalization, at the morphosyntactic level, can be seen in one of the most frequently discussed instances of grammaticalization in English, with the development of "be going to + infinitive" as a future marker. 'Go' is a deictic verb of motion. Semantical changes in the grammaticalization of this verb can be described as a metaphorical projection from the domain of ACTIVITY, the movement through space toward a specific destination, onto the domain of TIME.[15] However, it is not only the verb 'go' but the whole construction "be going to + inf." that was grammaticalized into a future marker. If "be going to" had only occurred in constructions like "I am going to Paris," with prepositional phrases, its grammaticalization would not have occurred. "Be going" underwent grammaticalization only because it occurred in constructions in which it was complemented by infinitival phrases (consisting of the infinitival market *to* and an infinitive), as in "I am going to live in Paris." According to Hopper and Traugott, it is the phrase "be going to" that was grammaticalized, rather than "be going." In this way, Hopper and Traugott indicate the contiguity of "be going" with "to," which they consider a metonymic relation.[16] I agree with their consideration of the purposive "to" as an important factor of grammaticalization in "be going to" construction However, in my opinion, their emphasis on the purposive "to," rather than the whole infinitival phrase (that is, *to* + inf.), downplays the role of the infinitives.

Grammaticalization is usually presupposed by a particular configuration of semantic and formal factors. New grammatical functions emerge when function and form "meet together" to create conditions favorable for grammaticalization. If such conditions are

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15. Categorial metaphors employed in grammaticalization, like ACTIVITY or TIME, are discussed in detail in the next section.

16. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 87–89.

established in a particular construction,[17] as it was in the case of the English construction "be going to + infinitive," it is possible that such a construction will be used in contexts that will activate pragmatic forces leading to its grammaticalization.

4.1.4 Interdependence of Form and Function: An illustration from Hebrew

In this section, I will point out the interdependence of function and form in the emergence of Hebrew auxiliary verbs. The grammaticalization of שָׁב 'return' into an auxiliary must have been enabled through an interaction of both semantic and formal factors that coincided in particular constructions and triggered a new interpretation. Consider the following illustrations:

Numbers 32:22

וְאַחַר תָּשֻׁבוּ וִהְיִיתֶם נְקִיִּם מֵיהוָה וּמִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

And after that you shall return and be free of obligation to the LORD and to Israel.

Genesis 37:30

וַיָּשָׁב אֶל־אֶחָיו וַיֹּאמַר הַיֶּלֶד אֵינֶנּוּ

He returned to his brothers and said, "The boy is not there."

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17. Bybee notes that, in accordance with recent advances in grammaticalization studies, grammaticalization takes place in a particular construction. Joan L. Bybee, *Language, Usage and Cognition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 106. Also Traugott indicates that constructions are identified, along with lexical units, as sources of grammaticalization. By "construction," Traugott understand a phrase or a syntactic constituent. Elizabeth Closs Traugott, "Grammaticalization," in *Continuum Companion to Historical Changes* (ed. Silvia Luraghi and Vit Bubenik; London: Continuum, 2010), 279.

Deuteronomy 1:45

וַתָּשֻׁבוּ וַתִּבְכּוּ לִפְנֵי יְהֹוָה וְלֹא־שָׁמַע יְהֹוָה בְּקֹלְכֶם

You wept again before the LORD, but the LORD did not listen to your voice.

Theoretically, there is a semantic potential in the verb 'return' that can be reinterpreted to mean 'again.'[18] However, the meaning itself is not a sufficient cause of such a shift. This shift requires a simultaneous participation of pragmatic, semantic and formal factors. The grammaticalization of שָׁב, and that of some other Hebrew verbs analyzed in this thesis, started as a new interpretation that violated clausal boundaries of two independent clauses. The first clause had a finite form of שָׁב and the second clause had a finite form of another verb. We should assume that this grammaticalization started only in a syntactically favorable arrangement whereby the verbs of the two clauses were very close to each other (contiguity in utterance), they shared the same subject, and there was a contextual ambiguity of interpretation.

Similarity of forms in the two verbs was one of the important preconditions for grammaticalization to take place. For example, in Num 32:22 the verbal predicates of the two clauses are adjacent תָּשֻׁבוּ וִהְיִיתֶם, and share the same subject. However, the two verbs are in different tenses: תָּשֻׁבוּ is in *yiqtol* and וִהְיִיתֶם is in *weqatalti*. It seems that such difference in tense-forms was not a favorable constructions for grammaticalization.

In Gen 37:30, both verbs are syntactically separated solely by the prepositional phrase אֶל־אֶחָיו "to his brothers," which is a complement of וַיָּשָׁב. Both verbs are formally similar: they are in *wayyiqtol*, they share the same subject, and they are close to each other.

18. Later I will indicate a few crosslinguistic instances of this pathway of grammaticalization: 'return' > 'again.'

Structurally they meet every requirement of formal similarity and contingency. But in this passage, the phrase "to his brothers" removes any possibility of ambiguity because we can read וַיָּ֫שָׁב only as a motion verb.

Grammaticalization, like most changes in language, is not intentionally designed by language users. Therefore, *ambiguity of interpretation* is usually a necessary condition for grammaticalization. If in Gen 37:30 the information "to his brothers" were implied by the context rather than explicitly expressed by the phrase אֶל־אֶחָ֖יו, the sequence וַיָּ֫שָׁב וַיֹּאמַ֑ר "he returned and said" would be an ideal "candidate" for grammaticalization. The adjacency of the two verbs is not necessary. However, they need to be close enough to be reinterpreted, both semantically and syntactically, as a single complex unit. More important than the length of a phrase or phrases that separate the two verbs, is the nature of the information these phrases express: whether they point to שָׁב as the verb of motion or allow ambiguity to arise.

The sequence like וַתָּשֻׁ֥בוּ וַתִּבְכּ֖וּ "you wept again" in Deut 1:45 would be a perfect construction for grammaticalization because it meets the requirements of reinterpretation: formal similarity, contiguity (resulting from frequent co-occurrence), and ambiguity. The previous context tells us about Israel's migration to and from the hill country, providing a subtle idea of motion. Consequently, at first it may not be clear if שָׁב should be read as a verb of motion or as an auxiliary verb. However, we need to keep in mind that we do not trace the beginning of grammaticalization by looking for a verse that "started it all."[19] We attempt to reconstruct the process of changes with special focus on the importance of both

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19. C. Lehmann notes that the start of the process of grammaticalization is not readily identifiable. See C. Lehmann, *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*, 14. The records of the initial stages are not easily accessible because grammaticalization usually starts with ambiguity, it is a process we are not aware of, and arguably in most instances it is activated in the spoken rather than in the written language.

form and *function*, meaning and structure, in grammaticalization. In this specific case, the popular rendering of וַתָּשֻׁבוּ וַתִּבְכּוּ in many English versions (e.g., ESV, KJV, NASB, NIV, NJB, NRSV) is "you returned and wept." However, I would suggest that the authority of those translations not misguide our analysis. Although this passage is somewhat ambiguous, in my view שָׁב has an auxiliary reading here.

4.1.5 Concluding Observations

Both meaning and form are *simultaneously* at the heart of change in grammaticalization. However, there are instances in which formal changes can be driven by meaning and instances whereby semantic changes can be driven by form.[20] According to Newmeyer, "Sometimes the semantic changes precede the morphosyntactic changes, sometimes they accompany them, and sometimes they follow them."[21] But there are cases in which a semantic shift and the emergence of a new function do not affect syntactic structure. For example, in English the shift from temporal to causal subordinator in 'since' belongs to this type of change. There are also changes in grammaticalization that affect syntactic structure only, without any semantic modification that is typically associated with grammaticalization.[22]

Many grammaticalization linguists tend to regard semantic shifts as causal mechanisms of the process because in their account they come first and are followed by structural changes only at later stages. This tendency can be explained by the fact that in the

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20. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 123–24.

21. Newmeyer, *Language Form*, 249.

22. Instances of formal changes without any semantic shift can be found in Martin Haspelmath, "Does Grammaticalization Need Reanalysis?" *Studies in Language* 22 (1998): 323–27.

early stages of grammaticalization we can easier account for causal mechanisms of semantic shifts than for causes of formal changes.[23] At first, shift in meaning and function is generally more observable than formal factors. Only over time do most changes in grammaticalization also become observable at a morphosyntactic level. Therefore, at early stages semantic components appear more prominent than formal forces of change. However, this should not lead us to conclude that all changes are driven and determined by semantic components in those early stages. As it has been indicated earlier, many grammaticalization linguists (like Heine et al.) do not take into account reanalysis that changes—from the early stages—the underlying syntactic structure without any modification of the surface structure in the grammaticalized construction. Reanalysis is for the most part a covert process. Extension with its modification of the surface structure comes later. We will discuss these two mechanisms of syntactic change in the next chapter.

I agree with Olga Fischer's view that it would be inaccurate to argue that semantic changes in grammaticalization usually precede formal changes. Semantic factors, she says, tend to be regarded as the main motivating factors in grammaticalization because they operate on a meaning level, whereas formal morphosyntactic processes are interpreted as mere mechanisms because they operate on the level of form; both semantic and formal forces should be considered equally important causes of change in grammaticalization, operating at different levels of abstractions.[24] It seems best to apply cognitive strategies to account for pragmatic and semantic forces in grammaticalization, and to use reanalysis and extension to account for formal changes, without arguing which of these forces are more important. Therefore, throughout this work, syntactic changes will be described along with

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23. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 76.

24. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 122–23.

semantic processes underlying grammaticalization and their importance will be acknowledged in terms of reanalysis and extension. In this way, I will indicate the importance of formal forces as essential causal mechanisms of change in grammaticalization, a position which is supported by much of recent research in linguistics.[25]

To conclude this section, I have reformulated the definition of grammaticalization from the point of view of processes underlying it and see it as a working of our conceptual, largely metaphorical and metonymic, patterning in an interacting of pragmatic forces upon semantic resources and morphosyntactic forms and structures.

4.2 Categorial Metaphor

The model of grammaticalization in Heine et al. uses a modified version of conceptual metaphor to adjust the theory of conceptual metaphor to the specific needs of the grammaticalization theory. In order to account for divergences between their formulation of metaphor and the standard cognitive version of conceptual metaphor, they introduce the notion of categorial metaphor. They use a set of categorial metaphors arranged along the following scale:

PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

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25. It must be noted that when Fischer emphasizes the importance of form and formal changes in grammaticalization, she does not use "form" in the way this term is understood by generativists, that is, she does not consider form or morphosyntactic structure as an autonomous entity. On the contrary, Fischer believes that "form and function are intimately related." Olga Fischer, "Some Problem Areas in Grammaticalization," in *Formal Evidence in Grammaticalization Research* (ed. An Van linden et al.; TSL 94; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010), 21.

This scale is arranged "hierarchically" in that it is unidirectional. It proceeds from left to right. A given category can be regarded as metaphorically more abstract than the categories to its left and less abstract than the categories to its right. Moreover, any category can serve to conceptualize metaphorically any other category to its right. OBJECT-to-SPACE or SPACE-to-TIME are examples of categorial metaphors where the category on the left (e.g., OBJECT) serves as a source for the target on the right (e.g., SPACE).[26]

These categories represent elementary domains of human experience, and are regarded as prototypical conceptual domains that are crucial for structuring experience. This arrangement is consonant with the idea that grammaticalization is largely a unidirectional strategy whereby concrete entities and concepts that are more accessible to our experience are recruited to express what is less accessible and more abstract. This unidirectional arrangement is in line with the direction of changes in over 90 % of grammaticalized cases in known world languages.[27] Over 90 % means, for example, that even though spatial concepts are usually employed to express temporal concepts, the opposite can be found, occasionally, where the temporal domain is used to conceptualize spatial concepts. Heine et al. note that this arrangement should be treated as a helpful point of reference, rather than applied mechanically as an absolute rule that accurately accounts for all those cases of grammaticalization that can be explained in terms of metaphor.

The category PERSON is closest to human experience, whereas QUALITY is most remote. Language is largely *egodeictic* because language is a human invention and when we

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26. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 48–51.

27. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, "Grammaticalization and Linguistic Analysis," in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis* (ed. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog; Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 403.

use it, we tend to describe events, people, entities, and notably ourselves, from egodeictic perspective, which is known as the principle of linguistic egodeixis. In other words, we usually use language with "I-me-myself" as a basic reference point. Since the category PERSON is not relevant for this work, it will not be discussed in more detail.

Each categorial metaphor contains many clusters of conceptual metaphors. For example, the following conceptual metaphors have in common the distinction *up* versus *down* as their metaphorical vehicle:[28]

HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

CONSCIOUS IS UP; UNCONSCIOUS IS DOWN

MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN

HIGH STATUS IS UP; LOW STATUS IS DOWN

GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN

HAVING CONTROL IS UP; BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN

In these metaphors, the spatial orientation, *up* and *down*, is used to conceptualize physical, mental, moral, social and other states and qualities. The domain of SPACE is recruited to describe other, more abstract domains. In this framework, all of the above-mentioned conceptual metaphors can be assigned to one categorial metaphor, specifically QUALITY, on the scale of categorial metaphors. This process can be seen as SPACE-to-QUALITY metaphorization because those metaphors convey events and states that belong to the

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28. This is only a part of a longer list of conceptual metaphors that employ spatial orientation to conceptualize other, more abstract domains. For a full list, see Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 51.

metaphorical category QUALITY, and all these QUALITY situations are metaphorically rendered in terms of SPACE.

The category OBJECTS can contain a variety of entities: e.g., those pertaining to the domain of "landmarks" like 'earth,' 'soil,' 'sky,' and other strategic parts of the landscape. Also the domain of body parts, like 'head,' 'back,' 'belly,' 'hands,' and many others, belong to this category. In many languages, such "objects" are employed to conceptualize spatial relations. In other words, they are grammaticalized to adpositions (a cover term for prepositions and postpositions) and other grammatical markers of spatial relations. For example, according to the data provided in Heine et al., based on their research on 125 African languages belonging to four language families: the concepts of 'earth' ('soil,' 'ground') and 'sky' ('heaven') became sources for UNDER and ON, respectively, in many of those languages.[29]

The category ACTIVITY includes dynamic activities, events and processes. Since in many languages, including English, the same interrogative pronoun is used for both OBJECT and ACTIVITY categories (as in "What did he eat?" for OBJECT, and "What did he do?" for ACTIVITY), Heine at al. admit that it is possible to consider them as one single category. The category QUALITY is the most fuzzy of all categories, in Heine et al.'s words, "a kind of catchall" to refer to a number of different conceptualizations not covered by other categories, like states, manner, etc.[30] QUALITY is usually expressed by adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, notably stative verbs.

Among the verbs studied in this thesis, the grammaticalization of שָׁב 'return,' מִהַר 'hurry,' and הָלַךְ 'go,' can be explained in terms of the categorial metaphor ACTIVITY-to-

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29. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 125.

30. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 49.

TIME. Consider the following illustrations for הָלַךְ 'go':

Genesis 12:4

וַיֵּלֶךְ אַבְרָם כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלָיו֙ יְהוָ֔ה וַיֵּ֥לֶךְ אִתּ֖וֹ ל֑וֹט

Abram went as the LORD had told him, and Lot went with him.

Genesis 26:13

וַיִּגְדַּ֖ל הָאִ֑ישׁ וַיֵּ֤לֶךְ הָלוֹךְ֙ וְגָדֵ֔ל עַ֥ד כִּֽי־גָדַ֖ל מְאֹֽד׃

The man became rich, and he grew richer and richer until he was very wealthy.

In Gen 12:4, the verb הָלַךְ is used as a verb of motion in its literal, and most common, meaning 'go.' But in Gen 26:13, in the phrase וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל 'he grew richer and richer,' the same verb is used in a transferred meaning and it functions as an auxiliary verb that expresses the notion of gradual progression: 'do gradually.' I will discuss later the syntactic constructions in which הָלַךְ appears and provide a detailed analysis of its auxiliation. Here we need to concentrate on its metaphorization in terms of ACTIVITY-to-TIME categorial metaphor: the motion through space denoted by 'go' was mapped onto the domain of time resulting in the notion of gradual progression.

The same lexical unit, like the verb 'go,' can give rise to a broad range of grammatical functions.[31] Therefore, the meaning of words and constructions that undergo

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31. The array of grammatical functions into which the verb 'go' was grammaticalized in various languages can be found in Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 155–65. This dictionary is the first attempt to collect crosslinguistic data of grammaticalization according to the paths of grammaticalization. It is a remarkable achievement for grammaticalization research, but it is far from being a comprehensive

grammaticalization need to be analyzed as complex and componential. They have a central idea, which Heine et al. call *focal senses*, and a number of peripheral senses that can be associated with it, that is, *nonfocal senses*.The stages of grammaticalization can be presented by highlighting the role and prominence of focal (uppercase letters) and nonfocal (lowercase letters) senses, as demonstrated in the following illustration:[32]

xAb > aBc > bCd

The grammatical function of a grammaticalized unit is usually determined by its focal and some of its nonfocal senses. In this illustration, the lexical unit 'xAb' was grammaticalized into 'aBc.' In this process, the role of the nonfocal sense 'b' was more prominent than the role of the focal sense 'A.' 'A' was relevant in grammaticalization, but it had a less prominent role in grammaticalization in that the grammatical function of 'aBc' was mainly determined by the nonfocal sense 'b.' Consequently, the new grammaticalized unit has 'B' as the focal sense, a new nonfocal sense 'c' and the nonfocal sense 'a' which is a remnant of the central meaning of the lexical unit 'xAb.' Further grammaticalization from 'aBc' to 'bCd' can be analyzed in the same way.

In short, we can note that in English, the verb 'go' gave rise to a future marker 'be going to,' and 'go' verbs in French, Spanish and Portuguese underwent similar processes of grammaticalization. Next to modal verbs expressing obligation or volition, such motion

reference of this kind because it is limited to a selective presentation of over 400 common processes of grammaticalization from 500 different languages.

32. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 107.

verbs are a very common source for future markers in many languages.[33] In Hebrew, however, the verb 'go' took a different path of grammaticalization. When we walk or go somewhere we have a distance to traverse. We walk step by step and gradually go further and further toward the goal and come closer and closer to our destination. In the case of the Hebrew verb הָלַךְ, it is this idea of graduality of physical motion and the accompanying idea of being closer and closer to the goal that was reinterpreted into the grammatical marker of *gradual progression*. These ideas inherent in the physical motion of walking or going through space were mapped onto the domain of TIME. At first, it might seem that the category QUALITY is preferable to the category TIME as the outcome of grammaticalization and metaphorization of הָלַךְ. One of the reasons for such a preference may be the fact that in English we are accustomed to expressing a similar idea *lexically* by adverbs rather than *grammatically* by auxiliary verbs, which markedly affects our grammatical analysis. According to Eve Sweetser, the semantic domain of time is metaphorically structured in terms of motion along a linear path.[34] Later, I will attempt to prove that some of the Hebrew auxiliary verbs, especially those grammaticalized from motion verbs, express notions related to time because they convey the way events are distributed through the time frame.

At this point, we can conclude that any of the various semantic and grammatical notions which are potentially linked with a specific lexical or grammatical unit theoretically can be grammaticalized. This process depends on an interplay of both linguistic (phonetic, morphosyntactic, semantic) and extralinguistic (pragmatic, cultural) factors which makes

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33. Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer, *Grammaticalization*, 170.

34. Eve E. Sweetser, "Grammaticalization and Semantic Bleaching," in *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkley Linguistic Society. General Session and Parasession on Grammaticalization* (ed. Shelley Axmaker et al.; Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 1988), 391.

grammaticalization practically unpredictable. In other words, it cannot be predicted if a specific lexical unit which is often grammaticalized in many languages (like the verb 'go'), will undergo grammaticalization in a specific language, and if so, which of its semantic components will become prominent in this change.

4.3 Metonymy and Context-Induced Reinterpretation

In this section we will further investigate how pragmatic forces that arise from the contextual use of language motivate grammaticalization processes. Pragmatic factors underlying grammaticalization will be described in terms of metonymic associations and context-induced reinterpretations. Metonymy as a cognitive process provides the strongest link between pragmatic and semantic components of grammaticalization. It integrates the semantic contents of a construction with pragmatic forces that arise in contextual use. In my view, the beginnings of many grammaticalization processes can be presented schematically as follows:

ambiguity > metonymic relations > pragmatic manipulation (implicatures) > context-induced reinterpretation > conventionalization by pragmatic enrichment > new meaning/function

This schematic arrangement is an attempt to present chronologically the major processing at work from a pragmatic perspective. According to Panther and Thornburg, the processing of pragmatic meaning requires the activation of metonymic relations as interpretative guideposts of interpretation.[35] Pragmatic forces can be seen as metonymically activated

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35. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, "Introduction: On the Nature of Conceptual Metonymy," in *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther

conversational implicatures.

Grammaticalization takes place in an interplay of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Extralinguistic contribution comes from pragmatic forces activated in a contextual use of language. Linguistic factors have to do with the way the sound, meaning, and formal morphosyntactic structures are processed in language. To a considerable extent, it is possible to trace back both the extralinguistic and linguistic factors underlying grammaticalization and see how they shaped the process. However, the analysis of pragmatic meaning is not an easy task. First, it is an outcome of linguistic and extralinguistic factors whose interplay is unpredictable. Moreover, pragmatic meaning for a long time remains "invisible," in contrast to "visible" meanings that are considered standard and conventionalized meanings easily associated by language users with specific linguistic forms and structures.

4.3.1 Pragmatic Components in Language

When we use language, we use specific sounds and morphosyntactic structures that have lexical meanings and grammatical functions. Moreover, we always use language for communication and we do it in a variety of contexts or speech situations. In this discussion, it will be helpful to keep in mind that *semantics* studies the conventional meanings of words and constructions and how the grammatical system of the language and its lexical organization express complex meanings out of simpler ones. *Pragmatics* focuses on the use of language in particular situations and how extralinguistic factors contribute to conventional meanings which are communicated by the speakers.

Every time we communicate, we attempt to understand what others are telling us. One part of this effort consists of decoding *sentence meaning*. Sentence meaning comprises

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and Linda L. Thornburg; P&B, n.s., 133; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), 9.

conventional meanings, literal and figurative, of words and phrases and their grammatical arrangement, independent of any particular use.[36] However, the use of conventional meaning in a particular context gives rise to pragmatic meanings. Both conventional and pragmatic meaning are encoded[37] in a morphosyntactic construction. Therefore, to understand a message requires the ability to decode its entire meaning: both sentence meaning and pragmatic meaning. We can grasp the pragmatic contribution to the sentence by drawing inferences, that is, by detecting what the speaker implies on the basis of the contextual information and what is explicitly said. In pragmatics, such implications are called *implicatures*, meanings that are a part of the message, but not part of what is explicitly said. *Speaker's meaning* entails both what is explicitly said (sentence meaning), and what is pragmatically implied (implicatures). In this perspective, semantics is concerned with sentence meaning and pragmatics with speaker's meaning.

By way of illustration, we can consider the phrase "I'm not tired." We know what is the literal meaning of "I'm not tired" without knowing any of the situational context in which it is used. However, depending on the context, "I'm not tired" can mean different things. For example, when a child says it to his mother in the evening, the speaker's meaning can be: "I do not want to go to bed now, let me watch the TV a little more." Or, when someone says it to his companion while walking in the mountains, it can mean: "Let us keep walking rather than stopping for a break right now."

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36. Saeed, *Semantics*, 18.

37. I use *encode* to indicate that the whole meaning can be encoded or "packed" into the message, including what is explicitly said (sentence meaning) and what is pragmatically implied (implicatures). *Decoding* is the process of understanding what is encoded.

4.3.2 Cognitive Processes and Pragmatics of Context

Pragmatic implicatures are often motivated by metonymic relations. Implicatures invite language users to new interpretations, known as *context-induced reinterpretations*. If these new interpretations become conventionalized by pragmatic strengthening in the course of the grammaticalization process, this will result in new meanings, functions and structures.

Since metaphor is based on similarity, it is an *analogical* and *iconic* (picture-like) process. Metonymy, on the other hand, is based on conceptual contiguity within the same domain, and it is an *indexical* process whereby one entity points to the other in a specific way.[38] In metonymy, the relation between the two entities is seen as a natural connection created *extralinguistically*, through our experience of the world or, *linguistically*, in an utterance that entails what is explicitly said and what is pragmatically implied. Here we focus on metonymic relations in utterance. When we talk about the conceptual nature of inference patterns in pragmatics of a situation, we need to note that metaphor does not depend very much on the context of language use. Metonymy, on the other hand, indicates connections, associations, and correspondences that are established in the context.[39] Therefore, metonymic forces are cognitive, but also pragmatic structures, highly context-dependent and usage-based.

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38. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, "Introduction: On Figuration in Grammar," in *Metonymy and Metaphor in Grammar* (ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther, Linda L. Thornburg, and Antonio Barcelona; Human Cognitive Processing 25 (HCP 25); Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009), 16. The idea of iconicity in metaphor and indexicality in metonymy seems to be best elaborated in Anttila, *Historical and Comparative*, 141–42.

39. According to Traugott and Dasher, semantic changes in general and grammaticalization in particular are motivated through metaphor, which is an iconic strategy, and through conversational implicatures, which are "metonymic, associative, and indexical strategy." Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Richard B. Dasher, *Regularity in Semantic Change* (CSL 96; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5.

In the model of grammaticalization in Heine et al., metaphor and metonymy are two essential mechanisms at work in grammaticalization. Grammaticalization frequently takes place as an *interaction* of both metaphorical and metonymic processing. In their account, metaphor and metonymy are cognitive activities that complement one another.[40] Metonymic relation in grammaticalization can start with contiguity in the linguistic world, in the utterance, which subsequently can lead to conceptual contiguity. (For an earlier discussion of conceptual contiguity in the linguistic world, see p. 92). Heine at al. argue that frequently the metaphorical development of grammatical elements out of lexical sources would not be possible without a metonymic understanding that bridges two distinct conceptual domains. Metonymic bridging gives rise to a new interpretation and triggers a metaphorical transfer between the domains. The interplay of metonymic and pragmatic factors gives rise to conversational implicatures, and they refer to this process as *context-induced reinterpretation*.[41]

From a cognitive point of view, grammaticalization is composed of two divergent components. One component is *metaphorical*: it involves a transfer in discrete steps from one cognitive domain to another and a shift from less to more abstract meaning. This process consists of a set of discontinuous categories, such as SPACE, TIME, and QUALITY. The second component is *metonymic*: it occurs as a continuum of minimally different gradual extensions. The metonymic component reflects a process in which a specific context invites inferences, implicatures and new interpretations. The analysis of grammaticalization in terms

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40. Bernd Heine et al., "From Cognition to Grammar: Evidence from African Languages," in *Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues* (ed. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine; vol. 1 of *Approaches to Grammaticalization;* TSL 19/1; Amsterdam: Benjamins**,** 1991), 181.

41. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 71–73.

of discrete metaphorical jumps reveals only one aspect of this process. The second aspect presupposes continuity and exhibits a metonymic structure. The former aspect gives us little insight into the pragmatic forces underlying grammaticalization. The latter is intrinsically pragmatic and highly context-dependent. Grammaticalization often takes place in an interplay of metaphorical and metonymic forces whereby these two different components have an essential role in shaping the process: they coexist and complement one another.[42]

At this point, I want to emphasize two important assumptions made by Heine and his colleagues. First, they note that, in specific cases of grammaticalization, one of the two components, metaphor or metonymy, can be more prominent than the other. Second, even though in theory they seem to be inclined to assign more importance to metaphor in grammaticalization, in the end, they explicitly avoid dealing with the question as to whether the metaphorical or the metonymic component is in general more essential in this process.[43] These two assumptions will also underlie the theoretical framework of this thesis. Although the role of metonymy in the last decade has been hypothesized to be even more basic to language and cognition than metaphor, in my opinion, the recent studies on the role of metaphor and metonymy in grammaticalization are still based on too limited a range of data to be considered conclusive. A significantly greater amount of research needs to be done in this area. Moreover, I disagree with Traugott and Dasher who see the role of metaphor in grammaticalization as epiphenomenal or as an outcome of metonymic changes.[44] Even if future research confirms the role of metonymy to be more central in grammaticalization, I do not think the role of metaphor to be epiphenomenal. It is true that there are cases of

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42. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 63.

43. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 72–75.

44. Traugott and Dasher, *Regularity*, 29.

grammaticalization whereby the role of metaphor is minor or non-existent. For example, in Hebrew the development of פֶּה 'mouth' to the preposition כְּפִי 'according to' did not involve any metaphorical processing but consisted of a series of gradual metonymic extensions. However, as far as I can see, most processes of grammaticalization that can be explained in terms of metaphor were ultimately triggered by metonymic and pragmatic forces only because there was a semantic potential for a metaphorical extension. For example, it would be inaccurate to claim that the role of metaphor was epiphenomenal in the sequence of changes from *אחר 'back' to אַחַר 'behind' and 'after.' In such changes, metaphor should be considered one of the causal mechanisms at work rather than a mere by-product of changes induced by metonymic and pragmatic factors.

In my opinion, the major difficulty in accounting for the outcome of grammaticalization in terms of metaphorical extensions lies in the nature of this process. Grammaticalization is a series of long and gradual changes. During such diachronic process whereby the concrete lexical meaning becomes more and more abstract, the metaphorical nature of changes becomes less and less transparent. Therefore, even though the meaning of a grammaticalized unit can be interpreted as a result of metaphorization of the earlier lexical meaning, synchronically the metaphorical character of the outcome of grammaticalization will usually be less obvious than the metaphorical nature of lexical metaphors we use effortlessly in daily life, such as "Achilles is a lion" or "She has a short fuse today."

4.3.3 Pragmatic Strengthening

Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer explicitly acknowledge that their notion of context-induced reinterpretation and the role of metonymy within it were inspired by the work of

Traugott and König.[45] Traugott and König introduce the very important notion of *pragmatic strengthening*. They argue that it takes place in early stages of grammaticalization, whereas desemantization—the process already identified by Meillet as "weakening of meaning"— occurs in later stages. Apart from the *semantic loss*, associated with semantic weakening, they point to the *pragmatic enrichment* that takes place as an increase of new information that the speaker encodes in a word or construction. Moreover, they analyze this process as metonymically motivated.[46] It is a pragmatic process because new information arises by way of conversational implicature in a concrete situation of language use. This new meaning is called *conversational meaning* because it is inferred from a conversational context and it goes beyond the *conventional meaning* associated with a particular linguistic form. The shift from conventional meaning to conversational implicature is metonymic. In other words, conversational inferences are based on metonymy and prepare the ground for a conceptual shift. Traugott and König adopt the definition of metonymy as semantic transfer achieved through contiguity and point out that contiguities and associations related to metonymy tend to be concrete. However, in order to account for pragmatic strengthening and reinterpretation of conversational meaning as conventional meaning, they extend the notion of metonymy from its concrete and overt contexts to cognitive and covert contexts. With this modification, they interpret metonymic changes as "specification of one meaning in terms of another that

45. Heine et al. explicitly acknowledge this debt. See Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 70.

46. See Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Ekkehard König, "The Semantics-Pragmatics of Grammaticalization Revisited," in *Focus on Theoretical and Methodological Issues* (ed. Elizabeth Closs Traugott and Bernd Heine; vol. 1 of *Approaches to Grammaticalization*; Typological Studies in Language 19/1 (TSL 19/1); Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), 210–11; and Traugott, "Pragmatic Strengthening," 408–11.

is present, even if only covertly, in the context."[47] Metonymic association triggers a new interpretation, whereas the role of pragmatic strengthening is to conventionalize the conversational meaning over time. In pragmatics jargon, pragmatic strengthening is known as the gradual conventionalization of an implicature.[48] As an illustration of such process, Traugott and König point to the preference sense in *sooner* as a development from its temporal sense. Metonymically motivated conversational implicature was strengthened pragmatically and, over time, the new meaning became a conventional meaning that coexisted with its earlier temporal sense, as it can be observed in:[49]

a. Bill died sooner than Mary (temporal sense)

b. Bill would sooner die than marry Mary (preference sense)

For Traugott and König metaphor and metonymy are two complementary processes. By 'complementary' they mean that the two processes are consistent with each other and not in conflict. They argue that metaphor and metonymy are separately at work, rather than jointly in interaction. They do not interact much in grammaticalization because they are essentially involved in the development of different kinds of grammatical functions. For example, metonymy is the prime process at work in the development of causal and concessive markers (e.g., *since*, *while*), whereas the processes underlying the evolution in

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47. Traugott and König, "Semantics-Pragmatics," 212.

48. Fischer call this process "pragmatic metonymic conditioning factors" that take place via semanticization of conversational inferences. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 122.

49. Traugott and König, "Semantics-Pragmatics," 204.

markers of tense, aspect and case are mostly metaphorical.[50] In this interpretation, they differ

from Heine and his colleagues. As we have seen, the understanding of metonymy and,

consequently, of context-induced reinterpretation is much broader in Heine et al. than in

Traugott and König. Unlike Heine et al., Traugott and König's work has been much less

informed by the trends at the end of the eighties that started to point to strong links between

metaphor and metonymy and their interdependence. Consequently, Traugott and König's

position on the lack of interaction between metaphor and metonymy is a weak point of their

otherwise important contribution.

Metonymic relation in grammaticalization process can be understood in two ways.

First, metonymic relation can emerge between two contiguous linguistic elements. If

contiguity in the utterance leads to conceptual contiguity, two independent elements can be

reinterpreted as parts of a new construction and merge functionally into one unit. Such

reinterpretation depends on conversational implicatures that contribute to pragmatic

enrichment but also cause semantic weakening. The emergence of Hebrew auxiliary verb

constructions can be accounted for as a process triggered by a metonymic relation. The

development of שָׁב 'return' into a marker of repetition can serve as an illustration of a

grammaticalization process that started as contiguity in the utterance that led to conceptual

contiguity and metonymic relation between two independent verbs.

Another kind of metonymic relationship in grammaticalization can be observed when

there is only one element or one established construction involved rather than two.

Metonymic relation arises between the conventional meaning of this linguistic unit and its

pragmatically implicated meaning. Radden notes that the conventional meaning of a

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50. Traugott and König, "Semantics-Pragmatics," 190; and Traugott, "Pragmatic
Strengthening," 406.

construction and its emerging meaning inferred through conversational implicature are part of the same domain: they are conceptually contiguous and form a metonymic relationship.[51]

4.4 Motivation in Grammaticalization Changes

Due to a long tradition of describing semantic changes in grammaticalization in terms of semantic weakening, semantic bleaching, or loss of meaning—a tradition which goes back to Meillet himself and which, in my view, has generated a lot of confusion and led to frequent misinterpretation of the grammaticalization processes—the importance of this section cannot be overemphasized. Among other things, I want to point out that the phrase "loss of meaning" should never be used lightly in the description of semantic changes in grammaticalization.[52]

In language, the relationship between a speech sound and the meaning it represents is, for the most part, *arbitrary*. Almost all linguistic forms lack any natural or iconic correspondence with the extralinguistic entities they refer to in the world. For example, there is nothing in the word *house* that would somehow reflect the entity it refers to. Even though all languages have a word that is similar in meaning to the English word *house*, those words will differ from language to language: *uchi* in Japanese, *casa* in Italian, *maison* in French, *dom* in Polish, בַּיִת in Hebrew, *nyumba* in Swahili. In all languages the relation between the sound of most words and their meaning is arbitrary or conventional. Language is therefore a conventional system of communication that we learn from the beginning of our lives. In

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51. Radden, "How Metonymic," 419.

52. There are semantic changes that can be described as a loss of meaning. For example, if a word has two or more meanings and one of those meanings falls in disuse over time, it might be accurate to say that a particular meaning was lost. In most instances, however, a new lexical meaning can be viewed as a metaphorical or a metonymic extension of an earlier meaning.

every language there are only some words that may reflect, to a varying degree, properties of the non-linguistic world. For example, the onomatopoeic expressions, such as *splash* or *mumble*, whose sound is an imitation of the physical noise associated with the entities and events they refer to is a good example of non-arbitrary words. The relationship between form and meaning in onomatopoeic words is *naturally motivated* rather than arbitrary or conventional.

In contrast to the arbitrary relation between form and meaning, many changes that occur in language over time, including grammaticalization, are not arbitrary. These changes are, for the most part, motivated. The meaning of lexical units that undergo grammaticalization is not removed from them nor it is lost in the process. It is transformed. From a semantic point of view, it is best to consider a new grammaticalized meaning as a transformation of the lexical meaning into a more abstract functional meaning.

The meaning that is changed in grammaticalization is derivable from the previous meaning by way of metaphorical and metonymic extensions. Mira Ariel calls such changes in grammaticalization "motivated conventions" which become less transparent over time.[53] Heine points out that very frequently linguistic motivation may be no longer accessible to language users or even to the historical linguist. This does not mean that motivation was missing, rather "it simply means there is a gap in our knowledge that remains to be filled."[54]

As introduced by Meillet, the concept "weakening of meaning" does not automatically assume that the lexical meaning is lost in the course of grammaticalization. Rather, in the course of grammaticalization, it is transformed into a new meaning instead of

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53. Ariel, *Pragmatics and Grammar*, 119.

54. Heine, *Cognitive Foundations*, 19.

being "bleached out" as dirt or a stain is removed from washing laundry.[55] In such

interpretation, the semantic changes can be mistakenly viewed as arbitrary or unmotivated.

For this reason, in the last two decades, linguists have stressed the importance of *semantic*

retention. This notion indicates that in the course of grammaticalization the meaning of the

source construction evolves and determines the subsequent grammatical function.[56]

Even though the notions of *desemanticization* or *semantic weakening* point to

important aspects of semantic changes in grammaticalization, they need to be used with

caution. In my view, these terms can be used in reference to grammaticalization only if it is

assumed that what they describe is a gradual transformation of the lexical meaning into a

more abstract meaning. Unfortunately, in many instances linguists use these terms assuming

that they imply the loss of the lexical meaning. Moreover, the weakening of meaning (even

if understood accurately, that is, as a semantic transformation rather than a semantic loss) is

not the only factor in grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott point out that semantic

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55. A sharp criticism of "bleaching models" of grammaticalization, popular in the 1980s, can be found in Sweetser, "Grammaticalization and Semantic Bleaching," 389–405. Students of grammaticalization rarely use the term "semantic bleaching." However, arguably due to the appealing laundry metaphor, "semantic bleaching" is still frequently used by linguists who are only marginally acquainted with grammaticalization research and methods. For example, in her recent book Murphy notes that the process in grammaticalization whereby the lexical meaning is gradually forgotten "is known as semantic bleaching, since the main force of the semantic meaning has been washed away." M. Lynne Murphy, *Lexical Meaning* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 97.

56. An insightful discussion of semantic retention can be found in Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14–19.

weakening takes place in later stages of grammaticalization.[57] The process of grammaticalization is activated by an ambiguity that invites new interpretation. The phenomenon that can be described as semantic weakening usually takes place after the new function incurs pragmatic enrichment. In my view, "loss of meaning" implies too strongly that grammatical meaning, which is a result of grammaticalization, has no relation with the source meaning, which is a lexical and concrete meaning that is gradually transformed into a more abstract and functional meaning. Consequently, terms like "bleaching" or "loss of meaning," which are still in common use in linguistic literature, should be avoided because they do not adequately account for semantic changes in grammaticalization.[58]

As a demonstration that changes in grammaticalization are motivated rather than arbitrary, we can consider a related case of semantic change apparent in the preposition עַל 'on.' This preposition is sometimes used in the sense 'in addition to.' In my understanding, this meaning can be considered a metaphorization of 'on,' 'upon' as a conventionalized

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57. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 94–95. In his survey of grammaticalization in Semitic languages, Aaron Rubin over-emphasizes the importance of desemanticization in his definition of grammaticalization. He considers the loss of lexical meaning as "a defining trait of grammaticalization." Aaron D. Rubin, *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization* (HSS 57; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 2. To my understanding, his addition of desemanticization to his definition of grammaticalization was meant to be an improvement upon the definition of grammaticalization that he adopted from Hopper and Traugott. In my opinion, it is best not to consider the loss, or even weakening, of lexical meaning as a defining trait of grammaticalization.

58. In her recent book, after decades of work in the field of grammaticalization, Bybee reconfirms the fact that, in most instances, the grammaticalized meaning comes from a lexical source. She points to an apparent, rather than actual, loss of meaning in the course of grammaticalization. I describe this apparent loss of meaning as a diachronic process of transformation of the semantic components. Unfortunately, Bybee uses the term "bleaching" as an equivalent of "generalization of meaning." Her use of "bleaching" in such sense disregards the fact that linguists associate "bleaching" with the loss of meaning and not with the generalization of meaning. See Bybee, *Language, Usage*, 108, 167.

implicature incurring from the metaphor MORE IS UP, as discussed earlier (see p. 100) in regard to the correlation of quantity and verticality. When we put a book *on/upon* another book lying *on* a desk, and then we put more books *on* them, the pile grows higher. The meaning 'in addition to' for עַל seems to have originated in a similar context. In Hebrew, the addition of an entity *to* a set of the same or related entities is seen as putting it *on/upon* the others in terms of verticality, which implies their increased number. It is a mapping from the domain of vertical orientation onto the domain of quantity. We need to distinguish between יָסַף לְ adding something *to*, in a dative sense, 'to the benefit of' or 'for' someone, a construction with the preposition לְ (as in Gen 30:24), and יָסַף עַל *to* in the sense 'in addition to,' a construction with the preposition עַל. Consider the following illustrations:

Deuteronomy 19:9

וְיָסַפְתָּ֙ לְךָ֣ ע֣וֹד שָׁלֹ֣שׁ עָרִ֔ים עַ֖ל הַשָּׁלֹ֥שׁ הָאֵֽלֶּה׃

You shall add three more cities (in addition) to these three.

Genesis 28:9

וַיֵּ֥לֶךְ עֵשָׂ֖ו אֶל־יִשְׁמָעֵ֑אל וַיִּקַּ֡ח אֶת־מָחֲלַ֣ת ׀ בַּת־יִשְׁמָעֵ֨אל בֶּן־אַבְרָהָ֜ם אֲח֧וֹת נְבָי֛וֹת עַל־נָשָׁ֖יו ל֥וֹ לְאִשָּֽׁה׃

Esau went to Ishmael and took Mahalath daughter of Abraham's son Ishmael, and sister

of Nebaioth, to be his wife in addition to the wives he had.

4.5 The Alleged Functional Need as Motivation for Grammaticalization

Sometimes scholars think that grammaticalization is motivated by a so-called functional need or functional gap. Specifically, in the case of Hebrew, it would mean that

there was no means to formulate repetition, such as the notion 'again,' and a functional need to express the idea of repetition urged the users of Hebrew to develop this meaning out of available lexical components. The lack of such expression in Hebrew on the one hand, and the need to express such notion on the other, motivated the speakers to introduce such meaning to the language. For example, Lillas-Schuil assumes that one of the reasons underlying the emergence of the verbal hendiadys in Hebrew was "the shortage of adverbs" or "the scarcity of adverbs."[59]

Functional need does not seem to have any essential role in grammaticalization. For example, functional need is not a sufficient precondition that could account for the development of שָׁב into a marker of repetition. The users of a language are practically never aware when and how they trigger the changes that transform their language. Neither is grammaticalization a change that is planned or craftily designed as, for example, the spelling reform might be. Moreover, the functional need cannot be considered an underlying factor of grammaticalization as a force that motivates grammaticalization at an unconscious level, that is, as a force that language users are not aware of.

Crosslinguistic evidence clearly shows that a language with multiple expressions to convey a specific notion can additionally develop new ways of expressing the same or very similar meaning even though there is no functional need for such development. For example, Spanish is known as a language that is extremely rich in adverbs. The notion 'again' can be expressed by adverbials such as *otra vez, de nuevo, nuevamente*. But the most common way of expressing the notion 'again,' at least in Spanish of Spain,[60] is by way of the auxiliary

59. Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 90, 100.

60. Rafael Fente Gómez, Jesús Fernández Alvarez, and Lope G. Feijóo, *Perífrasis Verbales* (Madrid: Edelsa, 1987), 17.

verb *volver a* + infinitive (lit., 'return to' + inf.), which is a grammaticalized construction very similar in meaning to the Hebrew auxiliary שָׁב. In the distant past, the verb *volver* 'return' was grammaticalized to mean 'again' even though there were other expressions for 'again.'

As we will see later, the verb יסף 'add' underwent grammaticalization even though Hebrew already had the particle עוֹד that could express most of the meaning and functions of the auxiliary יסף. Consequently, functional need should not be considered an essential factor or motivation for grammaticalization.[61] The process of grammaticalization is usually triggered by accidental use that invites a new interpretation given to a common linguistic structure.

The functional need theory is often based on a mistaken assumption. For example, the hypothesis that Hebrew auxiliary verbs developed adverbial notions due to the shortage of adverbs is based on an the assumption that since European languages are rich in adverbs, languages which have few adverbs, or no adverbs at all, are deficient. Due to this deficiency, native speakers of those languages are driven by an unconscious need to express adverbial notions and, sooner or later, find ways to express them. However, the crosslinguistic evidence indicates that languages differ from one another and their development is probably not driven by such functional needs.[62]

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61. A discussion of functional need and its criticism can be found in Tania Kuteva, *Auxiliation: An Enquiry Into the Nature of Grammaticalization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 43–74.

62. For example, during the last eleven centuries, the speakers of Polish have not developed the system of definite and indefinite articles, which are common in Germanic and Romance languages. However, there is little evidence that native speakers of Polish feel any deficiency in their language use due to the lack of articles.

CHAPTER 5

FORMAL CHANGES IN GRAMMATICALIZATION
REANALYSIS AND EXTENSION

The present framework implies the use of cognitive processes like metaphor and

metonymy, major structuring forces of our cognition, as principal explanatory parameters in

accounting for pragmatic and semantic components in grammaticalization. However,

cognitive processes cannot explain all of the changes. Hence, in order to provide a fuller

picture of grammaticalization, other linguistic notions need to be introduced. The changes in

grammaticalization which are associated with formal morphosyntactic processes will be

explained in terms of reanalysis and extension.

A very popular theory in historical linguistics distinguishes three mechanisms of

syntactic change: reanalysis, extension, and borrowing.[1] In this chapter we will discuss

reanalysis and extension. While reanalysis and extension are *internal* mechanisms of change,

involving motivations towards change from within the affected language, syntactic

borrowing is an *external* mechanism, motivated from outside the affected language.

Borrowing is a mechanism of change that takes place in a situation of language contact in

which the speakers of one language are familiar with another and replicate a linguistic

pattern of a donor language into the borrowing language.

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1. My description of these three mechanisms of syntactic change will rely heavily
on Alice C. Harris and Lyle Campbell, *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*
(CSL 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 48–150; and Lyle Campbell,
Historical Linguistics: An Introduction, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004), 283–
311. These publications seem to offer the best overview of the topic. While Harris and
Campbell (1995) is a comprehensive and in-depth study of the matter, Campbell (2004)
gives a quick and useful summary of the topic.

I will start with some theoretical preliminaries essential for an accurate understanding of reanalysis and extension as a part of the framework for this study. In the second section, I will introduce the classic definition of reanalysis formulated by Ronald Langacker. While Langacker provides many valuable observations as to the *why* of reanalysis, Harris and Campbell offer a very good account of *what* it consists of. The following two sections will present a more detailed description of reanalysis and extension based on Harris and Campbell's exposition, which in many regards can be considered an updated version of Langacker's account. However, Harris and Campbell's interpretation of reanalysis cannot be used in grammaticalization analysis without some reservations. These reservations will be expressed in the final section.

5.1 Theoretical Preliminaries

Reanalysis is generally regarded as the most important mechanism of syntactic change. It accounts for changes that take place at the morphosyntactic level and, therefore, it will prove useful in the description of grammaticalization processes from a formal perspective. A discussion of extension which is also considered a mechanism of syntactic change will be included in this chapter. Strictly speaking, extension is an effect of reanalysis rather than an independent mechanism of change, but it is convenient to keep reanalysis and extension apart. Therefore, it is possible to view reanalysis and extension as complementary processes.

Reanalysis affects changes in the underlying structure, but not the surface structure, whereas extension affects the surface structure. Since extension is a type of analogical change, it is also commonly known as analogy.[2] Reanalysis points to morphosyntactic

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2. For example, Hopper and Traugott (2003) and some other scholars use "analogy" rather than "extension." However, the term "analogy" has been used to describe so many

changes that are usually more visible in later stages of grammaticalization. For the most part,

reanalysis is a covert process, not directly observable, because it leaves the surface structure

unchanged. It is extension that—in Hopper and Traugott's words—"makes the unobservable

changes of reanalysis observable."[3] In addition to extension, also semantic and functional

changes can, to some extent, make the hidden formal changes of reanalysis accessible to our

observations. However, this role of meaning and function in describing reanalysis is not

clearly and explicitly acknowledged in the available frameworks of this process, which can

be explained by their formally oriented perspectives.

Reanalysis has various applications in linguistics and, therefore, it is mandatory to

define and clarify some theoretical issues concerning this notion. Although reanalysis was

understood in various ways, some of which were incompatible with grammaticalization

theory, it seems best to adopt it into our framework rather than invent a new term to account

for formal components in grammaticalization. Since semantic factors cannot account for all

the mechanisms that trigger and shape grammaticalization, we need to postulate the

existence of formal and structural factors that cause and determine changes in

grammaticalization. These formal forces participate in a complex interplay with other

components of language that produce changes. One of the major issues is how to account for

formal mechanisms at work in reanalysis since the observation of this process is limited by

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different phenomena that it seems to me best to follow Heine et al. and Harris and
Campbell and consistently use "extension." For more details of such preference, see Harris
and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 51. Since the understanding of analogy in Hopper and
Traugott and that of extension in Heine et al. (1991) or Harris and Campbell (1995) does
not differ in essential, I will use "extension" without any notice which term is used in the
cited source.

3. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 68.

its covert character. To some extent, we can trace back the forces underlying reanalysis on the basis of its outcome.

As a useful convention, dictated by the complexities of this subject matter, we can regard semantic mechanisms of change as responsible for semantic shifts and regard formal mechanisms of change as responsible for morphosyntactic and structural shifts. While formal changes can be explained by way of reanalysis and extension, semantic changes can be described by context-induced reinterpretation and, cognitively, through metaphorical and metonymic processing. However, we need to keep in mind that this is only a convenient simplification because formal mechanisms contribute to semantic changes and semantic factors also trigger formal and structural modifications.

In this framework, I will not view reanalysis as a process of purely syntactic nature, independent of other, functional and semantic, factors. This work will concur with Langacker's view on reanalysis,[4] that formal changes in reanalysis are a part of a comprehensive set of interdependent changes. I will rely on Harris and Campbell's work as to *what changes* reanalysis involves, however, I will not accept their view that reanalysis is supposed to account also for semantic changes, which are considered by the authors side effects of reanalysis. Harris and Campbell's view contrasts with the perspective of Heine et al., who consider formal modifications by-products of semantic change. This framework does not concur with either position in this regard. This thesis aligns with Fischer who regards semantic and formal factors of change as equal mechanisms with causal efficacy, operating on different level of abstraction.[5]

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4. Ronald W. Langacker, "Syntactic Reanalysis," in *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change* (Charles N. Li; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977), 57–139.

5. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 121–23.

In short, this framework will view grammaticalization as a complex process consisting of morphosyntactic and semantic changes that, for the most part, occur simultaneously. It emphasizes the interdependence and interaction of both semantic and formal components when producing new structures and functions. It describes the formal changes in terms of reanalysis and extension, and explains the semantic changes in terms of metaphor and metonymy. This framework does not adopt Heine et al.'s view that grammaticalization is primarily driven by semantic forces rendering formal changes mere side effects of semantic shifts. Conversely, the framework does not assume Harris and Campbell's view that grammaticalization is primarily driven by formal forces regarding semantic changes as side effects of morphosyntactic shifts.

5.2 Langacker's Classic Theory of Reanalysis

The classical understanding of reanalysis was offered by Langacker in his seminal article "Syntactic Reanalysis" in 1977. In his often-quoted definition, he characterizes reanalysis as a "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation."[6] In other words, reanalysis is a change that affects the *underlying structure* but not the *surface structure* (also referred to by Langacker as surface manifestation or surface representation). The "underlying structure" means that there is a semantic shift and a morphosyntactic shift which are not yet observable at the formal level.[7] Reanalysis does not involve any change in

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6. Langacker, "Syntactic Reanalysis," 58.

7. Even though there is some overlapping, the terms "underlying structure" and "surface structure" are not used here as they are understood in the earlier models of generative grammar. In classic Chomskyan formulation, the *deep* or *underlying* structure (later known as D-structure) is the abstract level where the meaning resides. The *surface* structure is the concrete realization of the deep structure. This realization takes place

the pronunciation and in the formal shape and structure of the expression. Since language users might become aware of the semantic change first, without seeing any difference in the surface structure, this may misled into thinking that reanalysis is triggered by semantic factors.

For Langacker, reanalysis is a morphosyntactic change, in spite of the title "Syntactic Reanalysis," because it leads to modifications at the formal level between morphemes within a word or between words and constructions. In his article, Langacker has a separate section dedicated to causes of reanalysis. He notes that any syntactic change represents a sum of different pressures, some we may identify and some may remain beyond our grasp.[8] Among other things, he discusses several general concepts that, in his view, are relevant in determining syntactic change, like the principle of simplicity or linguistic optimality. Ultimately, he does not name the causes of reanalysis in specific terms. However, he is clear about the fact that reanalysis is not caused by formal factors alone, but it "hinges on the interplay between form on the one hand and function and meaning on the other."[9]

Langacker does not assume that the mechanisms of reanalysis are the main factors that trigger and determine both morphosyntactic and semantic changes. He acknowledges the interdependence of formal and semantic factors, but does not claim that semantic shifts can

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through transformational rules. The transformational rules can rearrange the syntactic elements or constituents and generate various sentence types of *surface* structure (S-structure), but they do not change meaning. For example, the sentences "The dog found the bone" and "The bone was found by the dog" differ in S-structure because the former is an active and the latter is a passive construction, but they have the same D-structure. See Laurel J. Brinton, *The Structure of Modern English: A Linguistic Introduction* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 163–64.

8. Langacker, "Syntactic Reanalysis," 99–100.

9. Langacker, "Syntactic Reanalysis," 116.

be accounted for by reanalysis, which seems to be assumed by Harris and Campbell. Therefore his understanding of reanalysis is consonant with the way grammaticalization is understood in this thesis.

In the 1980s and in subsequent years, the definitions of reanalysis depended, to a greater or lesser degree, on Langacker's formulation of this process. However, his observation that reanalysis results from an interplay of meaning, function, and form, did not attract the attention of linguists and was quickly marginalized. Reanalysis became almost uniquely associated with syntactic manipulation, independent of function and meaning. As such, it fitted particularly well into the Chomskyan perspective of language, and numerous generative linguists operated with this term in their studies of syntactic change.[10]

5.3 Reanalysis in Harris and Campbell

Harris and Campbell base their definition of *reanalysis* on Langacker's formulation of this process proposed in his article from 1977. They define it as a mechanism that changes the underlying structure of syntactic patterns without any modification to its surface manifestation. Changes in *underlying structure* can affect constituency and hierarchical structure, category membership, grammatical relations, and cohesion.[11] *Surface manifestation*, also called surface structure, includes: morphological marking (e.g., as manifested by inflectional affixes of case, agreement, gender) and word order.[12] In

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10. For a list of generativists who adopted the notion of reanalysis into their frameworks, see Haspelmath, "Does Grammaticalization," 317.

11. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 50–51, 61. Cohesion is not relevant for this study and will not be discussed.

12. Since Harris and Campbell are focused on formal morphosyntactic changes, they use "reanalysis" and "reinterpretation" without making any distinction between these two terms (as they state it on p. 51). In my framework, however, I use "reinterpretation" to

reanalysis, the underlying structure is altered, while the surface structure may remain the same. Reanalysis is characterized by surface ambiguity that theoretically allows the possibility of more than one analysis of the same structure. In practice, however, the context of use can significantly reduce, or even rule out, the possibility of ambiguity. Reanalysis can introduce a brand-new construction into a language, not previously available.

The change in the hierarchical structure of the sentence is probably the most important type of reanalysis. It is manifested as rebracketing in constituency representations. *Bracketing* is a technique in linguistics that displays the internal or hierarchical structure of constituent elements of a sentence. For example, the syntactic structure of the sentence "The man saw a dog" can be represented in brackets: $[_{NP}$ the man] $[_{VP}$ $[_V$ saw] $[_{NP}$ a dog]].[13] *Rebracketing* is a result of changes that affect the hierarchical syntactic structure when a new bracketing is required to reflect the changes.

A frequently discussed instance of reanalysis is the development of "be going" into a future auxiliary. Campbell offers the following interpretation:

(1) Hermione is going to marry Ron.

   Structure: Hermione is going $_{\text{VERB OF MOTION}}$ to marry Ron.

  [[Hermione] [is going] [to marry Ron]].

(2) Hermione is going to marry Ron.

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point to semantic modifications and "reanalysis" to indicate formal shifts. Moreover, we need to keep in mind that for Harris and Campbell the term "syntactic" frequently implies *morphological* and *syntactic* changes. Such extended use of "syntactic" is common in linguistics, but I prefer to use "morphosyntactic" when I explicitly mean both modifications.

13. Consider the following abbreviations: S - sentence; V - verb, NP - noun phrase, VP - verb phrase.

Structure: Hermione is going _{FUTURE AUXILIARY} to marry Ron.

[[Hermione] [is going to] [marry Ron]].

In (1), "be going" is a lexical verb of motion, whereas in (2) it is reanalyzed as a future auxiliary. The surface structure of (1) and (2) remained unchanged; they are identical, but the internal or underlying structures and meaning are different.[14] The changes are reflected in the rebracketing. We may further note that reanalysis is facilitated when some specific information associated with the reanalyzed construction is removed. For example, the removal of spatial information in a sentence with "be going to" creates a possibility to read the same message in two different ways: as a lexical verb of motion or as a future marker, as in: "I am going [to New York] to visit my aunt." Campbell's analysis seems to suggest that the new meaning and function produced by reanalysis may indicate language users that an old construction is used in a new way.

The change of *category membership*, also commonly known as *decategorialization*, takes place in reanalysis when the reanalyzed element shifts from one category status to another. Typically, it is a shift from a major to a minor category.[15] A common change of this kind occurs when a verb or a noun become reanalyzed as a preposition. Very frequently, such change is part of a grammaticalization process whereby a lexical category is gradually reassigned to grammatical category as a functional marker.

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14. This analysis and illustrations are from Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 284.

15. Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Lexicalization and Language Change* (Research Surveys in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 25.

Grammatical relations include subject, direct object, indirect object, and other similar syntactic relations (p. 259-60). For example, in Latin the grammatical relation, subject, was coded by the nominative case, while the accusative case was typically used as a direct object. In Old English, a rule of inversion turned initial subjects into indirect objects, as in the construction "me thinks," traditionally considered an impersonal construction. In this construction, the surface object "me" was an underlying subject. Over time, this surface object that functioned as an underlying subject was reanalyzed as a surface (and underlying) subject.[16]

5.4 Extension

According to Harris and Campbell, extension produces changes in the surface structure of a syntactic pattern without any modification of its underlying structure.[17] Extension is a mechanism in which the functional scope of a reanalyzed element is enlarged. The earlier construction is extended to new contexts of use, formerly unacceptable, indicating a shift in meaning and function. The same construction is assigned to more grammatical relations at a later stage than at an earlier stage.

Starting with a simpler illustration of extension from Campbell,[18] we can analyze the extension of "be going." Reanalysis created a new future auxiliary from what earlier had been a verb of motion with the purposive complement *"to* + infinitive." Subsequent extension expanded the new function so that "be going" could be used with verbs which were not allowed by the earlier meaning. As a verb of motion, "be going" could have only a

16. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 63.

17. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 51, 97.

18. Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 285.

particular kind of purposive complements, as in "I am going to eat," where the purposive infinitival construction was used in the sense "in order to eat." After reanalysis, the new construction was extended so that practically any verb could occur in the infinitival phrase, which was not possible in its former sense as a verb of motion. We can consider the extended use of "be going" in the following illustrations from Campbell:

Ron is going to like Hermione.

Hermione is going to go to Hogwarts.

It is going to rain. (with a nonanimate subject)

For the analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs, it will be helpful to study the reanalysis of the Italian verb *stare* 'stand' that in the nineteenth century was grammaticalized into the auxiliary of progressiveness. In modern Italian, the verb *stare* in construction with gerund forms of other verbs can be considered roughly an equivalent of the English auxiliary 'be,' as in *sto leggendo* "I am reading" or *stavo camminando* "I was walking." It was grammaticalized in the *sto facendo* "I am doing" construction consisting of the finite forms of *stare* and a gerund of another verb.

As it will be discussed at more length in the next section, according to Harris and Campbell bleaching is the most essential semantic mechanism occurring in grammaticalization. It seems worth noting here that *stare* was not grammaticalized because it gradually lost its meaning 'stand' in the construction with gerund forms of other verbs. On the contrary, it was this specific meaning and this specific syntactic configuration that gave rise to its grammaticalization. Before the grammaticalization of this structure, the verbs in gerund expressed the action performed while a person was standing up, as in: *sta leggendo*

"he stands reading," *sta guardando il tramonto del sole* "he stands watching the sunset."

Semantically, the former meaning, the upright posture of the body while standing on the feet,

underwent metaphorization that can be explained as ACTIVITY-to-TIME categorial metaphor.

The physical posture denoted by *stare* was mapped onto the domain of time resulting in the

grammatical notion of progressiveness. Syntactically, *'stare* + gerund' construction was

reanalyzed from [[*stare*] [gerund]] into [*stare* gerund], affecting the hierarchical structure of

this phrase. In the early twentieth century, this new auxiliary construction had some

constraints. Its use was restricted to verbs that denoted activities compatible with immobility

and standing posture like eating, reading, watching, talking. However, verbs that denoted

movement were excluded from such construction because we cannot walk or run while we

are immobile. This constraint indicates the persistence of the earlier lexical meaning. This

means that even though *stare* was in the course of semantic weakening, it was still

associated with its literal meaning of standing posture. Only after *stare* underwent sufficient

desemanticization so that in this construction it was no longer associated with standing

posture and being immobile, the functional scope of the reanalyzed constructions was

enlarged. At that point, it was possible to say: *sta camminando* "he is walking," *sta*

correndo "he is running," *sta dormendo* "he is sleeping," or *sta piovendo* "it is raining." This

extension to verbs implying movement and meteorological activity is a development that

took place only a few decades ago.[19]

       We can conclude that in this specific case, the extension would not have been

possible without desemanticization. However, this desemanticization cannot be considered a

loss of meaning (as it is assumed in Harris and Campbell's interpretation of

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       19. The development of *stare* into the auxiliary of progressiveness is summarized in
Martin Maiden and Cecilia Robustelli, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Italian* (Chicago:
McGraw-Hill, 2000), 302–3.

grammaticalization) because the earlier meaning motivated and determined the grammaticalized meaning. The earlier meaning was transformed through metaphorization and pragmatic strengthening into a more abstract grammatical meaning, rather than lost without any trace or impact on the new function. In this perspective, we can say that the older lexical meaning *lives on* in the new grammatical function.[20]

It is important to note that after the construction "*stare* + gerund" was grammaticalized, *stare* could no longer occur as a lexical verb in such construction, that is, with gerunds immediately following it. This structure started to be uniquely associated with the grammaticalized function of *stare* and has always been considered an auxiliary verb construction. If we want to say in Italian that we are doing something while standing, we need to separate *stare* from the gerund by the phrase *in piedi* "on feet," as in *Sta in piedi asoltando la musica* "He stands listening to music." This demonstrates how grammaticalization, through reanalysis and extension, puts constrains on the old and new structures.

Now let us consider some aspects of the reanalysis and extension of the Hebrew verbs שָׁב 'return' and יָסַף 'add.' Before these verbs underwent grammaticalization - *semantically* through metaphorical and metonymic processing and *syntactically* through reanalysis - they were used in their literal meanings, 'return, go back' and 'add,' and had specific syntactic patterns. At an earlier stage, the intransitive verb שָׁב was a verb of motion, used with a locative complement that expressed the place of return, while the transitive verb יָסַף had complements in the form of direct objects or prepositional phrases, as in the following:

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20. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 119.

Numbers 23:16

שׁ֣וּב אֶל־בָּלָ֔ק וְכֹ֖ה תְדַבֵּֽר׃

Go back to Balak, and that is what you must say.

1 Samuel 12:1

כִּֽי־יָסַ֤פְנוּ עַל־כָּל־חַטֹּאתֵ֙ינוּ֙ רָעָ֔ה לִשְׁאֹ֥ל לָ֖נוּ מֶֽלֶךְ׃

. . . for we have added to all our sins the evil of asking a king for ourselves.

After reanalysis, in the new function, שָׁב was no longer used with the locative phrases (like אֶל־בָּלָק "to Balak") and יָסַף lost its earlier argument structure, that is, the ability to be used with its usual complements (like the direct object רָעָ֔ה "evil" or the prepositional phrase עַל־כָּל־חַטֹּאתֵ֙ינוּ֙ "in addition to all our sins"). Reanalysis changed their grammatical relations in that, as auxiliary verbs, they required only one argument: a subject. Grammaticalization turned them into one-argument verbs that were not able to have other arguments or adjuncts.

After reanalysis, the new meanings of שָׁב and יָסַף gradually extended their functional scope to contexts that were unavailable before. Semantic processes, discussed in earlier chapters, and reanalysis turned them into auxiliary verbs with new syntactic patterns: auxiliary verb constructions. They governed syntactically and modified semantically another verb that followed in a finite form, agreeing with the auxiliary in person and number. In the emerging auxiliary verb construction, the same subject was assumed by the two finite verbs. The whole construction formed a syntactic and semantic unit, as illustrated below:

Deuteronomy 30:8

וְאַתָּ֣ה תָשׁ֔וּב וְשָׁמַעְתָּ֖ בְּק֣וֹל יְהוָ֑ה וְעָשִׂ֙יתָ֙ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֺתָ֔יו

You shall again obey (lit., return and obey) the LORD and observe all his commandments.

Genesis 25:1

וַיֹּ֧סֶף אַבְרָהָ֛ם וַיִּקַּ֥ח אִשָּׁ֖ה וּשְׁמָ֥הּ קְטוּרָֽה׃

Abraham married another woman (lit., Abraham added and took a wife) whose name was Keturah.

After the reanalyzed biclausal auxiliary construction and its function were well-established, the biclausal surface structure gave rise to a monoclausal structure. This change took place when the lexical verb of the auxiliary verb construction started to appear in the infinitive. A monoclausal structure seems to be less ambiguous (and easier to understand) than the biclausal one. A monoclausal structure is also more economical in terms of the Economy Principle.[21] Therefore, the rise of monoclausal out of biclausal construction seemed to be a natural development in a language like Hebrew that made an extensive use of infinitives. The introduction of the monoclausal auxiliary verb construction, in addition to the earlier biclausal construction, can be regarded as a further extension because there is a modification in the surface structure but not in the meaning and function. This change

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21. In the latest generative framework, the Minimalist Program, the tendency to simplify the biclausal structures is expressed by Economy Principle, one of the basic principles underlying the Minimalist Program. According to Radford, the Economy Principle requires that "all other things being equal, syntactic representations should contain as few constituents and syntactic derivations involve as few grammatical operations as possible." Andrew Radford, *Minimalist Syntax: Exploring the Structure of English* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 449.

affected the surface structure without any modification of the underlying structure.

Monoclausal structures of the discussed Hebrew auxiliaries can be seen in the following:

Nehemiah 9:28

יָשׁוּבוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת רַע לְפָנֶיךָ

They would do evil again before you.

Judges 13:1

וַיֹּסִפוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה

Again the Israelites did evil in the eyes of the LORD.

Reanalysis of שָׁב and יָסַף in Hebrew is an example of *grammaticalization across clauses*: the verbal predicates of two coordinated clauses are syntactically reanalyzed and semantically reinterpreted as a single unit. This process results in a new underlying structure which violates clause boundaries. At the same time, the surface structure remains unchanged. Even though the surface manifestation continues to be a biclausal structure, the underlying structure is monoclausal because two coordinated finite verbs come to function, syntactically and semantically, as one complex unit. The first verb functions as the auxiliary and the second as the lexical verb. In many languages, this kind of cross-clausal reanalysis gradually leads to simplification of biclausal into a monoclausal surface structure. However, such simplification depends on the syntactic structures available in a language. For example, if a language has a long-standing practice of using two-verb constructions in which the first verb, the governing verb, is in a finite form and the second, governed verb is in a nonfinite form (infinitive, gerund, participle), like in English "I like doing" or "I like to do," then the

process of simplification of a new reanalyzed biclausal structure can be relatively quick. However, even if a language has such constructions available, this simplification into a monoclausal formation can take a long time, or not happen at all, for some specific syntactic and semantic constrains inherent in a language.

We should rule out the opposite possibility of the development, that is, of biclausal out of monoclausal structure. The available data from world languages reveals that there is a general diachronic tendency to simplify the surface biclausal structures if its underlying structure is monoclausal. In the case of שֵׁב and יָסַף, it is relatively easy to prove that the grammaticalized, and more abstract, meaning derives from the lexical, and more concrete, meaning. As lexical verbs, שֵׁב and יָסַף do not occur in monoclausal combinations in which they modify an infinitive of another verb. This means that they were reanalyzed into one underlying structure with finite verbs belonging to another clause.

Listed below are several illustrations of biclausal auxiliary verb constructions from modern Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, North Germanic languages, that are close both geographically and genetically. In these languages, the verbs 'sit,' 'stand,' and 'lie,' were reanalyzed as aspectual auxiliaries that can express durative, continuative and progressive aspect.[22] They appear in the following construction:

'sit'/'stand'/'lie' + and + main verb

The details of this reanalysis are beyond the scope of this work. The illustrations offered below will make us aware of the fact that Hebrew, and other Semitic languages, are not

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22. Danish: *sidde* 'sit,' *stå* 'stand,' *ligge* 'lie'; Norwegian: *sitte* 'sit,' stå 'stand,' *ligge* 'lie'*; Swedish: sitta* 'sit,' *stå* 'stand,' *ligga* 'lie.'

unique in this kind of biclausal auxiliation processes. Moreover, each of these three verbs are the basic bodily posture verbs and, as such belong (along with other basic motion verbs like *go*, *come*, *run*, etc.) to verbs often recruited for grammaticalization. This will further inform our understanding of the cognitive notion of embodiment, or embodied experience, in relation to grammaticalization and auxiliation. Let us consider the following:[23]

1) SWEDISH:

Vi satt och pratade. "We were chatting." (lit., We sat and chatted).

Han sitter och läser. "He is reading. (lit., He sits and reads).

Han satt och läste en bok. "He was reading a book" (lit., He sat and read a book).

2) NORWEGIAN:

Hun sitter og leser. "She is reading" (lit., She sits and reads).

Han sitter og skriver brev. "He is writing letters" (lit., He sits and writes letters).

Hun satt og leste. "She was reading" (lit., She sat and read).

Jeg stod og så på barnetoget. "I was looking at the children's parade" (lit., I stood and looked at the children's parade).

Hun står og singer. "They are singing" (lit., They stand and sing).

3) DANISH:

Vi sad og sludrede. "We were chatting" (lit., We sat and chatted).

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23. The description of these verbs as auxiliaries relies on, and most of the illustrations are taken from: Kuteva, *Auxiliation*, 43–49, and Anna-Lena Wiklund, *The Syntax of Tenselessness: Tense/mood/aspect-Agreeing Infinitivals* (SGG 92; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), 93–100.

De sitter og læser. "They are reading" (lit. They sit and read).

De sidde og skrive. "They are writing" (lit., They sit and write).

Han stod og vendete på hende. "He was waiting for her" (lit., He stood and waited
for her).

In these languages, all three verbs express the progressive aspect, to some degree
similar to English "be doing" or Italian '*stare* + gerund' constructions. This phenomenon of
biclausal surface structure with an underlying monoclausal structure, expressed by two
coordinated clauses with two finite verbs, is sometimes described by the grammarians of
these languages as *pseudocoordination*.[24] I do not think this term fully captures the idea of
biclausal surface manifestation with an underlying monoclausal structure.
"Pseudocoordination" points only to the syntactic aspect of such constructions and ignores
their semantic complexities.

5.5 Controversies about Reanalysis in Grammaticalization Research

In the last fifteen years reanalysis has been widely understood as it was formulated by
Harris and Campbell in 1995. Their study of reanalysis is focused on *what* reanalysis
consists of, and indicate some general mechanisms that shape it. Campbell and, to a lesser
degree, Harris are known as leading advocates of a reductive understanding of
grammaticalization as a linguistic theory. Although students of grammaticalization do not
agree with their viewpoint, this does not discourage them from selectively adopting Harris
and Campbell's exposition of reanalysis into their research.[25] Due to the comprehensive

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24. For more details on pseudocoordination, see Wiklund, *Syntax of
Tenselessness*, 125–56.

25. For example, in their presentation of reanalysis and extension, Hopper and

character of the framework in this thesis, we will discuss Harris and Campbell's understanding of grammaticalization within their framework of formal changes.

According to Harris and Campbell, their theory of syntactic change takes into consideration both formalist and functionalist motivations for language change. When explaining language change in general and syntactic change in particular, the *generative approach* emphasizes the role of language acquisition mediated by linguistic universals. All universals are taken to be part of human biological endowment. Language change is seen as a result of transition from generation to generation, explained in terms of child language acquisition. In the *functional approach*, on the other hand, language change is viewed as the consequence of language used to fulfill its communicative functions. Harris and Campbell employ the advances of the two approaches in a selective and critical way. For example, they find the generativist hypothesis of the autonomous syntax as "inadequate" and "unnecessarily unrealistic." While they recognize the value of functionalist explanations coming from linguistic typology, discourse analysis, and grammaticalization, they also recognize limitations, such as the "lack of rigor and the excessive speculations" on the part of some functionalists.[26]

Harris and Campbell state that they build their theory of syntactic change on the advances proposed by formalist and functionalist approaches. For example, in their analyses they often use terms that belong to a framework developed within functionalist perspective, such as "grammaticalization" or "grammaticalized." However, Harris and Campbell's

Traugott depend on Harris and Campbell (1995). Some remarks concerning Harris and Campbell's criticism of grammaticalization can be found in Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 34–35.

26. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 46–47.

framework can be described as formally inclined, closer to a generativist rather than a functionalist perspective. They describe formal changes mainly in terms of underlying and surface structures, and they explain the outcome produced by reanalysis and extension in terms of constituency, hierarchical structure, and category membership, with little attention to functional and semantic changes that occur in reanalysis and extension. In their framework, the semantic and functional components are not assigned any strategic or causal role in the mechanisms of change. They are epiphenomenal of formal changes. According to Harris and Campbell, it is reanalysis that motivates and determines semantic changes inherent in grammaticalization. Therefore, although Harris and Campbell do not work within the Chomskyan perspective, they treat reanalysis as the only major mechanism of diachronic change which is supposed to account for all major changes.[27]

In addition, Harris and Campbell assume a model of grammaticalization that was already criticized by grammaticalization linguists in the late 1980s. Specifically, they regard "bleaching," or the loss of earlier meaning, as the only essential mechanism of semantic change in grammaticalization. Since, according to the authors, the loss of earlier semantic features is practically the only important semantic change in grammaticalization, it is not surprising that they consider grammaticalization as a syntactic process and as a subtype of reanalysis. Consequently, Harris and Campbell take a reductive perspective on grammaticalization. Even though they often use the terms "grammaticalization" and "grammaticalized," their interpretation of grammaticalization sharply differs from the way it is understood in this framework or in functionalist literature.

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27. For a critical assessment of Harris and Campbell's treatment of reanalysis that includes grammaticalization, see Haspelmath, "Does Grammaticalization," 317, 344.

Although Harris and Campbell do not propose any systematic understanding of semantic changes in relation to formal changes, they frequently make marginal observations about the status of the semantic aspect of changes. In those observations, the authors suggest that semantic changes are a side effect of syntactic changes of reanalysis, noting: "The transfer of meaning (or function) involves one or two processes of reanalysis."[28] They also discuss the "semantic consequences of reanalysis." Perhaps, to some extent, their lack of interest in semantic changes can be explained by their focus on syntactic mechanisms of change as they formulate a theory of *syntactic* changes. At first, it might seem a reasonable approach; however, we need to note that reanalysis is only a mechanism of formal morphosyntactic change. In my opinion, considering the manner in which reanalysis is defined by Harris and Campbell, it has no potential to capture and explain the details of semantic changes. If reanalysis is assumed to account also for semantic changes, this needs to be explicitly and clearly formulated in the definition of this mechanism, rather than mentioned casually and parenthetically in other parts of their monograph.

Harris and Campbell note that most changes in language have multiple causes which are complex. In their view, common causes of syntactic change are surface ambiguity (ambiguity in the surface structure, but not in the underlying structure), language contact, and analogues (instances of structural similarity). According to the authors, the most important factor that motivates reanalysis is structural ambiguity: the patterns that have the potential for multiple structural analyses and provide the input to reanalysis.[29] Although these causal factors are not explicitly mentioned to involve pragmatic forces, they point out that "a tension between the speaker's need for concise expressions and the hearer's need for

28. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 90.

29. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 72.

redundancy and more elaborated expressions is often credited with causing changes."[30] This

observation seems to be the only allusion they make to pragmatic factors. Apart from that,

their approach is focused on syntactic changes without any reference to the pragmatics of

language use in terms of implicatures or inferences. In this regard, they are similar to

formalist linguists who assume that it is syntax that feeds discourse, and they do not discuss

the role of discourse because it is epiphenomenal. This view is in contrast to functionalists

who assume that it is discourse that feeds grammar.[31]

Harris and Campbell consider grammaticalization only as a subtype of changes

occurring in reanalysis. In their words:

> Grammaticalization is one type of macro-change, consisting minimally of one
> process of reanalysis, but frequently involving more than one reanalysis. . . .
> Grammaticalization is often associated with "semantic bleaching," and this
> "bleaching" is the result of reanalysis or, perhaps better said, it is the essence of
> reanalysis itself.[32]

On the basis of this quotation, we can conclude that for Harris and Campbell

grammaticalization is mainly a mechanism of syntactic change because it is only a subtype

of changes that reanalysis can bring about. They consider "bleaching" as the essence of

semantic changes occurring in grammaticalization.

After Sweetser's article from 1988, which was critical of semantic bleaching as a

defining parameter in grammaticalization, the importance of semantic loss was markedly

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30. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 53.

31. This distinction is from Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 211.

32. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 92.

downplayed.[33] Heine et al., in 1991, consider semantic weakening as an important aspect of grammaticalization, but according to them it is "inadequate as a descriptive or explanatory parameter of grammaticalization."[34] In the last two decades, students of grammaticalization drastically diminished the importance of semantic weakening and instead underlined the importance of pragmatic enrichment and retention of source meaning in the process, as well as cognitive manipulation through metaphorical and metonymic conceptualization.[35]

Perhaps it is possible to understand Harris and Campbell's criticism of bleaching in 1995. However, Campbell repeats the same criticism in a number of his later publications, notably in the second edition of his *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*, published in 2004. In that book he briefly presents grammaticalization and, among other things, notes that grammaticalization is "typically associated with *semantic bleaching* and *phonological reduction*" (italics in the original).[36] This means that his understanding of grammaticalization is still based on the old "bleaching" models popular until the late 1980s. The repeated association of grammaticalization with "bleaching" as its most characteristic feature presents a rather distorted view of grammaticalization and disregards later developments in grammaticalization studies. Moreover, Campbell observes that "grammaticalization involves reanalysis, but reanalysis is a much more powerful mechanism of change and is by no means limited to nor coextensive with grammaticalization." He concludes his presentation by pointing out that "many find grammaticalization derivative,

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33. Sweetser, "Grammaticalization and Semantic Bleaching," 389–405.

34. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 41.

35. Newmeyer, *Language Form*, 229.

36. Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 293.

perhaps an interesting intersection of these various sorts of change, but with no explanatory status of its own."[37]

In his *Language Function and Language Form*, Frederick Newmeyer, one of the leading exponents of generative linguistics, attempts to reconcile form and function using the advances of both generativist and functionalist approaches to language. Newmeyer divides grammaticalization into three major components: morphosyntactic reanalysis, semantic change, and phonetic reduction. Similar to Langacker, Newmeyer notes that reanalysis does not occur in isolation, but it is accompanied by a variety of other changes, of which the foremost are semantic.[38] He also observes that *sometimes* the semantic changes may precede the morphosyntactic changes and *sometimes* they follow them. According to him, the position adopted by Harris and Campbell that semantic changes in grammaticalization are almost always the result of syntactic reanalysis is the most controversial.[39]

At this juncture, it needs to be reminded that, from its outset, grammaticalization has been a linguistic theory[40] and a research project, formulated in a variety of ways, but always focused on *why* and *how* purely lexical items become grammar, or how some grammatical categories further develop new grammatical functions. The major task of grammaticalization has been to explain why grammatical categories and grammatical constructions are

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37. The last two quotations are from Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 297.

38. Newmeyer, *Language Form*, 228.

39. Newmeyer, *Language Form*, 249.

40. Olga Fischer's recent work provides the most in-depth discussion, and defense, of grammaticalization as a valid linguistic theoretical framework. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 53–58.

organized the way they are. In sum, grammaticalization—in a systematic way and from a specific perspective—studies the development of the strategic component of language which we call *grammar*. Criticising this project for making use of the common explanatory mechanisms of change occurring elsewhere in language seems to miss the point.

Finally, we need to address Heine et al.'s reluctance to make use of reanalysis in their framework. According to Heine and his colleagues, reanalysis is one of the most spectacular effects that conceptual manipulation and semantic shifts have on language structure. Grammaticalization affects not only a specific construction but the series of constituents it typically belongs to. As it has been pointed out, for Heine et al., formal factors that can be accounted for by reanalysis are side effects of conceptual and semantic changes rather than causal mechanisms. Even though they admit that there are reasons for which grammaticalization and reanalysis might seem to be "inseparable twins," they think it is best to keep them separate because reanalysis is potentially reversible and bidirectional, whereas grammaticalization is essentially irreversible and unidirectional, and also because some grammaticalization processes are not accompanied by reanalysis.[41]

In this study, contrary to the view of Heine et al., formal components are no longer regarded as mere by-products of semantic change but as important causal mechanisms. The inclusion of reanalysis and extension into the present framework acknowledges this strategic role of structural components and provides theoretical tools that can account for morphosyntactic modifications in grammaticalization. The employment of reanalysis, which is sometimes a bidirectional mechanism of change, does not need to presuppose that we abandon the idea of unidirectionality inherent in grammaticalization. Also, other mechanisms of change, such as metaphor and metonymy, are not unique to

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41. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 219.

grammaticalization since they modify semantic structures in the lexicon and in the grammar. In my view, the importance of grammaticalization theory does not lie in the fact that it consists of unique mechanisms of change, not found elsewhere. Grammaticalization is important because it is primarily focused on the rise and evolution of grammatical and functional categories. As such, it has provided innumerable insights into the nature of language from this specific perspective.

CHAPTER 6

AUXILIARY VERBS AND AUXILIATION

This chapter will introduce the notion of auxiliation and offer a definition of
auxiliary verbs. It will begin with a general introduction to auxiliary verbs as they are
understood in linguistic literature. It will continue with a brief presentation of English
auxiliaries, especially as they are described in reference grammars. The final section will
further explore the concept of auxiliation and offer a crosslinguistic definition of auxiliary
verbs relevant for the analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs.

6.1 Auxiliaries: An Introduction

In linguistic literature, *auxiliary verbs* or *auxiliaries*, are defined in line with their
original meaning from Latin *auxilium* 'help', that is "helping verbs." When people,
including some linguists, hear in English "auxiliary verb," they invariably think of verbs like
'be, have, do' or modal auxiliaries like 'must,' 'may,' 'should,' etc. Crosslinguistically,
however, the concept of auxiliary verbs is broader. It includes auxiliary verbs like the above-
mentioned English auxiliaries, whose role is central to the English verbal system, as well as
other kinds of verbs whose grammatical role is less central in the overall language system.
While tense, aspect and modality are usually considered the core domains of auxiliaries, the
range of notional domains associated with auxiliation is greater than that, and there is
disagreement in regard to what constitutes the other notions.[1] In spite of close affinities

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1. Bernd Heine, *Auxiliaries: Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization* (New York:
Oxford University Press, 1993), 16. According to Heine (ibidem p. 26), "In the recent
history of linguistics, auxiliaries have provided one of the most popular battlegrounds for
disputes on linguistic theories."

between languages within the same genetic family, every language is unique, and all languages that have auxiliary verbs have their own tradition of describing them. Niels Davidsen-Nielsen in his comparison of tense and mood systems between English and Danish, two languages close genetically and geographically, points out that the 'NICE' properties (discussed in the next section) of the English auxiliaries, which provide syntactic criteria for distinguishing auxiliaries from lexical verbs, are of no use in Danish where the syntactic behavior of auxiliaries is not different from lexical verbs.[2] As a result, the description of auxiliaries differs from language to language.

Auxiliaries are defined in various ways across languages, with different degrees of overlapping definitions. However, in *all* languages that have them, auxiliaries belong to the closed-class verb category and they are defined in terms of their semantic and morphosyntactic properties, usually in contrast to other, open-class, or lexical verbs. When lexical verbs appear in combinations with auxiliary verbs, they are often called *main* verbs or *full* verbs. The auxiliaries combine with lexical verbs to form a single predicate. Such combinations of auxiliary and lexical verbs are known as auxiliary verb constructions. Crosslinguistically, the auxiliaries may differ in what they express (e.g., tense, aspect, voice, modality or other notions), but most theories will agree on what they do not express.[3] Specifically, they do not express the principal semantic sense in a verb phrase, as this is done by lexical verbs.[4]

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2. Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, *Tense and Mood in English: A Comparison with Danish* (TiEL 1; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990), 16–17.

3. See Thomas E. Payne, *Exploring Language Structure: A Student's Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 323.

4. As in "I have been waiting for three hours" where *have been* expresses the grammatical function and *waiting* gives the main semantic sense of the verbal phrase.

Sometimes the terms "main verb" and "full verb" are used in linguistic literature for the verb that I call "lexical verb" in an auxiliary verb construction. Some linguists may use "lexical verb," "main verb," and "full verb" interchangeably. While the term lexical verb is generally considered a neutral term, "full verb" and, especially, "main verb" are less so. "Lexical verb" merely points that a verb belongs to the lexicon and is not a an auxiliary verb that fulfils a grammatical function. "Full verb" is based on the division of linguistic units into "full words" and "empty words." *Full words* , such as like 'sing,' 'bread,' 'beautiful,' belong to the lexicon and have concrete lexical contents, whereas *empty words*, such as 'while,' 'because,' 'this,' serve grammatical functions and are "empty" in the sense of not having a concrete lexical meaning. However, some linguists point out that calling grammatical words as "empty" does not do justice to their semantic force. Although grammatical words and constructions, including auxiliary verbs, have a more abstract meaning than the lexical units, it does not mean that they have little or no semantic value, which "empty" seems to imply.

The term main verb indicates that the lexical verb contributes the principal semantic meaning in an auxiliary verb construction whereas the auxiliary verb provides a more abstract grammatical notion. The main verb has semantic weight that the auxiliary verb does not have. Additionally, however, "main verb" may suggest that the lexical verb is the most important constituent, or the head, of the auxiliary verb construction. In this regard, the term "main verb" is less neutral than "lexical verb" that does not have such connotation. Therefore, "main verb" is particularly suited for framework that consider the lexical verb as the head of the auxiliary verb construction whereby the auxiliary verbs are its dependents. For example, in Bach and Davidsen-Nielsen, lexical verbs are heads of auxiliary constructions. In their framework, in the sentence "Jack may have been treating Sophia very

badly," "treating" is the head of the three preceding auxiliary verbs "may have been." In more formally-oriented frameworks, it is usually the finite verb, regardless of its being auxiliary or lexical, that is regarded as the head of verb phrases. In such frameworks, in the above sentence it is the modal verb "may" that would be considered the head of the whole construction. In such approaches, it may be somewhat misleading to call lexical verbs as "main verbs." However, a possible ambiguity inherent in the use of "main verb" can be avoided if all the terms are carefully defined and described. For example, in Payne's framework, in the sentence "My daughter is reading a book," the auxiliary verb "is" is the syntactic head of the verb phrase "is reading a book." In other words, "is" governs the lexical verb "reading." Payne points out that the auxiliary "is" determines the form of the lexical verb. In this construction, the auxiliary requires an *-ing* form of the lexical verb. Payne also observes that the auxiliary verb "governs the semantically main verb that follows."[5] Such important observation leaves practically no room for misunderstanding of the term main verb.

Some auxiliary verbs belong to the grammar only. The English modals, like 'may,' 'can,' 'should,' are never used as lexical verbs. Other English auxiliaries, like 'be,' 'have,' 'do,' are members of both subsystems. They may be used as lexical verbs or as auxiliary verbs. The ambiguity is usually eliminated by the context and by particular constructions in which they appear. For example, the verb 'have' is often used as a lexical verb with direct objects, in the sense 'possess' (as in "I have five books"), and as the auxiliary verb in verbal formations called "tenses" (as in "I have taken an exam"). The distinction between lexical and grammatical functions in these auxiliaries is relatively straightforward because as

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5. Payne, *Exploring Language*, 175.

auxiliaries they occur in special and easy to recognize auxiliary constructions with nonfinite forms of lexical verbs.[6] Consider the following:

> I am reading a book. We were watching a movie.
>
> He has been waiting for you for half an hour.

The distinction between the lexical and grammatical function may be a little more complicated in verbs that appear in the same syntactic constructions both as lexical and as auxiliary verbs. For example, the verb 'go' is used in progressive constructions "be going to" as a future marker and as a lexical verb of motion. In such cases, the context is the main guide to help our interpretation. In the sentence "I am going to eat," the meaning of "be going" cannot be interpreted without additional information provided by the situational context.

6.2 English Auxiliaries

English auxiliaries are highly grammaticalized and syntactically idiosyncratic with respect to other non-auxiliary verbs. Their long history of development from lexical to grammatical functions is well-documented in written sources. These auxiliaries are a fascinating field of study because scholars can easily trace various stages of their grammaticalization and explore the changes that motivated them. For this reason, many

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6. In many languages, including English, the auxiliaries can occur alone, without the main verb, only in situations of ellipsis when the lexical meaning expressed by the main verb can be recovered from the context, as in English "Will she come?" "Yes, she will." The co-occurrence of the auxiliaries with the main verbs is further explained in Paul Kroeger, *Analyzing Syntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 241.

researchers in grammaticalization have dedicated a lot of their attention to English auxiliaries. They have been much less interested in auxiliary verbs that were less grammaticalized or strategically peripheral in the grammatical systems of other languages. From the typological perspective, Hebrew auxiliary verbs, as a peripheral kind of auxiliaries, belong to this less studied field of auxiliation.

Modern reference grammars are works in which current linguistic theories are applied to the description of a particular language. Considering their general scope and language-particular orientation, in such grammars the meanings of linguistic concepts, many of which have *broad* application for crosslinguistic reference, are often semantically narrowed to accommodate the descriptive need of a theory and to account for typical and unique phenomena of a language. Most people who know anything about auxiliary verbs will usually have their knowledge modelled on English auxiliaries as they are explained in reference grammars. Since this dissertation is written in English and its goal is to describe a set of Hebrew verbs as auxiliary verbs, some readers will automatically attempt to understand the Hebrew auxiliaries in terms of features and parameters typical of the English auxiliaries.

English is a language rich in auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, some languages have very few auxiliary verbs or no auxiliaries at all. In those languages, grammatical ideas that are related to those of English auxiliaries are expressed lexically, or morphologically by way of affixes, rather than syntactically in periphrastic constructions as it is done in English.[7]

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7. See Schachter and Shopen, "Parts-of-Speech," 43. In their recent grammar of English, Huddleston and Pullum note, "[English] auxiliaries tend to express the same kinds of meaning as inflections, but are syntactically separate words." See Rodney D. Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum, eds., *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103.

Since the familiar term "auxiliary verbs" is used in this analysis in a broader and less familiar sense even to linguists who are not acquainted with the research in linguistic typology and grammaticalization studies, a brief comparison between auxiliary verbs as they are understood in crosslinguistic literature with the English auxiliaries is essential.

Arguably, the most influential reference grammars of English in recent decades were published by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik, first in 1972 *A Grammar of Contemporary English* and in 1985 *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (from now on, *CGEL*).[8] *CGEL* makes a distinction between auxiliary and lexical verbs. The auxiliaries are generally defined as a closed class of verbs used as markers of tense, aspect, voice, and modality. In English, tense and aspect are marked *inflectionally* on the verb only in the distinction between the present and simple past forms, as in "he calls" versus "he called." Otherwise, the rest of the numerous tenses are formed *analytically* by auxiliary verbs, as in "I am calling," "I have called," "I will call."

The auxiliaries are also distinguished from the other verbs on the basis of their specific syntactic and morphological properties. They are categorized into two groups: the *primary* (be, have, do) and the *modal* auxiliaries (can, could, may, might, will, would, shall, should, and must). In syntax they differ strikingly from lexical verbs. These syntactic divergences are described in terms of negation, inversion, code and emphasis. These criteria are usually referred to, acronymically, as 'NICE' properties. The meanings of *negation*,

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8. Randolph Quirk et al., *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (London: Longman, 1972), and Randolph Quirk et al., *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (London: Longman, 1985). In this section, the presentation of the auxiliaries will based on Quirk et al., *Comprehensive Grammar*, 120–48*;* and also on Huddleston and Pullum, *Cambridge Grammar*, 92–114. Huddleston and Pullum's work does not differ, at least not in essence, in the presentation of the primary and modal auxiliaries from that found in *CGEL*.

inversion, and *emphasis* should be clear on the basis of the illustrations given in the set (2) below. *Code* is the least transparent of the four terms. It is used in reference to phrases like "I have too," in reply to "I have watched that movie." When we say "I have too," we use a kind of code that cannot be understood without the key provided by the context. In this illustration "I have" is a substitute for "I have seen."

'NICE' properties involve a special use of *do*. Unlike auxiliary verbs, lexical verbs require the support of the verb *do* in their syntactic structures, as in the set (1):

(1) a. Negative statements: "He <u>does</u> not like her."

b. Questions: "<u>Does</u> he like her?"

c. Substitute constructions: "Does he like her?" "Yes, he <u>does</u>."

d. Emphatic constructions: "He <u>does</u> like her."

The auxiliaries, on the other hand, do not require *do*-support, as in:[9]

(2) a. "He <u>has</u> not seen it." [Negation]

b. "<u>Has</u> he seen it?" [Inversion]

c. "He has seen it and I <u>have</u> too." [Code]

d. "They don't think he's seen it but he <u>has</u> seen it." [Emphasis]

In addition to 'NICE' properties that markedly distinguish the auxiliary from non-auxiliary verbs in English, only auxiliaries can form a phonological unit with the negation marker *not*

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9. The examples are from Huddleston and Pullum, *Cambridge Grammar*, 93.

(e.g.: cannot, can't, isn't, won't) and only auxiliary verbs have reduced forms as /həv/ or /əv/ for *have* or clitics as *'d* for *would* (as in "I'd like to see it").

To sum up the discussion of English auxiliaries, we may conclude that for justifiable reasons the term "auxiliary" in the English reference grammars is usually reserved for the core auxiliaries, that is, the primary and modal auxiliaries. These are auxiliaries *par excellence* because their role in the grammatical structure of English is central. Additionally, the separate treatment of these auxiliaries is strongly supported by 'NICE' properties, as well as by an extra set of phonologically reduced forms, clitic forms, and negative forms. But English has a wider range of auxiliary verbs, such as *be going to*, *be able to*, *need to*, *used to*, *have to*, which are used with relatively smaller frequency than the primary and modal auxiliaries. They are strategically less relevant in daily communication because they serve functions which are more or less marginal when compared with primary and modal auxiliaries. One of the advantages of this sharp distinction is the clear presentation of the auxiliaries which comprise the skeleton of English verbal structures to convey tense, aspect, voice and modality. However, this approach has a minor disadvantage in that the grammarians struggle to properly name those other auxiliaries, witnessed by terms such as: semi-auxiliary, quasi-auxiliary, pseudo-auxiliary, or auxiliary-like verbs.[10]In *CGEL*, apart from the above-mentioned modals, there are "marginal modals" (dare, need, ought to, used to; p. 120), "modal idioms" (had better, would rather/sooner, be to, have got to; p. 141), and semi-auxiliaries (have to, be about to, be able to, be bound to, be going to and some others; p. 143). Strangely, Huddleston and Pullum consider the other, non-core auxiliaries, like *be going to*, *have got*, or *would rather/sooner*, simply as idioms.[11] Outside the reference

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10. Davidsen-Nielsen, *Tense and Mood*, 16–17.

11. See Huddleston and Pullum, *Cambridge Grammar*, 92.

grammars, in linguistic literature, Hopper and Traugott call the constructions like *be going to* or *keep V-ing* as "auxiliary-like verbs and expressions."[12] Considering that *CGEL* was conceived in the 1970s and early 1980s, it is perhaps understandable that it labels some constructions with clearly auxiliary functions as "idioms." However, in the last two decades, in the linguistic literature the terms "idiom" and "idiomatic expressions" have been used for *kick the bucket* and similar phrases, and there has been a general tendency to avoid "idiom" and "idiomatic expressions" in reference to highly grammaticalized constructions like *be going to* and other "auxiliary-like" expressions.

6.3 Auxiliation: A Crosslinguistic Perspective

Auxiliation (also known as *auxiliarization*) will be used here as a specific kind of grammaticalization, one that covers the rise and development of all types of auxiliaries.[13] From the point of view of grammaticalization, there is no significant difference in the emergence of auxiliary verbs, whether central or peripheral, in the verbal system of a language. Theoretically, the difference is one of strategic relevance, which is witnessed by the frequency of use of the grammaticalized unit. Some auxiliaries, mostly due to their original lexical meaning (typically, in many languages: be, have, take, make, give, stand, sit, lie, come, go, run) develop into the central auxiliaries. They are often employed to build periphrastic tenses and fulfil a more strategic function in grammar, whereas the other auxiliaries have a relatively marginal role in the grammatical system.

Some scholars think that there is no need to have a separate term to account for the

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12. Hopper and Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, 13.

13. See Lessau, *Dictionary of Grammaticalization*, 67.

development of auxiliary verbs.[14] However, it seems convenient to have a special word for the emergence of the auxiliary system. In many languages verbs are at the very heart of communicative strategies, and auxiliary verbs—in those languages that have them—are the very spine of their grammatical systems. Also, unlike many other linguistic term, the word "auxiliation" is semantically transparent and easy to understand. Auxiliation is not merely a grammaticalization of verbs, but it is a theory that examines the diachronic development and synchronic functioning of auxiliaries. It traces back motivations that triggered changes in those verbs and it accounts for their functional and morphosyntactic features in all varieties of auxiliary verb constructions.

Among the important contributions to our understanding of auxiliaries, is Heine's work from 1993. He poses a question whether there are any language-independent criteria that would allow us to define auxiliaries. He realizes the difficulty of providing a satisfactory crosslinguistic definition of auxiliaries and he acknowledges the wide range of linguistic phenomena applied to the term (usually tense, aspect and modality, but also various other notions).[15] He decides to limit his research to auxiliaries that express tense, aspect and modality. In addition, he is mostly concerned with *cognitive forces* underlying auxiliation. He proposes a crosslinguistically applicable approach to auxiliaries, mostly based on his cognitively-based theory of grammaticalization, but he does not offer any theory of auxiliation. In his words, "such an endeavor would be premature considering the extraordinary variety presented by auxiliary constructions in the languages of the world and

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14. Olga Fischer, review of Tania Kuteva, *Auxiliation: an enquiry into the nature of grammaticalization*, *Language* 80 (2004): 324.

15. Heine, *Auxiliaries*, 18.

the little we know about them."[16]

Tania Kuteva in her monograph on auxiliation, which is explicitly meant as an extension of Heine's 1993 work, concentrates on the *discourse-pragmatic* dimension in auxiliation.[17] She does not offer any specific definition of auxiliation, either. In her work she described in detail how contextual-pragmatic factors interact with conceptual-semantic factors in auxiliation. In her account, auxiliation in particular, and grammaticalization in general, often has its origin in a mismatch between speaker's and hearer's discourse. For example, in a concrete utterance the speaker may not be explicit enough in his or her communicative intention, which gives the hearer a possibility of various interpretations.[18]

Gregory Anderson seems to be the first who ventures into giving a crosslinguistic definition of auxiliaries and auxiliary verb constructions (AVC), and Hebrew verbal hendiadys will be interpreted as auxiliaries in line with this theoretical framework. His definition is by intention somewhat vague because, in Anderson's opinion, it seems impossible to have language-independent formal criteria that would allow us to distinguish auxiliaries from lexical verbs. In his words, an *auxiliary verb* is:[19]

> An item on the lexical verb - functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories, most typically aspectual and modal categories, but also infrequently temporal, negative polarity, or voice categories. Auxiliary verbs can thus be considered to be an element that in combination with a lexical verb forms a monoclausal verb phrase with some degree of (lexical) semantic bleaching that performs some more or less definable grammatical function.

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16. See Heine, *Auxiliaries*, 4.

17. See Kuteva, *Auxiliation*, 2.

18. Kuteva, *Auxiliation*, 178–79.

19. Gregory D. S. Anderson, *Auxiliary Verb Constructions* (Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 4–5.

Anderson's "monoclausal verb phrase" includes clause-chained and serialized structures as well as verb plus complement clause combinations. Therefore, in his account, monoclausal verb phrase includes any single event construction whereby the auxiliary verb serves as a functional operator on the semantic lexical head. Anderson's understanding of "monoclausal" is based on a notional and functional rather than syntactic distinction. In this dissertation, I adopt Anderson's definition of the auxiliary verb, however, I make a distinction between the underlying and surface structures. In my framework, a biclausal surface structure can have a monoclausal underlying structure. Such structure is semantically monoclausal because it expresses a single event. Although there are two finite verbs in coordination, they do not denote two separate events but a single complex event. If, in an auxiliary verb construction, both auxiliary verb and lexical verb are finite, the surface structure is biclausal but the underlying structure is monoclausal. If the auxiliary verb is finite, but the lexical verb is nonfinite (such as participle, gerund, infinitive), both the surface and the underlying structures of such auxiliary verb constructions are monoclausal.

In this framework, an *auxiliary verb construction* is a monoclausal or a biclausal unit at the surface structure. This construction consists of an auxiliary verb and a lexical verb. The underlying structure needs of this auxiliary construction needs to be always monoclausal. Therefore, the distinction between the monoclausal and biclausal constructions is based on their surface structures. The auxiliary verb contributes some kind of grammatical or functional content whereas the lexical verb contributes a lexical content to the construction.

The definition of auxiliary verb constructions is panchronic in the sense that it combines both synchronic structures and diachronic developments. Specifically, it covers the

shifts from biclausal surface structures to monoclausal surface constructions. Historically, in many languages, surface monoclausal constructions with auxiliaries are often preceded by biclausal formations. Surface biclausal constructions usually (but not always) lead to clause fusion. According to Harris and Campbell, *clause fusion* is a diachronic process in which a biclausal surface structure, with an underlying monoclausal structure, becomes a monoclausal surface structure.[20]

The adoption of a diachronic or a synchronic perspective usually depend on the goals that a scholar wants to pursue. The diachronic approach describes language as it develops across time through various historical stages. The synchronic approach, on the other hand, describes language as a working system at a specific time and analyzes its components without paying attention to their historical development.[21] Panchrony does not deny the importance and convenience of distinguishing between diachronic and synchronic approaches. However, the concept of grammaticalization comprises both "the diachronic process and the synchronic state of coding of grammatical categories."[22] In other words, grammaticalized constructions usually exhibit both synchronic and diachronic relation. From the grammaticalization perspective, diachrony and synchrony are so interrelated that there

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20. Anderson does not use the term "clause fusion" although this process is implied in his account of auxiliation. This term and its definition are from Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 172. Fischer's understanding of clause fusion is similar to that of Harris and Campbell. She uses "clause fusion" and "clause combining" interchangeably. Fischer, *Morphosyntactic Change*, 250.

21. For a fine brief distinction between diachronic and synchronic perspectives, see Buccellati, *Structural Grammar*, 9–10.

22. Ilse Wischer, "Grammaticalization," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2d ed., vol. 5 (ed. Keith Brown; 14 vols.; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 129.

are no justifiable reasons to maintain a dichotomy between the two.[23] Since grammaticalization simultaneously belongs to both diachrony and synchrony, panchrony combines these two approaches into a single coherent account. A panchronic approach stresses that both these aspects of language are equally important and need to be studied at the same time. The need of panchrony in grammaticalization research reminds us that synchrony and diachrony are, in Eugenio Coseriu's words, "perspectives of linguistics, not perspectives of language."[24]

Biblical Hebrew texts were composed during a long span of time and, in my view, it is best to analyze the development of its auxiliary constructions from a panchronic perspective. Specifically, the panchronic approach in grammaticalization is required by the synchronic coexistence of various diachronic stages of related constructions, which is a common phenomenon in all languages. When a lexical construction becomes grammaticalized, their earlier form and syntactic behavior are usually retained for some time. The two formations, the old one and the new one, may coexist for a long time. The coexistence of these two constructions can be viewed as the synchronic reflection of diachronic change.[25]

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23. Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer, *Grammaticalization*, 258–59. For a detailed discussion of the concept of panchrony and its various definitions, see Lessau, *Dictionary of Grammaticalization*, 628–32.

24. Eugenio Coseriu, "Vom Primat der Geschichte: Oswald Szemerényi zu seinem 65. Geburtstag," *Sprachwissenschaft* 5 (1980): 138. The English translation of Coseriu's quotation is from Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer, *Grammaticalization*, 248–49.

25. Geeraerts defined the phenomenon of polysemy as "the synchronic reflection of diachronic semantic change" (Dirk Geeraerts, "Prototypicality Effects in Diachronic Semantics: A Round-Up," in *Diachrony Within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition* [ed. Günter Kellermann and Michael D. Morrissey; Frankfurt/M: Lang, 1992], 183). I find it useful to paraphrase and extend his definition to the case of the

The subsequent chapters of this work, from a cross-linguistic perspective as the one delineated by Anderson and others in this section, will focus on the analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs in terms of their auxiliation. Specifically, we will analyze auxiliary constructions with the verbs: הָלַךְ 'do/occur gradually,' שָׁב 'do again,' יָסַף 'do more/additionally,' מִהַר 'do quickly,' and קָם a marker of ingressiveness.

At this juncture, it needs to be noted that this type of verbs are not a unique feature of Hebrew and other Semitic languages. In other language families, there are examples of strikingly similar pathways of grammaticalization from lexical to auxiliary verbs. For example, the lexical verbs 'hurry' and 'return,' underwent a similar grammaticalization in Zulu as they did in biblical Hebrew. The pathway of grammaticalization below is from Zulu:[26]

-*buya* 'return' > -*buye* 'do again'

-*shesha* 'hurry' > -*sheshe* 'do quickly'

Biblical Hebrew, except for several verbs from the set of verbs analyzed in this work, practically does not have auxiliary verbs. Among these few that can be considered auxiliaries, none is parallel to English primary and modal auxiliaries. The Hebrew system of tenses is expressed inflectionally, through prefixes and suffixes, rather than analytically. In biblical Hebrew, much of the meaning of English modal verbs is encoded in the finite forms

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synchronic coexistence of diachronically related grammaticalized constructions, which is associated with the notion of polysemy. Valuable observations concerning polysemy in grammatical markers that belong to different morphosyntactic categories, but historically derive from the same source, can be found in Heine, *Cognitive Foundations*, 8–9.

26. These illustrations are from Heine, *Auxiliaries*, 60.

of tense-forms like *yiqtol* or *weqatalti*. Occasionally, the verb הָיָה 'be' occurs as a kind of auxiliary verb with participles, in a periphrastic construction, to express a progressive aspect.[27] But relatively rare instances of this periphrastic construction can be considered only a modest beginning of its grammaticalization interrupted by the fact that Hebrew stopped being used as a living language of daily communication. In addition, the two finite forms of הָיָה, וַיְהִי (*wayyiqtol* 3ms) and וְהָיָה (*weqatalti* 3ms), are good illustrations of grammaticalization at work in the Hebrew verb. They are used mostly in Classical Biblical Hebrew as grammaticalized *discourse markers of foregrounding* that introduce the narrative frame of what follows, anchoring the events to the main time line. They signal that the events that follow are a part of the mainstream events.[28] But וַיְהִי and וְהָיָה cannot be considered auxiliaries. They are syntactically frozen in that they do not agree in gender and number with other verbal forms.

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27. For additional information and illustrations of this periphrastic construction, see Waltke-O'Connor 628–29. See also Joüon-Muraoka § 121f-g.

28. Discourse functions of וַיְהִי and וְהָיָה are summarized in Van der Merwe et al., *Biblical Hebrew*, 331–32.

CHAPTER 7

הָלַךְ

AUXILIARY OF GRADUAL PROGRESSION

In the previous chapters, I have established the framework for analysis of Hebrew

auxiliary verbs, in terms of grammaticalization in general and auxiliation in particular. Both

semantic, functional, and formal processes underlying grammaticalization were designed and

described. In this chapter and the following chapters I will analyze the Hebrew auxiliary

verbs, one by one. I will account for some details of grammaticalization for each verb, but I

will focus mainly on the analysis of their occurrences in auxiliary function throughout the

corpus of Biblical Hebrew. I will comment on their semantic-functional features, indicate

morphosyntactic constructions in which they occur, and outline a possible diachronic

development of these constructions. The verbs studied in this work appear both in a *lexical*,

or non-grammaticalized meaning, along with their use as *grammaticalized* verbs in auxiliary

verb constructions. Consequently, this analysis will require a comparison of the semantic

features and syntactic structures characteristic of these two different, but diachronically

related, uses.

In this chapter, I will argue that there is one and the same auxiliary meaning and

function underlying the morphosyntactic diversity of the constructions with הָלַךְ. First, I will

present how scholars understand the auxiliary הָלַךְ.[1] Then, I will introduce a set of features,

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1. I use "auxiliary" in reference to other scholars' work on what I consider a
grammaticalized function of הָלַךְ, but Hebraists do not use this term.

such as deixis or source, path and goal, which are essential for the analysis of הָלַךְ as a

motion verb. This presentation will review the lexical use of הָלַךְ as a stand-alone verb and,

in a separate section, its lexical use in the sequence of two infinitives absolute.

Subsequently, a series of sections will deal with an in-depth analysis of the grammaticalized

הָלַךְ and its constructions. Later, I will briefly show how the ancient translators, in the

Septuagint and in the Vulgate, struggled to translate the auxiliary הָלַךְ into Greek and Latin,

respectively. Additionally, I will show that the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ in Hebrew is not a

unique phenomenon and has resemblances, or similar grammaticalization pathways, in other

unrelated languages. Finally, due to the complexities inherent in the analysis of הָלַךְ, I will

provide a summary of the important observations from across this chapter.

7.1 Earlier Scholarship

To the best of my knowledge, no one has yet attempted to describe הָלַךְ as an

auxiliary verb nor to provide a comprehensive analysis that would account for all of its

occurrences in auxiliary constructions and their morphosyntactic variety. Due to this

morphosyntactic variety, some scholars tend to explain the auxiliary הָלַךְ with a focus on

specific constructions, mainly on the sequence of two infinitives absolute with הָלַךְ. This has

resulted in a fragmented understanding of its auxiliary function.

Below, in Table 1, I will present an overview of the earlier interpretation of the

auxiliary הָלַךְ, starting with the lexica and continuing with grammars and textbooks. In

general, scholars agree that a sequence of two infinitives absolute is used in Hebrew to

express simultaneity of two events, as expressed in וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְאָכֹל "He walked eating" (Judg

14:9). I consider such a sequence to be the locus where the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ took

place, which I will explain later. Here I will only focus on how scholars understand the

auxiliary function of הָלַךְ. However, not all authors make a clear distinction between the sequence of infinitives absolute used to express the *simultaneity of two events* (a lexical use) and a similar construction used with auxiliary function to express *gradual progression* (an auxiliary use). If the authors make a clear distinction between the two uses, I will label it "yes" and "no" if they do not. Apart from the notions used by scholars to describe the function of הָלַךְ, I will also provide their translation strategy, or the words and phrases they employ most often to render the value of הָלַךְ. If a specific publication has three glosses in the table, such as 'continually,' 'continue to,' 'grow more and more,' it does not imply that the authors would use all these possible equivalents interchangeably for every occurrence of the auxiliary הָלַךְ. While all grammarians deal with the function of the infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ, not all describe the function of the participle הֹלֵךְ, which results in empty space, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of the Earlier Scholarship on the Auxiliary הָלַךְ

Publications	The function of הָלוֹךְ	The function of הֹלֵךְ	Distinction (lex./aux.)
BDB 233	progress, advance 'continually more and more'[2]	similar to הָלוֹךְ	yes
HALOT 246	duration and intensification 'continually,' 'more	intensification 'grow more and more'	no

2. The gloss 'more and more' is to convey the notions: more and more powerful, heavier and heavier.

	and more'		
DCH 2:533	in the sub-entry for collocations; continuity and duration 'continually,' 'continue to,' 'more and more'	similar to הָלוֹךְ	no
GKC §113u	long continuance; "merely performs the function of an adverb" 'go on,' 'continue to,' 'continually'	similar to הָלוֹךְ	no
Lambdin[3]	idiomatic use of הָלַךְ, a nuance of continuous and gradual action, 'gradually,' 'grow more and more'	similar to הָלוֹךְ	yes
Waltke and O'Connor	adverbial infinitive, intensifying infinitive, repetition or continuance	minor patterns related to הָלוֹךְ	no

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3. The references to less commonly cited grammars are as follows: Lambdin, *Introduction*, 232–33; Waltke-Connor, 588–90; John C. L. Gibson and A. B. Davidson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Syntax* (4th ed.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1994), 125–26; Choon-Leong Seow, *A Grammar for Biblical Hebrew* (rev. ed.; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1995), 251; Van der Merwe et al., *Biblical Hebrew*, 160; Ross, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, 168, 485; Donald R. Vance, *An Introduction to Classical Hebrew* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 151; Williams, *Williams' Hebrew*, 85–86.

	'keep on' 'grow more and more'		
Gibson and Davidson	metaphorical sense: progress, continuance, endurance 'grow more and more'	similar to הָלוֹךְ	yes
Seow	"functions as an adverb indicating continuance" 'continually'	similar to הָלוֹךְ	yes
van der Merwe et al.	figurative movement; "vividly expresses gradual progression" 'gradually,' 'continue to'		yes
Ross	complementary idea: adverbial sense of "continually"		no
Vance	as adverb of continuance or gradualness "continually," "gradually"		yes
Joüon-Muraoka (§123s)	"figuratively expresses continuity" 'go on always (happening),' 'go on	similar to הָלוֹךְ	yes

	becoming more'		
Williams	continuous action or repetition 'go on,' 'keep on'		no

As an illustration of how the auxiliary הָלַךְ is sometimes explained by scholars, we can consider the construction as it appears in 2 Sam 5:10 וַיֵּלֶךְ דָּוִד הָלוֹךְ וְגָדוֹל. In Joüon and Muraoka it is rendered as "he (David) went on always increasing," in van der Merve et al. as "And David became greater and greater," and in Lambdin as "David grew more and more important."

In my opinion, among the earlier various interpretations of the auxiliary הָלַךְ, Lambdin's presentation is by far the best. He carefully makes a distinction between the sequence of two infinitives absolute with הָלַךְ used to express the simultaneity of two events and a similar sequence engaged in what he calls "an idiomatic use." He also accurately explains the meaning of the auxiliary הָלַךְ and lucidly analyzes the major syntactic patterns in terms of transformations. Although he does not state it explicitly, his "transformation approach" implies that a specific pattern depends much on the way a biblical writer wanted to present a situation,[4] such as on the main story line of the

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4. I will use the term *situation* in a broad sense for any verbal predicate, with stative or dynamic verbs. States are unchanging situations, such as "know," "want," "be high," "be situated." The term *event* will be used in reference to dynamic situations, which includes verbs with inherently dynamic meaning like "run," "write" and stative meanings grammatically (i.e., in a grammatical construction) turned into dynamic meanings, such as "become high," "grow impatient" "turn pale." The stative situations "exist" while the dynamic situations "occur." Stative situations do not change over time, they are the same throughout the time they exist and do not require any input of energy to continue. Dynamic situations or events express some kind of change (for example a change of state "become yellow") and require an input of energy. For more details, see Bybee et al., *Evolution of Grammar*, 55.

narrative or off the main line. Lambdin's presentation also offers a brief but relatively comprehensive study of most patterns, with both infinitives absolute and participles, in a single section of his textbook, which we can conveniently call a "unified approach." This is in contrast to scholars who present only a fragmentary understanding of this auxiliary verb focusing only on constructions with infinitive absolute.

As we can see from Table 1, only van der Merwe et al. use the term "gradual progression" for the auxiliary function of הָלַךְ, but only in reference to the sequence of two infinitives absolute. In my view, the term "gradual progression," which can be used interchangeably with "gradual development," accounts best for the meaning and function of the grammaticalized sequence of two infinitives absolute and also the other morphosyntactic constructions (a sequence of an infinitive absolute with a participle or a sequence of two participles) that should be regarded as a later expansion of the two infinitive pattern. I do not think, however, that it is necessary to use the adverb "vividly" to describe the meaning of the auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ and, in my opinion, it should be ignored.

Although the other scholars do not employ the term gradual progression, their translation strategy ('gradually,' 'more and more,' 'keep on') implies such an interpretation and considers it as the essential meaning, or one of the meanings, of the auxiliary הָלַךְ. It must be noted, though, that the use of the verbs 'continue to' and 'keep on' to render the value of הָלַךְ without any reservation is problematic because it might suggest that the auxiliary הָלַךְ can be associated with the so-called continuative aspect,[5] and הָלַךְ clearly does not have this meaning. הָלַךְ can imply *continuousness* (continuity),

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5. Here, suffice to say that continuative aspect expresses the verbal meaning as an ongoing situation that is explicitly portrayed as continued longer, as in 'He continued singing for two hours."

the extended duration of a situation, but not *continuation* or the implication that the situation continues longer.

Although it is convenient to describe the auxiliary הָלַךְ in terms of its morphosyntactic constructions (as it is, to some extent, nicely done in van der Merwe et al.), it needs to be emphasized that those are specific uses of one and the same auxiliary verb and the variety of constructions is due to factors like the inherent semantic nature of the verbs (stative vs. dynamic verbs) or discourse strategy (foregrounding vs. backgrounding).

7.2 Understanding הָלַךְ as a Lexical Verb, Motion Verb, and Deictic Verb

The following sections will introduce the verb הָלַךְ as a lexical verb and its most important features. The notions like source, goal, path, which are essential in the description of motion, will be introduced. Although, in my view, the deictic value of הָלַךְ was not the most essential component in its grammaticalization in the sequence *halok we-qatol*, the notion of deixis will prove very useful in the discussion of הָלַךְ.

7.2.1 הָלַךְ as a Lexical Verb

The verb הָלַךְ occurs 1547 times in the Hebrew Bible in the following verbal stems: 1412 in Qal, 64 in Hithpael, 45 in Hiphil, 25 in Piel, and 1 in Niphal. Since הָלַךְ has an auxiliary function only in Qal, I will concentrate on its occurrences and meaning in this stem and disregard its meanings and functions in the others.

In its literal and most frequent meaning, הָלַךְ expresses a concrete spatial motion 'to move from one place to another.' Its most common and natural (i.e., inherent in its literal meaning) grammatical subjects are human beings. In the literal meaning, to a considerable extent, הָלַךְ is similar to the English verb 'go.' Both English and Hebrew express motion

from one place to another without specifying how it takes place, that is, whether the travel is on foot or a transportation vehicle is used. In this sense, these verbs differ from such verbs as the German verb *gehen* or the Polish verb *iść*, both of which are usually rendered by 'go' in English, but mainly imply motion on foot. The German verb *fahren* and the Polish verb *jechać* are used when the motion is not on foot but on horseback or in a wheeled vehicle, such as cart, chariot, car, bus, bicycle. Therefore when translating 1 Kings 3:4 into German or Polish, one needs to choose between *gehen* and *fahren* and between *iść* and *jechać* respectively. Such a choice is not necessary when the translation is made into English. This observation is relevant to our analysis, in that, crosslinguistically, the motion verbs for 'go' (that is, with the meaning: to move from one place to the other without specifying how the motion occurs) invite grammaticalization more often than the verbs that specify how the transfer takes place, such as 'walk' or 'drive.'[6]

הָלַךְ is sometimes used in a transferred way to describe the movement of some animals or nonhuman animate beings. The snake *crawls* (Gen 3:14) and four-footed animals *walk* on their paws (Lev 11:27). הָלַךְ is also used with nonanimate subjects and their movement: the river *flows* (Gen 2:14), the ark *floats* over the waters (Gen 7:18), the boundary *runs* or *goes along* a space (Josh 17:7), and the wind *passes* (Ps 78:39). In those cases of transferred use, הָלַךְ is often rendered in English contextually with various verbs which are semantically more specific. Such translation technique not only contributes to the stylistic elegance of English translations, but also reflects more accurately the semantic potential of the English lexicon.

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6. For example, in Heine and Kuteva there is no entry for 'walk' and 'drive.' The entry for 'go,' on the other hand, is ten pages long and has numerous sub-entries for a variety of grammaticalized functions, which indicates that, crosslinguistically, 'go' is a very common source of grammaticalization. Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon*, 155–65.

In addition, הָלַךְ has a rich range of metaphorical meanings where no inherent physical motion is involved. Similarly to the English verb *go*, הָלַךְ is a source-oriented verb in that it emphasizes the departure. The verb בָּא, on the other hand, underscores the arrival, especially when it is used deictically in the sense 'come.' For this reason, הָלַךְ is sometimes used with the notion of departure metaphorized as the time of death or departure from this life, as in Ps 39:14. Since the cognitive metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is one of the most common across languages and cultures, it is not surprising that such a common and strategically important verb like הָלַךְ is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible to metaphorically express various ways and qualities of life and living. For example, the phrase הָלַךְ לִפְנֵי יהוה 'to walk before the LORD' expresses a way of life faithful and loyal to the LORD, as in 1 Kgs 8:23 (also Lev 20:23, Deut 5:33).

7.2.2 הָלַךְ as a Deictic Verb

Both the Hebrew verb הָלַךְ and the English verb *go* are deictic verbs. In my opinion, the role of deixis in the grammaticalization of motion verbs is more important than has been admitted in linguistic literature. It is important to understand what deixis is and how it can shape the auxiliation of a motion verb. But it needs to be noted that deictic motion verbs, like *go* and *come*, also have non-deictic uses. Both in English and in other languages such verbs are used in various specialized senses and figurative uses. In such cases, their deictic viewpoint is considerably weakened or completely absent.

The verb הָלַךְ denotes *deixis*, that is, context-dependent referential information. In a specific utterance, deixis comprises those features of language that refer to the personal, temporal or locational information which is context-bound and, therefore, its meaning is relative to the speech situation. In English, the common deictics or deictic expressions, such

as *this*/*that*, *here*/*there*, *now*/*then*, *I*/*you*, *today*/*tomorrow* denote different referents in different situations. *Go* and *come* are motion verbs that express the deictic information about the orientation of the motion. *Go* denotes the direction away from the speaker while *come* denotes the direction towards the speaker. "Away from the speaker" or "toward the speaker" means that a specific contextual location of the speaker is viewed as a deictic anchor or deictic center. While the imperatives "Go there!" or "Come here!" sound natural in English, *"Go here!" and *"Come there!" sound strange and confusing.

The deictic orientation of *go* and *come* is also more transparent when the known information about the source or goal of the motion is left out. For example, the question "When did he go?" asks about the time when the person left the source of the motion (the place *from*), while "When did he come?" asks about the time of arrival to the goal (the place *to*). Consequently, we can say that the verb *go* is source-oriented whereas *come* is goal-oriented.[7] Since הָלַךְ is source-oriented, in some contexts it is fully justified to render it by 'leave' or 'depart' instead of 'go,' especially because the narratives in the Hebrew Bible tend to use הָלַךְ to mark a point of departure and a change of location more often than similar narratives in Western cultures. On the other hand, the verb בָּא encodes the orientation toward the speaker and is goal-oriented in underlining the time of arrival.[8]

The location of the speaker is usually a common deictic center in a speech situation. But a speaker (or a narrator) is often capable of *deictic projection*, that is, rather than using

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7. A lucid presentation of deictic understanding of the motion verbs *come* and *go* can be found in Cliff Goddard, *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 206–8.

8. The deictic reading of בָּא is often less transparent and more difficult to interpret. In my understanding, to a considerable extent this is due to its semantic complexity of serving a dual or hybrid function of 'come' and 'enter.' In many passages, as in 1 Sam 4:5, these two meanings cannot be distinguished.

her here-and-now location as deictic center, she can imaginatively project the deictic point of reference somewhere else, for example to a remote location, distant in time and space. Therefore, the deictic center can be easily projected to that of the addressee, the person who is talked about, or some other location. We can analyze these notions on the following illustration:

1 Samuel 22:5

וַיֹּאמֶר֩ גָּ֨ד הַנָּבִ֜יא אֶל־דָּוִ֗ד לֹ֤א תֵשֵׁב֙ בַּמְּצוּדָ֔ה לֵ֥ךְ וּבָֽאתָ־לְּךָ֖ אֶ֣רֶץ יְהוּדָ֑ה וַיֵּ֣לֶךְ דָּוִ֔ד וַיָּבֹ֖א יַ֥עַר חָֽרֶת׃

The prophet Gad said to David, "You should not stay in the stronghold. Leave, and go to the land of Judah." So David left, and came to the forest of Hereth.

The literal translation of the sequence לֵ֥ךְ וּבָֽאתָ־לְּךָ֖ "go and come!" would sound confusing in English. For this reason, I translated it as "leave and go to." We have here an example of abruptly switched deictic orientation. The first verb indicates that the speaker views his present location as his deictic center in the sense "go from here!" But the second verb already indicates a new deictic perspective as if the speaker projected the deictic center to "there" in the sense "come to the land of Judah!" This strategy of expressing deictic orientation in Biblical Hebrew needs to be acknowledged because it differs from the way the verbs *go* and *come* might be used in English. Diehl translates this passage "Geh dergestalt daß du ins Land Juda kommst."[9] He also thinks that it can be rendered as "Geh, bis du ins Land Juda kommst." In my opinion, the switched deixis strategy accounts better for the sequence לֵ֥ךְ וּבָֽאתָ־לְּךָ֖ than the interpretation proposed by Diehl.

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9. I would translate it: "Go in a way that you (are sure to) come to the Land of Judah." Johannes F. Diehl, *Die Fortführung des Imperativs im biblischen Hebräisch* (AOAT 286; Münster: Ugarit, 2004), 280.

In the Hebrew Bible there is one occurrence where the verb הָלַךְ, in a participial construction, is used to express an imminent event.

Genesis 25:22

וַיֹּאמֶר עֵשָׂו הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ לָמוּת וְלָמָּה־זֶּה לִי בְּכֹרָה:

Esau said, "I am about to die, so of what use is a birthright to me?"

Although this is the only occurrence of such use of הָלַךְ, in my opinion we should have little doubt that הָלַךְ is used here as a marker of immediate future. Any literal interpretation of physical motion has to be excluded. The absence of additional occurrences of this use in הָלַךְ does not allow us to come to any reliable conclusion in regard to this auxiliary function. Perhaps this meaning never became a conventionalized or commonly used construction and, arguably, its limited use was confined to colloquial register.[10]

In her analysis of 'go'-futures (as she calls futures formed with the 'go' verbs), Fleischman is right in noting that from our cognitive viewpoint the past "comes" and the future "goes." This reflects our common view of events situated along a time line where past is *behind* and future is *ahead*.[11] Although she does not use the terms "deixis" or "deictic orientation," in my view, it is due to deixis, inherent in the verbs *come* and *go*, that they are

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10. In Rabbinic Hebrew, the notion of imminent future was sometimes expressed by the participial construction with עוֹמֵד ל. See Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 147. In Israeli Hebrew, both עוֹמֵד ל and הוֹלֵךְ ל can be used to express imminent future with some nuances of modality. See Lewis Glinert, *The Grammar of Modern Hebrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 124.

11. Suzanne Fleischman, *The Future in Thought and Language: Diachronic Evidence from Romance* (CSL 36; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 78–79.

suitable for expressing our metaphorized perception of past or future events. For example, in French the verb *venir* 'come,' in the construction *venir de* + infinitive, is used as a grammaticalized marker of immediate past, and *aller* 'go,' paired with an infinitive of a lexical verb, is used as a marker of imminent future, as it is illustrated in the following:[12]

Je viens de passer deux mois à Rome. I have just spent two months in Rome.

Il allait partir quand le téléphone a sonné. He was about to leave when the telephone rang.

However, such conceptualization of time by the use of motion verbs will depend on our deictic orientation. If our deictic perception shifts, we can view the future as "coming" towards us, closer and closer, and the past as "going" away from us. In English, we sometimes say "The new year is coming" or "The old year is gone by."[13] In Hebrew, the future is portrayed as coming in the common prophetic formula הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים "The days are coming" as in Amos 9:13.

7.2.3 Goal, Source, Path and Motion Verbs

In this analysis, it will be helpful to analyze the motion verb הָלַךְ, and later שָׁב and מִהַר, in terms of thematic roles like source, goal, and path, all of which are widely used by linguists. Motion is an essential component of our perceptual organization and in the way we conceptualize reality through the use of language. For my analysis, it is convenient to understand motion as it is based on the abstract image schema that includes the concepts of

12. The two French illustrations are mine.

13. Günter Radden, "Time is Space," in *Human Contact Through Language and Linguistics* (ed. Birgit Smieja and Meike Tasch; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), 161.

SOURCE, PATH, and GOAL. Motion can be illustrated in terms of the following image schema:[14]

```
    SOURCE                          GOAL
       I-----------------------------I
                    PATH
```
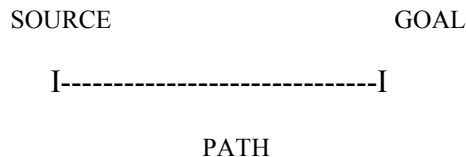
Source is a starting point of the motion: a location where the motion takes its origin. For example, in the sentence "She came back from Paris" the prepositional phrase "from Paris" is a source. *Goal* is an end-point and destination of the motion. "John" is a goal in "She sent John an e-mail," and "to New York" is a goal in "His sister went to New York." The term *path* designates the trajectory of the motion. It can be encoded in various ways, as we can see in the following: "He went across the road/by the road/along the road." According to Johnson, path is "a sequence of contiguous locations connecting the source with the goal."[15] It seems to me convenient to schematically present the general motion schema also with the prepositions:

[SOURCE: *from*] _____PATH_____ [GOAL: *to*]

_____

14. For more details about such an image schema, see Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 113–17; and Claudio di Meola, "Non-deictic Uses of the Deictic Motion Verbs *kommen* and *gehen* in German," in *Deictic Conceptualisation of Space, Time, and Person* (ed. Friedrich Lenz; P&B, n.s., 112; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2003), 41–43.

15. Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, 113.

We can analyze these notions in the following illustration.

Genesis 12:1

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם לֶךְ־לְךָ מֵאַרְצְךָ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַרְאֶךָּ:

The LORD said to Abram, "Go from your country and from your kindred and from your father's house to the land that I will show you."

In the above sentence, the prepositional phrases מֵאַרְצְךָ 'from your country,' מִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ 'from your kindred,' and מִבֵּית אָבִיךָ 'from your father's house' are examples of a motion source. With increasing specificity, from more general to more specific, they point to the starting point of Abram's journey. The prepositional phrase אֶל־הָאָרֶץ 'to the land,' complemented here with a relative clause "that I will show you" is the goal of the motion, and it is Abram's destination.

The notion of path with the verb הָלַךְ can be further considered in the following:

Psalm 23:3

גַּם כִּי־אֵלֵךְ בְּגֵיא צַלְמָוֶת לֹא־אִירָא רָע

Even if I were to walk through the darkest valley (or: the valley of the shadow of death), I will fear no evil.

Deuteronomy 1:19

וַנִּסַּע מֵחֹרֵב וַנֵּלֶךְ אֵת כָּל־הַמִּדְבָּר הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא הַהוּא

We set out from Horeb and went through all that great and terrible wilderness.

Exodus 14:29

<div dir="rtl">וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָלְכוּ בַיַּבָּשָׁה בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם</div>

And the Israelites went through the sea on dry ground.

In Psalm 23:3, the path is expressed by the prepositional phrase בְּגֵיא צַלְמָוֶת 'through the darkest valley.' In Deut 1:19, the path is introduced by the direct object marker אֵת כָּל־הַמִּדְבָּר 'through all the wilderness.'[16] מֵחֹרֵב 'from Horeb' is a source in relation to the verb נסע. In Exod 14:29, the path is expressed by two prepositional phrases בַיַּבָּשָׁה 'on (or: through) dry land' and בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם 'through the sea.'

Interestingly, the most common argument that comes with the verb הָלַךְ is the goal, less commonly the source, or the source and the goal at the same time, and very rarely the path. At the same time, we must note that the locations, source and goal, are topological elements of motion. They help to define the motion and, for this reason, they are mentioned more frequently. But the actual activity of "going" occurs along the path. Consequently, we must assume that the verbs "go" in English and הָלַךְ in Hebrew, when used as motion verbs in their literal sense, always imply a path, a source and a goal even if this information is not explicitly expressed, or if only one or two of these concepts are mentioned.

7.2.4 Motion as Change of State and its Grammaticalization

This section will describe how the concept of motion is metaphorized to express a

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16. Sometimes, the direct object marker אֵת is used to express spatial relations like 'through,' 'across,' 'to,' 'into,' as in Deut 2:7, Num 13:17, Judg 19:18. In my view, this function of the direct object marker reflects the older function of the accusative case. When cases fell in disuse in Hebrew and אֵת became the direct object marker, it took over much of the accusative function. When in Greek and Latin the accusative case expresses similar spatial relations, the grammarians call it *accusative of extent*. See also Joüon-Muraoka §125n.

change of state and turned into a more abstract grammatical meaning. Apart from its literal

meaning as a motion verb, "go" is used in many figurative senses that can be described in

terms of metaphorization. We can consider the English illustrations:[17]

1. I went from the hotel to the airport.

2. The inheritance went from George to Philip.

3. The light went from green to red.

From the cognitive point of view, the events described in these illustrations designate

situations in three different domains: (1) motion in space, (2) transfer of ownership, and (3)

change of state. We need to focus on (3) because the semantic component in the

grammaticalization of הָלַךְ can be explained as this type of metaphorized motion. The change

of traffic lights is metaphorically described in terms of motion: as if the light moved from

the source to the target. The conceptual metaphor that underlies such use of "go" is usually

formulated as STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGE IS MOTION BETWEEN THE LOCATIONS.[18]

A change of location that results from the transfer from one location to another is

metaphorized as a change of state. In (3), we are informed only about the fact of the change:

the light was green (state A) and it became red (state B).[19] There is no information here

17. All three illustrations are from John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 507.

18. A good study on the metaphorization of motion is Günther Radden, "Motion Metaphorized: The Case of *coming* and *going*," in *Cognitive Linguistics in the Redwoods: The Expansion of a New Paradigm in Linguistics* (ed. Eugene H. Casad; CLR 6; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), 433–58.

19. Additional illustrations of "go" metaphorized similarly can be: "go red"

about the path and, consequently, no information about the nature of changes. But motion always takes place along the path, between the source and the goal, even if the path is left out unexpressed.

In Hebrew, the sequence of two infinitives absolute, which I consider the locus of grammaticalization for הָלַךְ (discussed in the next section), was primarily used to express the simultaneity of two events, usually of equal duration. With such presentation of two simultaneous events, this construction was focused on what takes place *along a path*, and less focused on the source and the goal of the motion. In this construction, spatial motion along the path was metaphorized into a temporal notion of gradual development. For this reason, the grammaticalized construction with הָלַךְ does not bring into focus the sole fact of a change but the nature of change. For example, in Gen 26:13 the auxiliary construction does not state that a man "became rich" but that he "grew richer and richer." The grammaticalized הָלַךְ explicitly informs that the change of state is gradual (little by little, phase after phase). Moreover, the gradualness of changes also implies incrementality: the meaning of the lexical verb is portrayed as incrementally increasing (or decreasing) in degree, quantity, or quality.

From a semantic and cognitive perspective, the conceptual contiguity of the two parallel and ongoing events (walking on and doing something else at the same time) was metaphorized into the temporal notion of gradual development. Without an earlier metonymic understanding of two contingent activities, of the verb הָלַךְ and of other verbs, the process of metaphorization would not have started. The contiguity of the two events emerged when הָלַךְ was increasingly used in the well-established construction of two infinitives absolute. The semantic contents of the verb הָלַךְ and its metaphorization was not "the first cause" of grammaticalization, but a precondition of this process. It did not start

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(someone's face) or "go mad" (a person).

grammaticalization but it made it possible. It was the metonymic understanding of two parallel events and their formal pattern (a sequence of two coordinated infinitives absolute) that triggered grammaticalization.

Semantically, the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ can be explained as metaphorization of the physical motion "going" along a path onto the domain of temporal relations. We need to remember that such diachronic process takes a long time. In the course of grammaticalization, the lexical source is gradually transformed into a more abstract meaning and the metaphorical nature of such changes becomes less obvious. In the lexical metaphor "Achilles is a lion," on the other hand, the metaphorization is straightforward and evident. Cognitivists point out that metaphorical understanding of linguistic expressions like "Achilles is a lion" always relies, to some extent, on the activation of metaphorical mappings from one domain onto the other.[20] Since metaphorization during grammaticalization takes a long time, and the metaphorical meaning is slowly transformed into a more abstract concept, it seems that the subsequent use of the grammaticalized meaning does not rely on the activation of the source domain in the same degree. Although it is a matter of debate, it is possible that the meaning grammaticalized through metaphorical mappings can be often used and understood independently of the source domain. In spite of the difficulty to track back gradual and long changes in grammaticalization in terms of distinct phases, the hypothesis of metaphorization is arguably the best way to account for the semantic mechanism of change in the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ.

In terms of categorial metaphor, according to the scale introduced by Heine et al. (see p. 123), this metaphorization can be viewed as ACTIVITY-to-TIME change. The source meaning, the physical motion, as it is conveyed by "going" and "walking," was gradually

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20. Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 41.

mapped from the domain of ACTIVITY onto the domain of TIME. The concept of concrete physical motion was metaphorized into a more abstract domain of time and temporal relations.

Formally, it is not only הָלַךְ but the sequence of the two infinitives absolute that was reanalyzed as a single syntactic constituent. The surface structure was at first the same, two coordinated infinitives absolute, and looked like two constituents, but the underlying structure was a new complex syntactic unit. With the new meaning of gradual progression, the grammaticalized construction underwent extension. Its use extended to stative verbs, which was not possible with the lexical construction. This extension resulted in changes in surface structure when new morphosyntactic patterns emerged. As we will see later in more detail, the use of the auxiliary nonfinite sequence with stative verbs, which usually do not have infinitives absolute, introduced new morphosyntactic patterns of the nonfinite sequences: an infinitive absolute of הָלַךְ with a participle of the lexical verb and, further, a sequence of two participles.

7.2.5 The Locus of Grammaticalization: Sequence of Two Infinitives Absolute

In my estimation, the sequence with two infinitives absolute seems to be the structure that gave rise to the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ. The two infinitives absolute express the simultaneity of two parallel events of equal duration. Both events refer to the same grammatical subject. This section will introduce and comment on the lexical, as opposed to grammaticalized or auxiliary, construction where a sequence of two infinitives absolute complements a main verb. This can be described as: *main verb X + infinitive absolute X + infinitive absolute Y* construction.[21] The accurate analysis of this structure is important

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21. In this lexical construction, הָלַךְ appears both as "main verb X" and "infinitive absolute X" (followed by another infinitive absolute) in the following passages: Josh 6:9,

because, in my view, the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ took place in such a structure. The importance of this section is additionally underscored by my understanding of this structure, which in some minor but relevant details differs from a traditional interpretation. As an illustration, let us consider the use of הָלַךְ in a lexical sequence of two infinitives:

Judges 14:9

וַיִּרְדֵּהוּ אֶל־כַּפָּיו וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְאָכֹל

He scraped it (= honey) out into his hands, and went on, eating as he went.

By "main verb" I mean a verb, usually a finite verb and rarely a participle, related—through the employment of the same verbal root in the form of an infinitive absolute (we can call it a "projection" infinitive)—to a nonfinite sequence of two infinitives absolute.[22] In Judg 14:9, וַיֵּלֶךְ is a main verb. The first of the two infinitives in the sequence is derived from the same root as the main verb, and in Judg 14:9 it is הָלוֹךְ. Both the main verb and its "projection," its cognate infinitive absolute, refer to one and the same event. The "projection" infinitive is a grammatical strategy to introduce another event, expressed by the

13; Judg 14:9; 1 Sam 6:12; 2 Sam 3:16; 2 Kgs 2:11; Ps 126:6; Isa 3:16; Jer 50:4. In addition, the second verb that follows *halok* occurs once as participle in Jer 41:6

22. This use of "main verb" should not be associated with any linguistic theory. In this study, I only use the terms "auxiliary verb" and "lexical verb" as components of auxiliary verb constructions. In linguistic literature, especially that of functional orientation, "main verb" is frequently used for a lexical verb in auxiliary verb constructions because it contributes a concrete meaning. In some other frameworks, the main verb can be any verb, lexical or auxiliary, that is considered a syntactic head of a construction whereas the other verbs or constituents are viewed as its projections. For example, in "He may have been working for hours," the auxiliary "may" can be a main verb in some frameworks, and the lexical verb "working" in others.

second infinitive absolute, and present it as a constituent of the same predicate and usually as a simultaneous event to the main verb event. Since the event denoted by the main verb is already participant, in accordance with its tense-form (e.g., *qatal*, *wayyiqtol*), in the story line, the second event is presented as occurring simultaneously, but it is not localized in the story line in the same way.[23]

Let us consider the following passage where interestingly both a sequence of two participles and a sequence of two infinitives absolute are used to express the simultaneity of the two events.

2 Sam 15:30

וְדָוִד עֹלֶה בְמַעֲלֵה הַזֵּיתִים עֹלֶה וּבוֹכֶה וְרֹאשׁ לוֹ חָפוּי וְהוּא הֹלֵךְ יָחֵף וְכָל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־אִתּוֹ חָפוּ אִישׁ רֹאשׁוֹ
וְעָלוּ עָלֹה וּבָכֹה:

[In the meantime] David was going up the ascent of the Mount of Olives, weeping as he went, with his head covered and walking barefoot; and all the people who were with him each covered their head, and they were going up, weeping as they went.

There seems to be no difference in terms of aspectual distinction between the two simultaneous events expressed by a sequence of two participles עֹלֶה וּבוֹכֶה "going up and weeping" and those expressed by a sequence of two infinitives absolute עָלֹה וּבָכֹה "going up and weeping."[24] Among other things, this seems to suggest that both a sequence of

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23. Only if we disregarded the main verb, the nonfinite sequence itself הָלוֹךְ וְאָכֹל would present two events of equal duration and in similar relation to the temporal frame of the narrative, as a circumstantial clause.

24. It needs to be pointed out that, the verb הָלַךְ does not appear in such participial sequence to express the simultaneity of two events.

participles and a sequence of infinitives absolute are capable of expressing the verbal meaning as ongoing events, in a way associated with imperfective aspect in general, and progressive aspect in particular. This illustration reveals also a general tendency to couple a sequence of infinitives absolute with a finite verb on the one hand, and a sequence of participles with a predicatively used participle on the other, when there is a need to express the simultaneity of two parallel events.

Now we can consider the additional illustrations with הָלַךְ:

2 Samuel 3:16

וַיֵּ֨לֶךְ אִתָּ֜הּ אִישָׁ֗הּ הָל֤וֹךְ וּבָכֹה֙ אַחֲרֶ֔יהָ עַד־בַּחֻרִ֑ים

Her husband went with her, weeping as he went after her, all the way to Bahurim.

2 Kings 2:11

וַיְהִ֗י הֵ֣מָּה הֹלְכִ֤ים הָלוֹךְ֙ וְדַבֵּ֔ר וְהִנֵּ֤ה רֶֽכֶב־אֵשׁ֙ וְס֣וּסֵי אֵ֔שׁ וַיַּפְרִ֖דוּ בֵּ֣ין שְׁנֵיהֶ֑ם

As they were walking and talking, there [appeared] a chariot of fire and horses of fire and separated the two of them.

In the last illustration,[25] the main verb of the construction is a predicative participle because the circumstantial clause הֵ֣מָּה הֹלְכִ֤ים הָלוֹךְ֙ וְדַבֵּ֔ר provides a temporal background information for the following main clause. The participial form of the main verb renders the two simultaneous events as ongoing or in progress.

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25. Since Piel infinitives absolute are rare and Piel infinitives construct are commonly used instead, דַּבֵּר in 2 Kgs 2:11 needs to be interpreted as infinitive absolute. Depending on its syntactic position, דַּבֵּר can serves a double function of an infinitive absolute or an infinitive construct. See Joüon-Muraoka §52c; *HALOT* 210.

If the main verb is not a verb of motion, the simultaneity of the two events expressed by the two infinitives absolute can receive a different interpretation, e.g., the adverbial notion of manner, as it is in:

1 Kings 20:37

וַיִּמְצָא֩ אִ֨ישׁ אַחֵ֜ר וַיֹּ֣אמֶר הַכֵּ֣ינִי נָ֗א וַיַּכֵּ֧הוּ הָאִ֛ישׁ הַכֵּ֖ה וּפָצֹֽעַ׃

He found another man and said, "Strike me!" And the man struck him wounding him. (lit., "striking and wounding him.")

Isaiah 19:22

וְנָגַ֧ף יְהוָ֛ה אֶת־מִצְרַ֖יִם נָגֹ֣ף וְרָפֹ֑וא

The LORD will strike Egypt, healing as he strikes. (That is, the LORD will heal by striking)

I will argue that the simultaneity of the event expressed by the second infinitive absolute in relation to the event of the main verb is somewhat similar to the English nonfinite clause with -*ing* form or the Italian nonfinite clause with -*ndo* form.[26] These two nonfinite forms are often called gerunds by English and Italian grammarians, respectively. If they are used as heads of nonfinite clauses, their most basic function seems to be the durative nature of the event, usually in simultaneity to the event expressed by the main clause with a finite verb. We can consider: "I stood there for two hours watching the passing traffic," which can be rendered in Italian *Là stavo in piedi per due ore guardando il traffico*

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26. English and Italian are two from among many Indo-European languages that have similar strategies of expressing the simultaneity of two events.

che passava. The nonfinite clauses headed by the gerunds, "watching" in English and *guardando* in Italian, express events simultaneous to the finite verbs of the main clause, "stood" and *stavo in piedi*, and of equal duration. Depending on the meaning of verbs, this basically temporal relation can have other interpretations and express the so-called adverbial relations (manner, cause, concession, etc.). For example, in the sentence *She left the house locking the door behind her*, the underlying relation between the main and subordinate clauses is temporal. But this relation it can be interpreted also in terms of manner or similar notions. In my view, both in English and Italian, these two strategies express the simultaneity of the event the same way as the sequence of two infinitives absolute in Hebrew. I would argue that the gerund structure in English or Italian on the one hand, and infinitive absolute structure in Hebrew on the other, express the simultaneity of two events, their duration, and also other adverbial relations between the two events, in relatively similar ways. I do not think the sequence of two infinitives absolute emphasizes the continuity and duration of the events more than the strategies used in English and Italian. In Hebrew, just as it is in English and Italian, the idea of simultaneity can easily have other interpretations, which largely depends on context and also on the inherent meaning of verbs. The difference lies in the way the second event—which is expressed by the second infinitive absolute in Hebrew and by gerunds in English and Italian—is joined to the main verb event. The obligatory use of the "projection" infinitive in Hebrew (as I explain below), joins the second event more "tightly," syntactically and semantically, to the predicate expressed by the main verb than the respective "one-gerund" strategies in English or in Italian do. For example, in the framework of generative grammar, this syntactic difference would require a markedly different presentation of phrase structure for the Hebrew two infinitives construction. However, the traditional view that the two infinitives construction portrays the simultaneity of two events with more intensity and emphasis is inaccurate. Consequently, the frequent

practice of translating the Hebrew construction with 'continually' or 'all the time' overemphasizes the notion of continuity and duration and, to some degree, distorts the meaning of this structure.

According to Callaham, paronomastic infinitives absolute, or infinitives of the same root as the finite verb, expresses various nuances of modality.[27] Moreover, a stand-alone infinitive is sometimes used—as Lambdin puts it—"instead of a finite verb,"[28] and it can function independently of any other verb. It seems to express some specific notions, though not always clearly understood by grammarians, such as some nuances of command (for details, see Joüon-Muraoka §123uvwx). In Biblical Hebrew, it is not very common to express an event in a simultaneity relation to the main verb using an infinitive absolute of another verbal root, but such use is attested in various passages.[29] It is possible that a sequence of two infinitives absolute emerged as a new strategy to mark the simultaneity of two events, not only because the employment of one infinitive was often associated with other functions, but also to present two simultaneous events more tightly bound or more interrelated. Although simultaneity of two events is not the only function of a sequence of

27. The conclusions of Callaham's study can be found in Scott N. Callaham, *Modality and the Biblical Hebrew Infinitive Absolute* (AKM 71; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 209–30.

28. Lambdin, *Introduction*, 159.

29. In Joüon-Muraoka §123r, such use is considered "adverbial" or "circumstantial," which is correct. It might not be easy to make a clear distinction between a simultaneity relation and a circumstance relation in the use of an infinitive absolute that is used in reference to a finite form of the main verb. I believe that temporal relation is primary and other relations are derivative, which might be a matter of debate. But temporal and circumstantial relations should be viewed as related uses of the infinitive absolute.

two infinitives absolute, it is the most common.[30] I make this observation with the assumption that two infinitives absolute express primarily the temporal relation of simultaneity, but this temporal relation can contextually be interpreted in terms of various circumstantial nuances (as in Isa 19:22, 1 Kgs 20:37). I consider these nuances contextual readings of primarily temporal relation.

Since Hebrew uses two nonfinite forms to express simultaneity, which—to the best of my knowledge—is a structure not found in most European languages, the translators struggled to faithfully render the two infinitive construction. They also assumed it expresses simultaneity and duration of two events more emphatically than similar nonfinite strategies in their languages. This seems to have given rise to the idea that the allegedly more emphatic nature of Hebrew nonfinite construction needs to be rendered by 'continually,' 'all the time,' and similar notions.[31] For this reason, this construction in Judg 14:9 וַיֵּ֤לֶךְ הָלוֹךְ֙ וְאָכֹ֔ל is frequently rendered as "He went on, eating as he went" (e.g., in NRS, ESV) rather than simply by "He went eating." In 2 Sam 3:16, הָל֥וֹךְ וּבָכֹ֖ה is rendered by "weeping as he went" (NJB, NAU) or by *piangendo continuamente* "weeping continually" in Italian (IEP). I do not think that this common way of rendering is completely inaccurate, but it does reveal a general tendency to stress the simultaneity of two events in a more emphatic way than it is actually expressed in Hebrew.

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30. For example, in Gen 8:7, two infinitives absolute are used to express alternating events. About the construction of two infinitive absolute that expresses the simultaneity, see Joüon-Muraoka §123m.

31. For example, in BDB 233, almost every translation of the sequence with two infinitives absolute is marked by 'continually' as in "he came continually nearer and nearer" in 2 Sam 18:25 for וַיֵּ֥לֶךְ הָל֖וֹךְ וְקָרֵֽב. But their method can be viewed as an attempt to clearly illustrate the value of the Hebrew nonfinite constructions as they understood them.

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Occasionally, the Hebrew "projection" infinitive may introduce additional arguments to the sentence. For example, it seems that in 2 Sam 3:16 the prepositional phrase אַחֲרֶיהָ "behind her" is introduced by the infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ rather than by the preceding finite form וַיֵּלֶךְ. In such a case, the English translation "weeping as he went behind her" may be a better sounding translation than "He went with her behind her, weeping, as far as Bahurim."

Summing up, it is worth noting that the Hebrew nonfinite construction, used to express simultaneity of two events or other relations, is without doubt an expression of elegant literary style that sounded natural to native speakers. Modern translators should also take this into consideration and attempt to give natural-sounding idiomatic translations rather than at times introducing somewhat forceful and unnaturally-sounding constructions.

Marginally, it must be noted that apart from the lexical sequence of two infinitives absolute, additionally there are four instances[32] where *halok* is followed by finite verbs, arguably with similar, if not the same, function. The co-occurrence of finite verbs, rather than infinitives absolute, in this lexical construction with הָלַךְ is problematic and their function is rather difficult to pinpoint.[33] In Joüon-Muraoka (§123n), all these forms are considered doubtful. Although this observation might be correct, perhaps it is possible to view those occurrences as another way of expressing simultaneity of two events. While the sequence of two infinitives absolute expresses the simultaneity of two events, usually of equal duration, the finite verbs in place of the second infinitive absolute are perhaps used to express other nuances of simultaneity. If this assumption was correct, we would not need to

32. Josh 6:13, 1 Sam 19:23, 2 Sam 13:19, 16:13.

33. *Wayyiqtol* forms in 1Sam 19:23 and 2 Sam 16:13 and *weqatalti* forms in Josh 6:13, 2 Sam 13:19, Jer 50:40.

emend those finite verbs into the expected forms of infinitive absolute. Consider one illustration:

2 Samuel 16:13

וַיֵּ֨לֶךְ דָּוִ֧ד וַאֲנָשָׁ֛יו בַּדָּ֖רֶךְ וְשִׁמְעִ֡י הֹלֵךְ֩ בְּצֵ֨לַע הָהָ֜ר לְעֻמָּת֗וֹ הָלוֹךְ֙ וַיְקַלֵּ֔ל וַיְסַקֵּ֤ל בָּֽאֲבָנִים֙ לְעֻמָּת֔וֹ וְעִפַּ֖ר בֶּעָפָֽר׃

David and his men went on the road, while Shimei was walking on the hillside opposite him, and as he walked, he cursed and threw stones near him, and kept on flinging dust.

If the verbs קַלֵּל and סַקֵּל were in the forms of infinitive absolute, the events of cursing and throwing stones would be presented as taking place at the same time, and with equal duration, as the event of walking expressed by הָלוֹךְ. Although I do not deny the difficulty inherent in the interpretation of this verse, I think it is possible to view the *wayyiqtol* forms as events presenting the verbal meaning in a way associated with perfective aspect (that is, as single unanalyzable wholes without reference to their temporal structure), against the background of the durative event of walking, just as it is suggested by my translation. In other words, the author chose the *wayyiqtol* forms to say that "while Shimei was walking, he cursed and threw stones" rather than "while he was walking, he was cursing and throwing stones." The infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ makes it explicit that the following finite verbs describe the events that took place while Shimei was walking. Without הָלוֹךְ, the sequence of the events in this passage would be more ambiguous, allowing an interpretation that Shimei stopped walking and then cursed and threw stones.

The second infinitive absolute cannot be considered a main line event the same way as that of the first infinitive since its meaning is also expressed by *wayyiqtol*. However, the

second event (expressed by the second infinitive absolute) is anchored in the main line event by the first infinitive. In other words, the first infinitive (of the same root as the finite verb) connects the second infinitive to the finite verb and presents it as a part of the main story line.

7.3 הָלַךְ as an Auxiliary Verb

This section will focus on the analysis of the grammaticalized הָלַךְ. First, I will provide an overview of the attested constructions. Then I will propose a possible diachronic development of its morphosyntactic constructions, explore the auxiliary meaning and the options of translating it in English. I will also offer a translation of the attested occurrences and make some observations.

7.3.1 Overview of the Attested Constructions

In this section, I will briefly present the variety of morphosyntactic structures of the auxiliary הָלַךְ. Only some general observations will be offered here. In an attempt to facilitate the presentation of this complex auxiliary, I have introduced the labels "localizing verb" or "localizer" for any finite verb that is an integral part of the auxiliary construction and "nucleus" for any nonfinite sequence composed of a nonfinite form of הָלַךְ followed by a nonfinite form of a lexical verb. The labels "localizing verb" and "nucleus" are introduced to help the analysis of this morphosyntactically complex auxiliary constructions and should not be associated with any linguistic theory.[34]

I consider the nonfinite sequence as a core or nucleus of the auxiliary construction because in some instances the auxiliary construction can be composed only of the nonfinite

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34. Since the finite verbs that accompany the nonfinite auxiliary construction, or the nucleus, localize the event expressed by the construction in the temporal frame of the narrative, the label "localizing verb" or "localizer" seems to be a good choice.

sequence without any accompanying finite verb (which I call localizing verb). It is the

obligatory constituent without which the auxiliary meaning of הָלַךְ cannot be expressed. The

presence of a satellite finite verb, or its absence, shows how the meaning of the auxiliary

construction is anchored to the story line and illustrates its setting in the temporal frame of

the narrative. The type of lexical verb in terms of stativity or dinamicity inherent in the

meaning of the verb seems to have played some role in the selection of the morphosyntactic

structure of the localizing verb and the nucleus.

In all twenty auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ found in the Hebrew Bible, the verb

הָלַךְ appears in Qal stem in the forms of infinitive absolute or active participle, followed by

an infinitive absolute or a participle of the lexical verb. We can conveniently label the

attested combinations as follows: the sequence of two infinitives absolute as *halok we-qatol*

(attested 5 times), the sequence of two participles as *holek we-qatel* (10 times), and the

mixed sequence, or a hybrid construction (as it is called in Joüon-Muraoka §123s), with הָלַךְ

in infinitive absolute followed by a participle, as *halok we-qatel* construction (5 times).[35]

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35. In most instances, the participles that appear with the auxiliary הָלַךְ belong to the
qātēl pattern (I do not make any special distinction for geminate verbs), which is usually
associated with stative verbs. The participle in Jonah 1:11.13 is סֹעֵר which belongs to *qōtēl*
pattern, usually associated with dynamic verbs, but it seems to have a stative meaning
(even though in Joüon-Muraoka §123s, it is considered an "action verb.") For the sake of
simplification, I will use *qatel* for stative participles of the lexical verbs that combine with
the auxiliary הָלַךְ.
    A participle is a nonfinite form of the verb and it is commonly labelled as a verbal
adjective. With respect to their categorial affiliation, participles are functionally a hybrid
category in being participants (as their name "participle" indicates) in the features of both
the verb and the adjective. In Hebrew grammars, they are traditionally considered verbal
adjectives because they often behave like adjectives. They can serve attributive and
predicative functions as adjectives do. They can also be nominalized into nouns. But
participles, especially those of dynamic verbs, are capable of expressing temporal and
aspectual distinctions the way a finite verb does. For example, in Gen 1:2 the predicatively
used participle מְרַחֶפֶת "[was] hovering" denotes the aspectual notion of an ongoing event or

Moreover, I labelled the instances whereby the nonfinite sequence appears without the

support of a finite verb as "no finite verb" strategy. This is a mere indication that in a

specific passage the nonfinite sequence occurs "on its own," and it does not imply that a

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progressive aspect.

      Almost all participles that occur in auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ belong to stative verbs. While Qal verbal adjectives of dynamic verbs, with the *qōtēl* pattern, are universally labelled as participles by Hebraists, those of stative verbs with the *qātēl* pattern are not. This is open to debate. Without doubt, the term "verbal adjective" is very suitable for many stative participles of stative verbs because this type of participle usually denotes the verbal meaning in a way adjectives do. The participles of stative verbs are frequently lexicalized to the status of ordinary adjectives and, in contrast to the participles of dynamic verbs, relatively rarely express verbal meaning in a way associated with grammatical (rather than lexical and adjective-like) function of participles.

      The classification of stative participles as merely adjectives, denying them a status of participles, is not without problems. For example, in *HALOT* 433, the stative participle (or "adjective" as it is called in *HALOT*) יָרֵא has a separate entry and it is defined 'in fear of.' Paradoxically, the first sub-entry presents יָרֵא used with direct objects marked by אֶת, which is illustrative of its verbal character. Such classification is problematic and, in my opinion, questionable because it does not account for the transitive use of such verbal adjectives. Transitivity is a feature inherent in transitive verbs and their non-finite forms used verbally, but not in adjectives derived from the same root. In this regard, BDB (431) has a grammatically more accurate presentation because יָרֵא is considered a participle and it is described as nonfinite verb rather than merely an adjective. The stative participle קָרֵב can serve as another illustration of a stative participle that has a separate entry as an adjective in *HALOT* (1134-35). Arguably, in all its occurrences in the Hebrew bible קָרֵב represents the meaning of the verbal root in the way the typical participle does. Moreover, its meaning is sometimes a clearly dynamic 'approach, draw near' rather than an adjective-like meaning 'near.'

      Due to the auxiliary meaning of הָלַךְ, all stative participles receive a dynamic interpretation that implies changes. For example, the verb גָּדַל with the meaning 'be great, rich, important' can be considered a stative verb, but when its meaning is grammatically turned into 'become/grow rich,' as in Gen 26:13, by virtue of grammatical construction it becomes a dynamic verb. (For such distinction of stativity and dynamicity, see Joüon-Muraoka §111h). For the purpose of this study, I will use the term participle in reference to verbal adjectives of both dynamic and stative patterns, without denying the difficulty inherent in such classification.

copula or any other finite verb is missing.[36]

I will give only one gloss for a verbal root of the lexical verb and prefer a contextual meaning, as it can be understood in a passage, for example 'be rich' for גָּדֵל in Gen 26:13 rather than the usual 'be great.' Apart from some exceptions, I usually give an underlying stative meaning in spite of the fact that the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ renders a stative meaning into a dynamic meaning. In this way, the stative character of most verbs that combine with is additionally underscored. The gloss 'decrease,' a dynamic meaning, for the verb חָסַר in Gen 8:5, is not a contradiction to the inherently stative meaning of this verb, which is arguably 'be too little/few,' but it is more difficult to define.[37]

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36. Hebrew is a language that does not use a copula in general. As a result, a nominal clause like מֶלֶךְ טוֹב הוּא (lit., "king good he") could theoretically be used for any sphere of time, and rendered as "He was a good king," "He is a good king," or "He will be a good king." In practice, the context usually provides sufficient information to help the interpretation. Whenever there was a need in Hebrew to explicitly localize the predicate of a nominal clause in time, or express some aspectual notion (such as iteration, etc.), the verb הָיָה 'be' was used. For the most part, this copular use of הָיָה was restricted to the past or to the future. Therefore, the use of copula in Hebrew can be viewed as optional, or employed when some temporal or aspectual reference needed to be stated explicitly.

37. The discussion of Hebrew Qal stative verbs is complicated by the fact that some stative verbs over time shifted semantically towards the dynamic verbs, with or without a change in vocalization. See Joüon-Muraoka §116b and Waltke-O'Connor 366-67. To the best of my knowledge, Hebraists do not yet have available a set of reliable criteria, based on modern linguistic analysis, that would help in identifying more clearly stative from non-stative uses of Hebrew verbs. The major lexica, like BDB or *HALOT*, are not always helpful in this regard. In crosslinguistic perspective, dynamic verbs are considered as marked for dynamicity because they cannot have a stative meaning. Stative verbs, on the other hand, are considered as not marked for dynamicity and can - as it is well attested in many languages - sometimes be turned into dynamic verbs, without losing their inherent stativity in other instances of use. [For a state-of-the-art linguistic study of statives, see Antonia Rothmayr, *The Structure of Stative Verbs* (LA 143; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2009). Dynamic interpretation of Hebrew stative verbs is studied in F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Biblical Hebrew Statives and Situation Aspect," *JSS* 44 (2000): 33–43.] In my analysis, I will label a verb as stative if it has a stative imprint, which includes at least one of the

Table 2 shows all the attested occurrences of the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ and their morphosyntactic diversity.

Table 2: Passages with the Auxiliary הָלַךְ

Citation	LOCALIZER Finite verb	NUCLEUS Nonfinite sequence	Lexical verb type
Gen 8:3	LEXICAL wayyiqtol	halok we-qatol	שׁוּב 'recede' (dynamic)
Gen 8:5	COPULA qatal	halok we-qatol	חסר 'decrease' (stative)
Gen 12:9	LEXICAL wayyiqtol	halok we-qatol	נָסַע 'journey' (dynamic)
Gen 26:13	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatel	גדל 'be rich' (stative)
Exod 19:19	COPULA wayyiqtol	holek we-qatel	חזק 'be strong' (stative)
Judg 4:24	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatel	קשׁה 'be heavy' (stative)
1 Sam 2:26	(no finite verb)	holek we-qatel we-qatel	גדל 'be big' (stative) טוב 'be good' (stative)

following: stative pattern of vocalization *qātēl* or arguably stative meaning, at least at its earlier stages. Consequently, I will consider קָרֵב 'be near' as stative. Waltke and O'Connor (p. 367) argue that קָרֵב became a dynamic verb (they use an alternative term "fientive" for dynamic verbs) and, as a result, both the קָרֵב form and the dynamic alternate form קָרַב have a dynamic meaning 'draw near.' It would be beyond the scope of this work to engage in a discussion whether an originally stative verb completely lost, or not, its stative meaning in Biblical Hebrew.

1 Sam 14:19	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatel	רבב 'be much' (stative)
1 Sam 17:41 (h.)[38]	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	holek we-qatel	קרב 'be near' (stative)
2 Sam 3:1	(no finite verb)	holek we-qatel (2x)	חזק 'be strong' (stative) דלל 'be weak' (stative)
2 Sam 5:10	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatol	גדל 'be great' (stative)
2 Sam 15:12	(no finite verb)	holek we-qatel	רבב 'be much' (stative)
2 Sam 18:25 (h.)	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatel	קרב 'be near' (stative)
1 Chr 11:9 (= 2 Sam 5:10)	AUXILIARY wayyiqtol	halok we-qatol	גדל 'be great' (stative)
2 Chr 17:12	COPULA wayyiqtol	holek we-qatel	גדל 'be great' (stative)
Esth 9:4	(no finite verb)	holek we-qatol	גדל 'be great' (stative)
Prov 4:18	(no finite verb) attributive use	holek we-qatel	ארר 'be bright' (stative)
Jonah 1:11	(no finite verb)	holek we-qotel	סער 'be stormy' (stative)
Jonah 1:13	(no finite verb)	holek we-qotel	סער 'be stormy' (stative)

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38. "(h.)" indicates that the construction is semantically a hybrid because it clearly has the auxiliary meaning of gradual progression but, due to the combination of two motion verbs in the same sequence, the idea of spatial motion of הָלַךְ is not completely lost. A similar interpretation is suggested in BDB 233.

In all the attested occurrences, this auxiliary construction never appears with negation. It is always used predicatively, except for Prov 4:18 where it is used attributively as a complement to the subject.

The nucleus of the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ are the nonfinite sequences, such as *halok we-qatol* or *holek we-qatel*. These nonfinite sequences are sometimes accompanied by a localizing finite verb which forms an integral part of the auxiliary construction. The attested localizing verbs are: the auxiliary הָלַךְ (7 times), lexical verbs (2 times), and the copular הָיָה (3 times). Except for one copular use of הָיָה in *qatal*, all other occurrences of the localizing verbs are in *wayyiqtol*. The presence or absence of a finite form and the choice between the three options (finite הָלַךְ, finite lexical verb, or copular הָיָה) seem to be dictated by the rules of Hebrew discourse (e.g., how foreground and background are expressed), and its system of encoding tense, aspect, and modality.[39] For example, if a writer wanted to present the meaning expressed by the auxiliary construction as a foregrounded event on the main story line, he had to use a finite form of one of the two verbs (auxiliary or lexical) in

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39. In a narrative text, *foreground* is the material that "pushes forward" the story events through time, whereas *background* refers to descriptive, usually durative, situations that provide subsidiary information. A classic article about the linguistic notions of foregrounding and backgrounding is Paul Hopper, "Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse," in *Discourse and Syntax* (ed. Talmy Givón; Syntax and Semantics 12; New York: Academic Press, 1979), 213–41. A good survey on how biblical Hebrew expresses foregrounded and backgrounded events is Alviero Niccacci, "Analysis of Biblical Narrative," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics* (ed. Robert D. Bergen; Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994), 175–98. A more recent survey of these notions can be found in Sven-Olof Dahlgren, "The Relevance of Tense and Aspect in Semitic Languages: The Case of Hebrew and Arabic," in *Interdependence of Diachronic and Synchronic Analyses* (ed. Folke Josephson and Ingmar Söhrman; SLCS 103; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2008), 221–47.

wayyiqtol to localize the meaning on the main story line of the narrative. There are only two occurrences with lexical verbs in finite form, in Gen 8:3 and Gen 12:9, which arguably are the only dynamic verbs that occur with הָלַךְ. Moreover, both are motion verbs. Perhaps it was a deciding factor that determined the choice of the lexical verb for a localizer position. This observation cannot be considered conclusive due to insufficient examples of such attested forms.

7.3.2 Diachronic Development of Morphosyntactic Variety

In this section, I will attempt to reconstruct the chronological order of changes on the basis of available data. Since the data are rather limited, the proposed reconstruction is highly speculative but it will shed light on the diversity of constructions with the auxiliary הָלַךְ.

As it was pointed out earlier in this study, grammaticalization starts in specific morphosyntactic constructions that express a specific lexical meaning. There are some indications that suggest that the grammaticalization of הָלַךְ took place in the sequence of two infinitives absolute. The auxiliary meaning of gradual progression can be best explained as a reinterpretation of two simultaneous events, with the idea of motion (expressed by הָלַךְ) metaphorized as gradual development of an activity. Moreover, when הָלַךְ is used in its lexical meaning in relation of simultaneity with another verb, this simultaneity is expressed exclusively[40] in the sequence of two infinitives absolute.[41] The grammaticalized nonfinite

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40. In Hebrew, the simultaneity of two events can be expressed within one clause, by means of an infinitive absolute accompanying a finite verb or another infinitive absolute, or by two participles. I do not consider here circumstantial clauses that can also, though in a different way, express the simultaneity of two events, but in such constructions two simultaneous events are expressed in two clauses.

41. Here I do not take into consideration four instances when the infinitive absolute

sequence with הָלַךְ, on the other hand, is characteristic of morphosyntactic diversity. It is

attested as the sequences of two infinitives absolute, two participles, or a mixed sequence

consisting of the infinitive absolute of הָלַךְ followed by a participle of the lexical verb. It

seems best to account for this morphosyntactic variety as a later development from the

grammaticalized sequence of two infinitives absolute. In addition, the grammaticalized

nonfinite sequences are the nucleus of the auxiliary construction in that they can express the

auxiliary meaning without the support of any finite verb (labelled a "localizing verb" in this

study), which suggests that the presence or absence of a finite verb accompanying the

nonfinite sequence is less essential for the construction to have an auxiliary, rather than

lexical, interpretation.

The auxiliary construction with participles, *holek we-qatel* and *halok we-qatel*,

should be considered a later development, as an extension of an already established auxiliary

construction with two infinitives absolute *halok we-qatol*. This observation is supported by

the fact that, in the lexical constructions,[42] הָלַךְ is used always paired with dynamic verbs

(whose subjects are always human beings, with the exception for cows in 1 Sam 6:12), and it

occurs uniquely as a sequence of two infinitives absolute (attested 9 times, or 10 times if we

decide to emend Jer 41:6).[43] It is never paired with stative verbs.

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of הָלַךְ is followed by finite verbs, with a possible reading of simultaneity. Later, I will
indicate those passages and address the difficulty of interpreting them.

42. In the nine attested constructions consisting of two infinitives absolute, of the
lexical הָלַךְ and another verb, to express simultaneity. The only participle that comes with
lexical *halok* is וּבֹכֶה in Jer 41:6, but there seems to be little support for this form, both from
text-critical and grammatical perspectives. This is also suggested in BDB 233. It seems to
me best to emend it to וּבָכֹה. But since וּבֹכֶה is found in one passage, it needs to be
acknowledged as a participle.

43. The only participle that comes with lexical *halok* is וּבֹכֶה in Jer 41:6, but there

In its literal meaning, הָלַךְ was a dynamic verb, but in the course of grammaticalization its dynamic nature inherent in the lexical meaning was lost in the process. Subsequently, the auxiliary notion of gradual development became particularly compatible with Hebrew stative verbs if we consider that in eighteen out of twenty occurrences the auxiliary הָלַךְ is paired with stative verbs. Since stative verbs usually do not have an infinitive absolute, their participles were an obvious alternative. It is a conjecture only but it seems that the use of stative participles with the infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ expanded the morphosyntactic pattern of the auxiliary הָלַךְ in the sense that, over time, הָלוֹךְ was replaced by הֹלֵךְ when used with stative verbs. The expansion of the *halok we-qatel* paradigm (as in Gen 26:13) to *holek we-qatel* (as in Exod 19:19) resulted in a morphologically more harmonized construction of two participles. It is also worth noting that the construction with the infinitive absolute הָלוֹךְ is not attested in later books, like Chronicles,[44] Esther and Jonah, representative of late Biblical Hebrew. Polzin points out that in post-exilic Hebrew the infinitive absolute was "well on the way to extinction."[45] Polzin's statement is somewhat contradicted by the fact that infinitives absolute are still attested in later Qumran texts. But according to Qimron, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "an authentic infinitive absolute is extremely rare."[46]

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seems to be little support for this form, both from text-critical and grammatical perspectives. This is also suggested in BDB 233. It seems to me best to emend it to וּבָכֹה. Since it is found in this passage, it needs to be acknowledged as a participle.

44. I assume that 1 Chr 11:9 is based on 2 Sam 5:10 and I do not consider it as a periodic illustration of הָלוֹךְ in postexilic Hebrew.

45. Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSS 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 44.

46. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986), 47. Qimron points out that many of the attested instances of the

7.3.3 Auxiliary Meaning and its Translation

The morphosyntactic variety of auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ should not mislead us into viewing them as different, only loosely related, functions that deserve separate treatment. There is only one meaning and function underlying all the occurrences of the auxiliary הָלַךְ: the notion of gradual progression or, interchangeably, development through time. The meaning of a lexical verb paired with the auxiliary הָלַךְ is presented as developing gradually, slowly, little by little. Most of the lexical verbs occurring in this construction are stative and, in virtue of the auxiliary meaning, the stative meanings receive a dynamic interpretation, that is, one that implies changes. Moreover, the auxiliary construction portrays the meaning as occurring with gradual increasing, or decreasing, of an existing state.

Since English does not have a similar grammatical construction for expressing such gradual progression of an event, the English translations of the auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ need to be rendered idiomatically through adverbials, such as *gradually*, *little by little*, *slowly*, *stage by stage*, or some other phrases that idiomatically express best the contextual value of this construction. Since almost all lexical verbs that occur with the auxiliary הָלַךְ are stative, it follows that in English they usually need to be rendered by adjectives rather than by verbs. In some instances, the English comparative construction *more and more +* adjective (or, more formally, *increasingly +* adjective) can convey the gradual character and continuity of changes expressed by הָלַךְ.[47] However, in my view, the adverb *gradually* best

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infinitive absolute in Qumran texts perform the function of the infinitive construct.

47. The graduality of change expressed by *more and more + adjective* construction (or, for some adjectives, analytically by *-er and -er*) can be considered in the following illustrations: "He is becoming more and more aggressive." "She was getting thinner and thinner." "The weather got worse and worse." "The situation was getting more and more

conveys the grammatical and aspectual character of the auxiliary הָלַךְ and it should be the first choice when giving a general gloss (that is, 'occur/do gradually') for the auxiliary value of this verb. It needs to be strongly emphasized, however, that the value of the auxiliary הָלַךְ cannot be fully expressed in English. In Hebrew, it is a verbal construction that can only approximately be translated by use of other available linguistic means. The phrase "continue to do" used to translate the auxiliary הָלַךְ in some passages, especially as a stylistically attractive rendering, is an acceptable alternative as long as its value of continuity is understood as uninterrupted duration over some time. The auxiliary הָלַךְ does not have the meaning that is associated with continuative aspect.[48] It cannot express continuation of an

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difficult." "It has become increasingly clear to me that I made a mistake." Since the changes implied by הָלַךְ occur slowly rather than quickly, the verb *grow* might be a very good choice to emphasize the graduality. We can consider: "Over time the stain on the ceiling grew larger." "While we were waiting, the line behind us was growing longer and longer." "Over the years she grew more and more independent."

    48. Continuative aspect views the situation as ongoing not only at the reference point but also from the reference point onward. In English, this kind of meaning can be expressed through such phrases as 'continue doing,' 'go on doing,' 'keep on doing,' or the adverb 'still.' Consider the following illustration: "When I entered the room, she was singing [progressive aspect]. When I left the room some time later, she continued singing (or, she was still singing) [continuative aspect]." More information about continuative aspect can be found in Bybee et al., *Evolution of Grammar*, 127, 170. About the aspectual value expressed by adverb 'still,' see Guglielmo Cinque, *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 95; and Annerieke Boland, "A New View on the Semantics and Pragmatics of Operators," in *Morphosyntactic Expression in Functional Grammar* (ed. Casper de Groot and Kees Hengeveld; FGS 27; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 324. In some languages, modern reference grammars might use the term "continuative aspect" for a meaning similar to that of 'continue doing' or 'still' only if it is expressed grammatically through affixes, rather than lexically like in English. But it is a matter of debate if such expressions as 'continue doing' or 'still' belong to the grammar or the lexicon. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* indicates a number of verbs, such as 'begin,' continue,' 'finish,' which—according to the authors—semantically express aspectual meaning, but they do not belong to the grammatical class of auxiliary verbs and

event that has started earlier and its duration is carried on. Due to its meaning, הָלַךְ can be

combined only with lexical verbs whose intrinsic meaning allows duration and

incrementality of the meaning, in contrast to verbs that are punctual.[49] Arguably, a

possibility to express *duration* (an event that extend over time) and *incrementality* are the

best defining semantic features of all the verbs that combine with the auxiliary הָלַךְ.

Moreover, all these verbs have a dynamic reading in the auxiliary constructions, regardless

of their stative or non-stative origins. The semantic features of telicity and atelicity are more

difficult to apply in the interpretation of the auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ.[50] For example,

it is not clear to me if the auxiliary construction in Gen 26:13 expresses telicity or not. In my

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they refer to them as "lexical aspectual verbs" or just "aspectual verbs." Huddleston and Pullum, *Cambridge Grammar*, 117, 711, 1241. But in linguistic literature, especially in linguistic typology, such aspectual verbs may be considered a type of non-core auxiliary verbs, especially if they underwent grammaticalization (for example, like the Spanish verb *seguir* 'follow,' 'go after' started to be used with a gerund to express "continue doing.") .

49. For example, "find" in English is such a verb. Punctual verbs cannot appear in progressive forms in English. We can say "I am looking for a job" but not "I am finding a job." Punctual verbs express meaning that does not extend over time. Punctual verbs can be portrayed as repeated events in iterative aspect, but even as iterative events they do not seem to have duration or extend over time.

50. *Telicity* is a semantic feature, inherent in some dynamic verbs, that denotes the existence of an end or a result to which a situation can naturally lead. *Atelicity* is the lack of telicity. Telicity is a potential of a situation whose end can be reached, but the actual attainment of an end in telic verbs depends on the tense-forms of language. For example, in the sentence "John ran to the library," the goal denoted by the telic phrase *run to the library* was reached. But in the sentence "John was running to the library," the goal is not yet reached and it may or may not be reached. The imperfective progressive form "was running" gives only a glimpse into the event, not into the whole event and its fulfillment. Telic verbs (such as "build") and phrases (such as "run to the library") are always marked by telicity and this feature is not cancellable, but it will depend on the tense-forms in which they are expressed if they actually reach an end or not. For more details, see Mari B. Olsen, *A Semantic and Pragmatic Model of Lexical and Grammatical Aspect* (Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics; New York: Garland, 1997), 32–34.

view, the auxiliary construction expresses telicity in Gen 8:3 because it summarizes the whole event "The water gradually receded." On the other hand, in Gen 8:5, the auxiliary construction is clearly atelic in meaning. This interpretation probably depends on the tense-forms of the localizing verbs: *wayyiqtol* in Gen 8:3 and *qatal* in Gen 8:5.

Graduality is one of the parameters used in the description of aspectual systems across languages. In some linguistic frameworks, the auxiliary verbs similar in force to הָלַךְ are described as expressing gradual aspect.[51] This is a type of aspect that refers to the internal temporal constituency of the situation as a whole. It can be contrasted with other aspectual notions, such as the so-called phasal aspects: ingressive (= start doing), progressive (= be in the midst of doing), egressive (= finish doing) that are concerned with phases of the situation rather than with the situation as a whole.[52] Gradual aspect is a type of aspect that provides the information about the inner structure of the temporal constituency, that is, how the situation develops. I am convinced that, in accordance with common linguistic

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51. See, for example, Hella Olbertz, *Verbal Periphrases in a Functional Grammar of Spanish* (FGS 22; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 340–43, 552; Rena Torres Cacoullos, *Grammaticization, Synchronic Variation, and Language Contact: A Study of Spanish Progressive -ndo Constructions* (SLCS 52; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), 99–102, 142. Although I consider "gradual aspect" as an important term in this analysis, it needs to be pointed out that it is not a universally recognized term in the classification of aspectual distinctions across languages, mainly because it is a relatively rare type of aspect, not expressed grammatically in many languages. While the terms like *progressive, habitual, perfective, imperfective* are almost universally recognized and frequently employed in the description of aspectual systems, other terms, such as *gradual, continuative,* and numerous others, are employed by many linguists but not by all.

52. The English progressive aspect, expressed in tense-forms like *he is/was singing,* can serve as an illustration of a type of aspect that does not refer to the situation as a whole, but gives insight into a fragment, or a phase, of an ongoing situation and its internal temporal constituency. For more details about progressive aspect, see Bernard Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 32–40.

terminology, it would be completely justified to label the auxiliary הָלַךְ as marker of gradual

aspect. However, I would suggest that *marker of gradual progression* or, interchangeably,

development is more "neutral" (one that does not engage into the considerable complexities

of aspect), and it conveniently summarizes the semantic-functional features of הָלַךְ.[53]

Although 'occur/do gradually' should be the first choice as a gloss for the auxiliary הָלַךְ, it

does not mean that it should be mechanically the first choice in translation. Since a close

equivalent of this grammatical construction does not exist in English, the translator needs to

find a good idiomatic rendering for each passage in its context.

Although the word *development*, as it is used in the phrase "gradual development" in

reference to the auxiliary הָלַךְ, should be perhaps slightly preferable over *progression*, both

words are good choices to label the auxiliary function of הָלַךְ. Both are used in the linguistic

literature in this sense.[54] The term *progression* requires some analysis because it can be

associated with two different notions: gradual aspect or progressive aspect. Progression will

be used here in reference to the former type of aspect. Progression is to be understood here

as a series of successive stages, developing one after the other. Progression consists of

progressive change, as implied in "He grew more and more impatient." Since the meaning of

a lexical verb paired with הָלַךְ is portrayed as incrementally increasing (or decrementally

decreasing) with each stage, the word progression reflects such graduality of change. In spite

of common etymology, progression should not be confused with the concept of progressive

aspect that is used in reference to an ongoing dynamic situation, such as "She is watching a

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53. The term "marker" is commonly used by many linguists for various
grammatical functions, including those of auxiliary verbs.

54. Van der Merwe and his colleagues use "gradual progression" for the auxiliary
הָלַךְ in two infinitives absolute construction. Van der Merwe et al., *Biblical Hebrew*, 160.

movie." Progressive aspect primarily presents a dynamic situation as being in progress at reference time, without providing any information about the character of its development. In short, it is important to remember that the term *progression* is associated in linguistic literature with two different notions: progressive (= gradual) change and progressive (= ongoing) aspect.[55]

7.4 Presentation of Morphosyntactic Constructions with the Auxiliary

Since the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ is a highly complex syntactic unit, I will present its occurrences according to its major syntactic structures. Keep in mind that such an atomized presentation, with a variety of combinations, is justified only because of the structural complexity of this auxiliary construction.

7.4.1 Finite Auxiliary Verb + Nonfinite Sequence

In this construction, the auxiliary הָלַךְ occupies the position of the localizing verb in addition to its infinitive absolute form. The finite form of הָלַךְ anchors the nonfinite auxiliary sequence to the temporal frame of the narrative, and it is used in accordance with the strategies of Hebrew grammar for expression of tense, aspect, and modality. It seems that הָלַךְ is used as a localizing verb mainly with stative lexical verbs. Let us consider the following illustration:

Genesis 26:13

וַיִּגְדַּל הָאִישׁ וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל עַד כִּי־גָדַל מְאֹד׃

The man became rich, and he grew richer and richer until he was very rich.

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55. It would be best to associate progressive aspect with "in progress" rather than with "progression."

In this passage, the finite form of הָלַךְ is arguably used as a localizer of the nonfinite auxiliary sequence due to the stative nature of the lexical verb גָּדַל. At this point, it is worth noting that sometimes scholars believe the auxiliary הָלַךְ has the value associated with continuative aspect and marks the continuation of an event that has started earlier. If that were the case, we would need to translate the auxiliary construction וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל as "he continued to be rich." But since the auxiliary expresses gradual development, with stative meaning turned into a dynamic one, the translation "he grew richer and richer" conveys more adequately the meaning of the original Hebrew. For stylistic reasons, to achieve a smoother translation in this specific passage, it is possible to translate the construction as "he continued to grow richer (and richer)" with the assumption that the value of continuation is inferred from the preceding וַיִּגְדַּל but it is not the actual meaning inherent in the auxiliary function. The translations such as "and his wealth continued to grow" (NIV) reflects such approach.

Let us consider other illustrations with הָלַךְ functioning as a localizer of the nonfinite auxiliary sequence, with stative lexical verbs, that anchors it to the temporal frame of the narrative:

Judges 4:24

וַתֵּלֶךְ יַד בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל הָלוֹךְ וְקָשָׁה עַל יָבִין מֶלֶךְ־כְּנָעַן

The hand of the Israelites grew harder and harder against Jabin, king of Canaan.

1 Samuel 14:19

וַיְהִי עַד דִּבֶּר שָׁאוּל אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְהֶהָמוֹן אֲשֶׁר בְּמַחֲנֵה פְלִשְׁתִּים וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וָרָב

While Saul was talking to the priest, the uproar in the camp of the Philistines grew louder and louder (also: increased more and more, kept on increasing).

2 Samuel 5:10

וַיֵּלֶךְ דָּוִד הָלוֹךְ וְגָדוֹל וַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת עִמּוֹ׃

David grew greater and greater, and the LORD, the God of hosts, was with him.

The form גָּדוֹל requires some comment. גָּדוֹל is a very common regular adjective, but it seems that in 2 Sam 5:10 גָּדוֹל is an infinitive absolute. Otherwise it would be the only regular adjective that occurs with הָלַךְ in classical biblical Hebrew. By "regular" I mean an adjective which is not a verbal adjective like גָּדֵל and other stative and dynamic participles that occur with הָלַךְ.

גָּדוֹל in 2 Sam 5:10 and also in Esth 9:4 is considered an infinitive absolute in Joüon-Muraoka §123s. The construction in Esth 9:4 הוֹלֵךְ וְגָדוֹל "growing more and more powerful" is difficult to interpret. If Joüon and Muraoka were right, the construction would be a unique combination: a participle of הָלַךְ and an infinitive absolute of the lexical verb, which seems doubtful to me. The book of Esther belongs to the postexilic period of Hebrew. It was composed when the use of the infinitive absolute was already very rare. If the author wanted to imitate the style of preexilic Hebrew, he would have chosen one of the three attested patterns הָלוֹךְ וְגָדֵל as in Gen 26:13, הָלוֹךְ וְגָדוֹל as in 2 Sam 5:10, or הֹלֵךְ וְגָדֵל as in 1 Sam 2:26. In my view, when the book of Esther was composed, the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ was reduced to הֹלֵךְ plus a participle or any adjective.

7.4.2 Finite Lexical Verb + Nonfinite Sequence

In this construction, which is attested only in Gen 8:3 and Gen 12:9, the lexical verb appears in *wayyiqtol*, in addition to its nonfinite form in the *halok we-qatol* sequence. These

are the only illustrations where the lexical verb additionally appears in finite form in this auxiliary construction, and it is rather difficult to account for this phenomenon on the basis of two instances. But we need to note that the two lexical verbs used here, שָׁב 'return, recede' and נָסַע 'depart, travel, journey,' are dynamic verbs of motion. In contrast, the lexical verbs in most, perhaps even all, other occurrences of the auxiliary הָלַךְ are stative. It seems that the finite lexical form of the dynamic verbs functions as a localizer of the nonfinite sequence to place the event in the temporal frame of the narrative. It follows that the choice of a lexical verb for the finite verb position (over a finite form of הָלַךְ) is dictated by the inherent semantic meaning of the attested verbs. Let us analyze the two passages:

Genesis 8:3

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב

The water gradually receded from the earth.

Genesis 12:9

וַיִּסַּע אַבְרָם הָלוֹךְ וְנָסוֹעַ הַנֶּגְבָּה:

Abram journeyed on, stage by stage, toward the south/the Negeb.

The force of the auxiliary with the verb נָסַע in Gen 12:9 is not easy to translate in English. The gradual progression of Abram's journey is sometimes rendered by such phrases as 'stage by stage,' 'by stages,' 'from camp to camp,' which seem to be good alternatives to the adverb 'gradually.' The auxiliary construction does imply here that Abram's journey took place in a series of encampments.

7.4.3 The Copula הָיָה + Nonfinite Sequence

In this section, we will study the following passages: Gen 8:5; Exod 19:19; 2 Chr 17:12. Let us first analyze the occurrence which seems to be straightforward.

Genesis 8:5

וְהַמַּ֗יִם הָיוּ֙ הָל֣וֹךְ וְחָס֔וֹר עַ֖ד הַחֹ֣דֶשׁ הָֽעֲשִׂירִ֑י בָּֽעֲשִׂירִי֙ בְּאֶחָ֣ד לַחֹ֔דֶשׁ נִרְא֖וּ רָאשֵׁ֥י הֶהָרִֽים:

The water was steadily decreasing (or: the water continued to decrease) until the tenth month. In the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains appeared.

In this passage, the copular הָיָה in *qatal* merely localizes the event of gradual decrease of water in the past. The event is presented as being a part of the background. It seems that without the copula the meaning would still be the same, except that it would not be explicitly localized in time. The combination of progressive aspect "was decreasing" and the adverb "steadily" expresses the idea of gradual development of the event in a stylistically more elegant way than "was decreasing more and more," which in my view is close to what the Hebrew construction means here. The rendering "continued to decrease" is acceptable as long as we keep in mind that the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ does not express the idea of continuation, but only of continuity. In English, the phrase "continue to do" is frequently used to express a situation that lasts for an extended period of time, without the notion of continuation, and the rendering "continued to decrease" in Gen 8:5 should be understood in this sense.

I will explain in more detail what I mean that the copula הָיָה in *qatal* merely localizes the event of gradual decrease of water in the past. In other words, the nonfinite sequence of

two infinitives absolute is capable of portraying an event in progress. *Qatal* form of the localizing verb (the copula in this passage) does not seem to constrain the potential of the nonfinite sequence to portray the event as ongoing. On the other hand, in Gen 8:3, the finite lexical verb in *wayyiqtol* וַיָּשֻׁבוּ portrays the auxiliary meaning the way *wayyiqtol* does. In my view, *wayyiqtol* often presents the event as a single whole, in a way associated with perfective aspect.[56] In Gen 8:5, on the other hand, the use of a copula merely localizes explicitly the event in the past.

The interpretation of the other two passages, with the copula in *wayyiqtol*, seems more complicated:

Exodus 19:19

וַיְהִי֙ ק֣וֹל הַשּׁוֹפָ֔ר הוֹלֵ֖ךְ וְחָזֵ֣ק מְאֹ֑ד מֹשֶׁ֣ה יְדַבֵּ֔ר וְהָאֱלֹהִ֖ים יַעֲנֶ֥נּוּ בְקֽוֹל׃

And the blast of the trumpet grew louder and louder. [Then] Moses would speak and God would answer him in thunder.

2 Chr 17:12

וַיְהִ֣י יְהוֹשָׁפָ֔ט הֹלֵ֥ךְ וְגָדֵ֖ל עַד־לְמָ֑עְלָה וַיִּ֤בֶן בִּֽיהוּדָה֙ בִּֽירָנִיּ֔וֹת וְעָרֵ֖י מִסְכְּנֽוֹת׃

Jehoshaphat grew more and more powerful. He built fortresses and storage cities in Judah.

In Exod 19:19, וַיְהִי cannot be considered a discourse marker of foregrounding (as I called it in chapter 6), which in the older translations was rendered "and it came to pass." While the

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56. For this reason, Gen 8:3 should be translated as "The water receded gradually" rather than "The water was gradually receding."

construction *wayyelek halok we-qatel*, with the auxiliary in finite form, is used to localize the event as foregrounded, both with a human subject (e.g., Gen 26:13) and nonanimate subject (e.g., 1 Sam 14:15), there is no clear indication why the copula is used here rather than the finite הָלַךְ. It needs to be noted that the whole verse is grammatically problematic. According to Joüon and Muraoka, הָיָה in *wayyiqtol* and a participle are used after a series of *wayyiqtols* if the event is to be viewed as durative (Joüon-Muraoka §121f). It follows that after a series of foregrounded events presented in a punctual or non-durative perspective in Exod 19:17-18, וַיְהִי and a participle of a verb are employed—instead of the verb in *wayyiqtol*—to express a durative event, seemingly as a part of the foreground, rather than background (although it is not stated explicitly in Joüon and Muraoka). Although this observation might be correct, the problem of such an interpretation lies in the fact that *wayyiqtol* and the notion of foreground usually are not associated with durative events. In Exod 19:19 (but not in 2 Chr 17:12) the copula in *qatal*, or even no copula at all, would fit better grammatically within the whole sentence rather than וַיְהִי.

7.4.4 Nonfinite Sequence with "No Finite Verb" Strategy

In the following constructions, the nonfinite sequence appears without any localizing finite verb, that is, without any finite verb (lexical, auxiliary, copula) that would localize the auxiliary meaning in the temporal frame of the narrative or that would portray them with some specific aspectual value. Consequently, all these instances express background information: in a circumstantial clause in 1 Sam 2:26; 2 Sam 3:1; 2 Sam 15:12; in a subordinate clause in Jonah 1:11, 13; Esth 9:4. Here follow the contextual translations of the attested constructions with "no finite verb" strategy.

1 Samuel 2:26

וְהַנַּעַר שְׁמוּאֵל הֹלֵךְ וְגָדֵל וָטוֹב גַּם עִם־יְהֹוָה וְגַם עִם־אֲנָשִׁים:

The boy Samuel was growing (or: continued to grow) in stature and in favor both with the LORD and with the people.

2 Samuel 3:1

וְדָוִד הֹלֵךְ וְחָזֵק וּבֵית שָׁאוּל הֹלְכִים וְדַלִּים:

While David was growing stronger and stronger, the house of Saul was growing weaker and weaker.

2 Sam 15:12

וְהָעָם הוֹלֵךְ וָרָב אֶת־אַבְשָׁלוֹם:

And the people with Absalom continued to grow in number

Jonah 1:11

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו מַה־נַּעֲשֶׂה לָּךְ וְיִשְׁתֹּק הַיָּם מֵעָלֵינוּ כִּי הַיָּם הוֹלֵךְ וְסֹעֵר:

They said to him, "What should we do with you, that the sea may calm down for us (lit., from against us)?" For the sea was growing more and more tempestuous (or: rougher and rougher).

Jonah 1:13

כִּי הַיָּם הוֹלֵךְ וְסֹעֵר עֲלֵיהֶם:

For the sea was growing more and more tempestuous against them.

Esther 9:4

כִּי־הָאִישׁ מָרְדֳּכַי הוֹלֵךְ וְגָדוֹל:

For the man Mordecai was growing more and more powerful.

7.4.5 Hybrid Cases: 1 Sam 17:41 and 2 Sam 18:25

In the overview of structures with the auxiliary הָלַךְ, I marked two passages, 1 Sam 17:41 and 2 Sam 18:25, with "(h.)" to indicate that a construction is semantically a hybrid because it clearly has the auxiliary meaning of gradual progression but, due to the combination of two motion verbs in the same sequence, the idea of spatial motion of הָלַךְ is not completely lost.

In both passages, there is clearly motion involved and since הָלַךְ in its literal and most common meaning is a motion verb, there is some ambiguity involved in the interpretation of these two structures. To some extent, we may compare this ambiguity with the way "be going to" as future marker can be sometimes ambiguous in English, and have both a literal or motion reading as well as an auxiliary reading. First, let us consider the passages from the books of Samuel:

1 Samuel 17:41

וַיֵּלֶךְ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הֹלֵךְ וְקָרֵב אֶל־דָּוִד וְהָאִישׁ נֹשֵׂא הַצִּנָּה לְפָנָיו׃

The Philistine drew nearer and nearer to David, with his shield-bearer ahead of him.

2 Samuel 18:25

וַיִּקְרָא הַצֹּפֶה וַיַּגֵּד לַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אִם־לְבַדּוֹ בְּשׂוֹרָה בְּפִיו וַיֵּלֶךְ הָלוֹךְ וְקָרֵב׃

The sentinel called out and told the king. And the king said, "If he is alone, there is news in his mouth." And [the man] drew nearer and nearer.

In my opinion, the two passages are semantically hybrid constructions. A purely auxiliary

reading, with הָלַךְ used in its grammaticalized meaning, may be slightly problematic because the literal meaning of הָלַךְ cannot be entirely cancelled. A purely lexical interpretation, on the other hand, as a sequence that expresses two simultaneous events "going and drawing near," is even more problematic. While the nonfinite sequence can be sometimes used to express a relation different than simultaneity, for example a meaning similar to an adverbial motion of manner (as in 1 Kgs 20:37 or Isa 19:22), this does not seem to be the case in these two passages. A non-simultaneity interpretation can be mainly suggested by the inherent meaning of one of the two verbs. If, for example, one of the verbs is a punctual verb whose meaning does not have the feature of durativity, like הִכָּה 'strike, hit' in 1 Kgs 20:37 or נָגַף 'strike' Isa 19:22, the simultaneity of two events of equal duration is not possible.[57] In the above passages, both הָלַךְ and קָרֵב are verbs that are not punctual because the feature of durativity is inherent in their meaning. As a result, it seems that the two constructions analyzed in this section are of hybrid nature whereby הָלַךְ expresses both its literal meaning of physical motion and its auxiliary meaning of gradual progression. This interpretation seems to be confirmed in BDB (p. 233) where 1 Sam 17:41 is rendered "and he came continually nearer (nearer and nearer)" with the underlying assumption that the idea of motion is not completely lost.

This is further illustrated with a comparison of these two passages with Isa 3:16 where the verb הָלַךְ 'go' and the verb טפף 'mince along' occur in a similar nonfinite construction.

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57. We need to keep in mind that, sometimes, punctual verbs can be used in iterative aspect, which might change their interpretation. However, it does not seem possible for two punctual verbs to be portrayed as two simultaneous events, extended over time, even in iterative aspect.

Isaiah 3:16

הָלוֹךְ וְטָפֹף֙ תֵּלַ֔כְנָה וּבְרַגְלֵיהֶ֖ם תְּעַכַּֽסְנָה׃

[The daughters of Zion] walk mincing as they go, tinkling with their feet.

Both verbs, הָלַךְ and טפף, are inherently durative. While הָלַךְ expresses the notion of 'going,' motion from one place to another, and implies that some distance is covered during this activity, טפף denotes the idea of body movement or the manner of walking: using short steps and perhaps also moving the hips. Therefore, both verbs are semantically compatible to be used as two simultaneous events and interpreted with an adverbial notion of manner. The verbs הָלַךְ and קָרֵב, on the other hand, with their literal meaning 'walk' and 'draw near,' cannot be presented as two simultaneous events, performed by the same subject and at the same time. In English, we say "to go on foot" or "to go by car" rather than "to go (somewhere) walking" or "to go driving," but it can further illustrate why we can say "to walk mincing" and not "to go/walk drawing near."

It will be also relevant to compare these two passages with another passage, 1 Sam 17:48, which is the only occurrence where the two verbs, הָלַךְ and קָרֵב come together one after the other in finite forms. At first, this sequence might seem related in meaning to the auxiliary constructions analyzed in this section.

1 Samuel 17:48

וְהָיָה֙ כִּי־קָ֣ם הַפְּלִשְׁתִּ֔י וַיֵּ֖לֶךְ וַיִּקְרַ֣ב לִקְרַ֥את דָּוִֽד

When the Philistine got up, he left and drew near to meet David.

Without a doubt, הָלַךְ is used here as a lexical verb, and it is not an auxiliary construction.

My translation "he left and drew near" does not solve the difficulty. A stylistically more appealing translation would be "When he got up, he started to draw near to meet David," but it would not be a translation that reflects the lexical and grammatical components of the Hebrew sentence. It is also worth pointing out that the verb קָרַב is often used as a dynamic verb of motion (as in 2 Sam 20:17; 2 Kgs 16:12; Jonah 1:6). For this reason, it would not be plausible to consider וַיִּקְרַב in 1 Sam 17:48 as a stative use that needs the support of the preceding וַיֵּלֶךְ to mark motion. It seems best to view וַיֵּלֶךְ as a regular lexical use of הָלַךְ, which also provides deictic information. In *HALOT* (p. 246), such use of הָלַךְ is indicated in a special sub-entry and described as הָלַךְ that "illustrates the event." In my opinion there is nothing "illustrative" in such use of הָלַךְ. It is a deictic use of this verb. Anchoring the motion deictically it also marks a change of location. The narrative strategy in biblical Hebrew differs in the use of הָלַךְ from the way the verb 'go' is used in English narration and in other Western languages. For example, in Gen 27:13, Rebekah says to Jacob שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וְלֵךְ קַח־לִי "Listen to my voice and go get me [the kids]!" And in Gen 27:14 Jacob's reaction is described as וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ "He went and got [them] and brought [them] to his mother." The use of two deictic verbs, "go" and "bring," illustrates well the narrator's interest in providing deictic spatial orientation. In similar contexts, in an original English narrative, arguably the verb "go" would not be used as it is in Hebrew. But I do not think that such difference needs to be pointed out with the use of a special name. It therefore seems best to interpret the sequence וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקְרַב in 1 Sam 17:48 as a regular lexical use of the two verbs, with הָלַךְ used deictically to mark the point of departure and the beginning of movement.

7.5 The Auxiliary הָלַךְ as Reflected in the Septuagint and Vulgate

It could be hoped that the translations into Greek and Latin, languages markedly different from Hebrew, would give us some insight into how the ancient translators

understood the meaning of the auxiliary הָלַךְ. But all the constructions with the auxiliary הָלַךְ are rendered, both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, in a literal "philosophy" of translation. For example, the translations of Gen 8:3 as "the water gradually receded" is an *idiomatic* (also commonly known as *dynamic*) translation technique whereas "the water returned going and returning" has to be regarded as a *literal* translation technique. The literal technique can give an insight into the underlying syntactic structure of the original Hebrew, but relatively little insight into its meaning. It is important to keep in mind that the ancient translators did not aim at providing stylistically elegant, smooth, idiomatic translations as is the standard practice in modern translations of the Bible. They did want the readers to understand their translations, but their main concern was to faithfully render the message. For example, it has been suggested that the Septuagint's translators wanted to weaken the impact of Hellenization on the Jewish community and adopted the translation approach of "bringing the reader to the source text as opposed to bringing the source to the reader."[58] Consider the following passages:

Genesis 8:3

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב

And the water gradually receded from the earth.

Septuagint

καὶ ἐνεδίδου τὸ ὕδωρ πορευόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐνεδίδου

And the water was giving in, proceeding from the earth, (it) was giving in.

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58. Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles* (VTSup 136; Leiden: Brill, 2010), xi.

Vulgate

reversaeque aquae de terra euntes et redeuntes

And the water turned back from the earth, going and returning.

The Greek translation uses an image of surrender as if the water were involved in a fight with the earth: the water "gives in" rather than "returns." But disregarding this lexical difference, we need to note that the Hebrew auxiliary sequence is rendered by a present participle πορευόμενον 'proceeding' and the repetition of the earlier finite form in imperfect ἐνεδίδου "it was giving in." This last finite verb should be considered a paraphrase rather than a literal rendering. According to Wevers, the Greek text could be translated "and the waters were gradually abating (literally "giving in")."[59] I would argue that the Greek text does not tell explicitly about the graduality; it just presents the "giving in" of water in the progressive aspect, as an ongoing event in the past. But the use of two identical finite verbs in imperfect should be seen as an attempt to convey the value of the Hebrew original.

The Latin translation is more faithful to the lexical and syntactic components of the Hebrew original. It gives a nonfinite sequence of two present participles *euntes et redeuntes* "going and returning" that reflects the Hebrew nonfinite construction הָלוֹךְ וָשׁוֹב. The verb וַיָּשֻׁבוּ is rendered by a perfect tense-form *reversae* "(water) returned," which in my opinion reflects better the Hebrew *wayyiqtol* וַיָּשֻׁבוּ than the Greek imperfect in the Septuagint.

Although it is a simplification of a complex issue, it is probably safe to admit that the translators of the Septuagint and of the Vulgate did not know how to render the precise

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59. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 102.

nuances of the auxiliary constructions with הָלַךְ. It seems that they have been confused by its rich morphosyntactic diversity, on the one hand, and lack of precise equivalents both in Greek and in Latin, on the other. It is noteworthy that the auxiliary verb שׁוּב 'do again' is often translated idiomatically both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate by the adverbs, for example, in Gen 26:18, by πάλιν 'again' in Greek and *rursum* 'again' in Latin. This suggests that had the translators known how to precisely render the auxiliary construction with הָלַךְ consistently in the target languages, they probably would have done it.

7.6 The Grammaticalization of הָלַךְ in Crosslinguistic Perspective

In this section, I will briefly present two auxiliary constructions, from Spanish and Italian respectively, that underwent a pathway of grammaticalization strikingly similar to the Hebrew auxiliary הָלַךְ. In these two languages, the verbs for "go," *ir* in Spanish and *andare* in Italian, underwent grammaticalization in constructions in which the two verbs were paired with nonfinite forms, known as gerunds or *-ndo* forms, to present two simultaneous events: *ir* + gerund in Spanish, and *andare* + gerund in Italian. This remarkable similarity with the development of הָלַךְ means that the auxiliation of this Hebrew verb is not a unique phenomenon not found in other languages. On the contrary, it points out that the verbs for "go" when used in constructions with other verbs for the expression of simultaneity, theoretically have the potential to be grammaticalized into markers of gradual progression. The two auxiliary constructions, in Spanish and in Italian respectively, over time developed other nuances of meaning, but gradual progression is their most common use. Here I will focus on their meaning and function as markers of gradual progression and disregard other uses they might have. It needs to be noted that these auxiliary constructions (*ir* + gerund in Spanish, and *andare* + gerund in Italian) are described as auxiliary verbs. Both Italian and

Spanish grammarians consider them as belonging to noncore auxiliaries, which are commonly known as "verbal periphrases."[60]

One of the common characteristics of these auxiliary constructions, in Hebrew, in Italian and in Spanish, is their incompatibility with verbs that lack the feature of durativity and are considered as punctual from a semantic point of view. What is more important, both *ir* + gerund, in Spanish, and *andare* + gerund, in Italian, express the gradual development of an event in a way very similar to הָלַךְ.[61] Let us first look at some contemporary illustrations:

Spanish

Poco a poco iba añadiendo libros a su colleción.

(lit., little by little he-went adding books to his collection)

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60. *Verbal periphrasis* is a standard technical term used by Spanish and Italian grammarians to label a set of noncore auxiliary verb constructions. The term "verbal periphrasis" is used to distinguish the noncore auxiliaries from core auxiliary verbs of Spanish and Italian (equivalents of English 'be' and 'have' which are used for constructing various analytic tense-forms). An accessible and concise work on Spanish verbal periphrases is Fente et al., *Perífrasis Verbales*. A linguistic monograph on the subject is Mario Squartini, *Verbal Periphrases in Romance: Aspect, Actionality, and Grammaticalization* (EALT 21; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998).

61. For more details on the Italian *andare* + gerund construction, including its historical development in terms of grammaticalization, see Squartini, *Verbal Periphrases*, 207–43*; and Lorenzo Renzi and Giampaolo Salvi, eds., I sintagmi verbale, aggettivale, avverbiale: La subordinazione* (vol. 2 of *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*; Bologna: Mulino, 1991), 138–47. For more details on the Spanish *ir* + gerund construction, including its historical development, see Olbertz, *Verbal Periphrases*, 340–43*; Squartini, Verbal Periphrases*, 275–85*; Ignacio Bosque and Violeta Demonte, eds., Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales: Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales* (vol. 2 of *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*; Madrid: Espasa, 1999), 3412–15; Ignacio Bosque, ed., *Sintaxis* (vol. 2 of *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*; Madrid: Espasa, 2009), 2194–98.

Little by little he continued adding books to his collection.[62]

Iba anocheciendo. (lit., *iba* = it-went, *anocheciendo* = getting dark)

It was getting darker and darker.

Italian

Le foglie vanno cadendo sempre più numerose.

(lit., the leaves go falling always more numerous)

The leaves are falling in ever greater numbers.

La situazione andava peggiorando. (lit., the situation went getting worse)

The situation was getting worse and worse

Considering the strikingly similarity of meaning between the Italian and Spanish constructions with the Hebrew auxiliary הָלַךְ, it is not surprising that they are found often employed in the Spanish and Italian translation of the passages with הָלַךְ. Let us consider:

Genesis 8:5

וְהַמַּיִם הָיוּ הָלוֹךְ וְחָסוֹר עַד הַחֹדֶשׁ הָעֲשִׂירֵי

The water was steadily decreasing until the tenth month.

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62. Both in Italian and in Spanish, these two constructions frequently occur with adverbials like "little by little," "slowly," etc. to specify the graduality of the event, but they are optional in the sense that the auxiliary constructions are fully capable of expressing gradual progression of the event without any accompanying adverbial.

Italian

Le acque andarono diminuendo fino al decimo mese. (NRV)

(lit., the waters went diminishing until the tenth month.)

Spanish

El agua fue disminuyendo hasta el mes décimo. (PER)

(lit., the water went diminishing until the tenth month.)

It will be important to note that in Spanish the verb *ir* 'go' underwent grammaticalization in two different constructions which resulted in two different functions. The construction *ir a* + infinitiv*e* (lit.,'go to do') was grammaticalized as a marker of imminent future, with a meaning similar to the English *be going to do*, while the construction *ir* + gerund (lit., 'go doing') became a marker of gradual progression. For our analysis, it is relevant to note that the auxiliary construction *ir a* + infinitive as a future marker is one of the most common auxiliary verb constructions in modern Spanish. On the other hand, *ir* + gerund is a much less frequently used auxiliary construction and as such it belongs to peripheral auxiliary constructions of Spanish.[63]

7.7 Summary

As an auxiliary verb הָלַךְ occurs only twenty times in the Hebrew Bible and it appears in a rich variety of morphosyntactic constructions. This variety seems to have been a major

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63. According to results based on a research in a Spanish corpus that incorporated three kinds of texts (labeled oral, journalistic, and literary), consisting of total 303590 words, the auxiliary construction *ir* + infinitive occurred 505 times and scored the highest frequency among verbal periphrases while *ir* + gerund appeared 139 times. See Olbertz, *Verbal Periphrases*, 549.

reason why Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers usually offered a fragmented

understanding of its grammaticalized meaning by dividing it into two or more distinct

functions. In this analysis, a unifying interpretation of the auxiliary הָלַךְ is given in which all

its morphosyntactically diverse occurrences in auxiliary constructions are viewed as uses of

one and the same auxiliary verb with one underlying meaning. The grammaticalized function

of הָלַךְ can be basically rendered as 'occur/do gradually,' but other context-based, more

idiomatic and more specific, renderings may be a better choice. The use of adverbial notions

like 'continually' or 'all the time' should be avoided. The auxiliary construction should be

translated as a single complex predicate, for example, "The water gradually receded from the

earth" (Gen 8:3) rather than "The water receded from the earth, continually receding."[64]

The auxiliary meaning can be conveniently labelled as *a marker of gradual*

progression (or, interchangeably, *development*). In some linguistic frameworks, this meaning

is considered a type of *gradual aspect*. This kind of grammatical meaning should not be

confused with progressive aspect, continuative aspect, and especially with vague notions

such as intensification. The name *marker of gradual progression* might prove convenient in

Hebrew grammars written in languages like English, that is, in languages with a very rich

inventory of auxiliary verbs and strategically more important than relatively peripheral

Hebrew auxiliaries. Although, from the perspective of linguistic typology, the name

auxiliary is fully justifiable for the auxiliary הָלַךְ and for other Hebrew auxiliaries, the term

auxiliary might prove confusing for some students if they strongly associate "auxiliary" with

English core auxiliaries.

If my interpretation of הָלַךְ as an auxiliary verb is correct, it follows that, in the

grammar books, this auxiliary function needs to be described in a special paragraph (e.g., as

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64. Such translation is suggested, for example, in *DCH* 2:553.

it is briefly done in Lambdin) rather than presented fragmentarily (e.g., as it is done in van der Merwe et al.), with the exclusion of participial constructions. Moreover, in accordance with the standards of modern lexicography, the grammaticalized meaning of הָלַךְ and its auxiliary function should have a separate sub-entry in a revised edition of *HALOT*. Although the grammaticalized meaning of הָלַךְ is, semantically, one of the metaphorized meanings of this verb, due to its grammatical function it should have a separate entry to distinguish it from figurative lexical uses of this verb. The auxiliary function of הָלַךְ should not be classified as a part of collocations, as it is done in *DCH*. Collocations are common combinations of lexical words and phrases that co-occur frequently and have some degree of idiomaticity.[65]

Since הָלַךְ is a structurally very complex auxiliary, and it occurs relatively infrequently, it would be reasonable to simplify its presentation in an introductory textbook. At the very end of this section, it seems appropriate to recall Lambdin's warning, "These constructions, though not too frequent, are troublesome unless understood properly."[66] After four decades, his words have lost none of their relevance.

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65. For example, in an English dictionary, the section for collocations can indicate that in natural-sounding English it is common to say "heavy rain" rather than "strong rain" or "it rains heavily" rather than "it rains strongly." Such a section might also include fixed expressions that considerably lost their lexical transparency, commonly known as idioms, such as "kick the bucket."

66. Lambdin, *Introduction*, 233.

CHAPTER 8

שָׁב

AUXILIARY OF REPETITION

In this chapter, I will analyze the auxiliary verb שָׁב. Since both שָׁב and יסף[1] express,

in a different manner, a repetition of an event, it is practically impossible to accurately

understand the meaning and function of one verb without contrasting it with the other.

Nevertheless, these two verbs will be analyzed in separate chapters to highlight their

differences and challenge the popular stereotype of their alleged synonymy.

The first section of this chapter will draw attention to the non-synonymous character

of these two verbs followed by a description of how שָׁב is used as a lexical verb. In a series

of subsequent sections, I will give a detailed analysis of the auxiliary שָׁב. I will conclude the

chapter with a section that will introduce some crosslinguistic evidence of

grammaticalization pathways similar to the verb שָׁב.

8.1 Separating שָׁב from יסף: Different Nuances of Repetition

The Hebrew verbs שָׁב and יסף are usually put together in Biblical Hebrew textbooks

and both are glossed by 'do again' without any comment.[2] This may give an impression that

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1. In my study, I will vocalize the analyzed verbs according to the stem they belong to in the specific function. But since the verb יסף has its auxiliary function both in Qal and in Hiphil, I will not vocalize its verbal root whenever I refer to its auxiliary function in general. I will vocalize it only when I need to make a reference to a specific stem.

2. See, for example, Lambdin, *Introduction*, 238–39; Ross, *Introducing Biblical Hebrew*, 409. Neither Lambdin or Ross explain the two verbs as synonymous except for the same gloss 'do again.' They also have one or two illustrations that might point to the semantic difference between שָׁב and יסף. However, this is far too little to inform a beginning, or even an advanced, student of Hebrew about the non-synonymous nature of

they are a synonymous pair of verbs with overlapping meaning and often interchangeable. But this is not the case. There are perhaps only two occurrences of שָׁב in the Hebrew Bible where יסף could be used in its place without any noticeable change in meaning. There is not even one occurrence of יסף where the verb שָׁב could be used in its place without causing a change in meaning. It follows that the two verbs express different notions of repetition. The auxiliary שָׁב presents the repetition as if it were a redoing of the earlier event. The auxiliary יסף, on the other hand, portrays the repetition of an event as an addition to, or an extension of, an earlier event.

While Hebrew has two distinct ways of expressing repetition of an event, English has only one, the adverb 'again.'[3] In English translation, we usually need to use 'again' to render the value of שָׁב and, frequently that of יסף. It seems that the necessity to render the two Hebrew verbs by one adverb in English, and similarly in many other languages, has created the stereotype that these two verbs are practically synonymous. In this regard, it will be useful to quote Jobes and Silva's comment on the way the Septuagint translators dealt with the rendering of יסף. The authors seem to presuppose that יסף would have been better rendered by πάλιν in the Septuagint. According to the authors:

> Instead of using the adverb πάλιν ("again"), the LXX often imitates the Hebrew construction וַיֹּסֶף לְ־ by using the verb προστίθημι + infinitive, as in the clause καὶ προσέθετο κύριος δηλωθῆναι (1 Sam 3:21a), which could also be translated, "and the Lord continued to manifest himself."[4]

these two verbs.

3. Marginally, it can be pointed out that Hausa, a Chadic language spoken in West Africa, has a few verbs that express different nuances of repetition in much more specific ways than the English adverb 'again' or even the two verbs שָׁב and יסף in Hebrew.

4. Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 113.

Although in some cases the Greek adverb πάλιν, which in its function and use is very similar to the English adverb 'again,' could have been used to render idiomatically the auxiliary use of יסף, the Septuagint translators preferred to use πάλιν for שָׁב, or for its occurrences that they judged to be auxiliary. Their preference was based not only on their adopted translation technique,[5] but it was also dictated by the fact that שָׁב and יסף do not have the same meaning. Since πάλιν 'again' only sometimes would be a good idiomatic rendering for יסף, the Septuagint translators reserved its use for the auxiliary function of שָׁב and extended the use of the Greek verb προστίθημι 'add' to cover not only lexical but also the auxiliary use of יסף. This means that the ancient translators were aware of the semantic differences between שָׁב and יסף. Although all but one of the occurrences of the auxiliary יסף are rendered in the Septuagint by προστίθημι, it does not mean that the translators used προστίθημι mechanically. For example, in 2 Kgs 1:11,13 the auxiliary שָׁב is used for the type of repetition that could be associated with יסף. Interestingly, these two occurrences of שָׁב are rendered in the Septuagint by the verb προστίθημι as if it were for the verb יסף. A translator made an exception in the sense that he did not render the auxiliary שָׁב by the usual πάλιν and preferred προστίθημι because he felt that the verb שָׁב was used there in a rather unusual way.

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5. They attempted to render relatively consistently, and as long as it was possible, one Hebrew word with one Greek equivalent. However, there are many exceptions to this rule. By "adopted translation technique" I do not mean a carefully planned or written down set of rules that would guide the translators in their work. The Septuagint translation was produced over a long span of time by a variety of translators who differed in their linguistic skills and their command of Hebrew and Greek. Each translator used a slightly different method and, consequently, the Septuagint cannot be considered a uniform translation done with one underlying translation technique. For a more detailed study of translation technique in the Septuagint, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 22–30.

8.2 Understanding שׁוּב as a Lexical Verb

The verb שׁוּב occurs 1060 times in the Hebrew Bible in the following verbal stems: 683 in Qal, 360 in Hiphil, and 17 in other stems. In its literal and most common meaning in Qal, שָׁב is an intransitive verb of motion and means 'return,' 'go/come back,' whereas in Hiphil it has a causative meaning 'bring back.' Since שָׁב has an auxiliary function only in Qal, I will concentrate on its occurrences and meaning in this stem and disregard its meanings and functions in the others.

In its literal and most common meaning as a motion verb, שָׁב means 'return.' Contextually, it can be also rendered by 'go back' or 'come back.' But שָׁב is not a deictic verb and a translator needs to decide which deictic orientation is assumed in a specific passage and choose between 'go back' and 'come back.' שָׁב indicates motion back and implies that the subject of motion was earlier in point A, went to point B, and returns to point A. This motion can be described as a return "from B," or a return "to A," or the two arguments can be mentioned at the same time "from B to A." Occasionally, שָׁב can be used to indicate a return to a place where the subject has never been before but it is a place to which he or she belongs, for historical or other reasons. Let us consider the following illustrations with lexical שָׁב and its arguments:

Genesis 8:9

וְלֹא־מָצְאָה֩ הַיּוֹנָ֨ה מָנ֜וֹחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָ֗הּ וַתָּ֤שָׁב אֵלָיו֙ אֶל־הַתֵּבָ֔ה

But the dove found no place to set its foot, and it returned to him to the ark.

Genesis 32:10

שׁ֥וּב לְאַרְצְךָ֖ וּלְמוֹלַדְתְּךָ֑ וְאֵיטִ֖יבָה עִמָּֽךְ׃

Return to your country and to your kindred, and I will do you good.

Genesis 50:14

וַיָּשָׁב יוֹסֵף מִצְרַ֫יְמָה

Joseph returned to Egypt.

2 Kings 8:3

וַיְהִ֣י מִקְצֵה֩ שֶׁ֨בַע שָׁנִ֜ים וַתָּ֤שָׁב הָֽאִשָּׁה֙ מֵאֶ֣רֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּ֔ים

When the seven years were over, the woman returned from the land of the
Philistines.

Esther 7:8

וְהַמֶּ֡לֶךְ שָׁב֩ מִגִּנַּ֨ת הַבִּיתָ֜ן אֶל־בֵּ֣ית׀ מִשְׁתֵּ֣ה

[In the meantime] the king returned from the palace garden to the banquet hall.

In the Hebrew Bible, the use of two thematic roles, the source (marked by *from*) and the goal
(marked by *to*), in the same predicate with שָׁב, as in Esth 7:8, is very rare. Usually, it is a
return to a place or to a person, as in Gen 8:9, Gen 32:10, Gen 50:14. Less commonly, it is a
return from a place, as in 2 Kgs 8:3.

Occasionally, שָׁב means 'turn around,' which is a movement of the body that marks a
change of spatial orientation rather than an indication of a motion, as it is illustrated in the
following passage:

1 Chr 21:20

וַיָּ֣שָׁב אָרְנָ֗ן וַיַּרְא֙ אֶת־הַמַּלְאָ֔ךְ

Ornan turned around and saw the angel.

Sometimes, שָׁב can mean 'turn back,' that is, to stop going to a place, turn around and go back in the opposite direction. In this sense, it does not necessarily imply returning to an earlier location. In Josh 8:21, the Israelites pretend to escape before the people of Ai, and then suddenly turn back and attack them. We can consider:

Joshua 8:21

וִיהוֹשֻׁעַ וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל רָאוּ כִּי־לָכַד הָאֹרֵב אֶת־הָעִיר וְכִי עָלָה עֲשַׁן הָעִיר וַיָּשֻׁבוּ וַיַּכּוּ אֶת־אַנְשֵׁי הָעָי׃

When Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had captured the city and that the smoke was rising from the city, then they turned back and struck down the men of Ai.

Exodus 14:2

דַּבֵּר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשֻׁבוּ וְיַחֲנוּ לִפְנֵי פִּי הַחִירֹת

Tell the Israelites to turn back and camp in front of Pi-Hahiroth.

In Exod 14:2, the phrase וְיָשֻׁבוּ וְיַחֲנוּ has a lexical reading "that they turn back and camp." A possible auxiliary reading "that they camp again" is blocked by the context because the Israelites did not camp at that location earlier.

The meaning 'turn back' is often metaphorized to describe the ways of the heart rather than the spatial motion and the real roads covered with dust, as in the following passage:

2 Kings 17:13

שֻׁבוּ מִדַּרְכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וְשִׁמְרוּ מִצְוֹתַי

Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments.

A figurative reading of שָׁב can be also seen in the very first occurrence of this verb in the Bible, in Gen 3:19. The spatial motion from a source to a goal is metaphorized as a change of state, here from life to death.

Genesis 3:19

כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה וְאֶל־עָפָר תָּשׁוּב׃

For you are dust and to dust you will return.

The common rendering "to dust you will return" does not refer to a spatial motion. The Hebrew original expresses a change of state and can be paraphrased "you will turn into dust again." A similar expression is also used in Ps 104:29.

8.3 שָׁב as an Auxiliary Verb

This series of sections will offer a comprehensive analysis of the auxiliary שָׁב. This analysis will start with an overview of all the attested auxiliary constructions in the Hebrew Bible. It will be followed by a description of the process of auxiliation or the emergence of שָׁב as an auxiliary verb. The semantic, cognitive, and formal components of grammaticalization will be pointed out. Historical development of morphosyntactic constructions with שָׁב will be hypothesized. Careful attention will be also given to the comparison between שָׁב and יסף. A short section will point to the difficulty of interpreting שָׁב as an auxiliary verb. At the end, we will further deal with how the ancient translators, in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, faced the difficulty of rendering this auxiliary verb.

8.3.1 Overview of the Attested Constructions

This section will present the auxiliary constructions with שָׁב and their

morphosyntactic variety. I will indicate if the lexical verb in the auxiliary construction is a finite verb or an infinitive construct prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ.[6] If the lexical verb is a finite verb, the surface structure is biclausal, which means that "on the surface" it looks like two separate coordinated clauses. But the underlying structure is monoclausal with a single complex predicate. Semantically, this predicate expresses a single complex notion and, syntactically, it is a single complex constituent.

I will also indicate how a specific construction was rendered in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. I will include constructions whereby the verb שָׁב clearly functions as an auxiliary verb as well as those that - in my estimation (later I will explain why) - should be considered as auxiliary constructions, but whose interpretation might be a matter of debate. In particular, when שָׁב occurs with other motion verbs, the ancient translators, in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, and also modern translators tend to read שָׁב as a lexical verb 'return' rather than in its grammaticalized function, usually rendered by 'again.' In this overview, I will indicate how every auxiliary construction was understood in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. If a construction was interpreted as auxiliary, I will mark it AUX and give the Greek or Latin expression used to render the auxiliary value. If a construction has a lexical reading in the target languages and, as a result, it is translated word for word (for example, "he returned and did it" rather than "he did it again"), I will mark it by LEX and give no further/additional details. I will also provide the verbal root of the lexical verb and a contextual meaning, but I will not specify its stem (Qal, Piel, etc.) because it is irrelevant for this analysis.

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6. I discuss later why I prefer the term "infinitival marker" over "preposition" in reference to לְ that is used with an infinitive construct, see p. 328.

Due to the nature of Hebrew tense-forms (like *qatal*, *weqatalti*, *wayyiqtol*, or *yiqtol*), in a case of the auxiliary construction consisting of two finite verbs, I will not specify whether these finite verbs are coordinated or juxtaposed asyndetically. The conjunction *waw* is an integral part of tense-forms like *weqatalti* or *wayyiqtol* and not a mere coordinating conjunction. When *waw* is prefixed to finite verbs, it has a grammaticalizing force that "converts" them into new tense-forms. *Wayyiqtol* is not a sum of *waw* 'and' *yiqtol*, but it is a different tense-form. For this reason, the use of *waw* as a coordinating conjunction is highly constrained with the finite verbs in Classical Biblical Hebrew. (The interpretation of "converted" tense-forms is more complicated in post-exilic texts and its use can vary from passage to passage.) Moreover, since *waw* is an integral part of *wayyiqtol* and *weqatalti*, these tense-forms are marked as coordinated, a feature that cannot be cancelled. On the other hand, since *waw* has a grammaticalizing force with finite verbs, it cannot be easily prefixed to *qatal* or *yiqtol* without "converting" their value. Therefore, the observation stating that a construction consists of two *wayyiqtols* (as in Gen 26:18) is coordinated by *waw* while a construction that consists of two *yiqtols* (as in Job 10:16) is juxtaposed asyndetically, would not be based on a solid understanding of the Hebrew tense system. In other words, it would be rather pointless to note that sometimes the auxiliary שָׁב is followed by a finite lexical verb with *waw* or sometimes without *waw*.[7] This observation, however, does not regard the sequence of two imperatives in Hebrew that might occur with or without a coordinating *waw*, often with important nuances in meaning between the two options.[8] Here suffice it to

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7. See Joüon-Muraoka §177b (note 4).

8. A possible difference in meaning between a sequence of imperatives asyndetically juxtaposed, or those coordinated by *waw*, is discussed in Diehl, *Fortführung des Imperativs*, 47–61.

note that *waw* marks the second imperative for succession whereas an asyndetically juxtaposed pair of infinitives has more potential for being viewed as two interrelated events, and sometimes even merge into a single complex meaning. All the occurrences of the auxiliary construction with שָׁב are asyndetically juxtaposed and their structure will be indicated in Table 1 as "2 imperatives," without any additional information.

The note "untranslated" will indicate that the version, Greek or Latin, has a meaning similar to the Hebrew reading except for the auxiliary meaning that is not clearly reflected in the target language. "Paraphrased" indicates that the translation seems to reflect somehow the auxiliary value but it is not translated with the usual semantically close equivalents. "Not in the Septuagint (or Vulgate)" means that the translation differs considerably from the Masoretic text. It would be beyond the scope of this work to go into the full complexity of text-critical problems of every passage.

Table 3: Passages with the Auxiliary שָׁב

Citation	Auxiliary construction	Lexical verb	Septuagint	Vulgate
Gen 14:7	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	LEX	LEX
Gen 26:18	2 wayyiqtol	חפר 'dig'	AUX πάλιν 'again'	AUX *rursum* 'again'
Gen 30:31	2 cohortatives	רעה 'pasture'	AUX πάλιν	AUX *iterum* 'again'
Gen 43:2[9]	2 imperatives	שבר 'buy'	LEX	LEX

9. Translators usually prefer to read שָׁב in Gen 32:2 and 44:25 as a motion verb. But see *HALOT* 1430.

Gen 44:25	2 imperatives	שׁבר 'buy'	LEX	LEX
Lev 14:43	yiqtol + weqatalti	פרח 'break out'	LEX	not in the Vulgate
Num 11:4	2 wayyiqtol	בכה 'weep'	reads ישׁב 'sit' rather than שׁוב 'return'	like Septuagint
Num 35:32	2 inf. construct with לְ	ישׁב 'live'	AUX πάλιν	LEX
Deut 1:45 [A]	2 wayyiqtol	בכה 'weep'	reads ישׁב 'sit' rather than שׁוב 'return'	LEX
Deut 30:3	2 weqatalti	קבץ 'gather'	AUX πάλιν	AUX *rursum*
Deut 30:8	yiqtol + weqatalti	שׁמע 'obey'	LEX	LEX
Deut 30:9	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׂושׂ 'rejoice'	LEX	LEX
Josh 2:23	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	LEX	LEX
Josh 5:2	2 imperatives	מלל 'circumcise'	reads ישׁב 'sit' rather than שׁוב 'return'	AUX *secundo*[10]
Josh 24:20	2 weqatalti	רעע 'harm'	LEX	LEX
Judg 2:19	yiqtol + weqatalti	שׁחת 'act corruptly'	LEX + AUX πάλιν	LEX

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10. The auxiliary value 'again,' usually rendered by *rursum* or *iterum*, is omitted in Latin translation because the adverb *secundo* 'a second time,' which translates שֵׁנִית, already implies a repetition. In Latin, like in English, the combination of 'again' and 'a second time' might be considered redundant.

Judg 8:33	2 wayyiqtol	זנה 'practice prostitution'	LEX	LEX
Judg 19:7	2 wayyiqtol	לין 'spend the night'	text A: AUX πάλιν text B: reads יָשַׁב 'sit' rather than שׁוּב	untranslated
1 Sam 3:5	2 imperatives	שכב 'lie down'	LEX	LEX
1 Sam 3:6	2 imperatives	שכב 'lie down'	LEX	LEX
1 Kgs 8:33	2 weqatalti	חנן 'implore compassion'	LEX	LEX
1 Kgs 12:24	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הלך 'go'	LEX	LEX
1 Kgs 13:17	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הלך 'go'	LEX	LEX
1 Kgs 13:33	2 wayyiqtol	עשׂה 'make'	LEX	LEX?
1 Kgs 19:6	2 wayyiqtol	שכב 'lie down'	LEX	AUX *rursum*
2 Kgs 1:11	2 wayyiqtol	שלח 'send'	AUX[11] προστίθημι 'add'	AUX *rursum*
2 Kgs 1:13	2 wayyiqtol	שלח 'send'	AUX προστίθημι	AUX *iterum*

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11. 2 Kgs 1:11, 13 are rendered by προστίθημι in the Septuagint as if it were יסף rather than שָׁב.

2 Kgs 13:25	2 wayyiqtol 'recapture'	לקח 'take'	LEX	AUX *porro* 'again, in turn'
2 Kgs 19:9	2 wayyiqtol	שׁלח 'send'	LEX	LEX
2 Kgs 21:3	2 wayyiqtol 'rebuild'	בנה 'build'	LEX	LEX
2 Chr 19:4	2 wayyiqtol	יצא 'go out'	AUX πάλιν	AUX *rursum*
2 Chr 33:3 (= 2 Kgs 21:3)	2 wayyiqtol	בנה 'build'	LEX	LEX
Ezra 9:14	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	פרר 'break'	LEX	LEX
Neh 9:28a[12]	1) yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	LEX	LEX
Neh 9:28b	2 wayyiqtol	זעק 'cry out'	AUX πάλιν	LEX
Job 7:7	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'see'	AUX οὐκέτι 'no more, no longer'	LEX
Job 10:16	2 yiqtol[13]	פלא 'display marvellous power'	AUX πάλιν	LEX
Ps 71:20a	1) 2 yiqtol	חיה 'revive'	LEX	LEX

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12. The letters "a," as in Neh 9:28a, and the letter "b," as in Neh 28:b, indicate the first and the second auxiliary construction if there are more than one in a verse. This is not a reference to a specific part of the verse, but to the order in which the constructions appear.

13. Joüon and Muraoka (§114l) point out that the first *yiqtol* was defectively written and pointed by the Masoretes as if it were a jussive.

Ps 71:20b	2 yiqtol	עלה 'bring up'	aux πάλιν	AUX *iterum*
Ps 78:34	2 weqatalti	שׁחר 'search for'	LEX	LEX
Ps 78:41	2 wayyiqtol	נסה 'test'	LEX	LEX
Ps 85:7	2 yiqtol	חיה 'revive'	LEX	LEX
Ps 104:9	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	כסה 'cover'	LEX	LEX
Qoh 1:7	predicative participle + inf. construct with לְ	הֹלֵךְ 'flow'	LEX	AUX *iterum*
Qoh 4:1	qatal + wayyiqtol	ראה 'see'	LEX	LEX
Qoh 4:7	qatal + wayyiqtol	ראה 'see'	LEX	LEX
Qoh 9:11	qatal + inf. absolute	ראה 'see'	LEX	LEX
Isa 6:10	2 weqatalti	רפא 'heal'	LEX	LEX
Isa 6:13	2 weqatalti	היה לְ 'become'	AUX πάλιν	LEX
Isa 21:12	2 imperatives	אתה 'come'	reads יֵשֵׁב 'sit' rather than שׁוּב 'return'	LEX
Jer 12:15	yiqtol + weqatalti	רחם 'show compassion'	LEX	LEX
Jer 18:4	weqatalti + wayyiqtol[14]	עשׂה 'make'	AUX πάλιν	LEX

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14. Joüon and Muraoka (§118n) point out that another *weqatalti* would be better in place of this *wayyiqtol*.

Jer 30:10	2 weqatalti	שׁקט 'be at peace'	[based on a different Hebrew text]	LEX
Jer 36:28	2 imperative	לקח 'take'	(Jer 43:28) AUX πάλιν	AUX *rursum*
Jer 37:8	2 weqatalti	לחם 'fight'	(Jer 44:8) LEX	LEX
Jer 46:27	2 weqatalti	שׁקט 'be at peace'	(Jer 26:27) LEX	LEX
Lam 3:3	2 yiqtol	הפך 'turn'	LEX	LEX
Ezek 8:6, 13, 15	2 yiqtol	ראה 'see'	AUX	LEX
Ezek 8:17	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	כעס 'provoke'	not in the LXX	LEX
Dan 9:25 rebuild	yiqtol + weqatalti	בנה 'be build'	LEX (LXX and Th)	AUX *rursum*
Dan 11:13	2 weqatalti	עמד 'raise''	LEX (LXX and Th)	LEX
Hos 2:11	yiqtol + weqatalti	לקח 'take'	LEX	LEX
Hos 11:9	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׁחת 'destroy'	LEX	LEX
Mic 7:19	2 yiqtol	רחם 'show compassion'	LEX	LEX
Zech 5:1; 6:1	2 wayyiqtol	נשׂא 'lift up'	LEX	LEX
Zech 8:15	2 qatal	זמם 'intend'	LEX	LEX
Mal 1:4	2 yiqtol	בנה 'build'	LEX	LEX
Mal 3:18	2 weqatalti	ראה 'see'	LEX	LEX

At this point I will make a few observations in terms of statistical evidence on the basis of the attested constructions. According to my analysis, the auxiliary שָׁב occurs 71 times in the Hebrew Bible. It appears 60 times in two finite verb constructions. In 11 instances the lexical verb is an infinitive construct prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ. It is noteworthy that the auxiliary שָׁב does not license or "allow" bare infinitives without the infinitival marker לְ. As we will see, the auxiliary יסף occurs both with bare infinitives and with infinitives prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ. I will discuss this phenomenon in more detail in the next chapter.

There are only two instances of the auxiliary שָׁב in a negative clause, in Job 7:7 and in Hos 11:9, in an infinitival construction with לְ. The auxiliary יסף, on the other hand, is negated 62 times out of total 119 occurrences and, with the exception of 4 occurrences with negation where it occurs as a sequence of two finite verbs, the auxiliary יסף is negated in the construction with infinitive construct, both with and without לְ. It follows that the grammaticalized meaning of יסף was more suitable to express the notion that in English is conveyed by "not again" or "not any more/not any longer" than the auxiliary שָׁב.

8.3.2 Grammaticalized Meaning

The accurate understanding of the new or grammaticalized meaning of שָׁב requires a careful analysis of its semantic development in terms of metaphorization. The spatial motion from point B back to point A was metaphorized into a marker of repetition. The notion "he returned and did it" became "he did it again." The grammaticalization was possible due to the contiguity of two events in "he returned and did it." Some people started to understand such two contiguous events as if they were a single event, which triggered the grammaticalization. Syntactically, it was a grammaticalization across clauses whereby two

separate predicates were reanalyzed as a single monoclausal constituent. While the surface structure remained the same, the underlying structure was turned into a new complex syntactic unit. In terms of the categorial metaphor, this metaphorization can be viewed as ACTIVITY-to-TIME change. The source meaning, the spatial motion of return, was mapped onto the domain of TIME.

The lexical meaning, the spatial motion from B back to A, is a return to an already known place or person. This implies that the return is to the same place or to the same person as earlier. The semantic component of grammaticalization is a transformation - through metaphorization - of two ideas: the spatial motion back to point A, on the one hand, and the sameness of "point A" or the goal of motion (the same place or the same person where one returns), on the other. Such metaphorization would have not been possible without a metonymic understanding of the motion back and the sameness of "point A." As result, the auxiliary שָׁב portrays the repetition as if it were a return to a location to do the same thing again.

The transformation of שָׁב resulted in an abstract concept of the repetition of an event, which usually is possible to render in English by 'again.'[15] But we need to remember that 'again' is an adverb and שָׁב is a verb. 'Again' cannot convey all the nuances of meaning expressed by שָׁב. While 'again' indicates repetition in general, without any specification, שָׁב expresses a narrower and more specific type of repetition. In most instances, the auxiliary שָׁב presents the repetition of an event (almost) as if it were a reconstruction or a remake of the same event rather than a new event that is only similar to the previous one. For this reason, in some passages the renderings 'rebuild,' 'recapture,' or 'reopen' express better the value of

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15. "Again" in English is a type of event-related adverb. Some consider it an aspectual particle rather than an adverb. For example, see John S. Bowers, *Arguments as Relations* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs 58; Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010), 127.

שָׁב than 'build again,' 'capture again,' or 'open again.' The adverb 'again' is a good rendering for the events that are presented as a single occurrence. Since שָׁב is a verb, the repetition can be expressed with the aspectual notions inherent in the Hebrew tense-forms. The adverbs like 'again' do not have such flexibility of expression. Consider the following passage:

Lamentations 3:3

אַ֣ךְ בִּ֥י יָשֻׁ֛ב יַהֲפֹ֥ךְ יָד֖וֹ כָּל־הַיּֽוֹם׃

Against me alone he turns his hand, again and again, all the day.

In Lam 3:3, שָׁב is used in *yiqtol* to express the aspectual notion of iteration (iterative aspect), 'again and again' or 'repeatedly. Let us consider a few more illustrations of the auxiliary construction with שָׁב in its morphosyntactic diversity.

Deuteronomy 30:3

וְשָׁ֨ב וְקִבֶּצְךָ֜ מִכָּל־הָֽעַמִּ֗ים אֲשֶׁ֧ר הֱפִֽיצְךָ֛ יְהוָ֥ה אֱלֹהֶ֖יךָ שָֽׁמָּה׃

He will gather you again from all the nations where he scattered you.

Joshua 2:23

וַיָּשֻׁ֜בוּ שְׁנֵ֤י הָֽאֲנָשִׁים֙ וַיֵּרְד֣וּ מֵהָהָ֔ר

The two men came down again from the hill country.

Judges 19:7

וַיָּ֤קָם הָאִישׁ֙ לָלֶ֔כֶת וַיִּפְצַר־בּ֖וֹ חֹתְנ֑וֹ וַיָּ֖שָׁב וַיָּ֥לֶן שָֽׁם׃

When the man was about (lit., he got up) to go, his father-in-law persuaded him and so he stayed there overnight again.

1 Kings 13:17

לֹא־תֹאכַל לֶחֶם וְלֹא־תִשְׁתֶּה שָׁם מָיִם לֹא־תָשׁוּב לָלֶכֶת בַּדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־הָלַכְתָּ בָּהּ׃

You shall not eat food, you shall not drink water there, and you shall not walk again on the same road (lit., on the road that you had walked).

Job 7:7

זְכֹר כִּי־רוּחַ חַיָּי לֹא־תָשׁוּב עֵינִי לִרְאוֹת טוֹב׃

Remember that my life is a breath; my eye will not see good (or: happiness) again.

A full understanding of the auxiliary שָׁב is not possible without comparing it with the auxiliary יסף, which is done in the next section.

8.3.3 Contrast Between שָׁב and יסף Auxiliaries

Semantically, the verb שָׁב is a metaphorization of motion back to a location or to a person, with the implication that it is the same location or the same person as before. Due to this metaphorization, the auxiliary use of שָׁב is semantically narrower in comparison with the English adverb 'again,' which is the most common equivalent of שָׁב in translations. שָׁב portrays the repetition of an event as if it were a remake of an earlier event. The auxiliary יסף, on the other hand, expresses repetition in the sense of addition or continuation rather than a repetition that is viewed as an imitation of an earlier event. The word *continuation* is used to describe an event that continues an earlier event as if it were an additional part or an extension of it. Let us analyze the following passage:

Genesis 25:1

וַיֹּ֧סֶף אַבְרָהָ֛ם וַיִּקַּ֥ח אִשָּׁ֖ה וּשְׁמָ֥הּ קְטוּרָֽה׃

Abraham took another wife, whose name was Keturah.

Deuteronomy 24:4

לֹא־יוּכַ֣ל בַּעְלָ֣הּ הָרִאשׁ֣וֹן אֲשֶֽׁר־שִׁלְּחָ֡הּ לָשׁ֩וּב לְקַחְתָּ֨הּ לִהְי֤וֹת ל֙וֹ לְאִשָּׁ֔ה

Her first husband, who sent her away, may not take her again (or: may not remarry her) to be his wife.

It seems that the auxiliary שָׁב, if used in place of יסף in Gen 25:1, might have implied remarrying the same woman, a former wife. In Gen 25:1, יסף expresses a repetition only in the sense that, for Abraham, it is one more event of "taking a woman" as a wife. But יסף explicitly informs that Abraham marries another woman in addition to his earlier wife. In Deut 24:4, on the other hand, the auxiliary שָׁב is used because the passage discusses whether a man may, or may not, remarry his ex-wife. Remarrying an ex-wife would be a repetition of an earlier event, not a new situation.

Genesis 26:18

וַיָּ֨שָׁב יִצְחָ֜ק וַיַּחְפֹּ֣ר ׀ אֶת־בְּאֵרֹ֣ת הַמַּ֗יִם אֲשֶׁ֤ר חָֽפְרוּ֙ בִּימֵי֙ אַבְרָהָ֣ם אָבִ֔יו

Isaac reopened (or: dug again) the wells of water that had been dug in the days of his father Abraham.

The rendering of the auxiliary construction by "reopened" in Gen 26:18 conveys best the

idea that Isaac dug again the same wells. The auxiliary יסף could be used in place of שָׁב only if Isaac wanted to dig additional wells next to those that had been dug earlier.

2 Kings 13:25

וַיָּשָׁב יְהוֹאָשׁ בֶּן־יְהוֹאָחָז וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הֶעָרִים֙ מִיַּד בֶּן־הֲדַד בֶּן־חֲזָאֵל אֲשֶׁר לָקַח מִיַּד יְהוֹאָחָז אָבִיו בַּמִּלְחָמָה

Jehoash son of Jehoahaz recaptured from Ben-Hadad son of Hazael the cities that he had taken from his father Jehoahaz in war.

Genesis 4:2

וַתֹּסֶף לָלֶדֶת אֶת־אָחִיו אֶת־הָבֶל

Later she (Eve) gave birth to his brother Abel.

It is difficult to translate Gen 4:2. If in place of "his brother Abel" were an indefinite noun like בֵּן 'a son,' it could be rendered "She gave birth to another boy." It seems that the auxiliary שָׁב, if used in place of הוֹסִיף in Gen 4:2, might have implied giving birth to the same child for a second time. In 2 Kgs 13:25, the event of taking the cities from Ben-Hadad is viewed as if it were a remake of the earlier capture of those cities. The verb יסף in place of שָׁב would imply that Jehoahaz captured more cities, in addition to those he had captured earlier.

Jeremiah 18:4

וְנִשְׁחַת הַכְּלִי אֲשֶׁר הוּא עֹשֶׂה בַּחֹמֶר בְּיַד הַיּוֹצֵר וְשָׁב וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ כְּלִי אַחֵר כַּאֲשֶׁר יָשַׁר בְּעֵינֵי הַיּוֹצֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת:

The vessel he was making of clay marred in the potter's hand, and he reworked it into another vessel, as seemed best to him.

Jeremiah 36:28

שׁוּב קַח־לְךָ מְגִלָּה אַחֶרֶת וּכְתֹב עָלֶיהָ אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָרִאשֹׁנִים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ עַל־הַמְּגִלָּה הָרִאשֹׁנָה אֲשֶׁר שָׂרַף יְהוֹיָקִים מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה:

Take another scroll and write on it all the former words that were in the first scroll, which Jehoiakim King of Judah burned.

The event of reworking the vessel in Jer 18:4 is described with שָׁב rather than with יסף because the potter did not shape an additional vessel but reworked the same clay to make a vessel.

"Take again a scroll" in Jer 36:28 does not imply taking the same scroll but another one. The first scroll was burned by the king and did not exist any longer. The verb שָׁב is used because the event is portrayed as a repetition of the earlier event, which is implied by writing "the former words," rather than a new event that would result in producing an additional scroll.

Joshua 5:2

בָּעֵת הַהִיא אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ עֲשֵׂה לְךָ חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים וְשׁוּב מֹל אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל שֵׁנִית:

At that time the LORD said to Joshua, "Make flint knives and circumcise the Israelites a second time."

In Josh 5:2, the idea of repetition is expressed by the auxiliary שָׁב. This means that the event of circumcision is depicted as an imitation or a remake of such an earlier event. The adverb שֵׁנִית 'a second time' is used to specify that it is to be a second attempt because the bond of the first circumcision failed. The verb יסף in place of שָׁב would imply that this second circumcision is a continuation of the previous one and it is extended on men who had not yet

been circumcised. In the Vulgate, the auxiliary verb is not translated by an equivalent of 'again' because the adverb *secundo* 'a second time' already implies a repetition. Also in English, the use of 'again' and 'a second time' in one clause would sound rather redundant. This sense of redundancy is absent in the original Hebrew because the repetition is expressed by a verb and not an adverb, and moreover it is a particular type of repetition. This passage clearly shows that 'again' is only an approximate rendering of the auxiliary שָׁב that cannot convey all its meaning.

In 2 Kgs 1:11 and 1:13, there are two occurrences of שָׁב that seem to contradict my interpretation of its auxiliary function. Let us consider them:

2 Kings 1:9

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֵלָיו שַׂר־חֲמִשִּׁים וַחֲמִשָּׁיו

He sent to him a captain of fifty with his fifty men.

2 Kings 1:11

וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּשְׁלַח אֵלָיו שַׂר־חֲמִשִּׁים אַחֵר וַחֲמִשָּׁיו

Again the king sent to him another captain of fifty with his fifty men.

2 Kings 1:13

וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּשְׁלַח שַׂר־חֲמִשִּׁים שְׁלִשִׁים

He sent a third captain of fifty with [his] fifty men.

We can contrast the passages from 2 Kings 1:11, 13 with the following:

1 Samuel 19:21

וַיַּגִּ֣דוּ לְשָׁא֗וּל וַיִּשְׁלַח֙ מַלְאָכִ֣ים אֲחֵרִ֔ים וַיִּֽתְנַבְּא֖וּ גַּם־הֵ֑מָּה וַיֹּ֣סֶף שָׁא֗וּל וַיִּשְׁלַח֙ מַלְאָכִ֣ים שְׁלִשִׁ֔ים וַיִּֽתְנַבְּא֖וּ

גַּם־הֵֽמָּה׃

When Saul was told, he sent other messengers, and they also fell into a frenzy. Saul sent messengers again the third time [lit., a third group of messengers], and they also fell into a frenzy.

The use of שָׁב in 2 Kgs 1:11, 13 may seem rather unexpected if compared with the other occurrences of this auxiliary. Perhaps they can be justified in the sense that the narrator wanted to portray the events of sending additional messengers by the king as an imitation of the first sending because the first messengers did not succeed in their mission. However, it seems that the use of יסף would be a better choice in these two passages. In a similar context of sending messengers, in 1 Sam 19:21, the verb יסף is used. It is therefore noteworthy that a translator in the Septuagint felt that שָׁב is used in a rather unusual way in 2 Kgs 1:11, 13 and, as an exception, used the Greek verb προστίθημι 'add' to render these two occurrences of שָׁב. This is a surprising deviation from the remarkable consistency with which שָׁב is rendered in the Septuagint: by ἐπιστρέφω 'return' and related verbs as a lexical verb or by πάλιν 'again' if an instance of שָׁב was judged by a translator to be—as it is called here—an auxiliary use of this verb. We need to keep in mind that the verb προστίθημι is used to render not only the lexical meaning of יסף in the Septuagint, but also 119 out of 120 instances of its auxiliary uses.

8.3.4 The Auxiliary Construction as Two Imperatives

When the auxiliary construction with שָׁב occurs as a sequence of two finite verbs, the usual succession for which such pair of verbs can be marked is cancelled by

grammaticalization. Therefore, a sequence of *wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol* (as in 1 Kgs 19:6), or a sequence of *yiqtol + weqatalti* (as in Lev 14:43), or *weqatalti + weqatalti* (as in 1 Kgs 8:33), no longer denotes two separate events that occur one after another, but one single event. However, the sequence imperative + *weqatalti*, which is used for "do this and then do this" command, is an exception to this rule in that it is not affected by grammaticalization. The auxiliary construction occurs uniquely in a sequence of two imperatives without any coordination marker. Consider the following passages:

1 Kings 19:6

וַיֹּאכַל וַיֵּשְׁתְּ וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּשְׁכָּב׃

He ate and drank, and lay down again.

1 Samuel 3:5

וַיָּרָץ אֶל־עֵלִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי־קָרָאתָ לִּי וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־קָרָאתִי שׁוּב שְׁכָב וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁכָּב׃

He ran to Eli, and said, "Here I am, for you called me." But he said, "I did not call. Lie down again." So he went and lay down.

1 Samuel 3:6

וַיֹּסֶף יְהוָה קְרֹא עוֹד שְׁמוּאֵל וַיָּקָם שְׁמוּאֵל וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי קָרָאתָ לִי וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־קָרָאתִי בְנִי שׁוּב שְׁכָב׃

The LORD called again, "Samuel!" Samuel got up and went to Eli, and said, "Here I am, for you called me." But he said, "I did not call, my son. Lie down again."

In 1 Sam 3:6, the auxiliary יסף is used to portray the repeated call from the LORD not as a mere repetition but as an additional or "one more time" event. Samuel's reaction to Eli's words is וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁכָּב "he went and lay down." If there are motion verbs in the command in Hebrew, there is a general tendency to repeat them.[16] But, in 1 Sam 3:5, the narrator does not say וַיָּשָׁב וַיִּשְׁכַּב "he went back and lay down" because it would mean "he lay down again" (as it does in 1 Kgs 19:6) whereas the narrator wanted to clearly indicate that Samuel went back to his room where the call from the LORD came. Eli's command שׁוּב שְׁכָב "lie down again" in 1 Sam 3:5, 5 is an invitation to engage back in the previous activity without changing anything. When, in 1 Sam 3:9, Samuel goes to Eli for the third time, Eli says to Samuel: לֵךְ שְׁכָב "go and lie down." He does not repeat שׁוּב שְׁכָב. He does not want Samuel to sleep as earlier, repeat the same event, but be more watchful. This is a different command that requires a new attitude. Some translators (e.g., NJB, NIV, CJB) prefer to render שׁוּב שְׁכָב, or other occurrences of the auxiliary שָׁב in similar commands, as if it were a motion verb. It is not clear whether such translations are dictated by a stylistic preference of "go back and lie down" over "lie down again," or it is an insistence on a literal reading of these constructions.[17]

The auxiliary sequence of two asyndetically juxtaposed imperatives with שָׁב can be compared with the following commands where שָׁב is used as a lexical verb of motion, which

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16. For example, in Gen 27:13, Rebekah says to Jacob שְׁמַע בְּקֹלִי וְלֵךְ קַח־לִי "Listen to my voice and go get me [the kids]!" And in Gen 27:14 Jacob's reaction is described as וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּקַּח וַיָּבֵא לְאִמּוֹ "He went and got [them] and brought [them] to his mother."

17. In BDB 998, the passages 1 Kgs 3:5, 6 are classified as instances of שָׁב denoting 'do again.' See also Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel: With an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions and Facsimiles of Inscriptions and Maps* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 42.

becomes especially evident in the contexts in which they appear.

2 Samuel 15:19

שׁוּב וְשֵׁב עִם־הַמֶּ֫לֶךְ כִּי־נָכְרִי אַתָּה

Go back and stay with the king, for you are a foreigner.

2 Samuel 15:20

שׁוּב וְהָשֵׁב אֶת־אַחֶ֫יךָ עִמָּךְ חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת׃

Return and take your kinsmen back with you. Grace and truth (be with you).

1 Samuel 29:7

וְעַתָּה שׁוּב וְלֵךְ בְּשָׁל֑וֹם וְלֹא־תַעֲשֶׂה רָע בְּעֵינֵי סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים׃

Now turn back and go peaceably. You shall do nothing to displease the lords of the Philistines.

2 Kings 20:5

שׁוּב וְאָמַרְתָּ֫ אֶל־חִזְקִיָּהוּ

Go back and tell Hezekiah.

8.3.5 Diachronic Development

As we have seen earlier, the verb שָׁב as a lexical verb of motion might occur with its arguments. The return can be, for example, "from Egypt" or "to Jerusalem" or "to his parents." The presence of such arguments with שָׁב in the same predicate renders the idea of motion very clear and explicit. There is little space for ambiguity in such sentences.

Grammaticalization of שָׁב must have taken place in a context where the use of this verb had some potential for ambiguity that invited a new interpretation. Since the auxiliary שָׁב occurs 60 times as a sequence of two finite verbs, and only in 11 instances the lexical verb is an infinitive construct prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ, I will hypothesize that its grammaticalization started in biclausal constructions and consider the construction with the lexical verb in infinitive construct as a later development. In accordance with the economy principle, languages tend to simplify their syntactic structures over time, especially if they have more than one construction to express the same meaning and one is more complex than the other.[18] Biclausal surface structure with a monoclausal underlying structure is much more complex to process cognitively and to communicate to others than a monoclausal surface structure with the same meaning. Such a line of development for the auxiliary שָׁב, from biclausal to monoclausal surface structure, seems to be confirmed by the relatively few occurrences of the lexical שָׁב complemented by other verbs in infinitive construct prefixed by לְ, such as in Judg 14:8. Two verbal predicates offered more ambiguity, and had markedly more potential for grammaticalization, than infinitival constructions that express some nuance of purpose when used with שָׁב. Let us first consider the following passages with שָׁב complemented by infinitives with לְ:

Ezekiel 8:17

כִּי־מָלְאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חָמָס וַיָּשֻׁבוּ לְהַכְעִיסֵנִי

For they filled the country with violence and provoked my anger again.

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18. Changes in grammaticalization are not the only ones governed by the economy principle. For a detailed study of grammaticalization with a focus on the economy principle and done within the generative framework, see Elly van Gelderen, *Grammaticalization as Economy* (LA 71; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2004).

Judges 14:8

וַיָּ֤שָׁב מִיָּמִים֙ לְקַחְתָּ֔הּ

Some time later, he returned to marry her.

In Judg 14:8, Samson returns to marry a Philistine woman that he liked. The context clearly blocks the auxiliary reading that otherwise would be "Some time later he remarried her." Samson was never married to that Philistine woman before, and the earlier context indicates repeatedly that he wanted to marry her. The infinitival marker לְ expresses a nuance of purpose in Judg 14:8 where שָׁב is a verb of motion but it has no such value when שָׁב functions as an auxiliary verb with the lexical verb in the form of an infinitive construct, as in Ezek 8:17.

In my view, the grammaticalization of שָׁב must have been triggered in a biclausal construction similar to the following:

Genesis 26:18

וַיָּ֨שָׁב יִצְחָ֜ק וַיַּחְפֹּ֣ר ׀ אֶת־בְּאֵרֹ֣ת הַמַּ֗יִם

And Isaac reopened (dug again) the wells of water.

Gen 26:18 is an instance of already grammaticalized שָׁב. But before it underwent grammaticalization, such a sentence could have had only one interpretation before שָׁב was grammaticalized: "Isaac returned and dug the wells of water." It is impossible to know if grammaticalization started in written or oral communication, but it certainly started with שָׁב that was used without any arguments, where the potential for new interpretation was

considerable. In such a structure, at a certain point, the meaning of spatial motion was weakened as a result of reinterpretation into a more abstract notion of repetition. Formally, two independent finite verbs were reanalyzed as a single constituent with an underlying monoclausal structure. Once the new grammaticalized meaning was well-established, its use from biclausal structure was extended to already existing monoclausal constructions with infinitive construct, such as the one in Judg 14:8. As we can see in Table 3, the two auxiliary constructions with שָׁב, biclausal and monoclausal, coexisted for a long time. Although, in accordance with the economy principle, the users of a language might relatively quickly abandon biclausal construction in favor of the simpler monoclausal, there might be many complex factors, linguistic and cultural, that might block such development for a very long time.

8.3.6 Ambiguity of Interpretation

The distinction between the lexical and auxiliary use of שָׁב might seem complicated in some passages. Some grammaticalized constructions are easily recognized as such by speakers of a language. For example the Italian *stare* + gerund is always unequivocally an auxiliary construction, a close equivalent of the English progressive tense-form "be doing." But the grammaticalized שָׁב frequently defies such a straightforward interpretation on the basis of its morphosyntactic constructions. The grammaticalized שָׁב usually appears in constructions that are not very distinct from its constructions in lexical reading. Therefore, we need to decide if we came across an auxiliary construction that "on the surface" looks like two clauses but its underlying structure is monoclausal rather than biclausal, or it is a lexical use of שָׁב with two distinct verbal predicates. The context is not always clear enough if there is some motion involved, which would invite a literal reading 'return,' or if there is

no motion, which would invite an auxiliary reading 'again.' The absence of locational

arguments, such as "from Jerusalem" or "to Egypt" which indicate that שָׁב is a motion verb,

should alert a reader that it is probably an auxiliary use of this verb unless there are

contextual reasons that contradict it. Let us consider the following passages:

1 Kings 13:19

וַיָּשָׁב אִתּוֹ וַיֹּאכַל לֶחֶם בְּבֵיתוֹ וַיֵּשְׁתְּ מָיִם:

He went back with him, and ate food and drank water in his house.

Nehemiah 2:15

וָאֱהִי עֹלֶה בַנַּחַל לַיְלָה וָאֱהִי שֹׁבֵר בַּחוֹמָה וָאָשׁוּב וָאָבוֹא בְּשַׁעַר הַגַּיְא וָאָשׁוּב:

I went up by way of the brook by night and inspected the wall. Then I turned back

and entered by the Valley Gate, and returned.

Exodus 14:28

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם וַיְכַסּוּ אֶת־הָרֶכֶב

The waters returned and covered the chariots.

In 1 Kgs 13:19, the auxiliary reading is blocked by "with him." Removing אִתּוֹ would invite

an auxiliary interpretation "He ate again." In Neh 2:15, the context seems to favor the

interpretation of שָׁב in the sense 'turn back' rather than 'return,' or an auxiliary reading "I

entered back." In Exod 14:28, the meaning is clearly lexical rather than auxiliary in this

passage because the earlier verses mention the returning of water: the context clearly blocks

an auxiliary reading. Let us also analyze:

Joshua 24:20

<div dir="rtl">

כִּי תַעַזְבוּ אֶת־יְהֹוָה וַעֲבַדְתֶּם אֱלֹהֵי נֵכָר וְשָׁב וְהֵרַע לָכֶם

</div>

If you forsake the LORD and serve foreign gods, he will do you harm again.

Some translations (e.g., NRSV, ESV) prefer to read שָׁב in Josh 24:20 in the sense "turn," which is translated as "he will turn and do you harm." However, it is not very clear what "turn" would imply here. It might suggest that God is going away from his people, in the opposite direction, and only when provoked, can he stop, turn back and do harm to his people. It might be a matter of debate if the interpretation underlying such a translation is accurate.

In some passages, the interpretation of שָׁב is additionally rendered difficult by the semantic range of this verb. It is often used figuratively about a spiritual return, the return of the heart to the LORD, which is sometimes rendered as 'conversion.' This meaning is perhaps more common in post-exilic Hebrew. In many passages, it is not very clear what kind of meaning should be preferred, the literal use 'return' or the figurative use in the sense of conversion. For example, in Jeremiah, שׁוב occurs 76 times in Qal stem and it is used in literal and figurative senses. The interpretation of שָׁב will sometimes depend on the understanding of the theological message conveyed by a book. Such understanding can vary from author to author and in such passages a biblical scholar has to choose which meaning, literal or figurative, is to be preferred.

8.3.7 "Sit down and circumcise": the Auxiliary שָׁב in the Septuagint and Vulgate

Here I will only make some observations in addition to the frequent references to the Septuagint and the Vulgate I have made in other sections of this chapter when pointing to the

insights these translations might provide in the analysis of שָׁב. Although the title of this section "sit down and circumcise" is an allusion to the Septuagint translation of שָׁב in Josh 5:2, it expresses well a general reluctance, in some portions of both the Septuagint and the Vulgate, to communicate the auxiliary meaning of שָׁב in an accurate dynamic rendering. Looking at the overview of the auxiliary constructions with שָׁב, as it is presented in Table 3, one can see that there are many instances where specific translators preferred to convey שָׁב as a lexical, rather than an auxiliary, verb. Sometimes, it might reflect their effort to convey the Hebrew syntax faithfully, but sometimes it must have been dictated by the uncertainty of how to interpret a specific passage. It is possible that some translators were only little aware of the meaning that we consider here as grammaticalized meaning. Let us consider:

Joshua 5:2

בָּעֵת הַהִיא אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ עֲשֵׂה לְךָ חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים וְשׁוּב מֹל אֶת־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל שֵׁנִית:

At that time the LORD said to Joshua, "Make flint knives and circumcise the Israelites a second time."

Septuagint

ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῖ ποίησον σεαυτῷ μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου καὶ καθίσας περίτεμε τοὺς υἱοὺς Ισραηλ

About that time the LORD said to Joshua, "Make for yourself flint knives out of sharp rock, and sit down (lit., having sat down) and circumcise the Israelites."

Numbers 11:4

וַיָּשֻׁבוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ גַּם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִי יַאֲכִלֵנוּ בָּשָׂר:

The Israelites wept again, and said, "Who will give us meat to eat?"

Septuagint

καὶ καθίσαντες ἔκλαιον καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ καὶ εἶπαν τίς ἡμᾶς ψωμιεῖ κρέα

After they sat down (lit., having sat down), the Israelites wept and said: "Who will give us meat to eat?"

Vulgate

Sedens et flens iunctis sibi pariter filiis Israhel et ait quis dabit nobis ad vescendum carnes.

Sitting and weeping together side by side The Israelites said: "Who will give us meat to eat?"

We must assume that the Vorlage the Septuagint translator had used for Josh 5:2 must have had the imperative שׁוּב written defectively as שֻׁב. Otherwise it would not be accurate to render שׁוּב as an imperative of יָשַׁב by καθίσας περίτεμε "having sat down, circumcise." In Num 11:4, the Septuagint has καθίσαντες ἔκλαιον "having sat down they wept" for וַיָּשֻׁבוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ and the Vulgate, similarly, has *sedens et flens* "sitting and weeping." The interpretation of וישבו in Num 11:4 in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate can be contrasted with the accurately vocalized וישבו, as *wayyiqtol* of שָׁב rather than יָשַׁב, transmitted by the Masoretic tradition as it is attested in *BHS*.

8.4 Crosslinguistic Perspective

The path of grammaticalization from 'return' verbs, such as שָׁב in Hebrew, is well attested in many world languages. Such grammaticalized verbs will differ in nuances of

meaning and in the morphosyntactic constructions in which they appear, but they express strikingly similar notions of repetition. In the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, such verbs are called repetitive auxiliaries or repetitive markers. Heine and Kuteva provide illustrations from such languages as Sanuma, Sotho, Zulu, and some other lesser known languages in the West.[19] In this section, I will briefly present auxiliaries that are not listed in Heine and Kuteva: from Akkadian and Spanish.

In Akkadian, the verb *târum* 'return' is also used in Old Babylonian with the meaning 'do again.'[20] It is attested only in two finite verb constructions with biclausal surface structure and monoclausal underlying structure. As an auxiliary verb, *târum* precedes a lexical verb. The two predicates can be coordinated by the clitic connective *-ma* 'and' or be jointed asyndetically. We can consider the following illustrations:

CH §5:24-30[21]

ina kussi dayyānūtīšu ušetbûšū-ma ul itâr-ma itti dayyānī ina dīnim ul uššab

They will remove [that judge] from his judicial office (lit., seat), and he will not sit again (or: any more) with the judges in a lawsuit.

(lit., he will not return and he will not sit)

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19. Heine and Kuteva, *World Lexicon*, 259–60.

20. My presentation of *târum* will considerably depend on Huehnergard and his short treatment of such verbs in Akkadian. See Huehnergard, *Grammar of Akkadian*, 125–26. After Lambdin, Huehnergard calls such verbs "verbal hendiadys" rather than auxiliary verbs. The transliteration of Akkadian is based on Huehnergard's system used in his textbook.

21. E. Bergmann, ed., *Codex Ḫammurabi: Textus primigenius* (3d ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1953), 4.

ARM 10 108:9[22]

aššum eqlim šâti atūr ašpurakkum-ma

I wrote to you again concerning that field

(lit., I returned I wrote to you)

CT 3 3:30

itâr-ma imarraṣ-ma imât

He will fall sick again and die.

(lit., he will return and he will fall sick and he will die)

As we can see, in the first illustration from Akkadian, when the auxiliary construction is negated, both the auxiliary and the lexical verb are negated. This strategy is different from Hebrew negation in an auxiliary construction made up of two finite verbs because in Hebrew only the auxiliary verb is negated.[23]

The Spanish verb *volver* 'return' is very often used in the *volver a* + infinitive construction to express the notion 'do again.' After the future marker *ir a* + infinitive (= 'be going to do'), the *volver a* + infinitive construction is the most frequent verbal periphrasis. Although the notion 'again' can be expressed in Spanish by adverbials such as *otra vez* (lit., 'another time) or *de nuevo*, *nuovamente*, the most common way of expressing the notion

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22. The illustrations ARM 10 108:9 (ARM for *Archives royales de Mari*) and CT 3 3:30 (CT for *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*) and their translations are taken from *CAD* 18:261.

23. For example, there are four instances of the negated auxiliary construction with יסף (Isa 47:1, 5; 52:1; and Hos 1:6), consisting of two finite verbs. Only the auxiliary יסף is negated.

'again,' at least in the Spanish of Spain, is by way of the auxiliary verb *volver a +*

infinitive.[24] Olbertz classifies *volver* as an auxiliary that expresses quantificational aspect

(i.e., aspect that specifies the number of occurrences of a situation), and more specifically,

repetitive aspect.[25] Consider the following illustrations:

Te prometo que no volveré a hacerlo.

I promise you I will not do that again.

Vuelvo a engordarme.

I am getting fat again.

No volverá a occurrir.

It won't happen again.

Volvió a casarse.

He got married again.

It will be interesting to see how Spanish translators interpret שָׁב in 1 Sam 3:5.

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24. Many Europeans who study Spanish as a second language tend to use the adverbial expressions to say 'again' rather than the auxiliary construction with *volver a +* infinitive because in their native language there are only adverbials for the notion 'again.' Spaniards, on the other hand, tend to use the auxiliary construction and relatively rarely use the adverbials. See Fente Gómez, Fernández Alvarez, and Feijóo, *Perífrasis Verbales*, 17.

25. See Olbertz, *Verbal Periphrases*, 365–70. *The description of the auxiliary volver,* with its development in terms of grammaticalization, can be found in the following reference grammars: Bosque and Demonte, *Las construcciones sintácticas*, 3376–77; and Bosque, *Sintaxis*, 2165–66.

1 Samuel 3:5

<div dir="rtl">שׁוּב שְׁכָב וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁכָּב:</div>

"Lie down again." And he went and lay down.

"*Vuelve y acuéstate.*" *Él se fue y se acostó.* (R95)

"*Vuelve a acostarte. Él fue a acostarse.* (PER)

Unlike the Hebrew verb שָׁב or the Akkadian verb *tārum*, the Spanish auxiliary *volver* can occur uniquely in one predicate, or monoclausal, construction, with the lexical verb in infinitive. Therefore the Reina-Valera translation (R95) reads the Hebrew auxiliary שָׁב as a verb of motion for it has *vuelve y acuéstate* "go back and lie down." Biblia del Peregrino (PER), on the other hand, reads שָׁב as an auxiliary verb and has *vuelve a acostarte* "lie down again."

Finally, it will be also noteworthy to point out to Semiticists the verb *'āda* 'return; do again' in Arabic.[26] Hausa, a Chadic language of West Africa, belongs to the Afro-Asiatic (also known as Hamito-Semitic) family of languages and as such it can be considered a distant cousin and, to some extent, a cognate language to Hebrew, but substantially more distant than Semitic languages like Akkadian or Arabic. Hausa has a few auxiliary verbs that express the idea of repetition. Here I will point out the verb *kōmằ* 'return, go back; do again'

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26. Some illustrations of *'āda* from modern standard Arabic can be found in El-Said Badawi, Michael G. Carter, and Adrian Gully, *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar* (London: Routledge, 2004), 422. This verb is attested as auxiliary already in Koranic Arabic, see Arne A. Ambros and Stephan Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), 196.

whose grammaticalized meaning is very similar to שָׁב.[27]

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27. Until the mid-nineties, Hausa grammarians referred to verbs like *kōmằ* 'do again' as auxiliary verbs, but in the recent reference grammars they are called "aspectual verbs." For further details and illustrations, see Paul Newman, *The Hausa Language: An Encyclopedic Reference Grammar* (Yale Language Series; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 64–70, 673; and Philip J. Jaggar, *Hausa* (LOALL 7; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2001), 546–52.

CHAPTER 9

יָסַף

AUXILIARY OF ADDITION AND CONTINUATION

In this chapter, I will analyze the auxiliary verb יָסַף. I will make many references to the Septuagint and the Vulgate as these ancient translations are essential for the study of the auxiliary יסף. The first section will begin with a description of יסף as a lexical verb, followed by a discussion of the meaning and functions of the particle עוֹד whose understanding is important in the analysis of יסף. In a series of subsequent sections, I will provide an in-depth analysis of the auxiliary יסף, followed by a section that will discuss the translation of יסף in the Septuagint in terms of context-induced grammaticalization. In the final section, I will briefly indicate a crosslinguistic parallel to the grammaticalized יסף.

9.1 יסף as a Lexical Verb

The lexical meaning and function of the verb יסף is relatively straightforward. It occurs 215 times in the Hebrew Bible: 34 in Qal, 174 in Hiphil, and 7 in other stems. There is a lot of overlapping in the meaning and function of this verb in Qal and Hiphil. In these two stems, the lexical meaning is 'add,' and only occasionally (e.g., Lev 19:25; 2 Sam 24:3) can it also be rendered 'increase, multiply.' In Hiphil, יסף is used in the common expression 'add [time] to someone's life.' It seems that there was no clear-cut distinction in the meaning of this verb between Qal and Hiphil. Compare the lexical meaning of the two stems in the following illustrations:

Isaiah 29:1 (Qal)

סְפ֥וּ שָׁנָ֖ה עַל־שָׁנָ֑ה

Add year to year.

Jeremiah 45:3 (Qal)

אָמַ֣רְתָּ֮ אֽוֹי־נָ֣א לִי֒ כִּֽי־יָסַ֨ף יְהוָ֤ה יָגוֹן֙ עַל־מַכְאֹבִ֔י

You said, "Woe to me! The LORD has added sorrow to my pain."

Number 32:14 (Qal)

וְהִנֵּ֣ה קַמְתֶּ֗ם תַּ֚חַת אֲבֹ֣תֵיכֶ֔ם תַּרְבּ֖וּת אֲנָשִׁ֣ים חַטָּאִ֑ים לִסְפּ֣וֹת ע֗וֹד עַ֛ל חֲר֥וֹן אַף־יְהוָ֖ה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃

And now you have risen in place of your fathers, a brood of sinners, to increase the

LORD's fierce anger (lit., to add to the heat of the LORD's nose) against Israel.

2 Kings 20:6 (Hiphil)

וְהֹסַפְתִּ֣י עַל־יָמֶ֗יךָ חֲמֵ֤שׁ עֶשְׂרֵה֙ שָׁנָ֔ה

I will add fifteen years to your life.

Leviticus 19:25 (Hiphil)

וּבַשָּׁנָ֣ה הַחֲמִישִׁ֗ת תֹּֽאכְלוּ֙ אֶת־פִּרְי֔וֹ לְהוֹסִ֥יף לָכֶ֖ם תְּבוּאָת֑וֹ

In the fifth year you may eat its fruit, so that its yield may be increased for you.

Deuteronomy 4:2 (Hiphil)

לֹ֣א תֹסִ֗פוּ עַל־הַדָּבָר֙ אֲשֶׁ֤ר אָנֹכִי֙ מְצַוֶּ֣ה אֶתְכֶ֔ם וְלֹ֥א תִגְרְע֖וּ מִמֶּ֑נּוּ

You may not add anything to the word that I command you nor take away anything

from it.

9.2 The Particle עוֹד: Major Functions

The understanding of the particle עוֹד is essential for the analysis of יסף. Semantically, it has a lot of overlapping meaning with the grammaticalized יסף and it is frequently employed as an integral part of the auxiliary constructions, both in positive and negative clauses.

The particle עוֹד occurs 490 times in the Hebrew Bible. It has various meanings and functions. I will focus on the most common meanings and functions that are relevant for this analysis.[1] Although in many cases there cannot be a clear-cut distinction between the senses of this particle, for my analysis, it will be helpful to view the following senses as related but distinct functions of the same particle. In positive clauses, עוֹד has three senses: a) 'still,' b) 'again,' c) 'more.' In negative clauses, it has one major meaning: '(not) again,' which in English usually is formulated as 'any more' or 'any longer.' For the sake of clear presentation, I will describe the senses of עוֹד in short sections, naming them with English equivalents of particular senses.

9.2.1 Continuation: 'still'

The particle עוֹד can express continuation and has the value similar to 'still' in English. When עוֹד occurs with participles, particularly those of dynamic verbs, this construction conveys the meaning that some linguists consider a type of continuative aspect.[2]

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1. Additional details on עוֹד, not discussed here, can be found in BDB 728-29 and *HALOT* 795-96.

2. König calls the English particles 'already,' 'still,' 'yet,' the German particles *schon*, *noch*, and their counterparts in other languages, "aspectual operators" because they contribute to aspectual distinctions. For a detailed analysis of such particles in English and German, see Ekkehard König, *The Meaning of Focus Particles: A Comparative Perspective* (Theoretical Linguistics; London: Routledge, 1991), 139–62. The particles 'already,' 'still,' and 'yet,' are called "aspectual adjuncts" and analyzed in Thomas Ernst,

It explicitly informs that a situation that has started earlier continues to exist or take place. "Be still doing" is probably the best way to render the force of this Hebrew construction in English. Let us consider the following illustrations of the continuative function of עוֹד:

Genesis 18:22

וַיִּפְנ֤וּ מִשָּׁם֙ הָֽאֲנָשִׁ֔ים וַיֵּלְכ֖וּ סְדֹ֑מָה וְאַ֨בְרָהָ֔ם עוֹדֶ֥נּוּ עֹמֵ֖ד לִפְנֵ֥י יְהוָֽה׃

The men turned from there and went to Sodom, while Abraham was still standing before the LORD.

1 Kings 1:22

וְהִנֵּ֛ה עוֹדֶ֥נָּה מְדַבֶּ֖רֶת עִם־הַמֶּ֑לֶךְ וְנָתָ֥ן הַנָּבִ֖יא בָּֽא׃

While she was still speaking with the king, in came the prophet Nathan.

Genesis 45:3

הַע֥וֹד אָבִ֖י חָ֑י

Is my father still alive?

9.2.2 Repetition: 'again'

The particle עוֹד can express repetition in the sense of addition. We can compare the following passages:

Hosea 1:3

וַתַּ֖הַר וַתֵּֽלֶד־ל֥וֹ בֵּֽן׃

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The Syntax of Adjuncts (CSL 96; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 341–47.

She conceived and bore him a son.

Hosea 1:6

<div dir="rtl">וַתַּהַר עוֹד וַתֵּלֶד בַּת</div>

She conceived again and gave birth to a daughter.

Genesis 4:25

<div dir="rtl">וַיֵּדַע אָדָם עוֹד אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן</div>

Adam knew his wife again, and she gave birth to a son.

When עוֹד is used for a single occurrence, as in Hos 1:6, it can be rendered 'again.' But this "again" needs to be understood in the sense of 'additionally' because the event is viewed as taking place in addition to an earlier occurrence. It is a continuation rather than a remake of the same situation. In this sense, עוֹד is similar in meaning to the auxiliary יסף and dissimilar to שָׁב. Consider the following passages:

Ruth 1:9

<div dir="rtl">וַתִּשַּׁק לָהֶן וַתִּשֶּׂאנָה קוֹלָן וַתִּבְכֶּינָה׃</div>

She kissed them and they wept aloud.

Ruth 1:14

<div dir="rtl">וַתִּשֶּׂנָה קוֹלָן וַתִּבְכֶּינָה עוֹד וַתִּשַּׁק עָרְפָּה לַחֲמוֹתָהּ וְרוּת דָּבְקָה בָּהּ׃</div>

Then they wept aloud again. Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clung to her.

Genesis 24:20

וַתְּמַהֵר וַתְּעַר כַּדָּהּ אֶל־הַשֹּׁקֶת וַתָּרָץ עֹוד אֶל־הַבְּאֵר לִשְׁאֹב

She quickly emptied her jar into the trough and ran again to the well to draw (water).

Hosea 3:1

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי עֹוד

The LORD said to me again. (Or: "In addition, the LORD said to me.")

We can now compare Hos 3:1 with the following passages, first with עוד and the

auxiliary יסף in one construction, and then with יסף alone:

2 Samuel 2:22 (עוד and יסף)

וַיֹּסֶף עֹוד אַבְנֵר לֵאמֹר אֶל־עֲשָׂהאֵל

Abner said again to Asahel.

2 Samuel 18:22 (עוד and יסף)

וַיֹּסֶף עֹוד אֲחִימַעַץ בֶּן־צָדֹוק וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־יֹואָב

 Ahimaaz son of Zadok said again to Joab.

Numbers 22:19 (יסף)

וְעַתָּה שְׁבוּ נָא בָזֶה גַּם־אַתֶּם הַלָּיְלָה וְאֵדְעָה מַה־יֹּסֵף יְהוָה דַּבֵּר עִמִּי׃

You also stay here tonight and I will see what the LORD will tell me next.

Esther 8:3 (יסף)

וַתֹּוסֶף אֶסְתֵּר וַתְּדַבֵּר לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

Esther spoke again to the king.

9.2.3 Addition: 'more'

The particle עוֹד can sometimes express the addition of quantity and be rendered with 'more.' Although it seems to be a slightly different sense, it is probably a matter of translation into other languages and, consequently, this sense should be considered as a part of the 'again' function. In the following passages, it is possible to use 'other' rather than 'more' in rendering עוֹד, without a substantial change in meaning

1 Chronicles 14:3

וַיִּקַּח דָּוִיד עוֹד נָשִׁים בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם וַיּוֹלֶד דָּוִיד עוֹד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת׃

David took more wives in Jerusalem, and David became the father of more sons and daughters.

Deuteronomy 19:9

וְיָסַפְתָּ לְךָ עוֹד שָׁלֹשׁ עָרִים עַל הַשָּׁלֹשׁ הָאֵלֶּה׃

You shall add three more cities to these three.

It is worth pointing out that removing עוֹד from 1 Chr 14:3 would not cause a major change in meaning of the sentence because the verb יסף already denotes the idea of addition. But the combination of יסף and עוֹד make the idea of addition more expressive.

9.2.4 In Negation: '(not) again,' 'any more, any longer'

This function has one meaning. The distinction between '(not) again' or '(not) any longer' is a matter of English translation. Very frequently, translators tend to render עוֹד alone, or עוֹד in combination with the auxiliary יסף, in negative clauses by 'never again.'

Although it is not inaccurate, it seems to me more emphatic a statement than in the original

Hebrew. We can consider the following illustrations:

Genesis 9:11

וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה עֹוד מַבּוּל לְשַׁחֵת הָאָרֶץ:

There will be no more flood to destroy the earth.

Exodus 2:3

וְלֹא־יָכְלָה עֹוד הַצְּפִינוֹ וַתִּקַּח־לוֹ תֵּבַת גֹּמֶא

When she could no longer hide him, she got a papyrus basket for him.

Deuteronomy 34:10

וְלֹא־קָם נָבִיא עֹוד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּמֹשֶׁה

There has not arisen a prophet like Moses any more in Israel.

Joshua 5:1

וְלֹא־הָיָה בָם עוֹד רוּחַ מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

And there was no longer any courage (lit., spirit) in them to face (or: because of) the

Israelites.

Joshua 5:12

וְלֹא־הָיָה עֹוד לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מָן

And the Israelites no longer had manna.

Genesis 17:5

וְלֹא־יִקָּרֵא עוֹד אֶת־שִׁמְךָ אַבְרָם וְהָיָה שִׁמְךָ אַבְרָהָם

Your name will no longer be called Abram, but your name will be Abraham.

Deuteronomy 31:2

לֹא־אוּכַל עוֹד לָצֵאת וְלָבוֹא

I am no longer able to get around (lit., to go out and come in).

Now we can compare the above illustrations and this use of עוֹד with the following passages, first with עוֹד and the auxiliary יסף in one construction, and then with יסף alone:

Genesis 8:12   (יסף and עוֹד)

וַיִּיָּחֶל עוֹד שִׁבְעַת יָמִים אֲחֵרִים וַיְשַׁלַּח אֶת־הַיּוֹנָה וְלֹא־יָסְפָה שׁוּב־אֵלָיו עוֹד:

He waited seven more days and sent out the dove, and it did not return to him any more.

Exodus 10:29 (יסף and עוֹד)

לֹא־אֹסֵף עוֹד רְאוֹת פָּנֶיךָ:

I will not see your face again/any more.

1 Samuel 7:13 (יסף and עוֹד)

וַיִּכָּנְעוּ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים וְלֹא־יָסְפוּ עוֹד לָבוֹא בִּגְבוּל יִשְׂרָאֵל

The Philistines were subdued and did not again enter the territory of Israel (or: did not enter the territory of Israel any more).

Genesis 4:22 (יסף)

כִּי תַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאֲדָמָ֗ה לֹא־תֹסֵף תֵּת־כֹּחָהּ לָךְ

When you till the ground, it will no longer yield its strength to you.

Lamentations 4:22 (יסף)

לֹא יוֹסִיף לְהַגְלוֹתֵךְ

He will not send you in exile any longer.

As we can see from these illustrations, the particle עוֹד alone, the auxiliary יסף alone, and the combination of the particle עוֹד and יסף, can express the notion 'any longer' in negative clauses. Although the combination of the particle עוֹד and יסף in negation might have produced a slightly more emphatic statement, it is possible that such emphasis was barely discernible. Therefore, I would not recommend translating the combination of עוֹד and יסף mechanically by 'never again.'

9.3 יסף as an Auxiliary Verb

In the following series of sections, I will analyze the auxiliary יסף. I will begin with an overview of all the attested auxiliary constructions in the Hebrew Bible and continue with some observations regarding the Latin rendering of the auxiliary יסף in the Vulgate. In a short section I will present the statistical data. Subsequently, I will describe the process of auxiliation or the emergence of יסף as an auxiliary verb where I will point out the semantic, cognitive, and formal components of grammaticalization. I will also hypothesize a historical development of the morphosyntactic constructions with יסף. Finally, in a special section, I will deal with the way the Septuagint translators rendered יסף in Greek.

9.3.1 Overview of the Attested Constructions

This section will present the auxiliary constructions with יסף and their morphosyntactic variety. This verb occurs as a sequence of two finite verbs or as a combination of the auxiliary in a finite form with the lexical verb as infinitive construct, with or without the infinitival marker לְ. Below is an explanation of how to read the information provided in Table 1.

The sequence "NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ" is an example of the constituents of the auxiliary construction. The constituents are presented in the order in which they occur in a specific passage. If the auxiliary verb is negated, I will indicate this negative polarity, or negation, by "NEG" in the representation for the Hebrew structure. Both the Septuagint and the Vulgate faithfully render this negation with the respective negative strategies common in these languages and, consequently, I will give no information about such polarity for these two versions. While in positive statements יסף can be rendered by 'do more,' 'do in addition,' or 'do again,' in negative statements it usually means 'any more,' 'any longer.' The particle עוֹד 'still' appears frequently with this auxiliary construction and should be viewed as one of its components rather than an arbitrary adjunct.

According to my analysis, יסף occurs 119 times in the auxiliary constructions: 107 times in Hiphil and only 12 times in Qal. Therefore, the note "[Qal]" in the citation section will indicate that in a specific passage the auxiliary יסף is in Qal. In all the other passages, unmarked by "[Qal]," יסף is in Hiphil.

Since the Septuagint renderings are relatively consistent and generally follow the Hebrew syntax, I will not specify their syntactic structures. The Latin renderings in the Vulgate are more varied and require further attention. In some passages, the Latin translations of the auxiliary construction are very idiomatic. It seems that they must have

considerably influenced the way the verb יסף was later rendered in many European

languages.

The Vulgate has diverse constructions to render the auxiliary verb. The use of

adverbials, such as *ultra* 'any longer,' *rursum* (or *rursus*) 'again,' indicates a dynamic

rendering and assumes an auxiliary interpretation of the Hebrew construction. Various

constructions with the verb *addo*[3] 'add' are literal, rather than idiomatic, renderings and

more difficult to interpret, in the sense that it is not clear if a reader of the Latin version was

able to "figure out" the auxiliary value that the original Hebrew expressed. The most

frequent constructions are the following: *addo* + infinitive (abbreviated in Table 4 as: *addo* +

inf.), *addo ut* "I add so as to" + finite verb in subjunctive (= *addo ut*), two coordinated finite

verbs *addo et* "I add and" + finite verb (= *addo et*). Occasionally, the verb *adicio* and

adpono, with the similar meaning 'add,' are used in place of *addo*. These Latin constructions

with 'add' verbs should be considered an imitation of the Hebrew syntax rather than genuine

Latin style. It would be fruitless to look for different nuances of meaning in this syntactic

variety of constructions.

Table 4: Passages with the Auxiliary יסף

Citation	Auxiliary construction	Lexical verb	Septuagint	Vulgate
Gen 4:2	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ילד 'give birth'	προστίθημι 'add'	*rursus* 'again'

3. As it is customary in Latin grammatical tradition, I will use the first person
singular, *addo* (lit., "I give") rather than an infinitive *addere* 'give,' when I list a Latin
verb.

Gen 4:12	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct	נתן 'give'	προστίθημι	untranslated[4]
Gen 8:10	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	שׁלח 'send out'	πάλιν 'again'	*rursum* 'again'
Gen 8:12 [Qal]	NEG qatal + inf. construct + עוֹד	שׁוב 'return'	προστίθημι ἔτι [ἔτι for עוֹד]	*ultra* 'any longer' [= aux. + עוֹד][5]
Gen 8:21a	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	קלל 'curse'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam* 'by no means, not at all,' *ultra*
Gen 8:21b	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	נכה 'exterminate'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Gen 18:29	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
Gen 25:1	wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol	לקח 'take'	προστίθημι (ptc)	*aliam duxit uxorem* "he took another wife"
Gen 37:5	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	שׂנא 'hate'	not in the Septuagint	*maioris odii* "more hatred"

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4. The Latin translation is "it will not give to you" as opposed to the Hebrew, "it will no longer give to you." The note "untranslated" indicates that the version, Greek or Latin, has a similar meaning except for the missing "any longer" component.

5. [= aux. + עוֹד] means that, in this specific verse, the Latin construction *ultra* 'any longer, any more' renders both the auxiliary verb יסף and עוֹד.

Gen 37:8	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	שׂנא 'hate'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*invidiae et odii fomitem ministravit* "he provided stimulus for envy and hatred" [paraphrased]
Gen 38:5	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + wayyiqtol	ילד 'give birth'	προστίθημι (ptc) ἔτι	*tertium quoque peperit* "she also gave birth to a third (son)" [paraphrased]
Gen 38:26 [Qal]	NEG qatal + עוֹד + (suffixed) inf. construct	ידע 'know, lie with'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Gen 44:23	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'see'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*amplius* 'any more, any longer'
Exod 5:7	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	נתן 'give'	οὐκέτι 'no more' προστίθημι	*nequaquam ultra*
Exod 8:25	NEG jussive + inf. construct	תלל 'deceive'	προστίθημι ἔτι	(Exod 8:29) *ultra*

Exod 9:28	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עמד 'stay'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*nequaquam ultra*
Exod 9:34	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	חטא 'sin'	προστίθημι	*auxit peccatum* "he increased his sin"
Exod 10:28	NEG[6] jussive + inf. construct	ראה 'see'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Exod 10:29	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct	ראה 'see'	οὐκέτι	*ultra*
Exod 11:6 (ellipsis)[7]	NEG yiqtol	[היה 'be'] underwent ellipsis	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*nec postea futurus est* "nor from now on will be"
Exod 14:13	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	ראה 'see'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam ultra*
Lev 26:18	weqatalti + inf. construct with לְ	יסר 'discipline'	προστίθημι	*addo* + a noun
Num 22:15	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	שׁלח 'send'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
Num 22:19	yiqtol + inf. construct	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι	*rursum*

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6. I have emended אֶל to אַל.

7. An elliptical structure, such as in English "If you go, I will [ELLIPSIS] too."

Num 22:25	wayyiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	נכה 'hit'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*iterum*
Num 22:26	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	עבר 'pass'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Num 32:15 [Qal]	weqatalti + עוֹד + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	נוח 'abandon'	προστίθημι ἔτι	a slightly different text
Deut 3:26	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct + עוֹד	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam ultra*
Deut 5:25 [Qal]	predicative ptc. + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	שׁמע 'hear'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Deut 13:12	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam ultra*
Deut 17:16	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׁוב 'return'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam amplius*
Deut 18:16	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׁמע 'hear'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
Deut 19:20	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*nequaquam*
Deut 20:8 [Qal]	weqatalti + inf. construct with לְ	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι	*addent reliqua* "adding the remaining (other) things"

Deut 25:3	yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	נכה 'flog'	προστίθημι	*excedant* "exceeding"
Deut 28:68	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'see'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*amplius*
Josh 7:12	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	היה 'be'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Josh 23:13	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ירשׁ 'dispossess, drive out'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Judg 2:21	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ירשׁ 'drive out'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Judg 3:12	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι	*addo* + inf.
Judg 4:1	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι	*addo* + inf.
Judg 8:28 [Qal]	NEG qatal + inf. construct with לְ	נשׂא 'lift up'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
Judg 9:37	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
Judg 10:6	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι	paraphrased as: "to the old sins joining new ones"
Judg 10:13	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ישׁע 'deliver'	προστίθημι	*ultra* *addo ut*

Judg 11:14	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + wayyiqtol	שׁלח 'send'	different than BHS	*rursum*
Judg 13:1	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do'	προστίθημι	*rursum*
Judg 13:21 [Qal]	NEG qatal + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'appear'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
Judg 20:22	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ערךְ 'set in array'	προστίθημι	*rursum*
Judg 20:23	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	נגשׁ 'draw near'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
Judg 20:28	yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	יצא 'go out'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
1 Sam 3:6	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	קרא 'call'	προστίθημι	*rursum addo* + inf.
1 Sam 3:8	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	קרא 'call'	προστίθημι	*addo et adhuc* 'still; in addition, moreover'
1 Sam 3:21	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'appear'	προστίθημι	*addo ut*
1 Sam 7:13 [Qal]	NEG qatal + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	בוא 'come'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
1 Sam 9:8	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ענה 'answer'	προστίθημι	*rursum*
1 Sam 15:35 [Qal]	NEG qatal + inf. construct with לְ	ראה 'see'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*

1 Sam 18:29	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	יָרֵא 'fear'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*magis* 'more'
1 Sam 19:8	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הָיָה 'be, take place'	προστίθημι	*rursus*
1 Sam 19:21	wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol	שָׁלַח 'send'	προστίθημι	*rursum*
1 Sam 20:17	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שָׁבַע 'make swear'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo* + inf.
1 Sam 23:4	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	שָׁאַל 'inquire'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
1 Sam 27:4	NEG qatal [qere] + עוֹד + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	בִּקֵּשׁ 'search'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra* *addo ut*
2 Sam 2:22	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	אָמַר 'say'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
2 Sam 2:28	NEG qatal + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	לָחַם 'fight'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra* (understood from the earlier occurrence)
2 Sam 3:34	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	בָּכָה 'weep'	reads אָסַף rather than יָסַף	a lexical reading of יָסַף: *congemino* 'double, increase'

2 Sam 5:22	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	עלה 'go up'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo ut*
2 Sam 7:10	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	ענה 'oppress'	προστίθημι	*addo ut*
2 Sam 7:20 What *more* can he say	yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*adhuc* *addo ut*
2 Sam 14:10	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	נגע 'touch; hurt'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra* *addo ut*
2 Sam 18:22	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + wayyiqtol	אמר 'say'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*rursum*
2 Sam 24:1	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	חרה 'be hot/ angry'	προστίθημι	*addo* + inf.
1 Kgs 16:33	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עשׂה 'do' (a) כעס 'provoke to anger' (b)	προστίθημι	*addo* + *in opere suo* "in his deed" (a) + *ptc.* (b)
2 Kgs 6:23 [Qal]	NEG qatal + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	בוא 'come'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra*
2 Kgs 21:8	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	נוד 'cause to be homeless'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
2 Kgs 24:7	NEG qatal + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	יצא 'go out'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*ultra* *addo ut*
1 Chr 14:13	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + wayyiqtol	פשׁט 'make a raid'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*alia vice* "another time"

1 Chr 17:9	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	בלה 'oppress'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
2 Chr 28:22	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	מעל 'act unfaithfully'	προστίθημι	*auxit contemptum* "he increased (his) contempt"
2 Chr 33:8 (see 2 Kgs 21:8)	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	סור 'remove'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Esth 8:3	wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Job 20:9 (ellipsis)	NEG yiqtol	שׁזף 'catch sight of'	προστίθημι	untranslated
Job 27:1	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	נשׂא 'take up, deliver' (a discourse)'	προστίθημι	*addo* + ptc.
Job 29:1	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	נשׂא 'take up, deliver'	προστίθημι	*addo* + ptc.
Job 34:32 (ellipsis)	NEG yiqtol	פעל 'do'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
Job 36:1	wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol	אמר 'say'	προστίθημι ἔτι	"adding he said"
Ps 10:18	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	ערץ 'terrify'	(Ps 9:39) προστίθημι ἔτι	(Ps 9:39) *ultra*

Ps 41:9	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	קוּם 'rise'	(Ps 40:9) προστίθημι	(Ps 40:9) *adicio ut*
Ps 77:8	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	רצה 'be satisfied'	(Ps 76:8) προστίθημι	(Ps 76:8*) adpono ut adhuc*
Ps 78:17	wayyiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	חטא 'sin'	(Ps 77:17) προστίθημι ἔτι	(Ps 77:17) *adpono* + inf. *adhuc*
Prov. 23:35	yiqtol + yiqtol + עוֹד	בקשׁ 'seek'	a slightly different text	*rursum*
Isa 1:13	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct	בוא 'bring'	προστίθημι	*ultra*
Isa 7:10	wayyiqtol + inf. construct	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι	*adicio* + inf.
Isa 8:5	wayyiqtol + inf. construct + עוֹד	דבר 'speak'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*adicio* + inf. *adhuc*
Isa 10:20	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	שׁען 'lean'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio* + inf.
Isa 23:12	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	עלז 'exult'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*ultra adicio* + inf.
Isa 24:20	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct	קוּם 'rise'	untranslated	*adicio ut*
Isa 29:14	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	פלא 'deal amazingly with'	προστίθημι	*addo ut*

Isa 47:1	NEG yiqtol + yiqtol[8]	קרא 'call'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*ultra*
Isa 47:5	NEG yiqtol + yiqtol	קרא 'call'	οὐκέτι	*ultra*
Isa 51:22	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	שׁתה 'drink'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*adicio ut ultra*
Isa 52:1	NEG yiqtol + yiqtol + עוֹד	בוא 'come'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio ut ultra*
Jer 31:12	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	דאב 'languish'	ἔτι	*ultra*
Ezek 36:12	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	שׁכל 'make childless'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo ut ultra*
Lam 4:15	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	גור 'sojourn'	προστίθημι	*addo ut ultra*
Lam 4:16	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	נבט 'look at, regard'	προστίθημι	*addo ut*
Lam 4:22	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	גלה 'take into captivity'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo ut ultra*

8. In Isa 47:1 and 47:5, the finite verbs have two different subjects. See Joüon-Muraoka §177c.

Dan10:18	wayyiqtol + wayyiqtol	נגע 'touch'	προστίθημι	*rursum*
Hos 1:6	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + yiqtol	רחם 'show compassion'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo* + inf. *ultra*
Hos 9:15	NEG yiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct	אהב 'love'	προστίθημι	*addo ut*
Hos 13:2	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	חטא 'sin'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*addo ad* + gerund
Joel 2:2 (ellipsis)	NEG yiqtol	היה 'be'	προστίθημι	*non erit* "it will not be"
Amos 5:2	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct	קום 'rise'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	not in the Vulgate
Amos 7:8	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	עבר 'pass'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio* + inf. *ultra*
Amos 7:13	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	נבא 'prophesy'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio ut ultra*
Amos 8:2	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct	עבר 'pass'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio ut ultra*
Jonah 2:5	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	נבט 'look at'	προστίθημι	*rursus*
Nah 2:1	NEG yiqtol + עוֹד + inf. construct with לְ	עבר 'pass'	προστίθημι ἔτι	*adicio ut ultra*
Zeph 3:11	NEG yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ + עוֹד	גבה 'be haughty'	οὐκέτι προστίθημι	*adicio* + inf. *amplius*

It is worth noting that all the occurrences of יסף in Genesis (except for Gen 30:24), in Exodus (except for Exod 1:10), and in Judges, are auxiliary constructions, as well as most occurrences of יסף in 1-2 Samuel.

The auxiliary יסף occurs in Qal stem only in the corpus Genesis-Kings, which is considered representative of Classical Biblical Hebrew.[9] It is attested exclusively in the constructions with the lexical verb in the form of the infinitive construct. But the auxiliary function in the Hiphil stem is evenly distributed throughout most of the biblical Hebrew corpus. Although it appears in poetry (4 times in Job, 4 times in Psalms, and once in Proverbs) it is considerably more common in prose. All morphosyntactic constructions, a sequence of two finite verbs or the construction with the lexical verb as an infinitive construct with or without the infinitival marker לְ, can be found throughout the corpus. This means that a specific construction cannot be easily associated with a historical phase of Hebrew or a set of books.

9.3.2 Statistical Data

This section will present the statistical evidence of various combinations in which the auxiliary constructions with יסף appears in the Hebrew Bible.

TABLE 5 Statistical Data: General, NEG, עוֹד

Stem	Occurrences Total	Occurrences with NEG	Occurrences with עוֹד	Occurrences NEG + עוֹד
Qal	12	9	9	7

9. This distinction is from Douglas M. Gropp, "The Function of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew," *HAR* 13 (1991): 46.

Hiphil	107	53	41	22
Qal + Hiphil	119	62	50	29

Table 5 includes four occurrences of the auxiliary יסף in Hiphil with the lexical verb in ellipsis (Exod 11:6; Job 20:9; 34:32; Joel 2:2). They are all negated and without עוֹד.

The auxiliary construction occurs 62 times in negation. In 58 cases of negation, the auxiliary יסף is negated in the construction with infinitive construct, both with and without לְ. Only in 4 instances of negation (Isa 47:1, 5; 52:1; and Hos 1:6), does the auxiliary construction occur as a sequence of two finite verbs. Only the auxiliary יסף is negated.[10]

TABLE 6: Statistical Data: Morphosyntactic Constructions with יסף

Stem	two finite forms	inf. construct with לְ	bare infinitive
Qal	none	10	2
Hiphil	13	67	23
Qal + Hiphil	13	77	25

Table 6 does not include the four occurrences with the lexical verb in ellipsis. Although we should assume that such elliptical constructions imply that the understood lexical verb is infinitive, it would be too conjectural to add these occurrences as a specific type of construction.

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10. In Akkadian, on the other hand, when the auxiliary construction is negated, both the auxiliary and the lexical verbs need to be negated.

9.3.3 Grammaticalized Meaning

In all its morphosyntactic constructions, the auxiliary verb יסף expresses repetition in the sense of addition or continuation rather than in the sense of a repetition that is a remake of an earlier event, as שָׁב does. In this case, the word *continuation* does not imply here any type of continuative aspect, but it is a reference to an event that continues an earlier event as if it were an additional part or an extension. Depending on the context and the lexical verb that is used in the auxiliary construction, יסף can be rendered by 'do more' or 'do again,' and in negative statements it usually can be translated 'any more,' 'any longer.' 'Again' needs to be understood here not in the sense of a mere repetition or reiteration of the event, but as an event that takes place as an addition to, or an extension of, an earlier similar event.

While rendering the value of the auxiliary יסף, it is recommended to keep in mind its lexical meaning 'add' because, to some degree, the grammaticalized meaning is a more abstract version of it. The lexical meaning usually implies an increase in quantity, the added portion. It seems that the auxiliary value implies such increase as well. Whenever possible, it would be a good idea to reflect such increase in the translation. Let us consider the following passages:

Judges 3:12

וַיֹּסִ֙פוּ֙ בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל לַעֲשֹׂ֥ות הָרַ֖ע בְּעֵינֵ֥י יְהוָ֑ה

The Israelites again did what was evil in the sight of the LORD.

Genesis 25:1

וַיֹּ֧סֶף אַבְרָהָ֛ם וַיִּקַּ֥ח אִשָּׁ֖ה וּשְׁמָ֥הּ קְטוּרָֽה׃

Abraham took another wife, whose name was Keturah.

The translation "The Israelites continued to do what was evil in the sight of the LORD" for Judg 3:12 would not be completely inaccurate, but it points to a continuity of an event, which is not expressed in Hebrew. The translation "they did again" must be understood in the sense that they "did more" of what was considered evil by the LORD. Consequently, the use of 'continue to do' to render יסף (or, 'discontinue/stop doing' in negative clauses) should be made with caution because יסף does not express continuity of the event in virtue of its semantic meaning. On the other hand, 'continue to do' might occasionally be an acceptable, stylistically attractive alternative to the rather plain 'do more.'

The rendering 'another' for the auxiliary value of יסף in Gen 25:1 is an excellent dynamic translation that accurately reflects well the added quantity that comes with the auxiliary meaning. Abraham not only married again, but he married another woman in addition to his earlier wife. The tradition of such an idiomatic translation 'another' for יסף goes back to Jerome and his Vulgate.

Semantic changes in the grammaticalization of יסף can be best understood in terms of the metonymic correlation of quantity and verticality in the MORE IS UP/LESS IS DOWN metaphor (discussed earlier, p. 100). With increased quantity, the verticality goes up. When quantity decreases, the verticality goes down. The preposition עַל 'on, upon' is used with יסף, in Qal and in Hiphil, for 'add to.' The origins of the phrase יסף עַל 'add to' can be traced back to its cognitive conceptualization. Adding one entity to another must have been first conceptualized as putting one entity upon another.

In terms of the categorial metaphor (discussed earlier, p. 123), this metaphorization can be viewed as ACTIVITY-to-QUALITY change. The source meaning, or the activity of adding, was mapped from the domain of ACTIVITY onto the domain of QUALITY. The name

of the former domain is somewhat misleading because the grammaticalized meaning refers to quantity: 'do more.' We need to remember that in Heine et al. the category QUALITY is "the most fuzzy"[11] of all the categories and it refers to a number of different conceptualizations not covered by the major categories of SPACE and TIME.

As it has been pointed out, the auxiliary יסף is frequently rendered 'continue to do.' If this were the grammaticalized meaning, the metaphorization would be ACTIVITY-to-QUALITY change. But I think its primary meaning is 'do more,' or 'do again' in the sense of 'do in addition.,' This meaning is difficult to render into other languages. It indicates an addition in terms of quantity related to the meaning of the lexical verb. The translation 'continue to do' is an acceptable alternative but it is not what this auxiliary precisely means. In Judg 13:1, וַיֹּסִפוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע does not mean "The Israelites continued to do evil." While such a translation does not significantly distort the original meaning, it is important to keep in mind the underlying conceptualization that can be rendered "They did more evil" or "They did evil again" in the sense that they added evil to the evil they had done earlier.

The particle עוֹד 'still' appears frequently with this auxiliary construction and should be viewed as one of its components rather than as an arbitrary adjunct. It is common both in positive and negative clauses. Although it might strengthen a little the value of יסף, in my view it usually does not add any emphasis to the whole construction and perhaps it should be even left untranslated. As we have seen earlier, the meanings of עוֹד and of the auxiliary יסף overlap a great deal and it seems that in many instances they could be used interchangeably. In my opinion, the frequent use of the two needs to be traced back in the origins of the grammaticalized יסף. I would argue that יסף underwent grammaticalization in the "company"

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11. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 49.

of עוֹד and their meaning merged into a single concept. For this reason, when יסף and עוֹד occur together in an auxiliary construction, the semantic value of עוֹד is markedly weakened.

The full picture of the auxiliary יסף cannot be obtained without comparing its meaning and function with the meaning and function of שָׁב, and such a comparison can be found in the previous chapter.

9.3.4 Diachronic Development

The Qal and Hiphil of יסף overlap to a large extent in both lexical and auxiliary meanings. This seems to suggest that, in the case of יסף, these two stems were not clearly distinguished. Consequently, the changes that took place in one stem might have been soon reflected in the other.The auxiliary function of יסף in Qal occurs only 12 times in the Hebrew Bible in the corpus Genesis-Kings, whereas Hiphil is evenly distributed almost throughout the whole corpus of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, the lexical meaning 'add' is attested in Qal only a few times outside Genesis-Kings, whereas the lexical meaning in Hiphil is very common in the other books as well. The auxiliary constructions in Qal have the lexical verb in the form of the infinitive construct and it does not occur even once as a sequence of two finite verbs. All these data seem to suggest that even though יסף was still in use in Qal in Biblical Hebrew, it was already slowly disappearing in favor of Hiphil. As a result, I will assume that the grammaticalization of יסף took place in Hiphil rather than in Qal.

The auxiliary function in Hiphil is well established in Biblical Hebrew. Its status is indicated by the number of occurrences throughout the whole corpus of the Hebrew Bible and, additionally, it is confirmed by the possibility of licensing or "allowing" the ellipsis of the lexical verb. There are four passages with ellipsis of the lexical verb: Exod 11:6; Job 20:9; 34:32; Joel 2:2). In my view, the common oath formula is also an additional example

with the auxiliary יסף whereby the infinitive לַעֲשׂוֹת is ellipsed or omitted. Due to the formulaic nature of this fixed expression, I did not include it, or the passages where it occurs, in Table 1. Consider this illustration:

1 Samuel 3:17

כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה־לְּךָ אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יוֹסִיף אִם־תְּכַחֵד מִמֶּנִּי דָּבָר מִכָּל־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר אֵלֶיךָ׃

May God do so to you and [do] even more, if you hide from me anything from what he said to you.

As a lexical verb, יסף is a transitive verb, occurring with direct objects, and these direct objects are nouns only. As an auxiliary verb, יסף is already a highly grammaticalized verb and it appears in a variety of morphosyntactic constructions. As far as I can see, there is not even one instance in which יסף occurs with infinitives, with or without לְ, as a lexical verb. Since the lexical יסף is a transitive verb that always comes with its direct object, it is rather improbable that it underwent grammaticalization across clauses, in a biclausal surface structure with a monoclausal underlying structure. It does not seem probable, either, that יסף was grammaticalized in a construction with infinitives prefixed by לְ. Consequently, I will hypothesize that before יסף was grammaticalized, it could sometimes appear with infinitives construct as its direct objects, with the meaning 'add, increase.' Consider the following:

Hosea 9:15

לֹא אוֹסֵף אַהֲבָתָם

I will not love them again/any longer.

Genesis 37:5

וַיּוֹסִפוּ עוֹד שְׂנֹא אֹתוֹ:

They hated him more.

These two illustrations are instances of the auxiliary יסף. But in the pregrammaticalized stage, in Gen 37:5 יסף would roughly mean "they added more hate" (disregarding the direct object) and in Hos 9:15 "I will not increase love" (disregarding the suffix). It seems that the grammaticalization of יסף started in such transitive constructions with verbal nouns as direct objects. Only after such constructions, with infinitives construct as direct objects, became a conventionalized expression of - as we call it here - the auxiliary meaning, the transitive force of יסף was less associated with the emerging auxiliary construction. After some time, in such constructions, יסף was no longer perceived as a transitive verb that required direct objects for its grammaticality. This development (that is, the weaker association with transitivity) licensed the use of infinitives construct with the infinitival marker לְ, as an alternative to bare infinitives.[12] Such a shift needs to be based on the conjecture that infinitives with the infinitival marker לְ sounded more natural with the auxiliary יסף than bare infinitives. It is also based on a conjecture that infinitive construct with the infinitival marker לְ was already an established construction, often employed with other verbs. After the auxiliary יסף was conventionalized by frequent use with infinitival constructions, over time its grammaticalized function expanded to include the construction with two finite verbs. Such a construction must have been one of the common strategies for auxiliary verbs. Such a

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12. Soisalon-Soininen argues that also an infinitive with לְ functioned as a direct object of יסף and of some other verbs and had an adverbial meaning. However, he does not explain why such infinitival construction with לְ should be considered a direct object. In my opinion, Soisalon-Soininen's observation has no justification from a grammatical point of view. See Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 38–44.

diachronic development of the auxiliary construction with יסף is based on the assumption that there is little difference, or no difference at all, in meaning between the diverse constructions. According to my analysis, the auxiliary construction where the lexical verb is an infinitive construct without the infinitival marker לְ is a reflection of its transitivity as a lexical verb. This observation can probably be confirmed by that fact that the auxiliary שָׁב, which is an intransitive verb,[13] does not occur with bare infinitives of the lexical verb.

Let us additionally consider:

Numbers 32:15

וְהִנֵּה קַמְתֶּם תַּחַת אֲבֹתֵיכֶם תַּרְבּוּת אֲנָשִׁים חַטָּאִים לִסְפּוֹת עוֹד עַל חֲרוֹן אַף־יְהוָה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

And now you, a brood of sinners, have risen in place of your fathers, to increase (lit., add more to) the LORD's fierce anger against Israel.

In my reconstruction of the diachronic development of the auxiliary יסף, I also assume that the grammaticalization of יסף took place in a construction with the particle עוֹד, similar to the one in Num 32:15 or Gen 37:5. Although in the pregrammaticalized stage, עוֹד was used with the value 'more,' 'in addition,' in the course of grammaticalization the meaning of יסף and עוֹד merged into a single concept. As a result, עוֹד was frequently used as an integral part of the auxiliary construction, with its value weakened, without adding to it any special emphasis. The use of עוֹד must have been optional but it was probably desired because it made the auxiliary meaning slightly more explicit.

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13. There is only a peculiar transitive use of שָׁב in the fixed phrase שָׁב שְׁבוּת (lit., 'turn a turning') whose meaning is still debated. See *HALOT* 1386.

According to Jenni, there is in general some difference between the use of an infinitive with לְ and the use of a bare infinitive if the two constructions are used with the same verb. When he analyzes יסף, he notes that the difference is minimal. He argues that when יסף occurs with bare infinitives, it is a regular lexical verb 'add,' and when it occurs with infinitives with the infinitival marker לְ (which he calls a preposition rather than an infinitival marker), יסף is a kind of semantically weakened, or desemanticized, auxiliary verb with the meaning 'continue to (do).' In his view, the transitive construction with a bare infinitive presents the event in the "from now on" perspective that looks forward whereas the construction with the infinitival marker לְ portrays the event in the "as before" perspective that looks back. As an illustration, he translates 1 Sam 18:29 (a construction with לְ) as "und Saul fürchtete sich vor David noch mehr [als vorher]." On the other hand, he translates Gen 37:8 (a construction with a bare infinitive) as "und sie haßten ihn [von da an] noch mehr um seine Träume willen" and he thinks that the translation "sie haßten ihn weiterhin [wie bisher]" would not be accurate.[14] Since Jenni analyzes only constructions with infinitives, he does not mention the constructions with two finite verbs. Jenni's study provides many insightful observations regarding some Hebrew verbs, but in my opinion his analysis in terms of "from now on" and "as before" perspectives is inaccurate. I do not believe there is any essential difference between the diverse constructions, with or without לְ, or even the construction with two finite verbs, which Jenni does not discuss. In my view, such a variety of morphosyntactic constructions, attested for the same verb, can be best accounted for in a diachronic development, as the one I have proposed earlier.

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14. Ernst Jenni, "Vollverb und Hilfsverb mit Infinitiv-Ergänzungen im Hebräischen," *ZAH* 11 (1998): 56–58.

Although historically the infinitival marker לְ is a development of the preposition לְ, it is more convenient and, linguistically, also more accurate to call it "infinitival marker" rather than a preposition.[15] We can compare the infinitival marker לְ to the English infinitival marker "to" in the following illustrations:

1. He went to swim in the lake.

2. He likes to read.

3. I have to go there tomorrow.

In (1), the infinitival marker "to" expresses the notion of purpose, but it does not have any such value in the illustrations (2) and (3). In English, as it is in Hebrew, the value of the infinitive with the infinitival marker depends on the verb that the infinitival construction complements rather than on the infinitival construction itself. Both in English and in Hebrew, the choice between a bare infinitive or an infinitive with the infinitival marker depends on many, sometimes complex, reasons. The lexical and grammatical nature of the verb that is complemented by an infinitival construction, its transitivity or intransitivity, and also the historical development of the syntactic structures in which it can occur need to be taken into account.

In Joüon-Muraoka §124l, לְ that is used with infinitive construct is considered a

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15. An account of the development of the English infinitival marker "to," with some reference to a similar development of the German infinitival marker *zu*, in terms of grammaticalization can be found in Fischer, "Principles of Grammaticalization," 451–60. An in-depth study of the infinitival "to" and its development is Bettelou Los, *The Rise of the to-Infinitive* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

preposition with various nuances: strong, weak and almost nil.[16] The "almost nil" value of לְ

is, in a footnote, compared to the English *to* and German *zu*. For example, לַעֲשׂוֹת can have

the following nuances: *in order to do*, *in doing*, *by doing*, and *to do*. The authors mention

that in Late Biblical Hebrew and in Mishnaic Hebrew לְ is "almost an integral part" of the

infinitive construct. As an example of a weak לְ in Classical Biblical Hebrew, the authors

give the following illustration:

1 Samuel 15:22

הִנֵּה שְׁמֹעַ מִזֶּבַח טֹוב לְהַקְשִׁיב מֵחֵלֶב אֵילִים:

To obey is better than a sacrifice, and to heed than the fat of rams.

In 1 Sam 15:22, there are two infinitival phrases: שְׁמֹעַ 'to obey' is a bare infinitive whereas

לְהַקְשִׁיב 'to heed' appears with לְ. In my opinion, לְ in לְהַקְשִׁיב is an example of infinitival

marker. As an infinitival marker, לְ can occur with an infinitive in some constructions, as in 1

Sam 15:22, and have no intrinsic semantic content, but only a grammatical function of

marking an infinitive. Such use of לְ with infinitives differs from לְ that functions as a

preposition with nouns and has a more specific semantic content, as in the following

illustrations:

Genesis 3:6

וַתִּתֵּן גַּם־לְאִישָׁהּ

She also gave [some fruit] to her husband.

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16. It needs to be pointed out that לְ with infinitive construct is also considered as
preposition in Waltke-O'Connor 605 and Van der Merwe et al., *Biblical Hebrew*, 287.

1 Samuel 9:12

<div dir="rtl">מַהֲר֣וּ עַתָּ֔ה כִּ֥י הַיּ֖וֹם בָּ֣א לָעִ֑יר</div>

Hurry now, for today he has come to town.

In the Hebrew Bible, infinitival phrases occur sometimes as subjects of verbless clauses with the adjective טוֹב, as in 1 Sam 15:22. Although in such constructions bare infinitives are more common, infinitives with לְ are also attested, arguably with no difference in meaning. Let us compare the following passages:

Genesis 2:18

<div dir="rtl">לֹא־ט֛וֹב הֱי֥וֹת הָֽאָדָ֖ם לְבַדּ֑וֹ</div>

It is not good that the man should be alone.[17]

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17. We should not be misled by this common translation of Gen 2:18 and think that the infinitival phrase is not the subject of the sentence. In accordance with Hebrew word order, this sentence can be presented literally "not good be the man on his own." The infinitival phrase הֱי֥וֹת הָֽאָדָ֖ם לְבַדּ֑וֹ "to be the man on his own" is the subject of the sentence. When an infinitival phrase is a subject in Hebrew, there is a stylistic preference to render such construction with the so-called anticipatory "it" (also called expletive "it") in English. Let us compare the following English sentences that differ syntactically but less so semantically.

1. To understand him is hard.
2. It is hard to understand him.
3. He is hard to understand.

These sentences express the same meaning in various syntactic constructions that differ in terms of information structure, focus and emphasis. The structure (1), where the infinitival phrase "to understand him" is the subject of the sentence, is similar to Hebrew syntax in the analyzed illustrations. In (2), the anticipatory "it" is used and the infinitival phrase is no longer a subject of the sentence but rather it looks like a projection, or a complement, of

Genesis 29:19

טֹוב תִּתִּי אֹתָהּ לָךְ מִתִּתִּי אֹתָהּ לְאִישׁ אַחֵר

It is better that I give her to you than that I give her to another man.

(lit., good my giving her to you from my giving her to another man)

Proverbs 21:9

טֹוב לָשֶׁבֶת עַל־פִּנַּת־גָּג מֵאֵשֶׁת מִדְיָנִים וּבֵית חָבֶר׃

It is better to live in a corner of the housetop than in a house shared with a

quarrelsome wife (lit., a woman of contentions).

It is noteworthy that in Prov 25:24 there is a similar statement שֶׁבֶת עַל־פִּנַּת־גָּג as in Prov 21:9.

But the same infinitival phrase appears as a bare infinitive, in contrast to Prov 21:9 where it

occurs with the infinitival marker. This means that in such constructions both bare infinitive

as well as infinitive with לְ could be used alternatively.

 The infinitival marker לְ should be viewed as a further grammaticalized function of

the preposition לְ. A more detailed discussion of reasons why לְ should be considered an

infinitival marker in Classical Biblical Hebrew would be beyond the scope of this study. Not

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the adjective "hard." In (1) and (2), "him" is a direct object of the infinitive "understand,"
but in (3) it occurs as "he" and is the subject of the sentence. Syntacticians would say that
"him" was raised from a direct object position to a subject position "he." In syntax, raising
is an operation that involves movement of a constituent from a lower to a higher position in
the constituent structure. For a more in-depth discussion of such constructions in English
and of the syntactic notion of raising, see Ronald Carter and Michael McCarthy,
*Cambridge Grammar of English: A Comprehensive Guide: Spoken and Written English
Grammar and Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 789–90; and
Radford, *Minimalist Syntax*, 266–74.

every instance of לְ prefixed to an infinitive construct in the Hebrew bible should be

mechanically viewed as an infinitival marker. In this study, I will regard לְ as an infinitival

marker when it occurs with the auxiliary verbs.

9.3.5 יסף in the Septuagint: Contact-Induced Grammaticalization

Long ago, scholars had already noted that the verb προστίθημι 'add,' used to render

יסף in the Septuagint, is a Hebraism.[18] But usually they do not offer much insight into the

linguistic processes that accompany the emergence of such phenomena or how the users of

two languages transfer grammatical meaning and syntactic structures from one language to

another. In this section, the consistent use of the Greek verb προστίθημι 'add' to render not

only the lexical but also the auxiliary יסף in the Septuagint will be analyzed as a case of

contact-induced language change and, more specifically, as contact-induced

grammaticalization.

The bilingualism of many members of the Alexandrian Jewish community was a

situation of two languages in contact. According to Harris and Campbell, language contact is

"a situation in which the speakers of one language are familiar in some way with another."[19]

Contact between languages is not a change, but a situation that often can lead to a change. It

is common to have the transfer of grammatical meanings and structures across languages

that are in contact with one another. In the case of the Septuagint, Hebrew can be considered

a *donor* language and Koine Greek as a *borrowing* language.

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18. For example, F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint
Greek: With Selected Readings from the Septuagint According to the Text of Swete*
(Boston: Ginn, 1905), 97. See also Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, 23–24,
44–45.

19. Harris and Campbell, *Historical Syntax*, 51.

An example of grammatical borrowing can be the *mas . . . ke* construction in Pipil (a Uto-Aztecan language of El Salvador) which is a replication of the Spanish *mas . . . que* ('more . . . than') comparative construction.[20] In this case, the speakers of Pipil borrowed both the form (the sound of the words) and the function (grammatical meaning and syntactic pattern). Very often, however, languages borrow the grammatical meaning without borrowing the form. Heine and Kuteva illustrate how such a transfer took place in Tariana, an Arawak language of northwestern Brazil, which was in close contact with Portuguese. Some speakers of Tariana recognized that the Portuguese interrogative pronouns are also employed as relative clause markers and, on the model of Portuguese, started to use Tariana interrogative pronouns, such as *kwana* 'who?,' to mark relative clauses in Tariana in spite of the fact that, earlier, Tariana interrogative pronouns were not used in that manner. Such a transfer is based on complex cognitive processes. Suffice it to say that some Tariana speakers presupposed equivalence between Tariana interrogative pronouns and Portuguese interrogative pronouns. Later, without being aware of it, they extended the use of Tariana interrogative pronouns also to be used as relative clause markers, on the model of Portuguese interrogative pronouns.[21]

We should not assume that the Septuagint translators (or the other members of the Alexandrian Jewish community) were fully aware of the change they triggered by extending the use of the Greek verb προστίθημι to render not only lexical but also - as we label it here -

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20. This illustration is from Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 288.

21. For more details on such changes, see Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, *Language Contact and Grammatical Change* (Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2–6; and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, *A Grammar of Tariana: From Northwest Amazonia* (Cambridge Grammatical Descriptions; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 543–546.

grammaticalized or auxiliary use of יָסַף. As bilingual people they must have noticed that the two verbs had many correspondences and over time they filled the gap between the semantic ranges of the two verbs by extending the meaning of προστίθημι to include the auxiliary function of יָסַף.[22] In their particular use of Greek, they assigned to the verb προστίθημι a meaning and function it did not have earlier. There probably is no way to find out if this extended or Hebraic use of προστίθημι had taken place in the spoken Greek of the Alexandrian Jewish community before it appeared in the Septuagint translation.

Grammaticalization is the process of changes from lexical to grammatical meaning. The grammaticalization of יסף in Hebrew is an instance of ordinary grammaticalization. Such phenomenon can be contrasted with contact-induced grammaticalization, which took place when the grammaticalized meaning and function of יסף were transferred onto the Greek verb προστίθημι, in the Greek used in the Alexandrian Jewish community.[23]

Within the Alexandrian Jewish community, προστίθημι had a new meaning and function. But this use was limited to a relatively small circle of people. This change did not affect the vast area where Koine Greek was spoken. Over time, the new function of προστίθημι must have been used by other Jewish communities that used the Septuagint outside Alexandria. This use was further expanded when the Septuagint started to be commonly used by the emerging Greek-speaking Christian communities. They used the Septuagint as their Bible. Its language and terminology was a point of frequent reference for

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22. Jobes and Silva point out that, in a bilingual community, speakers can extend the use of an existing word in one language in imitation of a corresponding word and its uses in another. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 109.

23. A state-of-the-art discussion of grammaticalization induced in a situation of languages in contact can be found in Bernd Heine and Tania Kuteva, "On Contact-Induced Grammaticalization," *Studies in Language* 27 (2003): 529–72.

some authors of the New Testament writings. Therefore, it is not surprising that the verb προστίθημι is sometimes used in the New Testament with the meaning that reflects the auxiliary יסף. For example, Luke 19:1 has προσθεὶς εἶπεν παραβολὴν (lit., "having added he said a parable"), which is translated as "He proceeded to tell a parable" (ESV). Although this is not a bad translation, perhaps on the model of the dynamic translation of Gen 25:1 in the Vulgate, it could be rendered as "He said another parable."

9.4 Crosslinguistic Perspective

The verbs 'add' or 'increase' do not have entries in Heine and Kuteva's *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*, however, their work is selective rather than comprehensive. The authors do not claim to have included all the grammaticalization pathways attested in the 500 languages that provided the grammaticalization data for their project. Here, I will only point to the verb *ƙārà* 'add, increase' in Hausa with a grammaticalized meaning similar to יסף. As an auxiliary verb (or, as an aspectual verb, as it is called by Hausaists), *ƙārà* means 'do again, do more' in the sense of "one more time" or "in addition" repetition.[24] Consider the following illustration:

Wàzīrì Aku zâi ƙārà [bā shì mìsầlai][25]

vizier Parrot / future marker: zâi / auxiliary: ƙārà [give him examples]

(lit., vizier Parrot will add give him examples)

Vizier Parrot will give him more examples.

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24. Jaggar, *Hausa*, 547.

25. This illustration is from Newman, *Hausa Language*, 64.

CHAPTER 10

מִהֵר

AUXILIARY OF SPEED AND URGENCY

In this chapter, I will analyze the auxiliary verb מִהֵר. In the first section, I will

describe the meaning of מִהֵר as a lexical verb. In the three subsequent sections, I will analyze

the meaning and function of the auxiliary מִהֵר. As far as I can see, there is no available

description of grammaticalization pathway for 'hurry' verbs in the available

grammaticalization studies and, consequently, there will be no crosslinguistic section for this

verb.

10.1 Understanding מִהֵר as a Lexical Verb

The verb מהר occurs 82 times in the Hebrew Bible and except for four occurrences in

Niphal, it is attested in Piel. Only Piel will be analyzed in this study.

As a lexical verb, מִהֵר refers to moving faster/quicker than usual, not necessarily

running, but implying hurriedness. It is a motion verb but it does not express any specific

posture or way of moving. Its meaning also denotes an abstract notion of hurriedness, an

attitude that arises with the pressure of circumstance. The quicker movement or faster action

is motivated by hurriedness. Therefore, מִהֵר is semantically a complex verb whose meaning

is a hybrid of physical or bodily movement and of a psychological reaction or attitude.[1] In

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1. It should be noted that in modern Hebrew the common expression אֲנִי מְמַהֵר "I am
in a hurry" expresses mainly the attitude rather than the bodily motion. The lexicalized Piel
infinitive מַהֵר often functions as an adverb 'quickly,' and although it might imply the

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many instances the situational pressure of circumstance is weakened and the verb points to moving faster than usual, featuring physical motion. The very first occurrence of this verb in the Hebrew Bible, in Gen 18:6a,[2] is an instance of its lexical use. Consider the following:

Genesis 18:6

וַיְמַהֵר אַבְרָהָם הָאֹהֱלָה אֶל־שָׂרֶה

Abraham hurried (or hastened) to the tent to Sarah.

Nahum 2:5[3]

יְמַהֲרוּ חוֹמָתָה

They hurry to the wall.

In English, the verbs "hurry" and "hasten" can be used with a meaning similar to מִהַר to convey a motion that is faster than usual, which is often paraphrased by 'go quickly.' However, the phrase 'go quickly' does not express fully the notion of hurriedness which the verbs מִהַר in Hebrew and "hurry/hasten" in English denote. Let us consider additional illustrations with the lexical מִהַר:

2 Chronicles 24:5

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notion of hurriedness and mean 'in a hurry,' 'hurriedly,' it usually points to the rapidity of movement rather than to the hurriedness.

2. In Gen 18:6b מִהַר occurs again but as an auxiliary verb, which is explained later.

3. I have emended חוֹמָתָה "her wall" to חוֹמָתָה "to the wall" or "onto the wall," which fits the context better and is also attested by a few ancient witnesses.

וְאַתֶּם תְּמַהֲרוּ לַדָּבָר וְלֹא מֵהֲרוּ הַלְוִיֶּם:

"And you must hurry over the matter (or: act quickly concerning the task)." But the Levites did not act quickly.

Isaiah 49:17

מֵהֲרוּ בָּנָיִךְ מְהָרְסַיִךְ

Your builders act quicker than your destroyers.

In English, the imperative "hurry!" means "act quicker" or "move faster." We can observe the same use in 1 Sam 9:12.

1 Samuel 9:12

מַהֲרוּ עַתָּה כִּי הַיּוֹם בָּא לָעִיר

Hurry now! For he has come today to the town.

In BDB 55, מִהַר has a sub-entry as a transitive verb with the meaning 'prepare quickly' for Gen 18:6 and 'bring quickly' for 1 Kgs 22:9 (= 2 Chr 18:8) and Esth 5:5. In *HALOT* 553 the transitive meaning of מִהַר for these passages is 'fetch quickly,' and in *DCH* 5:166 the transitive meaning is interpreted similarly to BDB.[4] Although it is convenient to render this verb as 'bring quickly' in 1 Kgs 22:9 and 2 Chr 18:8, it seems improbable to me that an intransitive verb 'hurry' in Piel could have developed a meaning 'bring quickly' in the same stem. Only in later stages of Hebrew, did the Piel of מִהַר started to have a causative

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4. See also Joüon-Muraoka §102g.

meaning 'to cause to hurry' as it is, in my view, attested in Esth 5:5. Consider the following passages:

1 Kings 22:9

וַיִּקְרָא֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל אֶל־סָרִ֖יס אֶחָ֑ד וַיֹּ֕אמֶר מַהֲרָ֖ה מִיכָ֥יְהוּ בֶן־יִמְלָֽה׃

The king of Israel summoned an officer and said, "Quickly! Micaiah son of Imlah."

Esther 5:5

וַיֹּ֤אמֶר הַמֶּ֙לֶךְ֙ מַהֲרוּ֙ אֶת־הָמָ֔ן לַעֲשׂ֖וֹת אֶת־דְּבַ֣ר אֶסְתֵּ֑ר

The king said, "Urge Haman to do quickly as Esther desires."

Most modern translations, such as NRSV, NIV, ESV, NASB, follow BDB and render מַהֲרוּ֙ in Esth 5:5 by "bring quickly!" Only KJV is accurate in rendering מַהֲרוּ֙ by "Cause Haman to make haste!" We must note that in Esth 5:5, there is the direct object marker אֶת. Interestingly, there is no direct object in 1 Kgs 22:9 (= 2 Chr 18:8) even though it is usually expected before a proper name that is a direct object of a verb. The imperative מַהֲרָה in 1 Kgs 22:9 can be, in my opinion, rendered by "Hurry up!" or "Quickly!" It is a command that is not fully explicit in the sense that there is an unexpressed verb which can be easily understood in the context, such as 'bring' (the Hiphil of בוא). Let as also consider:

Genesis 18:6

וַיֹּ֗אמֶר מַהֲרִ֞י שְׁלֹ֤שׁ סְאִים֙ קֶ֣מַח סֹ֔לֶת ל֖וּשִׁי וַעֲשִׂ֥י עֻגֽוֹת׃

And he said, "Quickly knead three measures of choice flour, and make cakes."

In my opinion, it is better to interpret מִהַר in Gen 18:6b (in Gen 18:6a מִהֵר is a motion verb) as an auxiliary verb that is separated from the lexical verb לוּשׁ 'knead' by its direct object. It is better to acknowledge that the syntax of this auxiliary construction is unusual—we would expect the direct object שְׁלֹשׁ סְאִים קֶמַח סֹלֶת "three measures of choice flour" to follow לוּשִׁי—rather than give a special transitive value 'prepare quickly' for מִהַר in this one passage in the Hebrew Bible. In accordance with the above observations, it is best to consider מִהֵר as an intransitive verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew and interpret it as a transitive verb with causative meaning only in Esth 5:5.

מִהֵר is also attested 15 times[5] in the Hebrew Bible as a lexicalized infinitive absolute מַהֵר that functions as an adverb.[6] Lexicalized מַהֵר means that in spite of being formally an

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5. Exod 32:8; Deut 4:26; 7:4, 22; 9:3, 12, 12; 9:36; 28:20; Josh 2:5; Judg 2:17, 23; Ps 79:8; Prov 25:8. In Zeph 1:14, the lexicalized מַהֵר is used as if it were an adjective.

6. The term *lexicalization* has a few meanings in linguistics. I will use it in a very general sense as "adoption into a lexicon." However, lexicalization should not be considered a process opposite to grammaticalization. In English, the *-ing* forms, such as *singing*, *looking*, are known as gerunds or participles, depending on a framework. They are nonfinite verbal forms that perform various grammatical functions. For example, they are used in some periphrastic tense-forms "He is singing" or "She was looking at me." Such grammatical forms can sometimes be lexicalized and become nouns. The noun "painting" as in "He sold his paintings" is an example of a lexicalized *-ing* form. Therefore, depending on syntax, "painting" can be a nonfinite form, as in "She has been painting for two hours" and it can be a noun that indicates a result of painting or a picture. Some grammatical forms are so strongly lexicalized that they are rarely used as grammatical forms. For example, "interesting," "interested," or "fascinating" are good examples of heavily lexicalized words in English. Unlike regular *-ing* and *-ed* forms, they behave like regular adjectives and can be modified by intensifiers like "very," as in "He is a very interesting man" or "She is very interested in art," but we cannot say "very looking" or "very singing." For a recent monograph on lexicalization phenomena, see Laurel J. Brinton and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, *Lexicalization and Language Change* (Research Surveys in Linguistics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

infinitive absolute, it is no longer associated with the meaning and functions of the infinitive

absolute. It is the most common use of the lexical מַהֵר in Piel if we consider that it occurs 14

times as a verb with the lexical meaning. The adverbial מַהֵר has a separate entry in BDB 555

and *DCH* 5:167, but it is a part the same entry of the verbal root, within Piel, in *HALOT* 553.

It is noteworthy that in all 8 occurrences of מַהֵר in Deuteronomy it appears uniquely in the

form of the lexicalized מַהֵר.

The lexicalized or adverbial מַהֵר follows the verb it modifies, and only once in poetry

(Ps 79:8) does it precede it. When the adverbial מַהֵר precedes the verb it modifies, it is easy

to distinguish it from the auxiliary מַהֵר, and notably from the imperative masculine singular

מַהֵר, because it has no formal agreement (in person, gender, and number) with the finite

forms it modifies. If מַהֵר is followed by an imperative masculine singular, it means that it is

the auxiliary verb and not the adverbial מַהֵר. Consider the following:

Deuteronomy 9:12

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי קוּם רֵד מַהֵר מִזֶּה

The LORD said to me, "Now go down quickly from here!"

Psalm 79:8

מַהֵר יְקַדְּמוּנוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ

Let your compassion come quickly to meet us.

Psalm 69:18

מַהֵר עֲנֵנִי׃

Answer me quickly!

Genesis 19:22

מַהֵר הִמָּלֵט שָׁמָּה

Escape quickly there!

In Deut 9:12, מַהֵר is a lexicalized infinitive absolute that functions as an adverb. It is an adjunct to the predicate רֵד "go down!" and it follows the verb it modifies. The passage in Ps 79:8 is the only instance in which the adverbial מַהֵר precedes the verb it modifies. In Ps 69:18 and in Gen 19:22, מַהֵר is an imperative that looks the same as the lexicalized infinitive absolute, but its formal agreement with the imperative of the lexical verb that follows makes it clear that it is the auxiliary construction.

Some Hebraists have a problem with the grammatical analysis of מַהֵר in Ps 69:18, as well as Pss 102:3 and 143:7 that have the same phrase "Answer me quickly!" In BDB 555, these passages are in parentheses in the entry for adverbial מַהֵר and a cross-reference sends the reader to the entry for the verb מִהַר where they are included in the sub-entry (2) that assigns an adverbial force to the construction מִהֵר + verb. In my view, this is an indication that the authors of BDB considered מַהֵר in Pss 69:18, 102:3, and 143:7 as an imperative and not an adverb. In *HALOT* 553, these passages are interpreted as examples of finite, rather than adverbial, מַהֵר. On the other hand, Solá-Solé cites these passages as examples of the adverbial מַהֵר.[7] In *DCH* 5:167, these passages are included in the entry for the adverbial מַהֵר, preceded by "perhaps" and followed by a note in parentheses with a suggestion that these three passages are probably Piel imperative. From a grammatical perspective, there is little reason to consider מַהֵר in Pss 69:18, 102:3, and 143:7 as an adverb. Consequently, the

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7. Josep M. Solá-Solé, *L'infinitif sémitique: contribution à l'étude des formes et des fonctions des noms d'action et des infinitifs sémitiques* (Paris: Champion, 1961), 89.

hesitation expressed in *DCH* is unnecessary and even misleading. In Hebrew, the auxiliary constructions that consist of two finite verbs have a strict word order: the first verb is auxiliary and the second is lexical. If the order is reversed, this configuration is no longer an auxiliary construction and the two verbs occur in their lexical meaning. The constructions with מִהַר, such as Ps 69:18 or Gen 19:22, can have only one interpretation because מַהֵר occupies the syntactic slot of an auxiliary verb. Moreover, the lexicalized מַהֵר is not an adverb that occurs on its own in the Hebrew Bible, but always modifies a finite verb following it, with the exception of מַהֵר in Ps 79:8 where it precedes the verb it modifies. However, in Ps 79:8, מַהֵר clearly cannot be interpreted as an auxiliary verb because it is followed by a finite verb that does not have the required formal agreement with it, and, therefore, the possibility of an auxiliary construction in this passage has to be ruled out. We must also keep in mind that Ps 79:8 is an example of Biblical Hebrew poetry that often shows a relaxed treatment of the usual syntactic constraints of the prose texts.

10.2 מִהַר as an Auxiliary Verb

In the following sections, I will analyze the auxiliary מִהַר. I will begin with an overview of all the attested auxiliary constructions in the Hebrew Bible with a brief introduction to the translational strategies of this auxiliary in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. Subsequently, I will describe the process of auxiliation or the emergence of מִהַר as an auxiliary verb where I will point out the semantic and formal components of grammaticalization. Finally, I will also hypothesize a historical development of the morphosyntactic constructions of this auxiliary.

At this point, I want to acknowledge that, in *HALOT* 553 and in *DCH* 5:166, the grammaticalized meaning of מִהַר is labelled as an auxiliary verb although there is practically

no information about what is meant by an auxiliary in those dictionaries.[8]

10.2.1 Overview of the Attested Constructions

This section will present the auxiliary constructions with מִהַר and their morphosyntactic variety. Below I explain how to read the Greek and Latin translations.

The Latin phrase *festino et* "to hurry and" means that there are two finite verbs in the Latin translation. In some rare cases, there is a different connective, the enclitic *-que* 'and' rather than *et*. When the Latin translation employs *-que*, I mark those passages *festino-que*. In the Septuagint, the constructions with the Greek 'hurry' verbs σπεύδω and ταχύνω are often used to render מִהַר. The Greek and Latin translations which employ adverbs should be viewed as an auxiliary reading of מִהַר by the translators. It seems that the occasional use of adjectives points to an auxiliary reading of מִהַר. The renderings that use one of the 'hurry' verbs with an infinitive or with another finite verb, both in Greek and in Latin, are literal renderings that do not seem to express the auxiliary value of מִהַר.

Table 7: Passage with the Auxiliary מִהַר

Citation	Auxiliary construction	Lexical verb	Septuagint	Vulgate

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8. In *HALOT* 553, it is observed that מִהַר is "often only an auxiliary verb before another finite verb, with the adverbial sense, **hastily**" (bold in the original). This auxiliary function includes the pairs of imperatives in *HALOT*, but it is not clear if the infinitival constructions with מִהַר are also regarded by the authors as another way of expressing the auxiliary meaning. According to *DCH* 5:166, מִהַר can be used, with the meaning 'hasten' or 'act quickly,' as "auxiliary with another verb" and the suggested passages indicate that the authors included both finite sequences and infinitival constructions.

Gen 18:6	2 imperatives	לוּשׁ 'knead'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*adcelero et*
Gen 18:7	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עָשָׂה 'make'	ταχύνω + inf.	*festino et*
Gen 19:22	2 imperatives	מָלַט 'escape'	σπεύδω + inf.	*festino et*
Gen 24:18	2 wayyiqtol	יָרַד 'lower, take down'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*celeriter* 'quickly'
Gen 24:20	2 wayyiqtol	עָרָה 'empty'	σπεύδω + finite verb	untranslated
Gen 24:46	2 wayyiqtol	יָרַד 'lower, take down'	σπεύδω as ptc.	*festinus* 'speed'
Gen 27:20	qatal + inf. construct with לְ	מָצָא 'find'	ταχύ 'quickly'	*cito* 'quickly'
Gen 41:32	predicative ptc. + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	עָשָׂה 'do'	ταχύνω + inf.	*velocius* 'quicker'
Gen 44:11	2 wayyiqtol	יָרַד 'lower, take down'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festinato* 'hurriedly'
Gen 45:9	2 imperatives (coordinated with *waw*)	עָלָה 'go up'	σπεύδω as ptc.	*festino et*
Gen 45:13	2 weqatalti	יָרַד 'bring down'	ταχύνω as ptc.	festino 2 imperatives
Exod 2:18	qatal + inf. construct	בּוֹא 'come'	ταχύνω + inf.	*velocius*
Exod 10:16	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	קָרָא 'call'	κατασπεύδω + inf. 'act with speed'	*festinus* adj.

Exod 12:33	inf. construct with לְ + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	שׁלח 'let go, leave'	σπουδῇ 'with haste'	*velociter* 'speedily'
Exod 34:8	2 wayyiqtol	קדד 'bow down'	σπεύδω as ptc.	*festinus* adj.
Josh 4:10	2 wayyiqtol	עבר 'cross'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino-que*
Josh 8:14	2 wayyiqtol	'rise early'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino et*
Josh 8:19	2 wayyiqtol	יצת 'set (on fire)'	σπεύδω as ptc.	untranslated
Judg 9:48	2 imperatives	עשׂה 'do'	ταχέως 'quickly'	*cito*
Judg 13:10	2 wayyiqtol	רוץ 'run'	ταχύνω + finite verb	*festino et*
1 Sam 4:14	qatal + wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	σπεύδω as ptc.	*festino et*
1 Sam 17:48	2 wayyiqtol	רוץ 'run'	a slightly different text	*festino et*
1 Sam 23:27	2 imperatives (coordinated with *waw*)	הלֵךְ 'go'	σπεύδω	*festino et*
1 Sam 25:18	2 wayyiqtol	לקח 'take'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino et*
1 Sam 25:23	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'dismount, go down'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino et*
1 Sam 25:42	2 wayyiqtol	קום 'get up'	untranslated	*festino et*

1 Sam 28:20	2 wayyiqtol	נפל 'fall'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*statim* 'on the spot, immediately'
1 Sam 28:24	2 wayyiqtol	זבח 'slaughter'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino et*
2 Sam 15:14a	imperative	הלֵךְ 'go'	ταχύνω + inf.	*festino*
2 Sam 15:14b	yiqtol + weqatalti	נשׂג 'overtake'	ταχύνω + finite verb	untranslated
2 Sam 19:17	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	ταχύνω + finite verb	(2 Sam 19:16) *festino et*
1 Kgs 20:33	2 wayyiqtol	חלט 'accept as valid'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino* as ptc.
1 Kgs 20:41	2 wayyiqtol	סור 'remove'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*statim*
2 Kgs 9:13	2 wayyiqtol	לקח 'take'	σπεύδω + finite verb	*festino-que*
Esth 6:10	2 imperatives	לקח 'take'	not in the Septuagint	*festino et*
Ps 69:18	2 imperatives	ענה 'answer'	ταχύ	*velociter*
Ps 102:3	2 imperatives	ענה 'answer'	ταχύ	*velociter*
Ps 106:13	2 qatal	שׁכח 'forget'	ταχύνω + finite verb	*cito*
Ps 143:7	2 imperatives	ענה 'answer'	ταχύ	*velociter*
Prov 1:16	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׁפךְ 'shed'	ταχινός adj. 'swift'	*festino ut* 'hurry so as to"

Prov 6:18	predicative ptc. + inf. construct with לְ	רוץ 'run'	ἐπισπεύδω 'hasten'+ inf.	*velox* adj. 'swift'
Qoh 5:1	NEG jussive + inf. construct with לְ	יצא 'make go out'	ταχύνω + inf.	*velox* adj. 'swift'
Isa 32:4	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	דבר 'speak'	ταχύ	*velociter*
Isa 51:14	qatal + inf. construct with לְ	פתח 'be set free'	a slightly different text	*cito*
Isa 59:7	yiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	שׁפך 'shed	ταχινός adj. 'swift'	*festino ut*
Jer 9:17	2 jussives	נשׂא 'raise (lament)'	untranslated	*festino et*

According to my analysis, the auxiliary מִהַר occurs 46 times in the Hebrew Bible. It appears 34 times in two finite verb constructions. In 12 instances the lexical verb is an infinitive construct: 11 times prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ and only once, in Exod 2:18, is it a bare infinitive. There are no infinitival constructions in the attested occurrences of Joshua-Kings, but they can be found in Genesis, Exodus, Proverbs, Qoheleth and Isaiah. The finite auxiliary sequences are attested throughout the corpus of biblical Hebrew.

The auxiliary מִהַר is especially frequent in Genesis (13 times) and in 1 Samuel (9 times). Although the auxiliary מִהַר is relatively more frequent in Genesis-Kings, with 34 occurrences, it occurs 12 times in the other books. The auxiliary מִהַר is attested in prose as well as in poetry.

10.2.2 Grammaticalized Meaning

Semantic changes in the grammaticalization of מִהַר can be understood in terms of metaphorical and metonymic shifts. The bodily motion of moving faster than usual,

motivated by hurriedness or the pressure of circumstances, was metaphorized into a marker of speed that is often best rendered by 'quickly.' As in the case of other Hebrew auxiliaries, we need to keep in mind that מִהַר is a verb, not an adverb, and therefore the English adverb 'quickly' is only an approximate equivalent of מִהַר. The adverb 'hurriedly' can sometimes be used to translate the auxiliary מִהַר. However, 'hurriedly' can highlight *hurriedness* more than *speed* and in this way misrepresent the auxiliary value of מִהַר which in my view, primarily expresses speed and only secondarily hurriedness.[9] It might be a matter of conjecture, but it seems that the notion of hurriedness, one of the two components of the lexical מִהַר, was markedly weakened in the course of grammaticalization.

In terms of the categorial metaphor, this metaphorization can be viewed as ACTIVITY-to-TIME change. The source meaning, the spatial motion toward a goal that implies moving faster than usual, was mapped onto the domain of TIME. The auxiliary מִהַר needs to be understood as a marker of speed and urgency that indicates the short amount of time in which an event takes place. In my opinion, it is possible to consider the value associated with מִהַר as a type of qualificational aspect. According to the functional framework of Olbertz, qualificational aspect points to the internal temporal structure of a situation as a whole, in terms of the *manner* in which the situation develops or the *degree* to which it develops.[10] In such a framework, the auxiliary מִהַר could be considered a marker of

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9. I fully agree with Solá-Solé who primarily assigned the meaning *en peu de temps* 'in a short time,' and only secondarily *vite* 'quickly,' to the adverbial מַהֵר. See Solá-Solé, *L'infinitif sémitique*, 89.

10. Qualificational aspect should not be confused with phasal aspect that concerns the internal temporal structure of a situation in terms of its phases, such as beginning, progress, or end. For a more detailed discussion of qualificational aspect, see Olbertz, *Verbal Periphrases*, 324–25, 339–46. Both qualificational aspect and phasal aspect are types of grammatical aspect. *Grammatical aspect* refers to "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." See Comrie, *Aspect*, 3. Grammatical aspect

qualificational aspect of manner.

It is not easy to explain a grammaticalized meaning on the basis of translation. In the grammars, 'quickly' is usually classified as a manner adverb (arguably, because it can be paraphrased by "in a quick manner") and no further information is given. Although, from a certain perspective, it is correct to consider 'quickly' as a manner adverb, we must note that 'quickly' expresses time in addition to manner. Both the adjective 'quick' and the adverb 'quickly' indicate that something happens or is done in a short amount of time. It is noteworthy to add that, in Cinque's study of adverbs, he assigns the value of celerative aspect to 'quickly.'[11] Consider the following English illustrations.

A quick shower. A quick response. A quick decision.

We ate very quickly. The fire spread quickly in the forest.

Now we can analyze the following Hebrew illustration:

1 Samuel 28:20

וַיְמַהֵר שָׁאוּל וַיִּפֹּל מְלֹא־קוֹמָתוֹ אַרְצָה

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is expressed by grammatical means, usually tense-forms. The common types of grammatical aspect are: imperfective, perfective, and progressive aspect. Grammatical aspect needs to be distinguished from lexical aspect. *Lexical aspect*, also known as Aktionsart and situation aspect, refers to semantic properties inherent in the lexical meaning of the verbs. Lexical aspect is often classified into a few types of situations (e.g., states, processes, activities, accomplishments, achievements) on the basis of such criteria as dynamicity, stativity, telicity or atelicity, and duration. For more details on lexical aspect, see Susan D. Rothstein, *Structuring Events: A Study in the Semantics of Lexical Aspect* (Explorations in Semantics 2; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2004), 6–29.

11. Cinque, *Adverbs and Functional Heads*, 93, 103.

Immediately Saul fell full length on the ground.

It is not a coincidence that translators tend to render the auxiliary value of מִהַר by 'immediately' (NRSV, NJB, NIV) or 'at once' (ESV) in this passage even though 'quickly' could be used too with a similar meaning. But 'immediately' points more explicitly to the short amount of time than 'quickly.'

Consider the following illustrations of the auxiliary constructions with מִהַר:

Genesis 24:18

וַתְּמַהֵ֗ר וַתֹּ֧רֶד כַּדָּ֛הּ עַל־יָדָ֖הּ וַתַּשְׁקֵֽהוּ׃

She quickly lowered her jar onto her hand and gave him a drink.

Genesis 24:20

וַתְּמַהֵ֗ר וַתְּעַ֤ר כַּדָּהּ֙ אֶל־הַשֹּׁ֔קֶת

She quickly emptied her jar into the trough.

Judges 13:10

וַתְּמַהֵר֙ הָֽאִשָּׁ֔ה וַתָּ֖רָץ וַתַּגֵּ֣ד לְאִישָׁ֑הּ

The woman ran quickly and told her husband.

Isaiah 59:7

וִֽימַהֲר֔וּ לִשְׁפֹּ֖ךְ דָּ֣ם נָקִ֑י

They are quick to shed innocent blood.

Exodus 12:33

וַתֶּחֱזַק מִצְרַיִם֙ עַל־הָעָ֔ם לְמַהֵ֖ר לְשַׁלְּחָ֣ם מִן־הָאָ֑רֶץ כִּ֥י אָמְר֖וּ כֻּלָּ֥נוּ מֵתִֽים׃

The Egyptians pressed on the people to quickly let them go from the land, for they said, "We are all about to die."

In Exod 12:33, הָעָם is the subject of the auxiliary construction. It seems that sometimes scholars do not recognize לְמַהֵר לְשַׁלְּחָם as one construction, but rather they interpret לְמַהֵר, which is the infinitive construct with the infinitival marker, as a kind of adverbial expression that means 'hastily.'[12] The other illustrations are straightforward and do not require any comment.

In addition, we can consider:

2 Samuel 19:17

וַיְמַהֵ֗ר שִׁמְעִ֤י בֶן־גֵּרָא֙ בֶּן־הַיְמִינִ֔י אֲשֶׁ֖ר מִבַּחוּרִ֑ים וַיֵּ֣רֶד עִם־אִ֣ישׁ יְהוּדָ֔ה לִקְרַ֖את הַמֶּ֥לֶךְ דָּוִֽד׃

Shimei son of Gera, the Benjaminite, from Bahurim, quickly went down with the people of Judah to meet King David.

In this passage the auxiliary verb is separated from the lexical verb by a long subject. Keep in mind that, in terms of word order, Hebrew was predominantly a "verb first" language. A typical sentence with narrative tense-forms, such as *wayyiqtol*, would start with a finite form of the verb and be followed by its subject.

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12. See, for example, *HALOT* 553.

10.2.3 Diachronic Development

Since מִהַר is an intransitive verb of motion, we must assume that in its pregrammaticalized stage it must have occurred sometimes with infinitives prefixed by לְ. The infinitival construction must have had a purposive value. Consider the following:

Genesis 18:7

וַיִּקַּח בֶּן־בָּקָר רַךְ וָטוֹב וַיִּתֵּן אֶל־הַנַּעַר וַיְמַהֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת אֹתוֹ׃

He took a good, tender calf and gave it to the servant, who quickly prepared it.

In my view, in Gen 18:7, מִהַר is an auxiliary verb. Since the preparation of a calf is a time-consuming event, translators usually think that it is best to read מִהַר as a motion verb and render it by "who hurried to prepare it" or similar phrases (NRSV, NJB, NIV, NASB). However, the presentation and representation of time in a narrative is different from real time. Therefore, in the context of Gen 18:7, the translation "who prepared it quickly" (as in ESV) is perfectly fine. If in Gen 18:7 מִהַר were a lexical verb with an infinitival construction, this would be—as far as I can see—the only occurrence of the lexical מִהַר in such a construction in biblical Hebrew. I do not think the translation "who hurried to prepare it" is accurate. But it reflects a meaning from the pregrammaticalized stage and can give us an idea of phrases that might have become the locus of grammaticalization.

The only occurrence of a bare infinitive with the auxiliary מִהַר in Exod 2:18 should not be viewed as a construction that expresses a different nuance of meaning. Bare infinitives are less common with Hebrew auxiliary verbs than infinitives with the infinitival marker לְ. It is best to consider the bare infinitive in Exod 2:18 as a formation influenced by a pattern from other auxiliaries, such as יסף.

Since in Classical Biblical Hebrew, the auxiliary verbs are common both with infinitival constructions as well as in sequences of two finite verbs, it is equally possible that מִהַר underwent grammaticalization in a biclausal construction that was reanalyzed into a single complex constituent. Consider the following:

Genesis 18:6

וַיְמַהֵר אַבְרָהָם הָאֹהֱלָה אֶל־שָׂרָה וַיֹּאמֶר

Abraham hurried to the tent to Sarah and said.

Both הָאֹהֱלָה "to the tent" and אֶל־שָׂרָה "to Sarah" reveal מִהַר clearly as a motion verb. In such a sentence, מִהַר would have not been grammaticalized because there is no ambiguity. But we can imagine this sentence without the locative phrases: וַיְמַהֵר וַיֹּאמֶר "he hurried and said." If מִהַר was first grammaticalized in a biclausal construction, it must have started in a statement similar to וַיְמַהֵר וַיֹּאמֶר, which is open to ambiguity and to reinterpretation of the lexical meaning of מִהַר. Although, on the basis of available data, it seems impossible to point to one of the two constructions as the locus of grammaticalization, we must remember that the grammaticalization was possible due to a contiguous and metonymic understanding of two events.

CHAPTER 11

קָם

AUXILIARY OF INGRESSIVENESS

In this chapter, I will analyze the auxiliary verb קָם. As far as I can see, Dobbs-Allsopp's article on ingressive קָם is the most important contribution to the understanding of the grammaticalized meaning of this verb.[1] Although I will analyze קָם according to the framework adopted for this work, in my discussion of קָם I will depend, to some extent, on Dobbs-Allsopp's interpretation. I will discuss some aspects of his contribution in the first section, and make occasional references to his study throughout the rest of this chapter.

In the second section, I will describe the meaning of קָם as a lexical verb, then I will explore the semantic and cognitive correlation between the verbs קָם 'get up' and יָשַׁב 'sit down" in Biblical Hebrew. Arguably, this correlation has contributed to the higher frequency of קָם in the Hebrew Bible. In the three subsequent sections, I will analyze the auxiliary קָם in accordance with the framework I have adopted. I will indicate the passages in the Hebrew Bible that I consider instances of the auxiliary קָם and analyze the meaning and function of this auxiliary.

Dobbs-Allsopp has a very good crosslinguistic perspective on verbs cognate to קָם in Syriac, Neo-Aramaic, and Arabic, and on verbs similar to קָם in meaning, such as *tebûm* 'get up' in Akkadian. In these languages, 'get up' verbs have been grammaticalized, similarly to the Hebrew קָם, as markers of ingressiveness. As far as I can see, the linguistic literature does

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1. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 31–55.

not offer any additional illustrations of similar grammaticalization paths outside Semitic languages. Since it would be hard to improve on the crosslinguistic analysis provided by Dobbs-Allsopp, I refer the reader who is interested in such data, to his article.[2]

11.1 Dobbs-Allsopp's Analysis

In his 1995 article "Ingressive *qwm* in Biblical Hebrew," Dobbs-Allsopp offers an important study of the verb קָם. It provides insightful observations and offers a thorough discussion of many passages with both lexical and auxiliary קָם. In this section, I highlight some important observations offered by the author, while at the same time indicating the weaknesses of his analysis.

Dobbs-Allsopp describes the development of קָם from a posture verb 'rise, get up' to an aspectual verb that marks the inception of a situation. This inception is interpreted as an ingressive aspect, which is a type of phasal aspect. The author also provides a very short introduction to the concept of grammaticalization. He cites Kurylowicz's definition (which in this work was introduced in p. 58) and notes that posture verbs that express the act of rising similar to קָם are often grammaticalized to aspectual verbs.

It must be further noted that Dobbs-Allsopp uses the term "syntactic constructions" for what I call—more specifically—auxiliary constructions, or "aspectual verb" for what I call—with a more general term—auxiliary verb. For the sake of clear presentation, in the description of Dobbs-Allsopp's contribution, I invariably use the terms adopted in my framework.

The author distinguishes three auxiliary constructions that he illustrates with the

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2. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 33–36.

following passages:[3]

Jonah 1:3

וַיָּ֤קָם יוֹנָה֙ לִבְרֹ֣חַ תַּרְשִׁ֔ישָׁה מִלִּפְנֵ֖י יְהוָ֑ה

Jonah rose to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the LORD.

Genesis 27:19

קֽוּם־נָ֣א שְׁבָ֗ה וְאָכְלָה֙ מִצֵּידִ֔י

Now sit up and eat of my game.

Jonah 3:3

וַיָּ֣קָם יוֹנָ֗ה וַיֵּ֛לֶךְ אֶל־נִֽינְוֵ֖ה

Jonah set out and went to Nineveh.

According to Dobbs-Allsopp, the above illustrations represent three constructions with קָם that differ in terms of syntactic patterns: a construction with infinitive construct in Jonah 1:3, a serial verb construction in Gen 27:19, and a verbal hendiadys in Jonah 3:3 (pp. 39-40). The author notes that verbal hendiadys has many characteristics of infinitival construction and serial verb construction in that the two finite verbs form one semantic unit where the first verb qualifies the meaning of the second. Due to the common features these three constructions share, they can be used interchangeably. For example, the author notes, "narrative hendiadys constructions are often mirrored in dialogue by serial constructions in the imperative" (p. 39), as seen in the following:

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3. Dobbs-Allsopp does not translate these illustrations. The translations are mine.

1 Kings 17:9

קוּם לֵךְ צָרְפַֿתָה

Now go to Zarephath. (Lit., get up and go!)

1 Kings 17:10

וַיָּקׇם וַיֵּלֶךְ צָרְפַֿתָה

He set out and went to Zarephath. (Lit., he got up and went)

Although Dobbs-Allsopp notes that the three constructions are semantically, grammatically, and functionally equivalent (p. 40), as far as I can see, he does not attempt to find the reasons why there are three constructions rather than one. Consequently, in spite of pointing to grammaticalization as the historical process underlying the emergence of the three constructions, the author does not explain this variety of constructions in terms of diachronic development.

In my opinion, the main drawback of Dobbs-Allsopp's analysis is the unnecessary distinction he makes between a serial verb construction, which consists of two finite verbs without a mark of coordination, and a verbal hendiadys, which consists of two finite verbs coordinated by *waw*. The traditional approach, such as the one represented by Lambdin, considered as verbal hendiadys all three constructions indicated by Dobbs-Allsopp, that is, both finite sequences with or without *waw* as well as a finite verb complemented by an infinitive. It seems that the author wanted to refine the analysis further by splitting the two-finite-verb constructions into verbal hendiadys and serial verb constructions. As far as I can

see, this distinction was an attempt to interpret the auxiliary קָם in the light of the

complementation theory formulated by Noonan, which describes the parameters of serial

verb constructions.[4] However, Dobbs-Allsopp's distinction between what he considers serial

verb constructions, on the one hand, and verbal hendiadys, on the other, is incorrect because

it is not based on an accurate understanding of the Hebrew verbal system.

As I have pointed out earlier, the conjunction *waw* is an integral part of tense-forms

like *weqatalti* or *wayyiqtol* and not a mere coordinating conjunction. The *waw* prefixed to

such finite forms has a grammaticalizing force that "converts" them into new tense-forms.

For this reason, the use of *waw* as a coordinating conjunction is highly constrained with

finite verbs in Classical Biblical Hebrew. Since *waw* is an integral part of *wayyiqtol* and

weqatalti, these tense-forms are marked as coordinated, a feature that cannot be cancelled.

On the other hand, because *waw* has a grammaticalizing force with finite verbs, it cannot be

easily prefixed to *qatal* or *yiqtol* without "converting" their value. Therefore, there is no

grammatical justification for viewing the auxiliary constructions with קָם that consist of a

sequence of two finite verbs as two different formations: one coordinated by *waw* (verbal

hendiadys) and another without it (serial verb construction).

Serial verb construction would be a suitable linguistic term for those Hebrew

auxiliary verb constructions that consist of two finite verbs, such as those with קָם or with

some other Hebrew auxiliary verbs studied in this work, only if all of the finite verb

sequences occurred without any *waw*. But this is not the case. As I will explain in more

detail in Chapter 12, crosslinguistically serial verb constructions have been assigned various

parameters that define them, but all of the definitions agree that serial verb constructions

4. Michael Noonan, "Complementation," in *Complex Constructions* (ed. Timothy Shopen; vol. 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 42–140.

cannot have any overt markers of coordination or subordination within the construction.[5] This is one of the defining features of serial verb constructions proposed by Noonan in 1985, which are quoted in Dobbs-Allsopp (p. 38). Therefore, in my view, this term cannot be used in reference to Hebrew auxiliary verb constructions.

The author states four criteria that are meant to be a "rough guide," in distinguishing a lexical from an auxiliary קָם in the sequences of two finite verbs. These criteria are meant for "disambiguating fake-*waw* complementation structures."[6] It follows that these criteria are meant for the identification of what Dobbs-Allsopp considers verbal hendiadys, arguably with the exclusion of the constructions that he regards serial verb constructions (with no marker of coordination). These criteria can be summarized as follows:[7]

(1) The auxiliary and the lexical verbs are identically inflected and joined by *waw*.

(2) The auxiliary and the lexical verbs can have only one and the same subject.

(3) The auxiliary construction is a single semantic unit.

(4) In the auxiliary construction, the auxiliary verb can only precede the lexical verb, and only the subject can be placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verbs.

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5. For a recent summary of the research on serial verb constructions, see U. Ansaldo, "Serial Verb Constructions," in vol. 11 of *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (ed. Keith Brown; 2d ed.; 14 vols; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 260–64.

6. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 41. It seems that the author labels "fake-*waw*" for what I describe as grammaticalizing *waw* in this analysis.

7. See Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 41. I rephrase the criteria in accordance with the terminology I have adopted. Bear in mind, however, that they are formulated only for the identification of auxiliary constructions made up of sequences of two finite verbs, with tense-forms such as *wayyiqtol* or *weqatalti*, which are prefixed by *waw*.

Some of these criteria seem to be strongly influenced by the features characteristic of serial

verb constructions proposed by Noonan, and quoted by Dobbs-Allsopp in his article (p. 38).[8]

Although Dobbs-Allsopp explicitly considers the above four criteria as a rough guide in

determining identification, I will briefly comment on them and provide some illustrations of

them.

Rules 2, 3, and 4 can be considered as universal rules that can be applied to any

auxiliary construction and any auxiliary verb in Biblical Hebrew. Although it has many

exceptions, when it comes to being "identically inflected,"[9] rule 1 is true for most instances

of the auxiliary constructions, with קָם or with other Hebrew auxiliaries. If "joined by *waw*"

is removed from rule 1, the above criteria can be used as a rough guide for any auxiliary

construction with קָם that is made up of two finite verbs. Dobbs-Allsopp does not comment

on what he means by the same subject in rule 2. Later I will indicate a few auxiliary

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8. Noonan's features of serial verb constructions can be found in Noonan (1985), "Complementation," 55.

9. Noonan's feature 2 of serial verb constructions is rephrased in Dobbs-Allsopp (p. 38) as follows: "The verbs in each verb phrase are fully and identically inflected." I indicated "rephrased" rather than "quoted" because in Noonan it is formulated: "Each phrase contains a fully inflected verb." See Noonan (1985), "Complementation," 55. Consequently, "and identically" is Dobbs-Allsopp's addition and not a statement that can be found in Noonan. In the second edition, Noonan repeats feature 2 without any changes. Michael Noonan, "Complementation," in *Complex Constructions* (ed. Timothy Shopen; vol. 2 of *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65. In my view, Dobbs-Allsopp's addition does not reflect Noonan's understanding of this parameter. I also find it misleading that he presents this addition as if it were a part of Noonan's view on serial verbs. In my analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verb constructions, the auxiliary and the lexical verb are occasionally in different tense-forms or differ in number (singular versus plural), in accordance with the complexities of the Hebrew verb system and syntactic strategies.

constructions with קָם in which the auxiliary verb is singular and the lexical verb is plural. Both refer to the same semantic subject and this morphological diversity is in accordance with the rules of Hebrew syntax. Remember that the subject placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verbs might be very long. Consider an illustration with a long subject between the auxiliary and the lexical verbs (in the translation, the subject is in square brackets):[10]

2 Kings 25:26

וַיָּקֻמוּ כָל־הָעָם מִקָּטֹן וְעַד־גָּדוֹל וְשָׂרֵי הַחֲיָלִים וַיָּבֹאוּ מִצְרָיִם

[All the people, both small and great, and the captains of the forces] set out and went to Egypt.

Rule 2 can be illustrated in the following passages:

Jeremiah 6:4

קוּמוּ וְנַעֲלֶה בַצָּהֳרָיִם

Let us go up (to attack) at noon! (Lit., rise and let us go up!)

Obadiah 1:1

קוּמוּ וְנָקוּמָה עָלֶיהָ לַמִּלְחָמָה׃

Let us go against her in battle.

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10. The passages that I use to illustrate Dobbs-Allsopp's criteria are not found in his article. The author points to an unusually long subject in Ezra 1:5 (p. 48).

Although the meaning of קָם in Jer 6:4 is similar to its auxiliary value, it cannot be

considered as an auxiliary verb because the subjects of the two verbs are different: קָם is 2

m.pl. and עָלָה is 1 c.pl. Interestingly, in Obad 1:1, the first occurrence of קָם has a meaning

similar to its auxiliary function, whereas the second occurrence is the common idiomatic

phrase קָם עַל 'rise upon or against,' that expresses hostility, often with the implication of a

sudden assault.

The second part of rule 4 can be illustrated with the following passage:

Numbers 25:7

וַיַּרְא פִּֽינְחָס֙ בֶּן־אֶלְעָזָ֔ר בֶּן־אַהֲרֹ֖ן הַכֹּהֵ֑ן וַיָּ֙קָם֙ מִתּ֣וֹךְ הָֽעֵדָ֔ה וַיִּקַּ֥ח רֹ֖מַח בְּיָדֽוֹ׃

When Phinehas son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, saw it, he left (lit. got up

from) the congregation and took a spear in his hand.

If the locative phrase מִתּוֹךְ הָעֵדָה "from the congregation" in Num 25:7 were removed, it

would be an auxiliary construction. But this phrase clearly indicates that in this case קָם is

used in its lexical meaning.

11.2 Understanding קָם as a Lexical Verb

The verb קום occurs 628 times in the Hebrew Bible in the following verbal stems:

460 in Qal, 146 in Hiphil, 11 in Piel, and 11 in other stems. Only Qal will be analyzed in this

study.

The most common literal meaning of this verb in Qal is the bodily movement 'get

up' or 'rise.' In the Hebrew Bible, the opposite of 'get up' is represented by four different

verbs and four bodily postures: usually יָשַׁב 'sit down,' less commonly שָׁכַב 'lie down' and הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה 'prostrate oneself,' and very rarely כָּרַע 'kneel down.' It seems that קָם 'get up' and יָשַׁב 'sit down' in Hebrew are considered a natural antonymous pair.[11] Consider the following illustration:

Psalm 139:2

אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ שִׁבְתִּי וְקוּמִי

You know when I sit down and when I stand up.

Below I present several passages that illustrate the most common literal meaning of קָם. Short comments in parentheses, such as "lying position," point to the posture from which a person rises or gets up. We can consider:

2 Samuel 11:12 (lying position)

וַיָּקָם דָּוִד מֵעַל מִשְׁכָּבוֹ

David got up from his bed.

Joshua 7:10 (lying position)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ קֻם לָךְ לָמָּה זֶּה אַתָּה נֹפֵל עַל־פָּנֶיךָ:

The LORD said to Joshua, "Stand up! Why are you lying prostrate like this?"

2 Kings 13:21 (lying position)

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11. I will discuss the correlation between these two verbs in the Hebrew Bible in more detail in the next section.

וַיְחִי וַיָּקָם עַל־רַגְלָיו:

He came back to life and stood up on his feet.

Judges 16:3 (lying position)

וַיִּשְׁכַּב שִׁמְשׁוֹן עַד־חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה וַיָּקָם בַּחֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה

Samson lay till midnight and at midnight he got up.

Judges 3:20 (sitting position)

וְאֵהוּד בָּא אֵלָיו וְהוּא־יֹשֵׁב בַּעֲלִיַּת הַמְּקֵרָה אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ לְבַדּוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר אֵהוּד דְּבַר־אֱלֹהִים לִי אֵלֶיךָ וַיָּקָם מֵעַל

הַכִּסֵּא:

Ehud came to him while he was sitting alone in his cool roof chamber, and said, "I have a message from God for you." So he rose from his seat.

1 Samuel 20:34 (sitting position)

וַיָּקָם יְהוֹנָתָן מֵעִם הַשֻּׁלְחָן בָּחֳרִי־אָף

Jonathan got up from the table in fierce anger.

Exodus 12:30 (lying position)

וַיָּקָם פַּרְעֹה לַיְלָה הוּא וְכָל־עֲבָדָיו וְכָל־מִצְרַיִם וַתְּהִי צְעָקָה גְדֹלָה בְּמִצְרָיִם

Pharaoh and all his officials and all the Egyptians got up in the night, and there was a loud cry in Egypt.

Numbers 22:13 (lying position)

וַיָּקָם בִּלְעָם בַּבֹּקֶר וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־שָׂרֵי בָלָק

In the morning Balaam got up and said to Balak's princes.

Exodus 33:8 (sitting position)

וְהָיָ֗ה כְּצֵ֤את מֹשֶׁה֙ אֶל־הָאֹ֔הֶל יָק֙וּמוּ֙ כָּל־הָעָ֔ם וְנִ֨צְּב֔וּ אִ֖ישׁ פֶּ֣תַח אָהֳלֹ֑ו

Whenever Moses went out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, each at the entrance of their tent.

Now let us consider the passages in which the context excludes the possibility of an auxiliary reading of קָם:

1 Samuel 3:6

וַיֹּ֣סֶף יְהוָ֗ה קְרֹ֣א עוֹד֮ שְׁמוּאֵל֒ וַיָּ֤קָם שְׁמוּאֵל֙ וַיֵּ֣לֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִ֔י

The LORD called again, "Samuel!" And Samuel got up and went to Eli.

1 Samuel 25:42

וַתְּמַהֵ֗ר וַתָּ֤קָם אֲבִיגַ֙יִל֙ וַתִּרְכַּב֙ עַל־הַחֲמֹ֔ור

Abigail quickly got up and mounted a donkey.

In 1 Sam 3:6, we know that Samuel is in bed and, therefore, the context favors the lexical meaning of קָם. In 1 Sam 25:41, Abigail prostrated herself before David's servants and, as a result, the context invites a lexical, rather than auxiliary, reading of קָם in 1 Sam 25:42.

Consider also:

1 Kings 19:5

וַיִּשְׁכַּב֙ וַיִּישַׁ֔ן תַּ֖חַת רֹ֣תֶם אֶחָ֑ד וְהִנֵּֽה־זֶ֤ה מַלְאָךְ֙ נֹגֵ֣עַ בֹּ֔ו וַיֹּ֥אמֶר לֹ֖ו ק֥וּם אֱכֹֽול׃

Then he lay down under the broom tree and fell asleep. Suddenly an angel touched him and said to him, "Get up and eat!" (or "Now eat!")

In 1 Kgs 19:5, Elijah is lying down when an angel says to him קוּם אֱכוֹל. In spite of the context that implies a possibility of a lexical interpretation of קָם (that is, "rise!"), the auxiliary reading of קָם also seems possible because the auxiliary function of קָם is strongly associated with such imperative constructions in the Hebrew Bible. Consequently, קָם in this passage, as well as in 1 Kgs 19:7 and in Jonah 1:6, can have an auxiliary reading.[12] The same phrase קוּם אֱכָל in 1 Kgs 21:7 is an auxiliary construction.

The verb קָם is also used figuratively. I will provide a few passages with its figurative use. Consider:

Exodus 1:8

וַיָּקָם מֶלֶךְ־חָדָשׁ עַל־מִצְרָיִם

There arose a new king over Egypt.

The passage in Exod 1:8 is an example of a metaphorical use of קָם that portrays a new ruler coming to power. It is based on one of the most basic metaphors that are rooted in the spatial orientation: up versus down. More specifically, it is based on CONTROL IS UP/LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN metaphor.[13]

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12. In the overview of auxiliary constructions, I will label 1 Kgs 19:5, 7 and a few other passages as "aux./lex." to indicate the possibility of an ambiguous reading.

13. See Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 40. Compare Exod 1:8 with the English phrase "to be under someone's command" or "to be under someone's rule."

Another figurative use of קָם is to express the idea of persistence or endurance against adverse circumstances or in spite of the passage of time. Consider the following:

1 Samuel 13:14

וְעַתָּה מַמְלַכְתְּךָ לֹא־תָקוּם

But now your kingdom will not endure (or: last).

Isaiah 40:8

יָבֵשׁ חָצִיר נָבֵל צִיץ וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם׃

The grass withers, the flower fades, but the word of our God will stand (or: last) forever.

The verb קָם is also frequently used to convey an assault or a military attack, often with the motive of surprise.

Genesis 4:8

וַיָּקָם קַיִן אֶל־הֶבֶל אָחִיו וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ׃

Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him.

The meaning of קָם is sometimes similar to the auxiliary value even though it is used on its own, without a verb that follows. Consider the following passages:

Ezra 10:4

קוּם כִּי־עָלֶיךָ הַדָּבָר וַאֲנַחְנוּ עִמָּךְ חֲזַק וַעֲשֵׂה׃

Take action, for it is your duty, and we are with you; be strong, and do it. (NRSV)

Ezra 10:5

וַיָּ֣קָם עֶזְרָ֗א וַיַּשְׁבַּ֣ע אֶת־שָׂרֵי֩ הַכֹּהֲנִ֨ים הַלְוִיִּ֜ם וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵ֗ל לַעֲשׂ֛וֹת כַּדָּבָ֥ר הַזֶּ֖ה

Then Ezra stood up and made the leading priests, the Levites, and all Israel swear to do as had been said.

Judges 4:14

וַתֹּאמֶר֩ דְּבֹרָ֨ה אֶל־בָּרָ֜ק ק֗וּם כִּ֣י זֶ֤ה הַיּוֹם֙ אֲשֶׁר֩ נָתַ֨ן יְהוָ֤ה אֶת־סִֽיסְרָא֙ בְּיָדֶ֔ךָ

Deborah said to Barak, "Up! For this is the day in which the LORD has given Sisera into your hand.

In Judg 4:14, I use "up!" to render קוּם following other translators (such as NRSV, NJB, NIV), but this "up" is not a command to get up, but to take action. In my opinion, the translation in NRSV "take action!" for ק֗וּם in Ezra 10:4 nicely captures the values of this verb in this passage. Such a use of קָם reflects the auxiliary meaning of this verb even though it is not an auxiliary construction. It is not used to mean the bodily movement, "get up!," but is a request for action.[14] The absolute use of קָם can express a request for action in the imperative, or illustrate its fulfillment in other tense-forms, which is especially common in the Psalms to express a passionate plea to the LORD. Consider also:

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14. The Italian adverbial particle *su* 'up' (which also functions as a preposition with the meaning 'on,' 'upon') is frequently used to strengthen a command or urge an action, but it is also employed as an up-lifting expression to cheer up or offer encouragement and support, as in *su, coraggio*! (lit., "up, courage!"). Consider also the English phrases with a similar underlying metaphor: *a much-needed uplift, spiritual uplift, uplifting words*.

Psalm 82:8

קוּמָה אֱלֹהִים שָׁפְטָה הָאָרֶץ

Rise up, O God, judge the earth.

Micah 6:1

קוּם רִיב אֶת־הֶהָרִים וְתִשְׁמַעְנָה הַגְּבָעוֹת קוֹלֶךָ:

Stand up, plead your case to the mountains, and let the hills hear your voice.

Although syntactically Ps 82:8[15] and Mic 6:1 look like an auxiliary construction with קָם, these two passages illustrate another figurative meaning of קָם: 'appear in court' for a lawsuit (see *HALOT* 1086).

The standing posture, along with prostration (as in Gen 24:48), can be considered common liturgical postures, for example, to bestow a blessing or to receive a blessing. Also those who read the Instruction of the LORD stand up. Consider:

Nehemiah 9:3

וַיָּקוּמוּ עַל־עָמְדָם וַיִּקְרְאוּ בְּסֵפֶר תּוֹרַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

They stood up in their place and read from the Book of the Instruction of the LORD their God.

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15. Apart from other considerations, in the imperative auxiliary constructions with קָם, consisting of two finite verbs, it seems that a subject placed between the imperative of קָם and the imperative of the following verb indicates the lexical rather than the auxiliary value of קָם because it underlines two different arguments and the semantic independence of the two verbs (rather than a semantically single unit). The imperatives in Judg 8:21 and Isa 21:5 are examples of such constructions. Keep in mind that in other auxiliary constructions (that is, other than a sequence of two imperatives), the subject is commonly placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verb.

Nehemiah 9:5

<div dir="rtl">

ק֣וּמוּ בָּרֲכ֗וּ אֶת־יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹֽהֵיכֶ֔ם

</div>

Stand up and bless the LORD your God!

Numbers 23:18

<div dir="rtl">

ק֤וּם בָּלָק֙ וּֽשֲׁמָ֔ע הַאֲזִ֥ינָה עָדַ֖י בְּנ֥וֹ צִפֹּֽר׃

</div>

Rise, Balak, and hear; give ear to me, O son of Zippor.

Neh 9:5 looks like an auxiliary construction with קָם, but the context of blessing indicates that קָם is used in its literal meaning.[16] Such a standing posture associated with liturgy and prayer is sometimes projected onto God who is portrayed as standing up to take action. God stands up not only to bestow blessing, but as in Isa 2:19, sometimes to cause destruction. In Ps 102:14, the LORD is portrayed as the one who rises up to show compassion on Zion. The standing posture is also taken to speak, especially in an assembly, or in order to convey a message. The passage in Num 23:18 is more difficult to interpret. Dobbs-Allsopp rightly points out that according to the context, Balak is already standing (see Num 23:17) when the message is delivered to him. He also notes that the poetry of Num 23:18 and the prose of the preceding verses might come from different hands and therefore these two layers do not need to be congruent.[17] But he believes that a putative redactor was aware of the context on the basis of the parallelism between "hear" and "give ear." Consequently, Dobbs-Allsopp

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16. The standing posture in relation to blessing can also be found in Neh 8:5-6 and Prov 31:28.

17. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 49.

suggests that קָם in Num 23:18 is used aspectually. In my opinion, such poetic texts with parallel thoughts, especially in the context of standing up to speak or to hear, do not employ the auxiliary קָם. On the other hand, I agree with Dobbs-Allsopp that a literal rendering by 'stand up' in Num 23:18 might sound redundant because Balak is already standing.

We can also consider:

Jeremiah 1:17

וְאַתָּה֙ תֶּאְזֹ֣ר מָתְנֶ֔יךָ וְקַמְתָּ֙ וְדִבַּרְתָּ֣ אֲלֵיהֶ֔ם אֵ֖ת כָּל־אֲשֶׁ֣ר אָנֹכִ֣י אֲצַוֶּ֑ךָּ

You shall gird up your loins, stand up and tell them everything that I command you.

Jeremiah 26:17

וַיָּקֻ֣מוּ אֲנָשִׁ֔ים מִזִּקְנֵ֖י הָאָ֑רֶץ וַיֹּ֣אמְר֔וּ אֶל־כָּל־קְהַ֥ל הָעָ֖ם לֵאמֹֽר׃

Some of the elders of the land rose up and said to all the assembly of the people, saying.

11.3 Correlation Between יָשַׁב and קָם in Hebrew

In this section, I will discuss the correlation between the verbs יָשַׁב 'sit down' and קָם 'get up.' Reading the original Hebrew Bible, one might have the impression that the verb קָם for 'rise, get up' is used more frequently than in Indo-European languages, such as English, Polish, French, or Spanish. To some extent, this increased frequency might be due to the auxiliary value of the verb קָם as a marker of ingressiveness. The verbs that express the notion of 'rising' or 'getting up' from a sitting or lying position express one of the most basic human bodily postures. Probably in most world languages, verbs that express the notion 'get up' belong to the most common words in their vocabularies. In my opinion,

however, the verb קָם already must have been used in Hebrew more frequently before it underwent grammaticalization. It is possible that this higher frequency was due to the way Hebrew portrayed staying or dwelling in a place. While in English we have the verb 'sit' on the one hand and 'dwell' or 'live' on the other, in Hebrew there was only one verb יָשַׁב for these two activities.[18] Although, synchronically, יָשַׁב can be viewed as a polysemous verb with two distinct meanings, 'sit' and 'dwell,' diachronically it is justified to indicate that the meaning 'dwell' started as an extension of 'sit.' This extension resulted from particular cognitive and pragmatic processes. In the Hebrews' perception, staying in a place temporarily or dwelling permanently, were viewed as an extended sitting.[19] Consider the following illustrations:

2 Samuel 10:5

וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁבוּ בִירֵחוֹ עַד־יְצַמַּח זְקַנְכֶם וְשַׁבְתֶּם׃

The king said, "Stay in Jericho until your beards have grown, and then come back."

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18. In English, the verb *live* is used for both being alive and for dwelling in a place. This means that in English the meaning 'dwell' in a place was, at some point, conceptualized as spending one's life in a place.

19. Since the Akkadian verb *wašābum* 'sit' also has the meaning 'stay' and 'dwell,' it is possible that such a cognitive shift (that is, viewing living in a place as an extended sitting) may have taken place already in Proto-Semitic. Interestingly, in Mbay (a language of Nilo-Saharan family, spoken mainly in Chad), the verb *nbì* 'sit' is used for both sitting and dwelling similarly to יָשַׁב in Hebrew. In addition to *nbì* 'sit,' which points to living in a place in a general way, Mbay also uses the verbs *dàè* 'stand' and *tò* 'lie' for the notion 'live.' *Tò* is used to describe living in a place that is challenged by difficult circumstances, whereas *dàè* is used in reference to creatures that are thought of as living a standing existence, for example some evil spirits that are believed to live in a mahogany tree. See John M. Keegan, "Posture Verbs in Mbay," in *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing and Lying* (ed. John Newman; TSL 51; Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2002), 333–58.

Septuagint

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς καθίσατε ἐν Ιεριχω ἕως τοῦ ἀνατεῖλαι τοὺς πώγωνας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπιστραφήσεσθε

The king said, "Sit down in Jericho until your beards have grown, and then you will come back."

The rendering of יָשַׁב by καθίζω 'sit down' in the Septuagint of 2 Sam 10:5 should not be viewed only as a literalistic translation. It is a translation that attempts to communicate the cognitive perception encoded in יָשַׁב. It seems to me that this metaphorical perception of staying or dwelling in a place increased the frequency of the verb קָם in Hebrew.[20]

The verbs יָשַׁב and קָם can be viewed in terms of the correlation of the two concepts. יָשַׁב is sometimes used with the meaning "sit down" permanently in a place in order to settle down there. On the other hand, קָם is sometimes used, both in its lexical and auxiliary functions, to highlight the idea of leaving a place. This use of קָם is a metaphorization of getting up to start a new activity. In some passages, the event of "getting up" is portrayed as if rising after a long sitting, that is, dwelling in a place. Consider the following:

Genesis 19:30 (with יָשַׁב)

וַיַּעַל לוֹט מִצּוֹעַר וַיֵּשֶׁב בָּהָר וּשְׁתֵּי בְנֹתָיו עִמּוֹ

Lot went up out of Zoar and settled (lit., sat down) in the hill country with his two daughters.

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20. The high frequency of use is not a factor that triggers grammaticalization, but it is an important feature of the words and phrases that undergo grammaticalization. Heine et al., *Grammaticalization*, 38–39.

Genesis 18:16 (with lex. קָם)

וַיָּקֻ֤מוּ מִשָּׁם֙ הָֽאֲנָשִׁ֔ים וַיַּשְׁקִ֖פוּ עַל־פְּנֵ֣י סְדֹ֑ם

When the men left (lit., got up) from there, they looked down toward Sodom.

Genesis 46:5 (with lex. קָם)

וַיָּ֥קָם יַעֲקֹ֖ב מִבְּאֵ֣ר שָׁ֑בַע וַיִּשְׂא֨וּ בְנֵֽי־יִשְׂרָאֵ֜ל אֶת־יַעֲקֹ֣ב אֲבִיהֶ֗ם

Then Jacob left (lit., got up from) Beersheba. And the sons of Israel carried their father Jacob.

1 Kings 11:18 (with lex. קָם)

וַיָּקֻ֙מוּ֙ מִמִּדְיָ֔ן וַיָּבֹ֖אוּ פָּארָ֑ן

They left (lit., got up from) Midian and came to Paran.

Ezra 10:6

וַיָּ֣קׇם עֶזְרָ֗א מִלִּפְנֵי֙ בֵּ֣ית הָאֱלֹהִ֔ים וַיֵּ֕לֶךְ אֶל־לִשְׁכַּ֖ת יְהוֹחָנָ֑ן

Ezra withdrew from before the house of God, and went to the room of Jehohanan.

Genesis 31:13 (with aux. קָם)

עַתָּ֗ה ק֤וּם צֵא֙ מִן־הָאָ֣רֶץ הַזֹּ֔את וְשׁ֖וּב אֶל־אֶ֥רֶץ מוֹלַדְתֶּֽךָ׃

Now leave this land and return to the land of your birth.

1 Samuel 13:15

וַיָּ֣קׇם שְׁמוּאֵ֗ל וַיַּ֛עַל מִן־הַגִּלְגָּ֖ל גִּבְעַ֣ת בִּנְיָמִ֑ן

Samuel left Gilgal and went up to Gibeah of Benjamin. (Lit., got up and went up from)

In Gen 19:30, Lot "sits down" in the hill country, as if he were sitting down on a seat or on the ground, in order to settle there. In Gen 46:5, Jacob "gets up" from Beersheba, as if he were getting up from a seat, and leaves for Egypt. We may further note that while קָם + infinitive with לְ, or קָם + another finite verb, can be used, as an auxiliary verb, to highlight the beginning of an event, the phrase קָם מִן (lit., 'to get up from') can be used to indicate the departure from a place or to denote the end of an activity. Consider the following illustration:

Ezra 9:5

וּבְמִנְחַת הָעֶרֶב קַמְתִּי מִתַּעֲנִיתִי וּבְקָרְעִי בִגְדִי וּמְעִילִי וָאֶכְרְעָה עַל־בִּרְכַּי וָאֶפְרְשָׂה כַפַּי אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי׃

At the evening sacrifice I ended (rather than: I got up from) my fasting, with my clothes and my mantle torn, and I fell on my knees and spread out my hands to the LORD my God.

In Ezra 9:5, the notion "to get up from (an activity)" means to end doing something rather than the spatial motion of getting up. This figurative meaning is similar to the idea "to get up from a place" which is used with the meaning "to leave a place."

11.4 קָם as an Auxiliary Verb

In the following sections, I will analyze the auxiliary קָם. I begin with an overview of all the attested auxiliary constructions in the Hebrew Bible, preceded by a brief introduction to the translational strategies of this auxiliary in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate. At the end of this section I offer several observations based on the available data. Subsequently, I

will describe the process of auxiliation or the emergence of קָם as an auxiliary verb where I will point out the semantic and formal components of grammaticalization. Finally, I will hypothesize a historical development of the morphosyntactic constructions of this auxiliary.

11.4.1 Overview of the Attested Constructions

This section will present the auxiliary constructions with קָם and their morphosyntactic variety. Although the auxiliary קָם occurs even more frequently in the Hebrew Bible than the auxiliary יסף, it is not as highly grammaticalized as יסף. For this reason, the interpretation of קָם might be problematic in many passages.[21] In Table 8, I will include the passages that I consider auxiliary constructions. I will also include a few passages in which—in my view—both lexical and auxiliary interpretation is possible (they will be labeled "aux./lex."). Other scholars might come to different results, and enlarge or reduce the number of the auxiliary constructions in respect to those proposed in Table 8. For example, in his article (p. 43), Dobbs-Allsopp discusses קָם in Cant 5:5 and argues that it is an instance of an aspectual קָם. In my opinion, it is a lexical קָם and, consequently, this passage is not included in Table 8.

It seems that the ancient translators of the Septuagint and the Vulgate were well aware of the special meaning, or meanings, of קָם in many passages, but they did not know how to render its value consistently and, therefore, usually preferred literal rather than dynamic translations. In my view, the most important translations in these two versions are those that have the auxiliary קָם untranslated. This indicates that sometimes it

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21. We should assume that although the native speakers of what we consider biblical Hebrew must have been faced with occasional cases of ambiguity in the interpretation of קָם, they usually were able to easily recognize the contextual value and function of this verb. I do not think we have come to possess the same level of understanding of this verb.

is less harmful to leave this verb untranslated rather than give it a value that it does not express. It must be also noted that the literal rendering of the auxiliary קָם in some passages, both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, resulted in a rather illogical meaning. For example, the literalistic "get up and sit down" in Gen 27:19 does not make much sense.

The Latin verb *surgo* means 'get up.' The verb *consurgo*, is employed less commonly with a similar meaning. In Table 8, I will only put the verb that occurs in the Latin translation in a specific passage. In the Vulgate, usually there are two finite verbs, *surgo* is followed by a finite verb, and the two verbs are connected by *et* 'and' or juxtaposed asyndetically. Only occasionally is *surgo* a participle. In the Septuagint, the verb "ἀνίστημι 'get up' represents a translation composed of ἀνίστημι in the form of a participle or a finite verb followed by a finite form of a lexical verb.

Table 8: Passage with the Auxiliary קָם

Citation	Auxiliary construction	Lexical verb	Septuagint	Vulgate
Gen 13:17	2 imperatives	הלךְ 'walk about'	ἀνίστημι + finite verb	*surgo* + finite verb
Gen 19:14	2 imperatives	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 19:15 aux./lex.	2 imperatives	לקח 'take'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 19:35	2 wayyiqtol	שׁכב 'lie down'	εἰσέρχομαι 'enter'	*ingredior* 'enter'
Gen 21:18	2 imperatives	נשׂא 'lift up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

Gen 21:32	wayyiqtol (3 m.s.) + wayyiqtol (3 m.pl.)	שׁוב 'return'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 22:3	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 22:19	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 23:7	2 wayyiqtol	חוה 'prostrate oneself'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 24:10	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*proficiscor* 'depart'
Gen 24:61	wayyiqtol (3 f.s.) + wayyiqtol (3 f.pl.)	רכב 'mount'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 27:19	2 imperatives	ישׁב 'sit down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 27:31	dir. jussive + indir. jussive	אכל 'eat'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 27:43	2 imperatives	ברח 'escape'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo* 'stand up'
Gen 28:2	2 imperatives	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*vado* 'go'
Gen 31:13	2 imperatives	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 31:17	2 wayyiqtol	נשׂא 'lift up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 31:21	2 wayyiqtol	עבר 'cross'	untranslated	untranslated
Gen 35:1	2 wayyiqtol	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 35:3	2 indir. cohortatives	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

Gen 37:35	wayyiqtol + (suffixed) inf. construct with לְ	נחם 'comfort'	Reads 'gather' in place of 'get up'[22]	Reads 'gather' in place of 'get up'
Gen 38:19	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Gen 43:8	2 indir. cohortatives	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 43:13	2 imperatives	שׁוב 'return'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 43:15	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Gen 44:4	2 imperatives	רדף 'pursue'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Exod 2:17	2 wayyiqtol	ישׁע 'come to aid'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Exod 12:31	2 imperatives	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Exod 32:1	2 imperatives	עשׂה 'make'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Num 16:25	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Num 22:14	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Num 22:20	2 imperatives	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Num 24:25	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Deut 2:13	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	עבר 'cross'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Deut 2:24	2 imperatives	נסע 'set out, journey'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Deut 9:12	2 imperatives	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Deut 10:11	2 imperatives	הלך 'go'	untranslated	untranslated

22. In Gen 37:35, וַיָּקֻמוּ is reflected by two verbs: συνήχθησαν "they gathered together" and ἦλθον "they came." Wevers notes that it was a good decision to translate וַיָּקֻמוּ (lit., "they got up") by συνήχθησαν because "they gathered together" makes more sense in this passage than "they got up" of the Hebrew text. This observation indicates that Wevers is not aware of the auxiliary function of קָם. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 629.

Deut 17:8	2 weqatalti	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Deut 31:16	2 weqatalti	זנה 'practice prostitution'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
Deut 32:38	direct jussive + indirect jussive	עזר 'help'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Josh 1:2	2 imperatives	עבר 'cross'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Josh 6:26	yiqtol + weqatalti	בנה 'build'	untranslated	*suscito* 'cause to rise, erect'
Josh 7:13	2 imperatives	קדשׁ 'consecrate'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Josh 8:1	2 imperatives	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
Josh 8:3	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Josh 18:4	2 indirect jussives	הלךְ 'go about'	ἀνίστημι	*pergo* 'proceed'
Josh 18:8	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Josh 24:9	2 wayyiqtol	לחם 'fight'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 4:9	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 7:9	2 imperatives	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 8:20	2 imperatives	הרג 'kill'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 8:21b	2 wayyiqtol	הרג 'kill'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 13:11	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 19:3	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated
Judg 19:5	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo* (probably for both הַשְׁכִּים and קָם)
Judg 19:7	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*

Judg 19:9	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Judg 19:10	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*statim* 'immediately'
Judg 19:28b	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	untranslated[23]
Judg 20:18	2 wayyiqtol	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Ruth 1:6	2 wayyiqtol	שׁוב 'return'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 9:3	2 imperatives	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
1 Sam 9:26b	2 wayyiqtol	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 13:15	2 wayyiqtol	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 16:12	2 imperatives	משׁח 'anoint'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 16:13	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 17:52	2 wayyiqtol	רוע 'shout (a war-cry)'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
1 Sam 18:27	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 21:1	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	(1 Sam 20:43) *surgo*
1 Sam 21:11	2 wayyiqtol	ברח 'flee'	ἀνίστημι	(1 Sam 21:10) *surgo*
1 Sam 23:4	2 imperatives	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 23:13	2 wayyiqtol	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 23:16	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 23:24	2 wayyiqtol	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 24:5	2 wayyiqtol	כרת 'cut off'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 24:9	2 wayyiqtol	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 25:1	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*

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23. The Greek text of *Vaticanus B* codex does not have ἀνέστη "he got up" and the Old Latin version seems to reflect *Vaticanus B* in this passage. Jerome's omission of וַיָּקָם is probably due to the fact that he followed the Old Latin version in this passage rather than the Hebrew text.

1 Sam 25:29	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	רדף 'pursue'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 25:41	2 wayyiqtol	חוה 'prostrate oneself'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
1 Sam 26:2	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 26:5	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 27:2	2 wayyiqtol	עבר 'go over'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 28:25	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Sam 31:12	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 2:14a	dir. jussive + indir. jussive	שׂהק 'have a contest'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 2:14b	dir. jussive (+ ellipsis of the lexical verb)		ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 2:15	2 wayyiqtol	עבר 'pass over'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 3:21	dir. cohortative + indir. cohortative	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 6:2	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 13:15	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 13:29	2 wayyiqtol	רכב 'mount'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 13:31	2 wayyiqtol	קרע 'tear'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 14:23	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 14:31	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 15:9	2 wayyiqtol	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 17:1	2 indir. cohortatives	רדף 'pursue'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
2 Sam 17:21	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	עבר 'cross'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

	COMMAND			
2 Sam 17:22	wayyiqtol (3 m.s.) + wayyiqtol (3 m.pl.) EXECUTION	עבר 'cross'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 17:23	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Sam 19:8	2 imperatives	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	(1 Sam 19:7) *surgo*
2 Sam 19:9	2 wayyiqtol	ישב 'sit down'	ἐξανίστημι 'stand up'	(1 Sam 19:8) *surgo*
1 Kgs 1:49	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 1:50	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 2:40	2 wayyiqtol	חבש 'saddle'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 11:40	2 wayyiqtol	ברח 'flee'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 14:2	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	שׁנה 'disguise oneself'	a different text	*surgo*
1 Kgs 14:4	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	a diff. text	*consurgo*
1 Kgs 14:17	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	a diff. text	*surgo*
1 Kgs 17:9	2 imperatives COMMAND	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 17:10	2 wayyiqtol EXECUTION	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 19:3	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 19:5 aux./lex.	2 imperatives	אכל 'eat'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 19:7 aux./lex	2 imperatives	אכל 'eat'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 19:21	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 21:7	2 imperatives	אכל 'eat'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

1 Kgs 21:15	2 imperatives	ירשׁ 'take into possession'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 21:16	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
1 Kgs 21:18	2 imperatives	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 1:3	2 imperatives	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 1:15	2 wayyiqtol	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 3:24	2 wayyiqtol	נכה 'strike'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
2 Kgs 4:30	2 wayyiqtol	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 8:1	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	הָלַךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 8:2	2 wayyiqtol	עשׂה 'do'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 9:6	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'enter'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 10:12	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 11:1	2 wayyiqtol	אבד 'destroy'	untranslated	*surgo*
2 Kgs 12:21	2 wayyiqtol	קָשַׁר 'conspire'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Kgs 25:26	2 wayyiqtol	בוא 'come'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
1 Chr 10:12	2 wayyiqtol	נשׂא 'carry'	ἐγείρω 'rise'	*surgo*
1 Chr 22:16	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	עשׂה 'work'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Chr 13:6	2 wayyiqtol	מרד 'rebel'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
2 Chr 22:10	2 wayyiqtol	דבר 'destroy'	ἐγείρω	*surgo*
2 Chr 28:15	2 wayyiqtol	חזק 'take hold of'	ἀνίστημι	*sto* 'stand'
2 Chr 30:14	2 wayyiqtol	סור 'remove'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

Ezra 1:5	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Ezra 3:2	wayyiqtol (3 m.s.) + wayyiqtol (3 m.pl.)	בנה 'build'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Ezra 10:5	2 wayyiqtol	שׁבע 'make swear'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Neh 2:18	dir. cohortative + indir. cohortative	בנה 'build'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Neh 2:20	yiqtol + weqatalti	בנה 'build'	untranslated	*surgo*
Neh 3:1	2 wayyiqtol	בנה 'build'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Job 1:20	2 wayyiqtol	קרע 'tear'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Isa 23:12	2 imperatives	עבר 'cross'	a slightly different text	*consurgo*
Isa 32:9	2 imperatives	שׁמע 'listen'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Isa 52:2	2 imperatives	ישׁב 'sit down'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
Isa 60:1	2 imperatives	אור 'shine'	untranslated[24]	*surgo*
Jer 13:4	2 imperatives	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jer 13:6	2 imperatives	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jer 18:2	imperative + weqatalti	ירד 'go down'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jer 49:28	2 imperatives	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jer 49:31	2 imperatives	עלה 'go up'	ἀνίστημι	*consurgo*
Ezek 3:22	2 imperatives COMMAND	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Ezek 3:23	2 wayyiqtol EXECUTION	יצא 'go out'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jonah 1:2	2 imperatives	הלךְ 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

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24. The lexical verb is repeated twice in the Greek translation for emphasis.

Jonah 1:3	wayyiqtol + inf. construct with לְ	ברח 'flee'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jonah 1:6 aux./lex	2 imperatives	קרא 'call'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jonah 3:2	2 imperatives COMMAND	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Jonah 3:3	2 wayyiqtol EXECUTION	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Mic 2:10	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	הלך 'go'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*
Mic 4:13	2 imperatives (coordinated by *waw*)	דושׁ 'thresh'	ἀνίστημι	*surgo*

According to my analysis, the auxiliary קָם occurs 160 times in the Hebrew Bible. It appears 151 times in two finite verb constructions, and only in 9 instances is the lexical verb an infinitive construct prefixed by the infinitival marker לְ.[25] The construction with 2 *wayyiqtol* occurs 85 times and is the most common morphosyntactic pattern of this auxiliary. The second most frequent construction is composed of 2 imperatives: it is attested 51 times.

The auxiliary קָם occurs exclusively with *dynamic verbs*. I assume that the verb אור 'be bright' has a dynamic meaning 'become a light' or 'shine' in Isa 60:1.

The auxiliary קָם occurs 106 times with the following *motion verbs*: 49 times with הָלַךְ, 11 times with עָלָה, 10 times with יָרַד, 9 times with יָצָא, 8 times with עָבַר, 6 times with בָּא,

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25. All 9 infinitival constructions occur in the pattern: *wayyiqtol* + inf. construct with לְ.

4 times with בָּרַח, 3 times with שָׁב, 3 times with רָדַף, twice with הִתְהַלֵּךְ, and once with נָסַע.

The auxiliary קָם is practically absent from *poetry*. It does not appear in the books of Job (with the exception of Job 1:20, which is an introductory part in prose), Psalms, and Proverbs. It occurs only a few times in Isaiah in passages that can be considered as poetic or elevated style. Consequently, the auxiliary קָם is almost uniquely characteristic of *prose*, of narrative texts and their plots. This suggests that קָם does not only mark ingressive aspect, or the inception of a situation, but it also fulfills a discourse-pragmatic function that cannot be associated with poetic style. The auxiliary קָם, unlike other Hebrew auxiliaries, belongs almost uniquely to prose and "action-packed" narratives rather than poetry and its style of expression.

The auxiliary קָם is especially common in Genesis-Kings, notably in Genesis and 1-2 Samuel, but also in Judges and 1-2 Kings. It occurs only 18 times in the Prophets. In my opinion, קָם is so frequent in Genesis-Kings, in contrast to other books, not because it is characteristic of Classical Biblical Hebrew, but because it is characteristic of narrative texts.

11.4.2 Grammaticalized Meaning

Semantic changes in the grammaticalization of קָם can be understood in terms of metaphorical and metonymic shifts, as it was in the case of other Hebrew auxiliaries. The description of the semantic shift from a lexical to a grammatical קָם in terms of metaphorization is due to Dobbs-Allsopp who noted in 1995 that in the grammaticalized קָם "the initiation of a situation is envisioned metaphorically in terms of the motional idea of someone rising or standing up to undertake an action."[26] In terms of the categorial metaphor, this metaphorization can be viewed as ACTIVITY-to-TIME change. The source meaning, the

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26. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 37.

bodily movement of rising or getting up with the intention of doing something was mapped onto the domain of TIME.

In his article, Dobbs-Allsopp typically uses the available translations that, in his view, attempt to convey the auxiliary value of קָם.[27] In his own translations, the author tries to capture the nuance of קָם in an idiomatic English. He also points out that although 'begin' and 'start' can be considered a rough equivalent of the auxiliary קָם, the use of these verbs to render קָם in many passages would feel "wooden, stilted, non-idiomatic."[28] From his analysis of various passages, the following renderings can be noted for the auxiliary קָם: 'start,' 'set about,' 'set out,' 'now.'

In my description of the auxiliary קָם, I assume that the interpretation of the grammaticalized קָם as a marker of ingressiveness, as it is formulated by Dobbs-Allsopp, is basically correct. But I also have reservations in this regard. Ingressive aspect highlights the inception or the beginning of a situation. However, in many instances the auxiliary קָם emphasizes the whole event, not just its inception. In the imperative, it can express an urge to do something. Since it does not occur in poetic texts, it also fulfills a discourse-pragmatic function that is uncommon in poetry. For example, it is striking that the auxiliary קָם occurs 106 times with motion verbs, which among other things implies leaving one location for another.

Consider the following:

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27. Remember that Dobbs-Allsopp does not use the term "auxiliary verb" but "aspectual verb." In my framework, the notion of auxiliary verb is broader and also includes aspectual verbs.

28. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 31.

Judges 8:20

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּאמֶר לְיֶתֶר בְּכוֹרוֹ קוּם הֲרֹג אוֹתָם

</div>

He said to Jether his firstborn, "Now kill them!"

Although קָם expresses the ingressive aspect, it does not mean that it has to be automatically rendered by 'begin' or 'start' as Dobbs-Allsopp rightly notes in his article (p. 31). However, in my opinion, the ingressive aspect means that—at least technically, and disregarding the matters of elegant style—the auxiliary קָם could be rendered by 'begin' or 'start.' But this is not the case in passages such as Judg 8:20. The phrase קוּם הֲרֹג does not imply "start killing them!" It seems that קָם emphasizes the carrying out of the event rather than its inception. NIV translates קוּם הֲרֹג as "Kill them!," which means that קָם is left untranslated. This is an even better solution than my translation with 'now.' In English, "now" is sometimes used to strengthen a command or a request, and it is also used as a discourse marker to introduce a change in subject or to point to a new series of events. On the basis of these two functions, "now" might sometimes be a good rendering for the auxiliary קָם. But each translation should be judged in the context appropriately.

It can be further noted that in Gen 27:19 קוּם־נָא שְׁבָה does not mean "start sitting" and in Gen 23:7 וַיָּקָם אַבְרָהָם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ cannot be paraphrased by "Abraham started to prostrate himself" (these two passages are analyzed later in this section). These instances of קָם indicate that the auxiliary קָם can be used to emphasize the importance of carrying out the event conveyed by the lexical verb, in addition to referring to its inception. As far as I can see, there is no straight equivalent of such a function in English and it is not easy to give guidelines for its translation. It is probably better to leave the auxiliary קָם untranslated rather than give it value it does not have. The translators sometimes render קָם by 'immediately' or

'at once.' For example, NRSV, NJB, and NIV render קָם by 'at once' in Gen 27:43. In some passages, it might be one of the options, but it needs to be kept in mind that this is an approximate rendering of קָם and it must be applied with much caution. The auxiliary קָם does not highlight the urgency or speed to carry out an activity, but marks the inception of an activity or, alternatively, it highlights the activity itself by underscoring the importance of carrying it out, especially in imperative constructions. Consider:

Genesis 31:13

אָנֹכִי הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל אֲשֶׁר מָשַׁחְתָּ שָּׁם מַצֵּבָה אֲשֶׁר נָדַרְתָּ לִּי שָׁם נֶדֶר עַתָּה קוּם צֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וְשׁוּב אֶל־אֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתֶּךָ:

I am the God of Bethel, where you anointed a pillar and made a vow to me. Now leave this land and return to the land of your birth.

NIV translates the phrase קוּם צֵא מִן־הָאָרֶץ by "leave this land at once," but I do not think that קָם can be rendered by 'at once' in this passage. This phrase cannot be paraphrased "start going out of this country" either. Perhaps it is best to leave it untranslated. In my view, the auxiliary highlights the importance of carrying out God's order to leave the country rather than highlighting its inception.

In the following passages, I will show that the auxiliary קָם cannot be easily rendered by 'immediately,' 'at once,' or even 'now.' Additionally, I will point out that temporal reference, notably the time of night or the time of morning, cannot be mechanically considered a factor that excludes the possibility of an auxiliary reading of קָם. Consider:

Numbers 22:20 (aux. קָם "at night")

וַיָּבֹ֨א אֱלֹהִ֥ים ׀ אֶל־בִּלְעָם֮ לַ֒יְלָה֒ וַיֹּ֣אמֶר ל֗וֹ אִם־לִקְרֹ֤א לְךָ֙ בָּ֣אוּ הָֽאֲנָשִׁ֔ים ק֖וּם לֵ֣ךְ אִתָּ֑ם

God came to Balaam at night and said to him, "If the men have come to summon you, go with them.”

Numbers 22:21 (lex. קָם "in the morning")

וַיָּ֤קָם בִּלְעָם֙ בַּבֹּ֔קֶר וַֽיַּחֲבֹ֖שׁ אֶת־אֲתֹנ֑וֹ וַיֵּ֖לֶךְ עִם־שָׂרֵ֥י מוֹאָֽב:

Balaam got up in the morning, saddled his donkey, and went with the officials of Moab.

Genesis 19:15

וּכְמוֹ֙ הַשַּׁ֣חַר עָלָ֔ה וַיָּאִ֥יצוּ הַמַּלְאָכִ֖ים בְּל֣וֹט לֵאמֹ֑ר ק֠וּם קַ֣ח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ֞ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּ֤י בְנֹתֶ֙יךָ֙

When dawn came, the angels urged Lot on, "Take your wife and your two daughters!”

In Num 22:21, each verb has its argument, בַּבֹּקֶר "in the morning" goes with קָם and אֶת־אֲתֹנוֹ "his donkey" is the direct object of חָבַשׁ, which cancels the possibility of an auxiliary reading of קָם. In Dobbs-Allsopp's framework, the phrase בַּבֹּקֶר "in the morning" would break rule 4, which states that only a subject can be placed between the auxiliary and the lexical verb.[29] In Num 22:30, God comes to Balaam during the night but קָם is used in its auxiliary function in spite of the time context suggesting a lexical reading of קָם. Since Balaam does not get up immediately to carry out God's command, but only in the morning, it follows that we must be careful when translating the auxiliary value of קָם by 'now,' or 'at once.' In Num 22:20, such a translation would be inaccurate. Moreover, the use of קָם in this passage reveals that

29. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 41.

the auxiliary value does not always express ingressive aspect that marks the inception of an event. In this passage, קָם emphasizes the importance of carrying out a specific activity rather than marking its beginning. Consequently, God's command to Balaam could be translated, "do go with the officials of Moab!" I do not want to suggest, however, that the auxiliary קָם should be rendered in this way. In imperative constructions, the auxiliary קָם expresses the urge to carry out the command and, for this reason, I assume that קָם in Gen 19:15 fulfills the auxiliary function in spite of the context that indicates the time of dawn, but a lexical reading cannot be ruled out in this passage.

Perhaps trying to see if the auxiliary קָם in a specific passage can be paraphrased by 'start' or 'begin,' will help to distinguish the ingressive function of קָם from its emphatic function. But the fact that קָם can be paraphrased by 'start' or 'begin,' may not always be an indication that it is an ingressive קָם. Let us consider a few illustrations with ingressive קָם:

Neh 2:18

וַיֹּאמְרוּ נָקוּם וּבָנִינוּ

They said, "Let us start building!"

1 Chr 22:16

קוּם וַעֲשֵׂה וִיהִי יְהוָה עִמָּךְ׃

Get to work (or: begin the work), and the LORD be with you!

Isaiah 60:1

קוּמִי אוֹרִי כִּי בָא אוֹרֵךְ

Start shining, for your light has come.

2 Samuel 2:14

וַיֹּ֤אמֶר אַבְנֵר֙ אֶל־יוֹאָ֔ב יָק֤וּמוּ נָא֙ הַנְּעָרִ֔ים וִֽישַׂחֲק֖וּ לְפָנֵ֑ינוּ וַיֹּ֥אמֶר יוֹאָ֖ב יָקֻֽמוּ׃

Abner said to Joab, "Let the young men start a contest before us." Joab said, "Let them start." (Or, if קָם expresses an emphatic function rather than an ingressive aspect: "Let the young men have a contest before us." Joab said, "Yes.")

Jonah 1:3

וַיָּ֤קָם יוֹנָה֙ לִבְרֹ֣חַ תַּרְשִׁ֔ישָׁה מִלִּפְנֵ֖י יְהוָ֑ה

Jonah set out (or: started) to flee to Tarshish from the LORD.

1 Kings 21:16

וַיְהִ֗י כִּשְׁמֹ֤עַ אַחְאָב֙ כִּ֣י מֵ֣ת נָב֔וֹת וַיָּ֤קָם אַחְאָב֙ לָרֶ֗דֶת אֶל־כֶּ֛רֶם נָב֖וֹת

When Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, Ahab set out to go down to the vineyard of Naboth.

It is noteworthy that in all 9 passages in which the auxiliary קָם is complemented by infinitival construction—all of them in the pattern: *wayyiqtol* + inf. construct with לְ, as in Jonah 1:3 and 1 Kgs 21:16—the auxiliary unequivocally expresses ingressive aspect.

At this point, I will present several passages with the auxiliary קָם in which the literal lexical meaning would sound illogical.

Genesis 23:7

וַיָּ֧קָם אַבְרָהָ֛ם וַיִּשְׁתַּ֥חוּ לְעַם־הָאָ֖רֶץ לִבְנֵי־חֵֽת׃

Abraham prostrated himself to the Hittites, the people of the land.

1 Samuel 25:41

וַתָּ֕קָם וַתִּשְׁתַּ֥חוּ אַפַּ֖יִם אָֽרְצָה

She prostrated herself with her face to the ground.

The translators render the verb הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה in Gen 23:7 as: "bowed" (NRSV, ESV), "bowed low" (NJB), "bowed down" (NIV). These translations make it possible to render קָם literally by 'get up.' But it needs to be noted that the verb הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה implies a prostration on the ground rather than only a formal bow. In 1 Sam 25:41, Abigail prostrates herself before David's messengers. NRS translates this clause as "She rose and bowed down, with her face to the ground," which in my view is not a good translation. NJB has " She stood up, then prostrated herself on the ground."

Consider also:

Genesis 27:19

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר יַעֲקֹ֜ב אֶל־אָבִ֗יו אָנֹכִי֙ עֵשָׂ֣ו בְּכֹרֶ֔ךָ עָשִׂ֕יתִי כַּאֲשֶׁ֖ר דִּבַּ֣רְתָּ אֵלָ֑י קֽוּם־נָ֣א שְׁבָ֗ה וְאָכְלָה֙ מִצֵּידִ֔י

Jacob said to his father, "I am Esau your firstborn. I have done as you told me; now sit and eat of my game."

2 Samuel 19:9

וַיָּ֥קָם הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ וַיֵּ֥שֶׁב בַּשָּׁ֑עַר

Then the king sat in the gate.

Isaiah 52:2

הִתְנַעֲרִ֧י מֵעָפָ֛ר ק֥וּמִי שְּׁבִ֖י יְרוּשָׁלִָ֑ם

Shake yourself from the dust and sit down, O Jerusalem.

NJB and NIV render קָם in Gen 27:19 by "sit up," and NRSV has "now sit up." It is a good contextual translation because it seems that Isaac is very old and weak and probably lying down when Jacob comes to him. NRSV translates the passage from 2 Sam 19:9 "Then the king got up and took his seat in the gate," which is literal. Other Bible translations, such as NJB, NIV, ESV, KJV, have a similar rendering. In my opinion, קָם does not have an ingressive meaning in this passage but puts the event of sitting at the focus and also marks a transition in the narrative toward a new series of events. This transition seems to be more frequently expressed by *wayyiqtol* forms than by imperatives.

Consider also:

Deuteronomy 9:12

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהֹוָ֣ה אֵלַ֗י ק֠וּם רֵ֧ד מַהֵ֛ר מִזֶּ֖ה

The LORD said to me, "Now go down quickly from here!"

This passage reveals that the auxiliary קָם does not express the notion of speed or urgency, although it is sometimes rendered 'at once.' Otherwise there would be no need to use מַהֵר 'quickly' in this passage.

Now consider:

Ezekiel 3:22 (command)

וַתְּהִ֥י עָלַ֛י שָׁ֖ם יַד־יְהֹוָ֑ה וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֵלַ֗י ק֥וּם צֵא֙ אֶל־הַבִּקְעָ֔ה

The hand of the LORD was upon me there. And he said to me, "Go out into the valley!"

Ezekiel 3:23 (execution)

וָאָקוּם֙ וָאֵצֵא֙ אֶל־הַבִּקְעָ֔ה

And I went out to the valley.

Jonah 3:2 (command)

ק֛וּם לֵ֥ךְ אֶל־נִֽינְוֵ֖ה הָעִ֣יר הַגְּדוֹלָ֑ה

Go to Nineveh, the great city!

Jonah 3:3 (execution)

וַיָּ֣קָם יוֹנָ֗ה וַיֵּ֛לֶךְ אֶל־נִֽינְוֵ֖ה כִּדְבַ֥ר יְהוָ֑ה

Jonah went to Nineveh, according to the word of the LORD.

In Ezek 3:22 and Jonah 3:2, the ingressive קָם is used to mark the inception of the event. Alternatively, we can interpret it as קָם that highlights the carrying out of the event conveyed by the lexical verb. In Ezek 3:23 and Jonah 3:3, קָם is repeated to illustrate the fulfillment of the request. Sometimes, in the passages similar to Ezek 3:23 or Jonah 3:3, the translators (e.g., NRSV and NIV) render קָם by 'set out.' NRSV has "Jonah set out and went" for וַיָּקָם יוֹנָה וַיֵּלֶךְ. Although 'set out' may be a good option to render קָם in some instances, 'set out' points to קָם as a lexical, rather than an auxiliary, verb. As I have observed earlier (see p. 377), the lexical קָם is also used to express the notion 'leave' or 'depart.' Therefore, 'set out' can be interpreted as a related meaning. It is also possible that some passages that I consider instances of the auxiliary קָם (as indicated in Table 8) have lexical קָם meaning 'leave' or 'depart.' Perhaps we need to make a distinction between the auxiliary קָם that is used with motion verbs, such as הָלַךְ 'go,' עָלָה 'go up,' or יָצָא 'go out,' on the one hand, and the

auxiliary קָם that is used with other verbs, such as לָקַח 'take,' נָשָׂא 'lift up,' יָשַׁב 'sit down,' or בָּנָה 'build,' on the other. Unfortunately, there seem to be no particular parameters that would help refine the distinction of these two classes.

Consider also:

2 Samuel 17:21 (command)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־דָּוִד קוּמוּ וְעִבְרוּ מְהֵרָה֙ אֶת־הַמַּ֔יִם

They said to David, "Cross the water quickly."

2 Samuel 17:22 (execution)

וַיָּ֣קָם דָּוִ֗ד וְכָל־הָעָם֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר אִתּ֔וֹ וַיַּעַבְר֖וּ אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּ֑ן

So David and all the people who were with him set out and crossed the Jordan. (NRSV)

Exodus 24:13

וַיָּ֣קָם מֹשֶׁ֔ה וִיהוֹשֻׁ֖עַ מְשָׁרְת֑וֹ וַיַּ֥עַל מֹשֶׁ֖ה אֶל־הַ֥ר הָאֱלֹהִֽים:

So Moses set out with his assistant Joshua, and Moses went up into the mountain of God. (NRSV)

The verb קָם cannot be considered as an auxiliary in Exod 24:13 because Moses' name is repeated after the second verb, which indicates that the two verbs form independent clauses. On the other hand, the meaning of קָם in this passage seems to be very similar to its meaning in 2 Sam 17:22, which I labeled as an auxiliary construction in Table 11.1.

Although it is hoped that this study of the verb קָם contributes to its better

understanding, in its lexical and auxiliary functions, it cannot be considered a conclusive

analysis.

11.4.3 Diachronic Development

Since almost all but 9 auxiliary constructions with קָם in the Hebrew Bible are made

up of two finite verbs, we may assume that קָם underwent grammaticalization in a biclausal

construction that was reanalyzed into a single complex constituent.

Genesis 24:10

וַיָּקָם וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם אֶל־עִיר נָחוֹר׃

He set out (lit. he got up) and went to Aram-Naharaim, to the city of Nahor.

In a similar construction, as in Gen 24:10, the verb קָם started to be used as a marker of the

inception, without reference to an actual "getting up" or "rising" and the two finite verbs

were reinterpreted as a syntactically and semantically new complex unit.

Consider also the following:

2 Kings 7:5

וַיָּקוּמוּ בַנֶּשֶׁף לָבוֹא אֶל־מַחֲנֵה אֲרָם

At dusk they got up and went to the camp of the Arameans.

The passage in 2 Kgs 7:5, with קָם in its lexical meaning complemented by an infinitival

construction with לְ, can be a good illustration of a construction in which קָם might have been grammaticalized into a marker of ingressiveness. I assume that קָם was grammaticalized at a time when both infinitival constructions as well as the sequences of two finite verbs were employed in Hebrew as two common strategies for auxiliary constructions. Therefore, in my view, there is no way to know for sure in which construction, the former or the latter, קָם emerged as an auxiliary verb. The markedly higher frequency of two-finite-verbs constructions over infinitival constructions in the Hebrew Bible might point to the sequence of two finite verbs as a locus of its grammaticalization, but I believe it is beyond the reach of our knowledge to know it definitively.

CHAPTER 12

HEBREW AUXILIARY VERBS AND SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

In this chapter I will present a crosslinguistic understanding of serial verb

constructions (from now on, SVCs). In my appraisal of Dobbs-Allsopp's article on

ingressive קָם, I noted that Hebrew auxiliary verbs cannot be considered SVCs. Since there is

a growing number of Hebraists who want to apply the concept of SVC to Hebrew verbs, this

matter requires more than a marginal note or a short paragraph that might easily go

unnoticed.

SVCs are a complex phenomenon and I do not intend to give a comprehensive

analysis of such constructions or present a historical development of the concept. That would

be beyond the scope and interest of this study. But I will provide some agreed-upon

parameters of SVCs and point to major linguistic publications on SVCs. In this way, I hope

to prove the impossibility of applying the SVC concept to Hebrew verbs in general and to

Hebrew auxiliary verb constructions in particular.

First, I will present the defining parameters of SVCs followed by illustrations of such

constructions from a few languages. Finally, I will discuss the parameters that exclude the

possibility of considering Hebrew auxiliary verbs as SVCs. I will also comment on the

attempts made by Hebrew scholars to apply the concept of SVCs to Hebrew verbs.

12.1 Crosslinguistic Parameters of SVCs

Serial verb constructions and auxiliary verb constructions belong to a broader type of

phenomena called complex predicates. The concept *serial verb* was already introduced to

linguistic research in 1875 to describe some verbal predicates in the Twi language of West Africa.[1] But for a long time, this term remained ill-defined, and as a result it was generously applied to many loosely-related, or even totally unrelated, phenomena. In the last four decades, linguists made a considerable effort to better define crosslinguistic parameters of such constructions. Kroeger points out that even now linguists might sometimes disagree about whether a particular verbal predicate in a given language is an SVC or not.[2]SVCs are prevalent in languages of Oceania, West Africa, Southeast Asia and some languages of Central America. Payne points out that although SVCs might occur in all types of languages, they are more common in languages with little or no morphology, such as isolating languages.[3]

Below I summarize the most important crosslinguistic parameters of SVCs that define them. Since they are taken from a variety of publications, I will indicate their source publications in the course of this chapter. However, no serious analysis of SVCs should be made without consulting the 2006 monograph on SVCs, edited by Aikhenvald and Dixon.[4] The parameters of SVCs are as follows:

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1. A short historical account of the development of SVCs can be found in Osamuyimen T. Stewart, *The Serial Verb Construction Parameter* (Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics; New York: Garland, 2001), 6–11.

2. Kroeger, *Analyzing Syntax*, 222.

3. Payne, *Describing Morphosyntax*, 307.

4. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Robert M. W. Dixon, eds., *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (Explorations in Linguistic Typology 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

1. Two or more verbs, neither of which is an auxiliary, form a single predicate for what is conceptualized as a single event.

2. All of the verbs have the same subject.

3. If a verb has an argument in the construction, such as a direct or an indirect object, they are (semantically, but not syntactically) shared by the whole construction.

4. All of the verbs share the operators of tense, aspect, and modality.

5. One verb is not a complement of the other.

6. All of the verbs appear without any markers of coordination or subordination.[5]

I will offer a few comments on some parameters. Parameter 3 refers to necessary arguments, which might be conceptually necessary to complement a verb, rather than to peripheral arguments or adjuncts, which are less dependent on the nature of a verb and are usually optional.[6] If a verb has a direct object as its necessary argument, this direct object is a projection of that verb and, syntactically, it is not an argument of other verbs in a SVC, but semantically it is shared by all the verbs because the whole construction is conceptualized as a single complex event.

Parameter 5 states that the verbs in an SVC are syntactically equal and one verb cannot be a complement of another. For example, in English we can say (although not a very natural English): "He came, danced, ate." These three verbs are juxtaposed without any

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5. Aikhenvald notes that this parameter of SVCs is valid only for languages that employ explicit markers of coordination or subordination. Aikhenvald, *Grammar of Tariana*, 423.

6. In my view, this parameter is best described in Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, "Serial Verb Constructions in Typological Perspective," in *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology* (ed. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Robert M. W. Dixon; Explorations in Linguistic Typology 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 12–13.

marker of coordination or subordination and they are syntactically independent. But in the sentence "He came to dance," the infinitive "to dance" is a complement of the verb 'come' and syntactically depends on it.

Additionally, there is a strong diachronic tendency towards lexicalization and grammaticalization of the meaning in serial verb complexes. Lexicalization results in a single lexical unit that is easily recognized as such, with a new idiomatic meaning. Grammaticalization results in the "demotion" of one of the verbs to the status of grammatical marker, such as a preposition, a case marker, or an auxiliary verb. For example, the verb 'use' has been grammaticalized in many languages into an instrumental preposition that expresses a relation similar to the English prepositions *with* or *by*, as in "with a fork" or "by bus."[7] This diachronic tendency towards lexicalization and grammaticalization in SVCs is often considered one of the characteristic features of these constructions.[8] In my view, it is somewhat misleading to consider this historical tendency as one of the prototypical features of SVCs. This is an important feature but it is historically characteristic and not a defining parameter. SVCs may or may not undergo lexicalization or grammaticalization. If they are grammaticalized, they lose membership as an SVC. It is less clear if they are still considered SVC after they are lexicalized. The opinions of linguists vary in this regard. Since I do not think this feature (that is, diachronic tendency towards lexicalization and grammaticalization) contributes to the definition of SVCs in a synchronic perspective, I point it out separately, and not as one of the defining parameters.

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7. Ansaldo, "Serial Verb Constructions," 11:263.

8. See, for example, Ansaldo, "Serial Verb Constructions," 11:261; and Mark Durie, "Grammatical Structures in Verb Serialization," in *Complex Predicates* (ed. Alex Alsina, Joan Bresnan, and Peter Sells; CSLI Lecture Notes 64; Stanford, Calif.: CSLI, 1997), 291.

12.2 Illustrations from Various Languages

In this section I offer a selection of illustrations of SVCs from a few languages. I chose sentences that are relatively straightforward but give an insight into the nature of SVCs.

(1) (Yoruba, a Kwa language spoken in Nigeria)[9]

Olé   fi   ọ̀bẹ   gún   ọba.

Thief use   knife stab chief.

The thief stabbed the chief with a knife

(2) (Yoruba)

Mo fi   ọgbọ̀n   gé   gi.

I   use cleverness cut tree

I cut down the tree with cleverness.

(3) (Yoruba)

Oyĕ mú   ìwé   wá   fún   mí.

Oye took book came give me.

Oye brought the book to me.

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9. The illustrations 1, 2, and 3 are from Mark Baker, "On the Relation of Serialization to Verb Extensions," in *Serial Verbs: Grammatical, Comparative, and Cognitive Approaches* (ed. Claire Lefebvre; SSLS 8; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), 79, 82.

(4) (Fon, a Kwa language spoken in Benin)[10]

Kòkú só àsɔ̌ yì / wá àxì.

Koku take crab go / come market.

Koku brought (direction away/towards the speaker) the crab to the market.

(5) (Fon)

Kòkú só àsɔ̌ ná Àsíbá.

Koku take crab give Asiba.

Koku gave the crab to Asiba.

(6) (Fon)

Kòkú só àtí hò Àsíbá.

Koku take stick hit Asiba.

Koku hit Asiba with a stick

(7) (Tariana, an Arawak language of northwestern Brazil)[11]

Nese di-ka di-ruku-i-pidana.

Then he-see he-go-down + REPORTED PAST MARKER

Then he looked down.

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10. The illustrations 4, 5, and 6 are from Claire Lefebvre, "*Take* Serial Verb Constructions in Fon," in *Serial Verbs: Grammatical, Comparative, and Cognitive Approaches* (ed. Claire Lefebvre; SSLS 8; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1991), 39.

11. The illustrations (7) and (8) are from Aikhenvald, *Grammar of Tariana*, 435, 437.

(8) (Tariana)

Na-siwa   neka-pidana.

they-be together   they-laugh + REPORTED PAST MARKER

They laughed all together.

(9) (Teop, an Austronesian Oceanic language spoken in Solomon Islands)[12]

Hoa gunaha   o   sinivi vo   tahii.

push   go down   ARTICLE   canoe   to   sea

Push the canoe down to the sea.

12.3 Hebrew Auxiliary Verb Constructions as SVCs in Hebrew Scholarship

In this section, I analyze parameters 1 and 6 in reference to Hebrew auxiliary verbs and, subsequently, I discuss how Hebrew scholars apply the notion of SVCs to Hebrew verbs.

Parameter 1 says that an auxiliary verb cannot be a component of an SVC. Auxiliary verbs are grammaticalized and form the auxiliary verb constructions that differ from SVCs. In this study, I have described how particular Hebrew auxiliary verbs underwent grammaticalization. Therefore, in my view, Hebrew auxiliary verbs cannot be considered SVCs. However, it might be a matter of debate among linguists about whether a particular verb is or is not an auxiliary verb.

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12. The illustration (9) is from Jessika Reining, "Serial and Complex Verb Constructions in Teop," in *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundness* (ed. Isabelle Bril and Ozanne-Rivierre Françoise; EALT 29; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004), 98.

The strongest argument against the possibility of classifying Hebrew auxiliaries as serial verbs comes from parameter 6, which does not allow any explicit or overt markers of coordination or subordination within the construction. This parameter has always been one of the most defining parameters of SVCs. Hebrew auxiliary constructions that are made up of two finite verbs clearly violate this rule, and this violation is indisputable. This observation is based on the assumption that there is no justifiable reason, from a grammatical perspective, to make a distinction between a sequence of two finite verbs that occur without the conjunction *waw* (an asyndetical construction) and a sequence of the same finite verbs that are prefixed by *waw* (a coordinated construction).[13] Below I indicate how Hebraists have applied the concept of SVCs to Hebrew verbs.

As far as I can see, Dobbs-Allsopp was the first to apply the concept of SVCs to Hebrew verbs in his 1995 article on ingressive קָם. He distinguished between a sequence of two finite verbs that occur without the conjunction *waw* and a sequence of two finite verbs that are prefixed by *waw*. He employed the following illustrations:[14]

Genesis 27:19

קוּם־נָא שְׁבָה

Now sit down!

Jonah 3:3

וַיָּקָם יוֹנָה וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־נִינְוֵה

Jonah set out and went to Nineveh.

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13. See my earlier discussion of this topic, p. 360.

14. See Dobbs-Allsopp, "Ingressive *qwm*," 37. The translations are mine.

According to Dobbs-Allsopp, the construction with קָם in Gen 27:19 is an example of an

SVC because the two verbs form a construction without any marker of coordination. On the

other hand, Dobbs-Allsopp calls verbal hendiadys the two finite verbs that are marked by

waw in Jonah 3:3. As I have pointed out earlier, hiss distinction is inaccurate because these

two constructions are actually one and the same.

In his 1998 article on ingressive סָבַב, Eskhult explicitly applies Dobbs-Allsopp's

framework to the analysis of the verb סָבַב. When Eskhult explains the notion of SVCs, he

not only quotes Dobbs-Allsopp's illustration (as those quoted above), but he also points to

some other verbs, such as הוֹסִיף, as examples of SVCs. Consider Eskhult's illustrations of

SVCs:[15]

Hosea 5:11

לֹא אוֹסִיף עוֹד אֲרַחֵם

I will no more pity.

Proverbs 23:35

אוֹסִיף אֲבַקְשֶׁנּוּ עוֹד:

I will again search for him.

Hosea 5:11

הוֹאִיל הָלַךְ

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15. See Mats Eskhult, "The verb *sbb* as a Marker of Inception in Biblical Hebrew,"
OrSu 47 (1998): 22. The translations of the illustrations are from Eskhult.

He dared to walk.

Although the application of the SVC to Hebrew verbs by Dobbs-Allsopp and Eskhult is incorrect, it must be noted that at least they do not attempt to alter the linguistic definition of SVCs.

In her 2006 article, Lillas-Schuil discusses Hebrew verbal hendiadys. She notes that "hendiadys" is used in reference to Hebrew two-finite-verb constructions as well as constructions with a finite verb complemented by an infinitive construct. She also notes the following:

> The accepted term used by linguists for verbs in coordination with what are sometimes called auxiliary verbs, or a finite intransitive verb used adverbially, is not hendiadys but 'serial verbs' or 'serial verb constructions'. This refers, in several language groups, to a syntactic phenomenon where two or more verbs may be juxtaposed but share the same subject and refer to consecutive or simultaneous aspect of actions. These sequences of verbs may act together without any overt sign of subordination or syntactic dependency. They are conceptualized as a single event in which intransitive verbs show functions typical of adverbs, as in Hebrew. The preference for the designation 'verbal *hendiadys*' for different combinations of verbs in the Hebrew Bible instead of 'serial verbs', may be insignificant.[16]

The first part of the quoted paragraph is not easy to understand. I assume that the phrase "in coordination with" is a reference to a coordination phenomenon in which two verbs are coordinated by a coordination marker. However, I am not sure if this is what Lillas-Schuil meant. If my assumption proves correct, this portion of her statement is inaccurate because

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16. Quoted, with original punctuation and italics, from Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 90. The quoted paragraph from Lillas-Schuil has a footnote reference, which I did not include into the quotation, to a few publications on serial verbs.

SVCs cannot have explicit coordination or subordination markers. The author describes SVCs as a syntactic phenomenon that "may be juxtaposed," further suggesting that lack of overt coordination in SVCs is not mandatory. Also the statement "consecutive . . . aspect of actions" cannot be reconciled with "conceptualized as a single event." Although it is not easy to define what a single complex event is in a crosslinguistic perspective,[17] it is usually assumed that situations which are portrayed as consecutive are conceptualized as distinct events rather than a single event.

Subsequently, in her analysis, Lillas-Schuil rightly points to various inadequacies of the term hendiadys when it is used in reference to the verbs that I have described as auxiliary verbs in the present study. In this regard, Lillas-Schuil's study offers a number of insightful observations. She concludes that since the accepted term, *serial verbs*, already exists for similar constructions, the use of the term *hendiadys* "seems inadvisable."[18] In a footnote, she notes that since the definitions of SVCs differ slightly across languages, the application of this term would require further specification in the case of Hebrew. However, she does not offer any illustration of an SVC, be it from Hebrew or from other languages.

In my opinion, Lillas-Schuil's analysis of the SVC notion is rather imprecise. The linguistic literature that she refers to, such as Noonan 1985 (also used by Dobbs-Allsopp in his 1995 article), clearly indicates the parameter "no marker of coordination" as a defining feature that cannot be violated. Even so, Lillas-Schuil assumes that the term SVC is flexible enough to be used in reference not only to the finite sequences of two verbs juxtaposed without *waw*, but also those prefixed by *waw*. It is not clear, however, if she also wants the constructions with infinitival complementation to be considered as SVCs.

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17. See Aikhenvald, "Serial Verb Constructions," 10–12.

18. Lillas-Schuil, "Survey of Syntagms," 91.

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In his analysis of circumstantial qualifiers in Arabic and Hebrew, Isakkson marginally notes that SVCs are one of the clause-combining strategies. He quotes Versteegh's definition of serial verbs. According to Versteegh, "The term 'serial verbs' is used in the literature to indicate a verbal syntagm consisting of two (or more) finite verbs without a formal coordinating marker but with the same argument structure, one of which is semantically demoted, often grammaticalized, and lexically restricted."[19] Even though this definition is somewhat lacking because it does not offer a full crosslinguistic picture of SVCs, Isakkson notes that Versteegh's definition is "unnecessarily strict." He further notes, "A semantic definition is to be preferred, which includes cases with a general coordinative marker like Arabic *wa* and Hebrew *we* and *way*, as in וַיָּשָׁב יִצְחָק וַיַּחְפֹּר 'Isaac dug once again' (Gen 26:18)."[20] Since Isakkson does not have any other bibliographical references to linguistic literature on SVCs, we must assume that he is not aware of the very long tradition that this term has in linguistic literature nor the efforts of linguists, in the course of the last few decades, to define this term clearly so as to be a useful notion for crosslinguistic analysis.

12.4 Conclusion

I hope I have convincingly showed in this chapter that the term *serial verb* and *serial verb construction* cannot be applied to Hebrew verbs in general and to Hebrew auxiliary verbs in particular. I indicated the most important defining parameters of SVCs and provided

19. See Bo Isaksson, "Introduction," in *Circumstantial Qualifiers in Semitic: The Case of Arabic and Hebrew* (ed. Bo Isaksson; AKM 70; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 31. Isakkson took Versteegh's definition of serial verbs from Kees Versteegh, "Serial Verbs," *EALL* 4:195.

20. See Isaksson, "Introduction," 31. In Isakkson, the Hebrew text from Gen 26:18 is in transcription whereas I quote it in the original script.

several illustrations from different languages. I pointed out that Hebrew auxiliary verbs

cannot be regarded as SVCs because they underwent grammaticalization. More importantly,

Hebrew sequences of two finite verbs, with or without *waw*, are one and the same

construction; they violate parameter 6, which does not allow any explicit marker of

coordination or subordination within an SVC. This parameter has always been one of the

most defining parameters of SVCs. Finally, I discussed various attempts made by Hebrew

scholars to apply the concept of serial verbs to the Hebrew verbs that I labeled auxiliary

verbs in my dissertation. I indicated the weaknesses of their analysis and, in two instances,

the lack of sufficient familiarity with the linguistic concept of serial verbs.

CHAPTER 13

CONCLUSIONS

In this section, I will provide a few important observations regarding the grammaticalization framework I have adopted for this dissertation, especially the observations that can be considered as a contribution to grammaticalization studies. Subsequently, I will indicate several conclusions concerning my analysis of Hebrew auxiliary verbs and the traditional notion of hendiadys.

In this dissertation, I have made a comprehensive analysis of several Hebrew auxiliary verbs in the corpus of the Hebrew Bible. The basic tool of analysis was the framework of grammaticalization and auxiliation, which I have formulated on the basis of influential grammaticalization monographs. To a considerable extent, my framework was based on the work of Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer, but it was updated to include the important advances and trends in grammaticalization research. Although semantic components seem to be often the most prominent in grammaticalization changes, I have pointed to the difficulty of assigning them the *most* important role. I have described grammaticalization as a series of changes that comprise cognitive, semantic, pragmatic, as well as functional and formal factors that interact in a complex way and cannot be easily viewed as independent components of grammaticalization. The apparent prominence of one component, semantic or formal, in a particular grammaticalization process should not easily lead to the conclusion that other components are less essential. At this point of

grammaticalization studies, it seems pointless to consider semantic components or, alternatively, formal components as the most important forces that drive particular grammaticalization processes, or to state that one component precedes the other as the motivating force. Grammaticalization is not activated solely by a meaning or solely by a morphosyntactic form, but by an inseparable complex of form and function "embodied" in a particular construction. Grammaticalization occurs in a specific context of language use where pragmatic forces and human cognitive ability—as it is, for example, expressed in the processing of metaphor and metonymy—interact with the form-and-function complex. In short, I have pointed to the *grammaticalization* process as a working of our conceptual, largely metaphorical and metonymic, patterning in an interacting of pragmatic forces upon semantic resources and morphosyntactic forms and structures.

In my framework, I explained semantic changes in grammaticalization as a transformation of lexical and concrete meaning into a more abstract functional meaning. The product of grammaticalization should be viewed as a more abstract version of its source meaning. The transformation of meaning is shaped by various forces, such as pragmatic enrichment or metaphorical and metonymic shifts. Many linguists who are less familiar with grammaticalization research and its methods, but also some seasoned students of grammaticalization, employ the terms "bleaching," "semantic bleaching," or "loss of meaning," which in my view are highly inaccurate, in reference to the process that I call transformation of meaning. The use of those inadequate terms persists even though they have been under serious criticism for over two decades. On the basis of my analysis, I would like to join the critics of these terms and encourage linguists to stop using such inaccurate terminology that misrepresents changes that occur in grammaticalization.

In chapter 1, I presented various definitions of the notion hendiadys, from rhetoric, literary criticism, English dictionaries, linguistic publications, as well as from Hebrew textbooks and biblical scholarship. I pointed out that the term hendiadys or "one by two" has always been a poorly-defined concept, used without any constraints and generously applied to many unrelated phenomena. Languages have a large stock of constructions that consist of two linguistic units that "merge together" to convey a more complex meaning. There would be no justified reason to label all such constructions as hendiadys or "one by two" constructions.

I indicated the difference between nominal hendiadys and verbal hendiadys and concluded that they are two linguistically unrelated constructions. On the basis of the definitions of hendiadys taken from a variety of sources, I observed that some scholars and lexicographers probably do not have a clear idea about what a hendiadys is and, in order to define it, they employ similar definitions that point to the "one by two" notion and offer "nice and warm," or less commonly Shakespeare's "sound and fury," as illustrations of hendiadys *par excellence*. Biblical scholars also uncritically employ the notion of hendiadys and apply it to unrelated constructions, disregarding the vagueness of the definition of this rhetorical concept.

I observed that the following Hebrew constructions: אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה "future and hope," וַיְנַסּוּ וַיַּמְרוּ "they tempted and defied," שֶׁמֶשׁ וְיָרֵחַ "sun and moon," or the English phrase: "nice and warm," which are considered hendiadys, have only one thing in common. They are made up of two words which are in a syntactic relation of coordination connected by *waw* or *and*. Therefore, from a linguistic perspective, they are totally unrelated. While, in my view, אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה is a traditional hendiadys, the other Hebrew constructions and the English phrase "nice and warm" are not.

Based on my analysis of nominal hendiadys, I concluded that, arguably, classicists and biblical scholars at first associated "hendiadys" with poetic pairs of nouns that were employed in place of a genitive (or, in Hebrew, construct state) relation, such as the Latin phrase *vi et armis* "by force of arms" (lit., by force and arms) or, as pointed by Gesenius in his 1817 Hebrew grammar, the phrase דְּמָמָה וָקוֹל "silence and voice" (Job 4:16) for קוֹל דְּמָמָה "quiet voice" (1 Kgs 19:12). I consider such hendiadys an important literary feature of Latin and Hebrew poetry and elevated style. Only over time, mostly due to its vague definition, was the notion of hendiadys expanded to include other, usually unrelated, constructions. If my analysis is correct, the notion of hendiadys should be associated uniquely with pairs of nouns, such as *vi et armis* or דְּמָמָה וָקוֹל, and disassociated with any other constructions.

It seems that Lambdin was the first Hebraist who, in his 1971 *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*, gathered several Hebrew verbs, such as שָׁב 'return,' הוֹסִיף 'add,' מִהַר 'hurry,' קָם 'get up,' הוֹאִיל 'do willingly,' הִשְׁכִּים 'get up early,' and labeled them "verbal hendiadys." Since hendiadys was associated with coordinated pairs of nouns and later also with other parts of speech, such as verbs and adjectives, over time some scholars started to associate the term hendiadys primary with particular syntactic phenomena of coordination, and only secondarily with specific verbs and their syntactic constructions.

In this study, I analyzed the Hebrew verbs הָלַךְ, שָׁב, הוֹסִיף/יָסַף, מִהַר, and קָם, as auxiliary verbs and their constructions as auxiliary verb constructions. I indicated possible diachronic developments of particular constructions and offered a synchronic analysis of these verbs in terms of grammaticalization and auxiliation. I pointed out all the passages in which, in my estimation, these verbs occur as auxiliary verbs. In the case of הָלַךְ, שָׁב, and הוֹסִיף/יָסַף, I also indicated crosslinguistic evidence of similar grammaticalization pathways of change from a lexical to a grammatical meaning.

I have also argued that the traditional distinction, made in the sequences of two finite verbs in the verbal hendiadys, between *syndetic constructions* (that is, sequences of two finite verbs that are coordinated by *waw*) and *asyndetic constructions* (sequences of two finite verbs that occur without *waw*) is inaccurate. This distinction was not based on a proper understanding of the Hebrew tense-forms because it did not take into consideration that, in Biblical Hebrew, especially in Classical Biblical Hebrew prose texts, the conjunction *waw* is an integral part of tense-forms like *weqatalti* or *wayyiqtol* and not a mere coordinating conjunction. The *waw* prefixed to such finite forms has a grammaticalizing force that "converts" them into new tense-forms. Since *waw* has a grammaticalizing force, its use as a coordinating conjunction is highly constrained with finite verbs, especially in Classical Biblical Hebrew prose texts.

At this point, I will make a few observations about the grammaticalized verbs. The auxiliary of gradual progression הָלַךְ occurs only twenty times in the Hebrew Bible, and it appears in a rich variety of morphosyntactic constructions. Although it can be glossed by 'do/occur gradually,' I pointed to the importance of translating this verb in a stylistically more appealing way in particular passages. The auxiliaries שָׁב and הוֹסִיף/יָסַף were traditionally glossed by 'do again' and, to some degree, presented as if they were synonymous verbs. I pointed to the semantic difference in the grammaticalized meanings of these verbs and criticized the idea of their alleged synonymy. The auxiliary שָׁב 'do again' portrays the repetition of an event as if it were a remake of an earlier event. On the other hand, the auxiliary הוֹסִיף/יָסַף 'do more/additionally,' which in the grammaticalized function is attested mainly in Hiphil, but also in Qal, expresses repetition in the sense of addition or continuation rather than a repetition that is viewed as a redoing of an earlier event. The auxiliary מִהַר 'do quickly' needs to be understood as a marker of speed and urgency that indicates the short amount of time in which an event takes place.

Although it is hoped that my analysis contributes to a better understanding of both the lexical and grammaticalized meanings of the verb קָם, my analysis cannot be regarded as fully satisfactory. Following an earlier analysis of this verb offered by Dobbs-Allsopp in 1995, I indicated many occurrences in which קָם can be viewed as an auxiliary verb of ingressiveness. But I also pointed to the difficulty of considering this verb as an auxiliary that expresses an ingressive aspect. If we disregard stylistic considerations, theoretically it should be possible to paraphrase the ingressive קָם by 'start/begin doing.' However, it seems that only in rare occasions can קָם be paraphrased in this way. Therefore, it is possible that only a few of the occurrences that I marked as instances of the auxiliary קָם express the ingressive meaning. In many, perhaps even in most, occurrences of the auxiliary קָם, the grammaticalized meaning emphasizes the whole event, not just its inception. In imperative, it expresses an urge to do something. Since as an auxiliary verb, קָם does not occur in poetic texts, it seems to fulfill a discourse-pragmatic function that is uncommon in poetry.

In my analysis, I sometimes labeled the grammaticalized meaning of a particular Hebrew auxiliary as a "marker," which is in accordance with the common linguistic tradition of labeling some auxiliary verbs in this way. For example, I sometimes referred to הָלַךְ as *a marker of gradual progression*. The term *marker of gradual progression* might prove convenient in Hebrew grammars written in languages like English, that is, in languages with a very rich inventory of auxiliary verbs and strategically more important than relatively peripheral Hebrew auxiliaries. Although, from the perspective of linguistic typology, the name *auxiliary* is fully justifiable for the Hebrew verbs that I have analyzed in my dissertation, the term auxiliary might prove confusing for some students if they strongly associate "auxiliary" with English core auxiliaries. Consequently, although for justifiable reasons I call the Hebrew verbs that I have analyzed auxiliary verbs, and at the same time I

strongly urge scholars to discontinue using the term "hendiadys" in reference to these verbs, it does not mean that in Hebrew introductory textbooks these verbs need to be called "auxiliary verbs." For example, Italian and Spanish grammarians employe the term "verbal periphrase" in reference to similar auxiliary constructions. Considering the established tradition of the term *perífrasis verbal* in Spanish or *perifrasi verbale* in Italian, strongly confirmed in recent state-of-the-art Spanish and Italian reference grammars and also in important linguistic monographs, in my opinion, Spanish and Italian Hebraists should call Hebrew auxiliary constructions verbal periphrases without any hesitation. However, in Hebrew grammars written in English, it is perhaps best to refer to the Hebrew verbs, which I have analyzed, auxiliary verbs (just as I did) and briefly indicate the major differences between English auxiliaries and Hebrew auxiliaries.

On the basis of my analysis, I urge Hebraists, Semiticists, biblical scholars, and linguists to discontinue the use of the term "hendiadys" or "verbal hendiadys" not only in reference to the Hebrew auxiliary verbs that I have analyzed in this study, but to any other verb pairs in Hebrew and any other language. Hendiadys has traditionally been associated with stylistic figures of speech that belong to poetry and elevated diction rather than grammatical constructions that can be regularly produced and belong to grammar. The use of "hendiadys" in reference to the syntactic phenomena of coordination should be also considered linguistically inaccurate. In addiction, I discussed the term "serial verb constructions" and pointed to the reasons why the Hebrew auxiliary verbs cannot be considered to be serial verbs.

In many regards, my study of the Hebrew auxiliary verbs cannot be considered a conclusive one. It is hoped that Hebraists will offer additional analyses and refinements of the Hebrew auxiliaries and point to the inaccuracies and errors that may be found in the present study

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